

VICTIMS' PERCEPTION OF POWER AND IDENTITY INTERSECTIONS:

A HUMAN TRAFFICKING EXPERIENECE

by

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Dedication

To all the victims of trafficking, who have endured the most egregious atrocities man can inflict
and have survived.

May you be met with peace and humanity throughout the rest of your days.

And

To my loving husband, Micheal, my son Loudon, and soon-to-be baby boy: Thank you.

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“How does one become a butterfly? They have to want to learn to fly so much that they are willing to give up being a caterpillar” (author unknown). In order for me to learn to fly, many devoted people encouraged my metamorphosis to becoming a butterfly. I would like to thank these individuals for their self-less support, challenging critiques, and willingness to believe in my success—in spite of my strong doubts. Without these people, I might never have realized that which I am actually capable.

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Abstract

Victims' perception of power and identity intersections:

A human trafficking experience

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Human trafficking has become increasingly recognized as a serious form of violence against women. In the identification of human trafficking cases, proof of three elements are required according to the Trafficking Victim's Protection Act (TVPA): force, fraud, and coercion. While force and fraud appear to be more universally conceptualized across service professionals, there is little consensus concerning the element of coercion. I suggest that it is power, not coercion, that is the key construct in recruiting and maintaining victims of trafficking, and that coercion is a kind of power. Thus, this study examined power in the recruitment and maintaining of trafficking victims leading to a more comprehensive understanding of what prevents them from escaping. In addition, this study examined the differences between sex trafficking and labor trafficking victims. This study found that there were few significant differences between sex and labor trafficked participants in perceptions of power. Labor trafficking more than sex trafficking victims perceived coercive power during maintenance phase. Additionally, it was found that during recruitment phase social support, moderated by age

at the time of trafficking influenced the perception of coercive, reward, and total powers, though not statistically significant. During maintenance phase age at the time of trafficking significantly influenced the perception of negative personal power, but this significance was lost when interaction terms were added to the model suggesting perhaps moderated-mediation effects are present. Finally, during rescue/escape phase, community support was the key entrapment factor that significantly influenced perceptions of positive personal, negative personal, and political powers. Interaction terms did not impact the regression models, demonstrating that the interaction of entrapment factors were not as important in advanced stages of the trafficking experience. Results of this study suggest that policy makers and practitioners should not emphasize one form of trafficking over the other as they both appear to experience similar forms of entrapment and perceive power similarly. Moreover, the result that interaction terms varied in importance at various phases of the trafficking experience implies the need for practitioners to consider the impacts that the trafficking experience has had on the victim more than the entrapment factors that lead them to become victimized. Additionally, prevention efforts should focus on strengthening protective factors for individuals and communities, such as access to education and employment opportunities, bolstering social and community connectedness, rather than focus on anti-migration public awareness campaigns.

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Chapter 1

Slavery and Human Trafficking

Every day after school, Maria sold bread by the side of the road to supplement her family's limited income. When business was slow, the 15-year-old chatted with Sofia, a 35-year-old woman who lived in the same Latin American village and often stopped by to visit. The two developed a friendship, and in 2004 Sofia made Maria an offer...of a high paying job [in a restaurant]. Maria agreed and, at Sofia's urging, did not tell her parents she was leaving. Upon arrival...Sofia told Maria to go in and clean up, after which the taxi driver drove her and three other girls to a guesthouse...Inside the guesthouse, the taxi driver raped her. Stunned and broken, but feeling powerless to stop what was happening, Maria was brought back to the restaurant, where she was forced to waitress for a month until Sofia returned. At that point, Sofia claimed to be Maria's mother and collected the girl's wages, then relocated her to another restaurant in the city. There, Maria was again forced to wait on tables, but soon the servitude extended to sex with customers in a backroom. Weeks later, the cycle was repeated: Sofia arrived, claimed Maria's earnings and relocated her, this time to a dancing parlour. Suspicious of Sofia and Maria's relationship, the owner of the establishment alerted the local authorities, but they took no action...Maria's ordeal came to an end when her uncle happened to visit the dancing parlour. Recognizing Maria, he informed her parents, who sought assistance from a human rights association... (UNODC, Blue Heart Campaign Testimonials, N.D.).

Introduction

International human trafficking, or modern-day slavery, is the exploitation of humans for the financial gain of a third party (Patterson, 2012). Exploiting others for personal gain is not a new phenomenon. “[Slavery] remains an enigma and its demons burden us still, the institution of

slavery is an indelible part of our history” (Rodriguez, 1997, p. xxiii). The sexual slavery of females is a constant in human history as religious texts and legal codices have condoned its practice for centuries (Ishay, 2008; Kulshreshtha, 2008; Rodriguez, 1997; Sharma, 1978). Human rights protections have been established (Ishay, 2008); yet, the institution of slavery (sexual and labor) prevails to this day. In spite of the perpetuity of and past responses to slavery, we understand little about appropriate measures to the prevention of trafficking exploitation and appropriate responses to the needs of the victims’ post-rescue.

This study explored how certified international adult female human trafficking victims’ (sex and labor) perception of the traffickers’ coercion through the construct of interpersonal social power (i.e., the kind of power and the strength of the power used), influenced by entrapment factors (i.e. socio-economic status, abuse history, social support, and community support), during the recruitment, maintenance, and rescue/escape phases of the trafficking experience. Certified victims of trafficking are deemed to meet the requirements of having been trafficked according to the guidelines established by the Trafficking Victims’ Protection Act and are eligible to receive services through federally funded trafficking service providers. Hence, the primary importance of this research was to explore the nuances of the trafficking of international people in the United States through which to begin to develop best practices. In this study, coercion is conceptualized as *a kind* of interpersonal social power. By understanding victims’ perception of power in the trafficking experience, providers can begin to develop more targeted prevention, intervention, and after-care programs and services for victims of trafficking.

It should be noted that the vast majority of scholarship pertaining to the phenomenon of human trafficking relates specifically to sex trafficking studies and conceptualizations much to

the sharp criticism of leading scholars such as Fedina, 2014; Weitzer, 2011; and Zhang et al., 2014. Anecdotally, the number of labor trafficking survivors is thought to exceed sex trafficking survivors; however, the amount of response and policy emphasis implies a picture that human trafficking is exclusively sex trafficking leaving other forms of exploited labor under-studied (Brennan, 2008; Belanger, 2014). Moreover, as Wilson & Dalton (2008) suggest, whereas “relationships between victims of sex trafficking and their traffickers [are thought to] be complicated...little is known about the relationships between [labor trafficking] victim and trafficker” (p.301-302). As a result, much of the literature available to understand human trafficking is framed within the context of sex trafficking, as such, efforts are made in this study to include labor trafficking scholarship however scant. It should be noted that unless specifically stated, discussions surrounding human trafficking should be thought to include both sex and labor international trafficking populations.

To be able to provide services to victims of trafficking, the victim must first meet several stringent requirements including proof of experiencing force, fraud, or coercion in their trafficking situation and the victims’ willingness to assist in the investigation and prosecution of the trafficker, and then be awarded a T-visa (Okech, Morreau, & Benson, 2011; Turner, Anderson, & Lopez-Howard, 2014). As a recent evaluation of the State of Georgia’s trafficking victim services identified, many service providers lack standard screening tools to identify victims of trafficking, and agencies that do have standard screening protocols often do not define trafficking in line with the law (Turner et al., 2014). In other words, service providers, in general, do not have a standardized way of conceptualizing or identifying trafficking, which can lead to confusion and conflict among interdisciplinary teams. While force and fraud tend to be

conceptualized similarly across disciplines, coercion remains problematic for many professionals making victim identification difficult (Kim, 2011), and ultimately resulting in the denial of services to victims of trafficking or the underutilization of services by victims (Okech et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2014). To best understand where we need to go in our efforts to combat modern-day slavery, or human trafficking, however, we must first understand where we have been historically.

A Brief Historical Examination of Female Exploitation

The first clear record of owning others in the form of private property, or slavery, including females, appears in Egyptian documents (2184-1785 B.C.E.) referring to the use of conquered peoples as slaves (Rodriguez, 1997). The Code of Hammurabi (circa 1772 B.C.E.) is the oldest preserved document outlining laws by which to govern ancient society (Ishay, 2008). Detailing the differences between freedmen and slaves, the code of Hammurabi describes how slaves could become emancipated (Ishay, 2008). In ancient Babylonia, as in ancient Egypt, slaves were bought or acquired through war; slaves were also sold by their fathers due to poverty or taken by creditors as payment for debt (Ishay, 2008). Outside of ancient Europe, the earliest known codes preserving the right to own slaves was written by the Indian rulers, Ashoka and the Arthashastra of Kautilya, who decreed the end of slave trading in third century B.C., but preserved the humane treatment of current slaves (Kulshreshtha, 2008; Sharma, 1978).

The role of female slaves is well documented throughout history, and they were particularly held in high esteem in Indian (Kulshreshtha, 2008) and Egyptian societies until the 18th century (Rodriguez, 1997). As indicated in the writings of Arthashastra of Kautilya, female slaves served very specific purposes decreeing as many as five categories of female slaves

ranging from nurses to prostitutes (Kulshreshtha, 2008; Sharma, 1978). Moreover, the prostitute, protected from “exploitation and misery” (Kulshreshtha, 2008, p. 56), was often used as a spy in ancient India and the profession was regulated by the state (Kulshreshtha, 2008; Sharma, 1978). Notably, the majority of slave work was what would be considered today as labor trafficking by working in farming, domestic servitude, and child care among other labors. Using females for sex work, by comparison, was seemingly less frequent; however, the acceptance of sexually violating female slaves appears to be inherently implied.

Recent studies exploring issues surrounding the return of some victims to the traffickers from which they were rescued are rare, but increasing (see Ahmed & Seshu, 2012; Belanger, 2014; Soderland, 2005). These examinations primarily focus on the intersection of victim’s perceived lack of autonomy and the responsibility of the rescuer’s to liberate victims from obvious abuse while forcibly placing rescued victims in shelters where freedoms are limited for the safety of the victims (Ahmed & Seshu, 2012; Soderland, 2005). In the case of sex trafficking victims, this apparent denial of self-determination of the victim is complicated by the lack of a coherent understanding of who a sex trafficking victim is as opposed to a voluntary sex worker (Ahmed & Seshu, 2012; Ditmore, 2009; Soderland, 2005). Scholars examining labor trafficking suggest similar paradoxes to accurate identification in that trafficked laborers often work alongside of non-trafficked workers making the identification of trafficked individuals difficult to establish (Zhang et al., 2014; Belanger, 2014; Brennan, 2008; Jenkins & Gutierrez, 2013). Recent research (Belanger, 2014) suggests that migration policies, debt, and cultural norms may create situations in which labor trafficking victims may be forced to seek out and return to exploitive work for survival, paralleling the experiences of sex trafficking survivors.

Strikingly, the lack of appropriate after-care responses for women exiting a trafficking experience is as apparent today as it has been historically, resulting in a life-long presence in exploitable occupations as a consequence to the lack of perceived viable alternatives like employment, job training, and education. Equally as striking is the consistency of the use and condoning of sexual violence against women, thereby usurping their power throughout history implying that the use of women as sexual objects is, in fact, not abusive, rather, necessary for procreation and the pleasure of men. The lack of power experienced by victims of trafficking is exacerbated by entrapment factors (i.e., socio-economic status, abuse history, social support and community support) creating a deeply complex phenomenon.

As a result, any trafficking response, ancient or modern, is precarious at best. Responses have not been developed to target different points of experience (i.e., recruitment vs. maintenance), and they have also not been developed with the intent to understand the potentially unique needs of sex trafficking compared to labor trafficking or with respects type of liberation experience (e.g., escape or police raid). As such, this research seeks to better understand the basic building blocks of human trafficking victimization from the victims' point of view. Specifically, this research seeks to understand one of the required elements of the crime, coercion, which is a kind of interpersonal social power used by traffickers that changes throughout the trafficking experience.

The abuse of power that female slaves have historically endured is at the heart of this research: can a better understanding of the uses of power by traffickers over three distinct periods of the trafficking experience reveal more effective response programs and services based on best practices to deliver the best aftercare services possible for victims of modern-day

slavery? And to what extent do entrapment factors that lead women into trafficking (sex and labor) influence victims' perception of power over time?

Modern-day slavery: Human trafficking

Modern-day slavery, or human trafficking, has often been conceptualized in terms of exploitation through economic opportunity (Bales, 2007; Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007; Jenkins & Gutierrez, 2013; Kim, 2007; Schauer & Wheaton, 2006), migration (Bales, 2007; Chauvin, Parizot & Simonnot, 2009), and intimate relations experiences (Cwikel, Chudakov, Agmon, & Belmaker, 2004; Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007; Jenkins & Gutierrez, 2013; Patterson, 2012; Zimmerman et al., 2008). Moreover across the phenomenon, poverty, limited economic and educational opportunities, gender, prior abuse history, nationality, and poor physical and mental health are often regarded as contributing factors to human trafficking vulnerability (Bales, 2007; Chauvin et al., 2009; Cwikel et al., 2004; Farrell, McDevitt, & Fahy, 2010; Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007; Gushulak & MacPherson, 2000; Jenkins & Gutierrez, 2013; Kim, 2007; Patterson, 2012; Schauer & Wheaton, 2006; Zimmerman et al., 2008; Zimmerman, Hossain, & Watts, 2011). I suggest that at the heart of each of these factors, the *exposure to and severity* of them, increases the perception of power and the kind of power used by the trafficker. For the purposes of this study, the population in focus is international survivors of sex and labor trafficking in Texas. The reason for this focus is, in part, due to the relative ease of securing access to victims of international trafficking in the state of Texas. Understanding modern-day slavery in Texas, however, only provides a limited view of the nature and extent of human trafficking as it stands in the United States and abroad. I begin my examination of human

trafficking with a brief discussion of the phenomenon, and conclude with a discussion on the extent of trafficking in Texas.

An Overview of Trafficking

Because of the clandestine nature of the human trafficking, accurate understandings of the scope of the phenomenon are difficult to obtain and controversial, particularly with respects to labor trafficking understandings (Zhang, 2012; Zhang et al., 2014; Fedina, 2014; Weitzer, 2013). However, as Bales (2005) stated, “different attributes are needed for prostitution or agriculture, or domestic services, *though there will be overlap as well*” (p. 158, emphasis added), suggesting that though a primary abuse may occur, as likely is a secondary abuse resembling another form of human trafficking. For example, the passage quoted at the beginning of Chapter One, the victim was exploited sexually as well as for labor before she was ultimately identified. Globally, according to the International Labor Organization (ILO) nearly 21 million people are victims of forced labor, 11.4 million of whom are women and girls (ILO, Facts and Figures, 2015). The ILO (2015) estimates approximately 4.5 million forced labor victims are forced into sexual exploitation, meaning the vast majority of forced labor is found in industries such as domestic work, agriculture, construction, manufacturing, and entertainment.

However, most agencies and many scholars point to several estimates about human trafficking to understand the prevalence of the issue as these estimates are fraught with questions concerning the legitimacy of the numbers. An estimated 12.3 million to 27 million people are believed to exist in some form of slavery around the world at any given moment (Chacon, 2006; Clawson, Dutch, Solomon, & Grace, 2009). Staggeringly, global profits of traffickers are estimated to be between \$15 billion and \$34 billion annually (Department of Homeland Security,

Blue Campaign, 2013; Inter-American Development Bank, Web Stories, 2006). However, according to the International Labor Organization (ILO) forced labor generates \$150 billion a year in global profits.

It is estimated that 17,500 people from around the world are exploited in the United States annually (Choo, Jang & Choi, 2010; Clawson et al., 2009; Gozdziaik & Collett, 2005). A prevalence study conducted by Farrell, McDevitt, Perry, Fahy, Chamberlain, Adams, Owens, Dank, Kling and Wheeler (2010), which, according to Fedina (2014), appears to be the most methodologically transparent and rigorous accounting of human trafficking prevalence to date, estimates the existence of trafficking in the U.S. between 5,166 to 60,467 individuals annually.

Nation-wide, 48% of the suspected cases of human trafficking have involved the sex trafficking of an adult female and nearly 14% involved labor trafficking (Department of Justice (DOJ), Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), April, 2011). When examining characteristics of human trafficking incidents, there is an over representation of the sexual exploitation of women within the population of human trafficking response operations in Texas, and around the world. The number of incidents identifying trafficking victims in Texas between 2007 and 2012, was 768; the vast majority of which have been sex trafficking incidents (Texas Attorney General Office (OAG), 2012). Interestingly, the OAG (2012) report did not identify any labor trafficking cases in the state of Texas at the time of the report; however, anecdotally, the collaborative agencies in this study as well as other scholars (Zhang et al., 2014) suggest there are more labor trafficking victims than sex trafficking victims, but due to the current emphasis on sex trafficking they are not being identified (OAG, 2012). Moreover, the Polaris Project, which operates the

national hotline for trafficking, stated in 2011 that Texas reported the second highest number of calls in the nation.

The Economic Costs of Human Trafficking

The International Labor Organization estimates that forced labor (which is primarily made of human trafficking in the private sector) amounts to \$150 billion per year. The exact global or local *cost* of trafficking is difficult to determine because, for example, trafficking profits are thought to fuel other illicit crimes like drug trafficking (DHS, Blue Campaign, 2013), and the costs associated with the loss of human capital in local, state, and national governments is difficult to ascertain as are the costs associated with various response efforts at different levels. Additionally, studies have shown that trafficking significantly depletes social and human capital (IDB, 2006). The study conducted by Dank et al. (2014) which focused on the sex industry, found no real evidence to link the Underground Commercial Sexual Economies (UCSE) with illicit arms trafficking, and the connection between UCSE and drug economies varied by city studied, but there was a strong suggestion of a connection between gang involvement in sex trafficking and prostitution. The total U.S. contribution to global human trafficking profits in 2007 from seven cities included in the study is \$975.3 million.

In the United States, the federal government has established a “comprehensive” response to the problem of human trafficking within the nation. The establishment of social service coalitions and law enforcement taskforces demonstrate, at least in part, the commitment by the U.S. government to eradicate trafficking from its borders. Moreover, the recent proliferation of private non-profit supportive service agencies has augmented existing services throughout the nation. U.S. funding for anti-trafficking programming increased fivefold from \$31.8 million per

year in 2001 to \$185.5 million per year in 2010 (U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Senate 112-096); however, after 2010, the U.S. government sharply reduced overall anti-trafficking funding. In the three years prior to the report, the U.S. spent \$244.9 million to combat international trafficking (U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Senate 112-096). According to Fedina (2014), the U.S. has spent more than \$500 million in its anti-trafficking fight both internationally and domestically. Even so, the financial resources that have been allocated to diminish the effects of trafficking in the U.S. appear to be disproportionate to the effectiveness of anti-trafficking programming as the numbers of identified victims of human trafficking seems low in comparison to the amount of money spent on anti-trafficking activities (Godziak & Collet, 2005; Todres, 2011). I suggest that it is because trafficking service providers (i.e., social workers, law enforcement) do not have a clear and unified understanding of the use of interpersonal social power in trafficking cases. Hence, this study sought to understand how victims of trafficking perceive traffickers' use of interpersonal social power.

Comparatively, evidence informed literature on domestic and intimate partner violence far exceeds that of human trafficking. In 2011, the estimated total federal expenditure for domestic violence programming in the United States totaled \$1 billion (Stop Abusive and Violent Environments, 2011). The Center for Disease Control (CDC) reported that approximately 12 million people are victims of some kind of intimate partner violence each year (CDC, 2011), which implies that the annual expenditure per victim is approximately \$83.33 (\$1 billion/12 million victims). The annual federal expenditure per *suspected* victim of trafficking (sex and labor) is \$73,559 (\$185 million/2,515 victims). This implies a policy emphasis toward curbing the trafficking in persons in the United States—specifically toward the identification of sex

trafficking victims rather than labor trafficking (Belanger, 2014; Brennan, 2008; Zhang, 2012); and, it also suggests a zealous moralistic focus to ending human trafficking rather than an evidenced-based focus (Brennan, 2008; Chacon, 2006; Chuang, 2010; Godziak & Collett, 2005; Kinney, 2006; Weitzer, 2011; Zimmerman, 2010).

The economic trends of human trafficking related to the costs, revenues, and losses associated with such activities in various communities is extremely difficult to establish. However, what is clear is that traffickers do make a lot of money off of the exploited labor of their victims and that the United States has spent an extraordinary amount of money to address this issue. Moreover, the level of emphasis on trafficking, especially sex trafficking, does not appear to match what is known about the phenomenon.

U.S. Based Understanding of Human Trafficking

With so much discussion on sex trafficking in public media, implying that human trafficking is sex trafficking/prostitution (Fedina, 2014; Weitzer, 2011), it is important to understand the distinction between sex trafficking and labor trafficking. In the United States, the current gold-standard definition of human trafficking, as established by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA), is:

- (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 (TVPA, 2000, p.1470).

In other words, an act of prostitution or an erotic massage could be sex trafficking just as a farmworker, construction worker, or domestic servant could be a labor trafficking victim if the victim was forced to perform such acts by another person for the *third party's financial benefit*. Crossing of geo-political boundaries is not a relevant factor in trafficking cases. Moreover, one can be trafficked within geo-political borders, as well as trafficked outside of these boundaries. The distinguishing characteristic of human trafficking, uniquely categorizing it from other forms of abuse, has to do with third parties making profits from the labor of exploited persons whether in the sex industry or non-sex related work. The primary elements to prove in human trafficking cases are: force, fraud, and coercion. Though force and fraud are more easily conceptualized, the element of coercion is often hotly contested and is the least standardized element of human trafficking among service providers (Kim, 2007).

The revitalization of the feminist “sex wars” in the 1990’s concerning the legitimacy of sex work gave impassioned what constitutes sexual exploitation (Abrams, 1995). Conceptualized in various ways over the years, including migration-based to human-rights based interpretations (O’Connell-Davidson, 2006), sex trafficking has accumulated many meanings. It is important to note that prostitution and sex trafficking are often conflated, causing some critics of human trafficking scholarship to question the integrity of what is published (Weitzer, 2011).

“Prostitution involves a [direct] commercial transaction [between the prostitute and the buyer] and trafficking is the process whereby a third party facilitates an individual’s involvement in sexual commerce” for the third party’s financial benefit (Weitzer, 2011, p. 1343; “direct”, “between the prostitute and the buyer”, and “for the third party’s financial benefit” added). In my study, I intentionally studied only identified survivors of sex or labor trafficking, or people who

were sexually exploited or exploited for labor services by a third party for the third party's financial gain.

Language used in TVPA policies against human trafficking changed in 2008, more closely equating sex trafficking with voluntary prostitution, thus creating debate and confusion. This confusion signifies a need to document, analyze, and synthesize the body of information pertaining to human trafficking such that service professionals, like social workers, as well as society, can have a common understanding of what human trafficking is and thus be more likely to effectively address the issue. Giving more breadth to the understanding of sex trafficking are two distinct conceptualizations (framed under the term "modern-day slavery") which distinctly influence the definition of key constructs in studies on human trafficking and the interpretations of the results from these studies (see Bales, 2007; Patterson, 2012).

Significance of the Study

The concept of interpersonal social power has not been clearly defined within the context of this population (Kim, 2007). The aspects of interpersonal social power are an important element of various factors entrapping women into, and remaining in, a trafficking situation. However, we know little about the how interpersonal social power actually operates in entrapping, maintaining the entrapment, and preventing escape. Moreover, service professionals often do not conceptualize interpersonal social power in the same ways, hence causing confusion. This confusion translates into an enormous amount of public funds spent to identify and "rehabilitate" very few victims.

I hypothesize that it is interpersonal social power that is the key construct in recruiting, maintaining, and preventing the escape of victims of trafficking, and that coercion is inherent in

this power. Thus, this study examined the kind and influence of interpersonal social power on victims' experiences during the recruitment, maintenance, and rescue/escape phases of trafficking; thus, improving our understanding of that which ensnares women into sex and labor trafficking. To achieve appropriate responses to the needs of human trafficking survivors, the concept of power, in which coercion is an element of power, within the context of trafficking vulnerability and exploitation, must be thoroughly explored. For this research, I included both sex and labor forms of trafficking among female survivors, I excluded males from this particular study. Patterson (2012) asserts that human trafficking is gendered as women, who can be exploited for both sex and manual labor, are far more lucrative to traffickers. Even so, it is important to note that males are also trafficked, and much more study is needed to identify the unique experiences male victims might have that could lead to more targeted prevention, intervention, and after-care programs for them.

Coercion in Human Trafficking

Some scholars have suggested that power may be a better construct by which to study and understand coercion in trafficking as it is a more discernable variable (Kim, 2011). Because of the difficulty in understanding coercion in trafficking cases, which ultimately assists or hinders victims in accessing needed social services, this study will explore how the victims' perception of the traffickers' power (i.e., the kind of power and the strength of the power used), influenced by entrapment factors (i.e. socio-economic status, abuse history, social support, and community support), during the recruitment, maintenance, and rescue/escape phases of the trafficking experience changes over time.

Specifically, this study examined the kind of power used in human trafficking relationships in so far as power is used to entrap women into slavery, to maintain control over them, and then to prevent their escape. The extent of power is influenced by entrapment factors (i.e., socio-economic status, abuse history, social support, and community support) allowing traffickers to maximize specific kinds of power over an experience. Choi-Fitzpatrick (2012) proposes that the view of power and domination in human trafficking scholarship “lacks a coherent treatment of the role of power” (p. 18). Choi-Fitzpatrick discusses variables used in past studies to examine coercion, which have mostly centered on the notion of a specific kind of power—overt control. Choi-Fitzpatrick (2012), asserts that other kinds of power have been examined recently including structural power, culture, context, and societal norms. These kinds of power must also be examined in the context of coercing people into, and then maintaining them in, human trafficking situations.

The TVPA (2000) and the UN protocol (2000) include coercion as a tool of recruitment and victim maintenance by prospective exploiters. Even so, the legal definition of coercion vaguely defines it as “threats of serious harm”, including physical and non-physical harm, within the context of the individual victim’s circumstances (Kim, 2007, p. 966); however, non-physical harm is not clearly understood by all professionals encountering trafficking victims.

French and Raven (1959) asserted that coercion is best understood as *one aspect* of five kinds of power, not a single construct per se. Viewing coercion as a form of power affords one the ability to see that the coercer constantly changes the norms of the relationship, and employs the use of surveillance to ensure acquiescence (Raven, 1992). The result is that the target constantly questions his or her status within the relationship (Raven, 1992). The capability,

suggests Molm (1997), of demanding coerced action is accomplished through the control over reward and coercive forms of power. Moreover, Blau (1964) suggested that when people are perceived to be different from mainstream groups, “others”, the majority group essentially accepts that non-majority groups can be badly mistreated—exploited. This mistreatment can be done by controlling the distribution of positive forms of power, governing the norms of the relationship and surveilling the less powerful into submission (Blau, 1964).

Evidence of the use of power, such as surveillance and manipulation, is suggested by Kim (2007) in one of the most comprehensive legal examinations of coercive practices used by traffickers to date. Kim cites several cases since 2000 involving men, women, children, and foreign nationals describing the coercion used to maintain each victim’s willingness to act against his or her will. Kim (2011) states that coercion, studied across multiple disciplines, is simply the ability of the coercer to “diminish the free will of another, the coercee, in the absence of overtly physical force” (p. 411); thus, “what counts as coercion depends largely on how it is ontologically defined” (p. 412). What makes coercion so difficult to determine, and ultimately contributes to the array of understandings about coercion is that it is not an easily measurable construct with clear, well understood, tangible variables to indicate the use of, or experience of, coercion. Hence, the distinction of coercion in trafficking, according to Kim (2011), is to determine if the employer purposefully took advantage of the vulnerabilities, and if the imbalance of *power* experienced within the dyad was with the intent of subordinating the worker into substandard employment.

Power

Through the examination of coercion there is an obvious measurable construct in examining the ability of someone to engender compliance to perform acts or behaviors by victims thereby overcoming victims' free-will: the use of power. Studies suggesting support for French and Raven's theories on power are plentiful. Pierro et al.'s (2008) findings suggest individuals who were more motivated by intrinsic reward, desire for control, and higher levels of self-esteem were more strongly influenced by subtle demands by employers. Individuals who were more motivated by extrinsic rewards were more likely to be compliant to coercive methods of power and control by their supervisors.

Campbell and Mzaidume (2001) suggested that for people whose lives have been dominated by poverty, violence and low levels of efficacy, the use of punishment or the threat of punishment is instrumental in maintaining of a sense of community. In other words, the recipe to control a group is predicated on the creation of power imbalance. In addition to the prejudice sex trafficking victims experience through poverty, the lack of educational, social, and political resources, their gender and race, they also experience a complete loss of self-identity, autonomy, and self-efficacy further entrapping them with no hope of escape because they are destined to fulfill the terms of their current obligation (Logan, Walker, & Hunt, 2009).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was three-fold. Firstly, it explored the kind of power by traffickers, as perceived by victims and how this power is effective in entrapping, maintaining, and preventing escape/rescue of women involved in human trafficking. Secondly, this study examined differences in perceptions of power among sex trafficking and labor trafficking

survivor participants. Lastly, this research will begin discussions on how these understandings can guide practitioners' understandings of the experiences of survivors of trafficking in order to develop better prevention, intervention, and after-care practices.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter provides an overview of the literature surrounding human trafficking, its phases of experience, and the factors relating to the entrapment into human trafficking. Discussions on the factors of entrapment, theoretical, and methodological approaches to the study of human trafficking victimization, and current understandings of the kinds of power used in human trafficking experiences are discussed. The chapter is concluded with a discussion of limitations of current knowledge on trafficking; specifically, knowledge about the construct of power and coercion in human trafficking, understandings about sex and labor trafficking, the phases of the trafficking experience, and entrapment factors associated with becoming trafficked. Table 2-3 represents current literature (2012-2015) that has influenced my study in terms of design, theory, and supporting the need for my study. Literature was collected through google scholar and the University of Texas at Arlington Library searchable database for empirical studies using terms such as, but not limited to: “sex or labor trafficking + risk factors”, “sex or labor trafficking + social power”, “human trafficking + coercion + power”, “sex trafficking + labor trafficking”.

Human Trafficking

Among leading scholars, there are two distinct conceptualizations of human trafficking influencing the definition of key constructs in studies and the interpretations of the results from these studies: Bales (2007) and Patterson (2012). Provided are brief discussions of the ontological understandings of the modern phenomenon of human trafficking.

Bales (2007), a leading expert in the field of human trafficking, defines trafficking as “*a relationship in which one person is controlled by violence through violence, the threat of violence, or psychological coercion, has lost free will and free movement, is exploited economically, and paid nothing beyond subsistence*” (p. 1). Bales argues that human trafficking is distinctly different from traditional slavery in that trafficking, no longer legally sanctioned, severely undermines the value of victims rendering them cheap, plentiful, highly profitable, and disposable (Bales, 2007; Patterson, 2012). Moreover, “traditional” slavery was steeped in ethno-racial justification, whereas human trafficking is not predicated in such racist overtones, rather it is dependent on political and economic vulnerabilities (Bales, 2006; Patterson, 2012).

Countering Bales’ definition of human trafficking is that of Patterson (2012), who asserts that human trafficking is “*the violent, corporeal possession of socially isolated and parasitically degraded persons*” (p. 4). Patterson maintains that not all forced, bonded, indebted, or coerced labor is true trafficking. The inclusion of all trafficking in persons and forced labor, according to Patterson (2012), is problematic as it “[embraces] too many of the world’s migrants—internal and external—and too promiscuously conflates slavery with forms of exploitation not considered human trafficking in most non-western societies or in any historically informed and conceptually rigorous use of the term” (p.1).

Further, Patterson offers that human trafficking is, and has always been, gendered. Females have been the preferred exploited gender through-out history, continuing through to today, because women can produce far more labor in that they can be used for both sex and manual labor therefore, nearly all human trafficking victims today are women (Patterson, 2012). Human trafficking, according to Patterson (2012), is the same as traditional slavery has always

been. Bales (2006; 2007) ultimately agrees that slavery is the complete control over a human being for the economic gain of the possessor over that person—suggesting that the construct of interpersonal social power is a far better measure of coercion in human trafficking than the construct of coercion alone.

Among some of the most controversial ideas about human trafficking are discrepancies surrounding what is known about its prevalence and scope in the United States as well as abroad (Fedina, 2014; Weitzer, 2011). Many scholarly as well as non-academic media examining the issue tend to cite the following estimates surrounding what is known, or thought to be understood, about the prevalence of human trafficking as a phenomenon. An estimated 12.3 million to 27 million people are believed to exist in some form of contemporary trafficking around the world with most victims being women and children (Bales, 2007; Chacon, 2006; Clawson, Dutch, Solomon, & Grace, 2009; ILO, 2015). An estimated 800,000 people enter into this population of exploited persons yearly world-wide, with 17,500 exploited into the United States (Choo, Jang & Choi, 2010; Clawson et al., 2009; Gozdziaik & Collett, 2005). These estimates seem to contradict each other, but more importantly, from an empirical standpoint, questions and serious doubts are raised as to the methodological rigor by which these estimates are gleaned and, hence, the general credibility of the issue (Fedina, 2014; Weitzer, 2011). Very little is understood about how these estimates were achieved, much less the methodology by which they were achieved (Fedina, 2014; Weitzer, 2011).

One study attempts to de-mystify the estimates of human trafficking in the U.S. by using actual counts of trafficking, local reports, and economic forecasting techniques. Farrell et al. (2010) estimated prevalence rates attempting to replicate the methodology they could interpret

from previous studies by U.S. social service agencies, and other interest groups who had published data on the extent trafficking. They were able to determine ranges for estimations about the prevalence of human trafficking in the United States. Farrell et al., (2010) suggest three possible prevalence estimates.

By examining actual data collected from identified cases of trafficking, Farrell et al. (2010) state that at minimum 5,166 (1,349 labor trafficking and 3,817 sex trafficking) victims of trafficking exist in the United States. The upper range by Farrell and colleagues' estimates include many more assumptions about unknown factors that contribute to victimization. Even so, Farrell and colleagues published mid-range and high-range prevalence estimates at 22,209 (3,191 labor trafficking and 19,018 sex trafficking) and 60,467 (46,849 labor trafficking and 13,618 sex trafficking), respectively. The mid-range estimates were gleaned from local studies (e.g., agency reports), and, interestingly, are based on only 525 actual counts of trafficking. The high-range is produced using economic modeling techniques to estimate prevalence rates.

Of note, given the recent media and scholarly attention focused on this population, is that in two of the three estimates, child sex trafficking is considered *less* prevalent than adult sex trafficking and that labor trafficking is estimated to be far less than sex trafficking despite ILO (2015) reports that labor trafficking by far exceeds sex trafficking. The Farrell and colleagues' (2010) report appears to be the most methodologically transparent and rigorous accounting of human trafficking prevalence we have to date providing a range of understanding about the existence of trafficking in the U.S. from 5,166 to 60,467 individuals annually (Fedina, 2014).

Though not much is known about human trafficking, compared to other forms of interpersonal violence, within human trafficking studies far more is known about sex trafficking

than labor trafficking (Barrick et al., 2014). Hence, because of the lack of scholarship examining the phenomenon of labor trafficking, much of what I present in this literature review pertains to sex trafficking; however, when possible, I will address what is known about labor trafficking.

Socio-demographic characteristics and Human Trafficking

When considering risk factors for labor and sexual trafficking, research indicates poverty, lack of economic and educational opportunities, and the individual's gender play important roles in contributing to an individual's vulnerability to human trafficking (Bales, 2007; Chauvin et al., 2009; Cwikel et al., 2004; Efrat, 2015; Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007; Kim, 2007; Patterson, 2012; Schauer & Wheaton, 2006; Zimmerman et al., 2008). Studies have also attempted to examine typologies of trafficked individuals with limited success due to the paucity of data and admonitory results (Farrell, McDevitt, & Fahy, 2010; Kutnick, Belser, & Danailova-Trainor, 2007). Results from the few studies using empirical data on trafficking victims suggests that the characteristics of human trafficking victims include, but are not limited to, youth, primarily from Mexico (Farrell et al., 2010), exposure to prior abuse, political and economic instability, and/or pre-existing physical and mental health conditions (Efrat, 2015; Gushulak & MacPherson, 2000; Zimmerman, Hossain, & Watts, 2011). Though these characteristics are not unique to human trafficking per se, some scholars advocate it is the severity of these experiences within the context of the trafficking experience that makes these and other characteristics pertinent to the identification and understanding of human trafficking victims (Logan et al., 2009).

Efrat (2015) explored differences between sex, labor, and organ trafficking detailing the distinctions (sex and labor are presented in Table 2-1) which imply that while labor trafficking

enjoys more political and legal legitimacy in the public sphere, sex trafficking also carries political weight in the form of bribes and intimidation. Legally, sex trafficking does not have protection; whereas, most forms of labor trafficking do have protection under the law. However, labor trafficking victims perceive social stigma similar to sex workers in the form of being unwelcomed by society and, in the case of undocumented workers, a high risk of deportation. These perceptions carry high levels of perceptions of power traffickers possess in terms of rendering victims' ability to have employment, safety, and security as only through the trafficker. In fact, the legal status of some labor trafficking victims is directly tied to their sponsoring employer/trafficker, much the same way that in sex trafficking, the victims' immigration status or protection from an abusive past could be tied to their "spouse".

In Table 2-1, I modify Efrat's (2015) table exploring different between three types of human trafficking to present various macro level differences between labor and sex trafficking as discussed in the literature. More salient to this study is the understanding that though there are distinct differences between sex and labor trafficking, to the victim, there is little difference at all in terms of how victims may perceive traffickers' power (the micro interactions). Victims are ultimately used by the trafficker to make a lot of money; the specific strategy used by the trafficker to achieve such goal ultimately results in the same outcome: mental, physical, sexual, and financial harm.

Table 2-1
Differences between sex and labor trafficking.

	Academic Differences	Legal Differences	Political Differences	Social Differences	Similarities
Sex Trafficking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Much controversy in defining what constitutes sex trafficking—all forms of sex work or specific forms? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generally, not protected by government policies. • Perpetrators are criminals. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Politically traffickers are less visible in society, but still have influence through bribes and intimidation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sex trade is socially stigmatized. • Public does not view the need for sex workers as legitimate. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vulnerable due to poverty, lack of education, economic opportunity, and political voice. • Adversely affects mental and physical health of victims and undermines community wellbeing.
Labor Trafficking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Labor trafficking scholars place labor trafficking on a continuum of forced labor ranging from abusive labor (i.e., poor working conditions) to labor exploitation (i.e., debt bondage and slavery). • On this continuum sex trafficking is a form of forced labor. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perpetrators include a mix of criminal and law-abiding actors and situations. • May be protected by government policies. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Politically traffickers can lobby for and design policy protections. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The public may view the need for increased laborers as legitimate depending on the political and social climate for foreign workers. • Some foreign workers, even documented, perceive high level of stigma against them. As such they do not trust law enforcement or social services to protect them. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Victims may be unaware they are being abused or how to get help. • Either form can include the other form as a “secondary” abuse. • Experience nearly identical phases of trafficking experience

In a recent mixed-methodological study by Simich, Goyen, and Mallozzi (2014), the validation of a human trafficking identification interview tool was disseminated. Study participants (n=180; 53% human trafficking victims) indicated that the human trafficking victims (n=38, sex trafficking; n=58 labor trafficking) had higher levels of education and tended to be older than their non-trafficked counterparts. Trafficking victims in the Simich et al. study tended to migrate for work rather than escaping conflict, abuse, or persecution; however, sex trafficking victims were more likely than labor trafficking victims to have migrated to join family. Trafficking victims were more likely than non-trafficked individuals to have had someone else involved in their migration (i.e., family, employers, coyotes, or agencies), and as a result were also more likely to pay more for their migration than non-trafficked individuals (\$9,170 and \$3,432 on average, respectively), and females were charged more than males for migration (\$8,615 and \$2,638 on average, respectively). Among human trafficking victims in the Simich et al. (2014) study, 38% of the respondents indicated that employers or agencies assisted their migration, and 32% of the respondents indicated that family members assisted their migration. Interestingly, when asked about work, sex trafficking respondents differed from labor trafficking participants in that *they did not consider* what they were doing as work, and they were *less* likely to “have been made to feel scared or unsafe at work”, which is contrary to traditional discourse about sex trafficking in the literature (Simich et al., 2014, p.69).

Sex Trafficking. The aforementioned understanding of human trafficking and its victims has recently been enriched by a study conducted jointly between the Urban Institute, U.S. Department of Justice, and Northeastern University examining the underground commercial sex economy (UCSE) (Dank, Khan, Downey, Kotonias, Mayer, Owens, Pacifici, & Yu, 2014). The

research team conducted site visits and assessments across eight U.S. cities, interviewing traffickers/pimps (n=73), child pornographers (n=33), sex workers (n=36), and federal and local law enforcement agencies (n=119) (Dank et al., 2014). An important limitation from my point of view is that Dank et al. (2014) combined sex trafficking and prostitution populations when deriving their UCSE figure since prostitution for the most part is illegal throughout the U.S. and sex trafficking is illegal everywhere in the U.S. Another important limitation is that Dank et al. (2014) appear to have combined international and U.S. nationals in the sample without distinction.

Major findings of Dank et al.'s (2014) study suggest that the typical trafficker/pimp has at least a high school diploma (42%), and about a third (32.9%) of the population studied had some or had completed a college education (Dank et al., 2014). A majority of the sex workers interviewed were female (77.8%), 19.4% were transgender (male to female), and nearly 3% were male. Very few of the sex workers provided educational background information. However, of those that did, nearly 15% had received some college education, 33% had received a GED, 18% had received a high school diploma, and 33% had some middle school or high school education. Sex workers who participated in this study indicated that their involvement in the sex trade was due to lack of economic opportunities, displacement, social and familial support to enter the sex trade, desire for emotional or social acceptance, or combinations of these factors (Dank et al., 2014). An earlier study of homeless youth involved in street prostitution found that 34.2% (n=52) of the involved youth reported having completed high school (Yates, Mackenzie, Pennbridge, & Swofford, 1991), which appears to be a higher rate of high school completion than the Dank et al. study. These findings suggest that, contrary to popular assumptions, sex

workers and traffickers are well educated and are experiencing similar pathways to entry into the sex industry. Many scholars suggest that poverty and lack of education are, in part, serious risk factors for international sex trafficking victims. Dank et al. challenge this notion may be due to more American victims sampled in their study rather than international victims; though no such limitation is mentioned. However, Dank et al. indicate that in spite of having access to education, the lack of economic opportunities (i.e., jobs), and the lack of social and community support (i.e., family support, neighbors and friends looking out for each other) play critical roles in the risk of becoming trafficked.

The sex worker demographics in the Dank et al. (2014) study parallel those to recent studies conducted with exited sex workers finding that sex workers entered the trade because of a lack of economic opportunities, the encouragement of family or friends, or to support their children (Preble, Praetorius, & Cimino, 2015; Preble, 2015). Sex workers in the Dank et al. (2014) study were mostly African American (33.3%) followed by European American (16.7%); however, a third of the participants declined to identify a racial background. The participants in the Preble et al. (2015) study were European American (77%). Other major implications from the Dank et al. (2014) study are discussed throughout the literature review.

Labor Trafficking. By contrast, the International Labor Organization (ILO) estimates about 21 million people worldwide are victims of forced labor; most of whom are women and girls (11.4 million) and most are exploited by private individuals or enterprises (19 million) in the sectors of domestic work, agriculture, construction, manufacturing, and entertainment (ILO, 2015). The ILO presents sexual exploitation as a form of forced labor stating that of the 19 million people exploited by individuals or corporations, about 4.5 million are victims of sex

trafficking—which is a startling juxtaposition to sex trafficking discourse which advocates that there is more sexual trafficking than labor trafficking. The average length of labor trafficking victimization is 18 months (ILO, 2015). According to the ILO (2015), being a member of socially excluded groups or minority groups is a significant risk factor in labor trafficking as is migrating from rural to urban or from one region to another within one’s country is a risk factor.

In the Simich (2014) study, labor trafficking victims were more likely than sex trafficking victims to have been made to “feel scared or unsafe at work” (p.69). Labor trafficking victims were more likely than sex trafficking victims in this sample to have experienced not getting the payment they thought they would get. As with the Zhang (2014) study, victims with some English proficiency but not fluent were more likely to experience not getting paid as they thought they would than those with no English proficiency or fluency in English (Simich, 2014). Equally interesting is that sex and labor trafficking victims were equally likely to have experienced someone controlling their money, but labor victims were more likely than sex trafficking victims to have had their earnings withheld (Simich, 2014). In a study by Zhang et al. (2014), exploring the extent of labor trafficking incidents among migrant workers in San Diego, the researchers found that labor trafficking victims experienced many of the same kinds of threats from their traffickers (employers) as sex trafficking victims: threats of physical harm (15%), restriction/deprivation (22%), deception/lies (28%), and abusive labor practices (45%).

National and State Level Data

Reliable statistics concerning numbers of individuals impacted by trafficking are difficult to ascertain. Since the implementation of TVPA policies and programming, statistics are more easily acquired; however, some argue that they are still ambiguous (Clawson et al., 2009; Smith,

Vardaman & Snow, 2009; Texas Attorney General, 2011) and lack empirical basis (Fedina, 2014; Weitzer, 2011).

The most recent data report from the Human Trafficking Reporting System (HTRS), showed that of the 2,515 suspected human trafficking cases reported into the system, 48.4% (n=1,218) were the result of adult prostitution or commercial sex act while 13.9% (n=350) were the result of labor trafficking (Department of Justice (DOJ), Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), April 2011). Of the total 527 confirmed cases of human trafficking, 460 involved sex trafficking (DOJ, BJS, April 2011). Noting that much of the response effort in human trafficking has focused on sex trafficking, Zhang and colleagues (2014) conducted a study to estimate the scope of labor trafficking in San Diego. Of the 826 respondents (migrant workers) Zhang et al. estimated approximately 30% were victims of labor trafficking while 55% of the sample were victims of abusive labor practices which suggests that labor trafficking is sorely under-identified in the United States. Following-up on the prevention aspect of the TVPA, the DOJ Bureau of Justice Administration (BJA) reported, as of June 30, 2008, 85,685 law enforcement and other persons were trained in the identification of trafficking victims (DOJ, BJA, 2012). In addition, the Polaris Project, which has operated the National Human Trafficking Resource Center (NHTRC) since 2008, reported a 50% increase in calls to the hotline in two years (Polaris Project, NHTRC, 2012).

Human trafficking in Texas. Because all data for this research was collected within the state of Texas, it is pertinent to understand the state of human trafficking within Texas. Texas is an excellent case study because of the sheer numbers of human trafficking victims that have been identified in the state, as well as the level of human trafficking awareness within the state leading

to the volume of reports to the national hotline. Texas has been recognized as a “hotspot” for human trafficking activity. At one time, Texas hosted five human trafficking social service providers, three of whom received federal funding specifically for human trafficking aftercare services, as well as a number of service agencies receiving private funding or other grant funds to serve potential victims of trafficking (Texas Attorney General Office (OAG), 2012). The large numbers of victims being reported in the state of Texas does not necessarily mean that there are more victims in this state; rather, that there are a number of dedicated service providers and law enforcement networks around the state that allows for increased awareness, attention, and response (OAG, 2012).

As has been established with national and international human trafficking data (Wietzer, 2012; Fedina, 2014), those data specifically related to the state of Texas is challenging to establish, as it is almost anywhere. However, through an examination of state and non-governmental reports, a preliminary understanding of the prevalence of human trafficking in Texas can be gleaned. According to the most recent Texas Report on Human Trafficking (OAG, 2012), between January, 2007 and December 14, 2012, there were 678 incidents of human trafficking reported into the Human Trafficking Reporting System (HTRS) in the state of Texas. Additionally, the Innocence Lost Project (a Federal Bureau of Investigation initiative focused on investigating commercial sexual exploitation of children) reported 768 victims of trafficking in the state of Texas; it is unclear how many of these victims are sex or labor trafficking victims (OAG, 2012). It is unclear whether there are, if any, cross-reports of victims in both datasets, which would have a significant impact on our understanding of the exact scope of human trafficking within the state of Texas. In 2011, the National Human Trafficking Resource Center

(NHTRC) reported that Texas created the second highest number of tips in the nation following California (Polaris Project, 2011). The total number of calls to the NHTRC in 2011 was 19,427; 43.4% (n=8,430) of these calls originated in Texas, and of these calls 21% (n=1762) were crisis/tip calls (Polaris Project, 2012).

Dank et al. (2014) found that the Dallas metro area (including surrounding cities of Fort Worth and Arlington—the only Texas cities that are included in the study) contributed \$100 million in profits to the global profits for sex trafficking. Interestingly, Dallas was in the lower end of the eight cities examined in their report. Dank et al. (2014) discovered a general downward trend in the annual profits of the illicit sex market, Dallas was no exception (\$99.4 million in 2003 and \$98.8 million in 2007) representing the 5th (out of 7 studied) largest market for illicit sex markets in the nation.

The Phases of the Trafficking Experience

In developing context and responses to human trafficking, scholars have developed an understanding of the stages or phases of human trafficking (Bales, 2005; Bruckert & Parent, 2002; Cwikel & Hoban, 2005; Datta, 2011; O’Connell-Davidson, 2013; Gajic-Veljanoksi & Stewart, 2007; Hammond & McGlone, 2014; Laczko & Gramegna, 2003; Logan et al., 2009; Sanchez & Stark, 2011; Tyldum & Brunovski, 2005). To understand the stages of the trafficking experience, scholars have examined how many people exist in each stage, their characteristics, and the probability of moving through this process (Tyldum & Brunovski, 2005). Understanding the nuances within the context of human trafficking will likely shed light on predicting the “probability of getting out of the coerced situation, as well as her future actions and problems in the course of rehabilitation” (Tyldum & Brunovski, 2005, p. 21).

Scholars have conceptualized experiences with trafficking in the context of stages; however, these understandings are as varied as the factors of entrapment ranging from two stages (see Sanchez & Stark, 2011) to as many as eight stages (see Bales, 2005) but most focus on the recruitment and exploitation phases of the experience with little consideration for the inclusion of a “rescue/escape” phase. Strikingly, literature focused on sex or labor trafficking often have nearly identical stages. Aronowitz & Dahal (2014) who explored the state of trafficking (sex and labor) in Nepal describe four stages of the experience that involve the victim: 1) recruitment, 2) transportation, 3) exploitation, and 4) victim disposal. O’Connor and Healy (2006) describe four succinct phases of sexual trafficking: 1) *ensnaring*—winning the victims’ trust and love, making the victim believe the trafficker is the only one who understands the victim; 2) *creating dependence*—possessing, renaming, and isolating her; 3) *taking control*—restricting her movement, threatening her, being unreliable and unpredictable; and 4) *total dominance*—creating a victim willing to work for him, to be compliant, and to be isolated and restricted. Interesting to note: many of these stages resemble the five bases of social power established by French and Raven (1959), such as referent, legitimate, reward and coercive power which will be discussed in the next section of this proposal.

Cwikel and Hoban (2005) propose five stages of sex trafficking: “predeparture, transit, working in the destination country, possible deportation to the country of origin, and re-integration” (p. 308). Cwikel and Hoban describe these stages as a continuum where victims may fall on a spectrum of experiences. Tyldum and Brunovski (2005) provide a more pragmatic vision of the stages of trafficking: the “three main stages of [trafficking as] persons at risk of being trafficked, current victims of trafficking, and former victims of trafficking” (p.21). Tota

and Mecka (2015) and Salt and Stein (1997) suggest that victims of trafficking (sex and labor) experience three stages of the experience: 1) recruitment or locating persons to be exploited; 2) transportation, or the relocation of the victim to be exploited; and 3) displacement and use of the victim, or isolating the victim and then exploiting him or her. Similarly, Hammond and McGlone (2014) characterize three stages of trafficking called entry (“how victims are lured in”), progression (“how victims are kept in”), and exit (“how victims are able to exit...and heal with help from service providers”) (p.1). For the purposes of this study, I condensed these stages into three distinct conceptual phases of experience: recruitment (including the “at risk” population), maintenance (including the transport and exploitation stages), and rescue/escape.

Recruitment. During the recruitment phase, the victim is lured by promises of employment, hope, love, a better life, or something else for which they are searching. Some are more forcefully recruited via kidnapping. Many scholars (Bales, 2005; Bruckert & Parent, 2002; Cwikel & Hoban, 2005; Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007; Owens et al., 2014) include entrapment factors (i.e., socio-economic status, history of abuse, community support and social support) as factors enabling the recruitment of victims. It is equally important to recognize the cultural suppressions of victims which have contributed to their ability to be recruited. Cultural practices (including faith traditions), patriarchal establishments, and the perception of institutionalized government corruption further adds to the vulnerability potential victims face as well as the position of superiority the traffickers possess (Aronowitz & Dahal, 2014; Cwikel & Hoban, 2005; Gajic-Veljanoksi & Stewart, 2007; Owens et al., 2014).

Moreover, Dank et al. (2014) found that traffickers use various forms of fraud and coercion to recruit, manage, and retain control over their “employees”. These tactics include

“feigning romantic interest, emphasizing mutual dependency..., discouraging women from ‘having sex for free’, and promises of material comforts” (Dank et al., 2014, p. 285). Likewise, Aronowitz and Dahal (2014) suggest that victims experience document forgery and fraudulent promises of employment during the recruitment phase whether sex trafficking or labor trafficking victim. Owens et al. (2014) found that fraudulently representing the employment, living conditions, immigration benefits, and compensation was present in 93% of the cases they examined. Owens and colleagues (2014) identified coercive practices used during the recruitment period among 54% of study participants in which victims were pressured to sign contracts they were unable to review prior to signing, were given very little time to consult with loved ones about the opportunity before committing, and were often (48% of the participants) required to pay “recruitment fees” for jobs in which they were later trafficked (12% paid \$15,000 or more).

Maintenance. During this phase of the trafficking experience, victims now fully realize the extent of the danger in which they are living and are actively being exploited (Datta, 2011). They have been subjected to extreme physical, sexual, and emotional brutality in the interest of being controlled (Aronowitz & Dahal, 2014; Cwikel & Hoban, 2005; Davidson, 2013; Laczko & Gramegna, 2003; O’Connor & Healy, 2006; Owens et al., 2014). Physical violence is typically listed among the most egregious methods of maintaining and coercing control over victims; however, it is not a “universal feature” of the relationships between victims and their traffickers (Davidson, 2013). The cultural practices actively reinforce victims’ situational understanding and belief that there is no escape from the hell in which they are living. Family members at home are threatened, constant threats of police brutality, criminal deportation, even condemnation by the

divine, are hurled at the women in efforts squelch the victims' thoughts of escape or rescue (Gajic-Veljanoksi & Stewart, 2007; O'Connor & Healy, 2006). Owens et al. (2014) found that, among the labor trafficking victims studied, threats or use of violence, deprivation, intimidation and control, threats of law enforcement action were among some of the most frequent abuses traffickers used to control their victims.

In addition, traffickers use other forms of invisible physical restraint, such as sleep deprivation, so as to reduce the victim's ability to rationally contemplate their situation and plot their escape (Baldwin et al., 2014; Gajic-Velanoski & Stewart, 2007). Similarly, Owens et al. (2014) found that traffickers would humiliate and shame their victims which translated into perceptions that it was the victims' fault they couldn't finish the job or support their families, which undermined their ability to proactively seek escape. Dank et al. (2014) found that traffickers/pimps relied on a variety of actors to maintain control over their UCSE operations including people already under their control. Dank et al. (2014) reported that traffickers relied on current sex workers, friends, and family to recruit new workers, and provide many of the daily operational tasks needed to conduct business such as providing security and oversight of the other employees.

Rescue/Escape. In this phase of the trafficking experience, the victim of human trafficking is taken out of the trafficking experience either by outside intervention (i.e., law enforcement raid), or by self-rescue. According to Ditmore (2009) half of the identified sex trafficking victims interviewed for her qualitative study self-rescued (n=6). Likewise, approximately 60% of the participants in Owens et al. (2014) study with labor trafficking victims self-rescued by running away. In the case of police raids, the experience can be extremely

traumatic, confusing, and chaotic as law enforcement personnel storm the location, forcibly remove victims and traffickers, and begin interrogations to sort the victims from the traffickers (Ahmed & Seshu, 2012; Soderland, 2005; Magar, 2012).

I was able to locate only two studies that examined the exiting/rescue experiences of labor trafficked individuals Belanger (2014) and Owens et al (2014). Belanger (2014) found that victims with “unsuccessful” migration experiences (in other words were unable to earn money abroad due to abusive labor or trafficking) would either leave the abusive labor situation to which their immigration status is tied becoming “undocumented” or were forced to leave their abusive employment due to employers renege on contracts which was classified by government agencies as having “deserted the work place” which caused them to forfeit their rights to a security deposit and other property mortgaged to fund their migration to the work place (Belanger, 2014). Either of these outcomes leads to a sense of “failure and shame [which was] often more difficult for them to handle than their experience of abuse or coercion” (Belanger, 2014, pg. 100) not to mention an incredible financial burden. When labor trafficking victims attempt to return home they face tremendous stigma for having returned essentially empty handed. Further, for those victims tied to a labor contract, their “failure” to complete the terms of the contract can mean serious immigration issues when returning home. In Belanger’s (2014) study (n=99) about 70% of the participants experienced confiscation of their passports by employers, 30% were prevented from leaving the workplace, 22% had earnings deducted for sick days, between 23% and 30% of the participants experienced threats of being fired, sent home before terms of the contract, or a reduced salary. These experiences demonstrate that many of the

participants had experiences closely resembling trafficking ranging from various threats to employment security to outright entrapment through document confiscation.

What distinguishes these severely exploited workers from those who have experienced less severe forms of exploitation is their belief that they—or their families—will be hurt if they leave their trafficker. These practices of intimidation work. All trafficked persons—regardless of their particular circumstances of exploitation—live in fear and silence (Brennan, 2008).

In the Owens et al. (2014) study (n=122 case files) victims revealed that in order to escape they first had to overcome the extreme isolation and constant surveillance they experienced by their traffickers. Victims experienced isolation both geographically (i.e., agricultural settings rendering running away largely unhelpful given the scale of these plantations) and emotionally (i.e., domestic servitude in which victims could not maintain human connections to compare their treatment or reach out for help). Surveillance was experienced by 93% of the participants as a form of maintaining control over the victim, and 61% of the victims actually lived in employer sponsored housing which increased employers' ability to monitor and prevent escape. Additionally, Owens et al. (2014) found that victims found escape difficult out of fear for family or personal safety. In fact, in 15% of the participants' responses force was involved during the escape process and 26% of the participants experienced coercive tactics used by traffickers during or after their escape. Owens et al. (2014) found that the majority (59%) of participants escaped on their own, 38% sought help from community members, 21% escaped through the help of a service provider, and 19% were identified by authorities. Interestingly, 14% of the

participants were arrested by police for being an unauthorized immigrant), rather than given assistance. Owens et al., (2014) point out that typically a victim's escape from a labor situation was a combination of various supports including running away. For the purposes of this study, I will not distinguish between those who were rescued and those who escaped as I am interested in general perceptions of power at each phase among all participants and then the differences in power perceptions between sex and labor trafficked participants.

Understanding the Constructs of Human Trafficking

The defining constructs of human trafficking, as stated in both the TVPA and the UN Anti-trafficking Protocol, are force, fraud and coercion. While understanding force and fraud may be fairly self-evident to many professionals of human trafficking service provision, the idea of coercion is much less obvious (Kim, 2007). I assert the reason for the ambiguity in understanding coercion is that it is a difficult construct to measure, and is better understood as an element of interpersonal social power. I provide an examination of the state of the literature concerning power and human trafficking. I examined the literature pertaining to power and human trafficking demonstrating the salience of using power as a measurement of coercion in sex trafficking and labor trafficking studies.

Coercion is an Aspect of Power

In 2000, the TVPA included language about coercion to help clarify previously overlooked elements to the crime in addition to the force and fraud commonly accepted as elements to the trafficking in persons prior to the policy implementation. Coercion still remains vague in the legal system as it is defined as “threats of serious harm of a physical form...is

commonly understood to include...offensive touching, such as hitting, pushing, sexual assault, or attacks with weapons. Non-physical serious harm, however, is not commonly understood and examples do not readily come to mind” (Kim, 2007, p. 966).

French and Raven (1957) asserted that coercion is best understood as *one aspect of five kinds of power*: reward, *coercive*, legitimate, referent, and expert power. To understand coercive power, one must understand its use *within the relationship to and context* of the other four forms of social power.

Coercive power refers to the ability of the powerful person “...to manipulate the attainment of valances. Coercive power of the [social agent/person] stems from the expectation on the part of the [person] that he will be punished by the [social agent] if he fails to conform to the influence attempt” (French & Raven, 1959, p. 157). The motivation to use such coercive power, Raven (1992) suggested, stems from several possible internalizations by the social agent: the need for power, for self-esteem, or to demonstrate her independence. In exerting coercive power over his or her target, the relationship inherently changes forcing the social agent (coercer) to evaluate if the use of such power has undermined his or her authority/legitimacy or expertise in the dyadic relationship. As a result of this analysis, the social agent may attempt to repair the relationship that has been damaged because of the use of power. Hence, “[the] agent’s success or failure [to assert power] will also lead to a reassessment of the available bases of power and the development of a quite *different strategy*” (Raven, 1992, p. 230).

In other words, the coercer constantly changes the norms of the relationship such that they attempt to always retain power, and the target is in the position of constantly questioning his or her power status within the ever changing relationship. Wheaton, Schauer, and Galli (2010),

studying the economics of all forms of trafficking, describe this strategy change in terms of limiting one's agency which can happen in a variety of ways (many of which are described in the factors of entrapment discussion below) including kidnapping, being offered fraudulent employment, or being misled about the "scale of degradation awaiting her" (p. 122). Moreover, throughout this process, formidable use of surveillance by the social agent to ensure the target acquiesces to his demands is essential to understand the target's perception of the power status of the social agent (Raven, 1992). In other words, the social agency conspicuously monitors the target at all times such that the target knows that she cannot act as a free agent, but, rather, must behave as the social agency requires or risk an undesired outcome.

Kim (2011), a prominent human trafficking (sex and labor) legal scholar states that coercion, studied across multiple disciplines, is simply the ability of the coercer to "diminish the free will of another, the coerced, in the absence of overtly physical force" (p. 411); thus, "what counts as coercion depends largely on how it is ontologically defined" (p. 412). Offering such an ontological definition of coercion from the legal perspective, Kim (2011) proposes a theory of "situational coercion" in which the focus is on the interpersonal relationship between the coercer and the coerced. Situational coercion retains the coerced person's ability to have freely consented to the exploitive relationship, while simultaneously prominently placing aggressor's interpersonal social power in the relationship. Coercion, as elucidated by Kim (2011), bears striking similarities to the description of the social bases of power described by French and Raven (1959). As such, coercion is inherent in the kind of interpersonal social power used by traffickers throughout the trafficking experience. Overpowering the target through the exploitation of the victims' particular vulnerability speaks to the need to understand how

traffickers' use of interpersonal social power influences entrapment factors (discussed on page 40) ultimately creating a power dynamic that locks victims into trafficking situations from which there is seemingly no escape.

Coercive Power in Interpersonal Violence Relationships (IPV)

Examining literature surrounding coercive power in the field of IPV helps to further understand how coercive power is used by abusers and its effect on victims of such abuse. Evan Stark's (2007) Theory of Coercive Control suggests that the prominent theories of terror, trauma, and battery do not go far enough in helping us understand why women in horrifically abusive relationships do not "just leave" (Stark, 2007). These benchmark explanations for IPV dangerously encouraged victim blaming among professionals and society at large through the implication that the physical representations of domestic violence (injuries) were the most egregious aspects of abuse; hence its portrayal "so dramatic that other experiences seemed muted by comparison" (Stark, 2007, p. 14). Coercive control involves a

course of conduct that subordinates women to an alien will by violating their physical integrity (domestic violence), denying them respect and autonomy (intimidation), depriving them of social connectedness (isolation), and appropriating or denying them access to the resources required for personhood and citizenship (control) (Stark, 2007, p. 15).

The theory of Coercive Control explains that life histories of women involved in abusive relationships combined with sexual inequality aids in their entrapment in these relationships. While human trafficking vulnerability and experience involve many similar elements described in the Theory of Coercive Control, that one's gender exacerbates one's vulnerability to abuse is

not a key factor in becoming trafficked. What is key in trafficking vulnerability is the trafficker's ability to exploit one's vulnerability to make traffickers money.

Power and Human Trafficking

Coercion, in previous discussions, has been established as a construct of interpersonal social power (here after referred to as "power"), thus enabling a more parsimonious examination of the ability of someone to engender compliance to perform acts or behaviors. Power is often defined as the ability to influence or change the beliefs, attitudes or behaviors of targets through the control over resources, rewards, and punishments (Anderson, Galinsky, 2006; Georgesen & Harris, 2000; Molm, 1997; Pierro, Cicero, & Raven, 2008; Raven, 2008), and the realization of one's capability to influence others (Anderson, John, & Keltner, 2011). Power is distinct from dominance, which is the contextual and relational behaviors that make salient power and its influence over others (Dunbar & Abra, 2010).

Molm (1997) defines power as "the use of punishment to obtain rewards from another...*coercive exchanges* one actor provides rewards to another in exchange for the other's withholding of expected punishment" (p. 115-116, emphasis added). The capability, suggests Molm, of demanding coerced action is accomplished through the control over reward and coercive forms of power. Similarly, Dutton and Goodman (2005) suggest that coercive power is the aggressor's ability to subject their targets to things they do "not desire, or to remove or decrease desired things" through the use of legitimate (actualized capability) and referent (perceived capability) power (p. 745).

In each of these definitions of power is a more salient concept of power—the kinds of social power emanating from interpersonal relationships. Molm (1997), Dutton and Goodman

(2005), Anderson, John, and Keltner (2011), Pierro, Cicero, and Raven (2008), and Anderson and Galinsky (2006) all either directly or indirectly suggest that power is best understood through the bases of social power framework developed by French and Raven (1959) that delineated five bases of social power in interpersonal relationships. The next section explores the five bases of social power within the context of understanding human trafficking.

The Five Bases of Social Power

The five bases of social power as described by French and Raven (1959) offer a powerful perspective through which to study sex trafficking victimization. The bases of social power allow for the detailed understanding of coercion, while examining other related forms of power that can be used by traffickers compelling compliance. In this section, I explore the five constructs of power in more detail.

French (1956) began a formalized theoretical approach to the understanding of power by integrating and understanding three patterns of power in interpersonal relationships: the power dynamics of groups, the communication between group members, and the relationships among the group membership. French's theory on social power was later used to describe French and Raven's (1959) five kinds of social power which include referent, reward, coercive, legitimate, and expert powers. Raven (1992, 2008) created the power/interaction model of interpersonal influence to examine the kinds of power that can be used in interpersonal relationships to define the kinds of relationships people have. Others have also developed psychometric measurements of the bases of social power to assess the interpersonal social power experienced by people in various situations including work and family (Drea, Bruner, & Hensel, 1988; Garrison & Pate, 1977; Hinkin & Schriesheim, 1989).

Closer examination of the kinds of power described by French and Raven (1959) provides a clear depiction of what each kind of power entails. *Reward power* refers to the ability of the power holder to reward his or her subordinates finding its strength in the subordinate's perception of the ability of the power holder to actually deliver such reward, the ability of the power holder to remediate negative vestiges of experiences with positive ones, and the probability of the power holder to actually do so (French & Raven, 1959). Similar to reward power, *coercive power* is the ability of the power holders to manipulate reward outcomes. Hence the strength of coercive power resides in the *degree to which* the subordinate perceives that the power holder will actualize the threats of punishment for failure to comply with the power holder's demands. The power holders' purpose of utilizing coercion versus reward power is ultimately reduced to the need to create or continue dependency (French & Raven, 1959).

Legitimate power represents the degree to which the subordinate perceives the authority of the power holder to influence the relationship dyad and possess power (French & Raven, 1959). These assumptions of legitimate power can be deeply culturally driven, socially structured, or authorized by a third party (French & Raven, 1959). According to French and Raven (1959) power can also be driven by the scope by which people identify with one another—*referent power*. The degree to which group membership and attraction to a group drives interpersonal relationships describes the strength of referent power. Referent power outcomes can mimic coercive, reward, and expert power; however, the extent to which the subordinate “avoids discomfort or gains satisfaction by conformity based on identification regardless of the [power holder's] responses” is referent power (French & Raven, 1959, p. 162).

Finally, *expert power* defines the phenomenon of giving or receiving power based on the subordinate's perception of the knowledge that the power holder has in a given area to the point that the power holder has the ability to influence others' thought patterns and processes. For example, clients of social workers often are influenced by the expert power social work practitioners have, and the clients rely on this knowledge to help them overcome whatever issue they may be facing. The scope of expert power is limited to the specific topics in which the power holder possesses content knowledge and the degree to which others perceive their expertise.

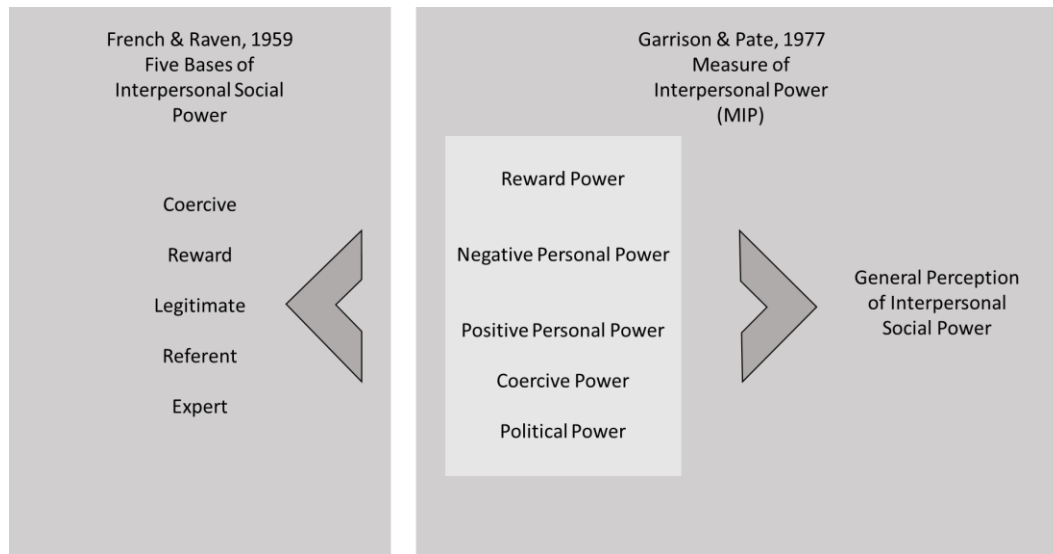
Garrison and Pate (1977) created a psychometric measurement using French and Raven's (1959) five bases of social power to explore interpersonal social power in dyadic relationships. Garrison and Pate hypothesized that interpersonal power would differ depending on social situations in which people interrelate (i.e., work, friendships). Through their research, Garrison and Pate were able to develop a scale of perceived interpersonal power using French and Raven's (1959) five bases of social power as the measures constructs. The result was the Measure of Interpersonal Power (MIP), which provides an overall measure of perceived interpersonal power as well as three subscales of interpersonal social power: positive personal, negative personal, and reward powers. Positive personal power includes statements of interpersonal power having to do with positive assessments of the power of another individual—"This person is very qualified" ($\alpha=.89$). Negative personal power accounted for the negative perception of the personal power of another—"This person is incompetent, therefore I do not perceive him/her to be powerful" ($\alpha=.90$). Reward power indicates one's perception of another's interpersonal power to reward others—"She can't reward others" ($\alpha=.80$). The MIP is in part

three of this study's survey. Garrison and Pate created two additional subscales that were ultimately dropped due to their lack of reliability. These subscales were "coercive" ($\alpha=.42$)—"When people don't agree with this person, s/he penalizes them for their behavior" and "political" ($\alpha=.55$)—"This person is able to delegate responsibility to others".

The distinction of coercion in the subscales, in context to this study, is that coercion in reward power has to do with perception of the ability of the power user to actualize a treat or the victims' belief that they will make good on a promise, for example. Coercion in negative personal power has to do with the traffickers' use of social status to compel a victim to do something. For example, the trafficker's social connections in town would endanger or shame the victims' family or make life unbearable for them if the victim does not consent to being trafficked. Positive personal power can be thought of as the opposite of negative personal power in which the victims' perception of the traffickers' use of social status to benefit the victim. For example, it is widely known that the trafficker has many employment connections in the United States; therefore, being offered legitimate employment in the U.S. is entirely plausible. Below is a figure (Figure 2-2) illustrating how French and Raven's interpersonal social power is measured in Garrison and Pate's MIP.

Figure 2-2

Illustration of Garrison and Pate's MIP.



The exploration into the five bases of social power illuminates how interpersonal power is gained. The use of power is unique in human trafficking cases as it monopolizes and manipulates the victim's sense of hope: "hope for a better life and a willingness to take what would seem to others to be extreme risks" (Logan et al., 2009, p. 11). This examination also sheds light on the study of coercion through the more salient construct: power.

Underlying Factors of Entrapment for Human Trafficking and the Kinds of Power Use in These Factors

An understanding of the context in which the kinds of power as measured by Garrison and Pate (1977) (positive personal, negative personal, reward, coercive, and political based powers) can be used to entice and control potential victims of trafficking is important. To do this, it is important to understand the structural and social elements that contribute to the trafficking of individuals. Because of the limited empirical studies on trafficking (most of which

focus on sex trafficking), I have examined studies from similar populations like prostitution, sexual exploitation, and battering when helpful.

Previous research suggests key risk factors for exploitation among youth and international human trafficking victims (Bales, 2007; Barrick, Lattimore, Pitts, Zhang, 2014; Brennan, 2008; Kramer & Berg, 2003; Logan et al., 2009; McClanahan, McClelland, Abram & Teplin, 1999; Potterat, Rothenburg, Muth, Darrow & Phillips-Plummer, 1998). Among the international population of trafficking victims Bales (2007) suggests that three key factors foster sexual and labor forms of trafficking in the modern world: disparate economic situations leading victims to seek better opportunities; political unrest and instability leading to the displacement of people; and socio-cultural practices of the country (i.e., beliefs that children are incapable of transmitting HIV/AIDS and that females are less valuable than males). Logan et al. (2009) also suggest that there are three major vulnerability factors to trafficking (sex and labor): poverty, personal characteristics (e.g., lack of education, being female, and youth), and isolation (e.g., geographically, linguistically, culturally, and legally).

There are striking similarities between global driving forces to exploitation and those that contribute to trafficking in the United States: poverty/disparate socio-economic situations, home instability and displacement (at the community or familial level), and a low value on human worth/personal worth. Examining these overarching factors, one might deduce that the key risk factors for human trafficking could include categories of: socio-economic status instability (SES), abuse history, social and community support. It should be noted that throughout the following examination of these factors, age, gender, and race are moderating variables in each factor and will affect the outcome of these factors significantly. For instance, a 13 year old

female, from a culture in which aging bestows wisdom and dominance, and a community with very little structural components that provide community support would experience poverty, social and community support differently than a 25 year old female, whose cultural background is not significantly predicated upon respect for age, and for whom the home community was more supportive.

Socio-Economic Status (SES)

Socio-economic status is typically examined through an individual's level of education, income, and occupation; the lack of stable economic opportunities and income can be a vulnerability factor to exploitation. Economic disadvantage is often cited as a risk factor for international victims of trafficking (Bales, 2007; Ugarte, Zarate & Farley, 2000). Poverty in a larger context, and more specifically among immigrants, creates a complex matrix by which those vulnerable to poverty can become more susceptible to exploitive predators as it attacks one's basic means of survival (Logan et al., 2009). Salt and Stein (1997) suggested that migrants often have varying educational levels, borrow money from family or other loaning organizations, and are lured by attractive employment promises prior to engaging with the would-be trafficking outfit.

Owens et al. (2014) found that labor trafficking victims included in their study (n=122) possessed a wide variation in education level 10% had no formal education, 25% attended or completed elementary school, and 31% had a college or technical degree. Many of the well-educated labor trafficking victims in this study accepted low-skill work that purportedly paid better than what they would earn in their home communities (Owens et al., 2014). Moreover, among respondents in this study, seeking economic opportunity and the desire to support their

family members were the primary reasons victims sought employment overseas (Owens et al., 2014). Legitimate, reward, and referent powers can logically play a role in the domination and exploitation of individuals affected by poverty as traffickers can use the victims' lack of economic resources, societal components of poverty as well as their relative affluence to demonstrate they have legitimate authority, can make rewards happen, and encourage the victims' desire to belong to a traffickers' group.

Ugarte and colleagues (2000) state that in Mexico fleeing extreme poverty and abusive homes are major forces that drive women into prostitution. Trafficking victims may be intrinsically forced into prostitution and other forms of exploitive labor because of limited access to adequate educational and economic opportunities (Hay, 2004; Logan et al., 2009; Spangenberg, 2001). Findings from survivor interviews and case studies in the Owens et al. (2014) study "made clear that a lack of upward mobility, economic opportunity, and conflict drove many labor trafficking survivors to see employment overseas" (p. 29). These structural and cultural components of communities give validity to the use of legitimate and expert power that could be used by traffickers to influence the thoughts, beliefs, and actions of potential trafficking victims.

Economic instability increases one's risk for trafficking by weakening an individual's ability to mitigate positioning themselves in risky employment and migration situations. Belanger (2014) argues that there is an entire for-profit enterprise devoted to assisting labor migrants make their journey toward better economic opportunities and that these organizations are in some ways inadvertently supported by governmental policies that ties migrants legal status

to their employer. Moreover, these agencies do not ensure a safe, risk free migration, rather, their goal is profit making placing labor migrants' lives (and freedom) at stake (Belanger, 2014).

Poverty increases the likelihood that individuals may experience disproportionate levels of physical and mental health conditions (Bhattacharjea, 2008; Gushulak & MacPherson, 2000; Welch, 2012) which, in turn, reduces their ability to achieve legal migration pathways (Bhattacharjea, 2008; Gushulak & MacPherson, 2000). Moreover, social and economic instability immobilizes a community's structural resources to be able to reduce individual risk. Factors increasing vulnerability include: individual risk factors (e.g., youth, being female), the desire to flee discrimination, lack of economic opportunity or political unrest, and looking for ways to economically support themselves and their families outside of their home communities.

Belcher and Herr (2005) assert that in the development of a grounded theory approach identifying the pathways into prostitution that a *lack of stability* in families and communities, limited economic opportunities, substance use, and homelessness all contributed to the research participant's involvement in prostitution. These findings were also suggested in a conceptual piece by Hay (2000). Hay (2000) argued that there are societal, familial, and individual factors predisposing youth to sexual exploitation. These factors include the feminization of poverty, unemployment, economic and social marginalization (in other words, SES), mental illness and substance use, physical, sexual and emotional abuse, lack of or poor parenting, trauma, lack of education, and being a sexual minority. These factors resonate with the aforementioned contributions to the knowledge, but were not confirmed through study. Rosenblatt (2014) offers support to the idea that low SES is a risk factor to trafficking. Over one third (38.9%) of the 25 sexually trafficked youth surveyed indicated they had experienced poverty or homeless prior to

becoming trafficked. This finding suggests that low SES is a substantive risk factor to trafficking vulnerability (Rosenblatt, 2014).

In an examination of the impact of SES factors on gender and poverty in Southeast Asia (Nepal, specifically), Bhattacharjea (2008) suggests that the female gender is overwhelmingly moderated by globalization when assessing education, thereby making females' access to education and subsequent employment opportunities less positively effective. SES risk factors associated with trafficked individuals is their ability to access education and informational materials (Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007; Gushluak & MacPherson, 2000). The lack of education experienced by trafficked persons puts them at higher risk of choosing more perilous forms of migration leading to their eventual exploitation (Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007; Gushulak & MacPherson, 2000; Raigrodki, 2015).

In spite of the lack of educational resources available to victims of trafficking prior to their migration and during the trafficking experience, once rescued, a major component of the rehabilitation programming is focused on education (Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007). This access to information and education is an effort to ensure that victims of trafficking can develop resilience against any future possibilities of becoming re-trafficked; exemplifying the service providers attempt to mitigate the victim's potential to fall for expert, legitimate, and referent power tactics that traffickers might employ. Though evidence to suggest the frequency by which exploited persons are re-exploited after rescue is sparse, Zimmerman and colleagues (2011) argue for the strengthening of supportive services including education and financial support to mitigate this additional vulnerability. Owens and colleagues (2014) found that for labor trafficking survivors, legal status adjustment, shelter services, and financial assistance were

among the most immediate needs of these survivors, however for some the desire to continue their education was important as well. Owens et al. (2014) found that regardless of the survivor's level of education, many found themselves stuck in low-wage, low-skill positions; hence, making job skills training an important aspect of after care services needed.

Abuse history

Migrants with few legal options available to them for safe movement between countries are also affected by violence (i.e., interpersonal, community, institutional) during their migration experience and violence prior to migration (Belanger, 2014; Bhattacharjea, 2008; Gushulak & MacPherson, 2000; Oram, Stockl, Busza, Howard, & Zimmerman, 2012; Owens et al., 2014; Welch, 2012). Chauvin and colleagues (2009) found that since migration, 24% of study respondents indicated that they had experienced violence after arriving in Europe. After becoming trafficked, 95% (n=182) of the participants in Zimmerman and associate's (2008) study indicated physical and sexual violence, and in Chauvin and colleagues' study (2009), 76% (n=146) indicated that they experienced severe limitations of their personal freedoms to go or do what they wanted. Owens et al. (2014) found that about 18% of the participants in that study documented experiences of attempts of sexual abuse by the trafficker.

Interestingly, though there is well documented and clear evidence that physical, sexual, financial, and emotional abuses are suffered before and during the migration process leading to the trafficking experience as discussed above, I was unable to find a study examining prior abuse histories of labor trafficked individuals. The remaining abuse history discussion related predominantly to sexual trafficking.

Busza and colleagues' (2004) study with 100 Vietnamese sex workers found that in addition to experiencing violence at the hands of clients and traffickers, their participants had also experienced police brutality giving further credence to the relationship abuse victims suffer. Moreover, the existing migration policies create barriers to a safe passageway for those who desire to leave their homeland due to poverty or violence (Gushulak & MacPherson, 2000; Sharma, 2003, 2005).

In a mix-methods study involving 1,125 completed quantitative surveys exploring health access experiences among migrants in Europe, Chauvin et al. (2009) found that only 6% of the respondents in their study indicated health was the reason for their migration. Prior to migration, respondents indicated a high level of violence exposure (59% had experienced at least one type of violence; 40% had experienced multiple types) but are not afforded adequate protection (Chauvin et al., 2009). Zimmerman and colleagues (2008) found that 59% (n=113) of the women in their study indicated exposure to physical or sexual violence before becoming trafficked. Additionally, trafficking victims face other factors often associated with violent environments such as hunger, rape, homelessness, poverty, and neglect (Cwikel et al., 2004; Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007).

In a study examining vulnerability factors leading to the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) in the U.S., Rosenblatt (2014) found that over half of the sample (N=25; participants were able to select more than one factor) experienced prior physical and sexual abuse (n=27), mental and emotional abuse (n=12), verbal abuse, (n=9), and spiritual abuse (n=4) prior to becoming trafficked. Though the CSEC population is different from international victims of sex trafficking, understanding the vulnerabilities of this population may help us to understand

vulnerabilities among adult women as they were once children themselves. Additionally, Rosenblatt (2014) investigated the lures used for recruitment among her participant sample and found that about half of the participants indicated that money/jobs (n=20) and love/belonging (n=15) were the primary luring factors. Other factors identified in this study were: friendship (n=5), force/kidnapping (n=5), family (n=3), fame (n=2), drugs (n=6), basic needs (n=9), and security/protection (n=2).

Ugarte and colleagues (2000) in their historical examination of the sexual exploitation of women and children from Mexico to the United States submit that family violence and sexual and physical child abuse drives many women to run away from home, pushing them toward prostitution in the absence of any other viable economic, social, or political support structures. Kramer and Berg (2003) found in their study of 309 female inmates that white women involved in the sex trade were more likely to have been sexually and physically abused by one or more family members in childhood than those not involved in prostitution. Moreover, female minority's (all races and ethnicities) entry into prostitution was found to be 2.5 years younger than their majority counterparts.

McClanahan and colleagues (1999) found in their study of 1272 female inmates that those who experienced childhood sexual abuse (CSA) had significantly higher reports of prostitution and they began prostituting at a much earlier age than detainees who did not experience CSA. In fact, they discovered in their bivariate analysis that a combination of three factors (sexual abuse [abuse history], run-away [isolation/displacement], and drug abuse) significantly predicted entry into prostitution.

Yates et al. (1991) found some empirical support for Hay's (2004) conceptualization in their study on homeless youth involved in street prostitution compared to those not involved in street prostitution from a medical perspective. Yates et al. (1991) found that the involved youth (n=153) were nearly three and a half times more likely to report prior sexual abuse as the non-involved street prostitution youth and twice as likely to have experienced physical and, interestingly, satanic abuse than the non-involved youth. Though nearly all participants reported being heterosexual, the involved youth reported higher rates of homosexuality and bisexuality (7% and 12.4%, respectively) than the non-involved youth (2.9% and 2.5%, respectively), which, the authors speculate, may contribute to increased risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases due to more sexual partners (Yates et al., 1991).

Yates et al. (1991) found high rates of substance use among the involved youth versus non-involved youth as well as high rates of medical problems. The Yates et al. (1991) study also found that the involved youth reported higher rates of employment than the non-involved youth (12.4% versus 9.5% respectively) suggesting that these youths were better able to navigate community resources than the non-involved youth. However, the involved youth also reported high levels of depression (54.6%) and suicidality (47.4%) than the comparison group (50.1% and 26.7%) suggesting higher presence of symptoms of trauma among the involved youth.

Like many empirical reports in the areas of human trafficking and sex work, there are discrepancies in findings. Potterat and colleagues (1998) found there was no direct predictive indicator that CSA was related to prostitution; likewise, Weber, Boivin, Blais, Haley, and Roy (2004) did not find a significant association of prior CSA as a predictor of entry into prostitution. Moreover, Ahn and colleagues (2013) and Logan, Walter and Hunt (2009) suggest many of the

experiences exploited women face are similar to the experiences of women who are involved in intimate partner violence (IPV). However, Logan et al. (2009) point to distinct differences between the crime of human trafficking and other similar crimes: the victims are harder to find, victims experience prejudice against them, the victims experience greater needs and fewer supportive services, the victims experience greater fear and safety concerns, the victims have more limited access to justice, and the criminal cases involving victims of trafficking are inherently more complex.

Social and Community Support

As has been suggested, the lack of access to, or opportunities for, employment and education leads to poverty and the search for better possibilities elsewhere. Individuals feeling disenfranchised may feel they have no choice but to place themselves in vulnerable positions in order to satisfy their economic need. Moreover, persons having witnessed or been victimized by interpersonal, community, or political violence (lack of community support) early in life may either accept this violence, or attempt to escape from it. Self-displacement increases vulnerability to isolation due to unfamiliarity with the geographic, cultural, economic, and social support systems that may exist within communities, which, in turn, may increase an individual's predisposition to exploitation by would-be exploiters (Belcher & Herr, 2005; Busza et al., 2004; Chauvin et al., 2009; Cwikel et al., 2004; Family Violence Prevention Fund, 2005; Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007; Gushulak & MacPherson, 2000; Guinn, 2007; Hay, 2000; Yates et al., 1991; Zimmerman et al., 2008; Zimmerman et al., 2011).

The lack of social and community support is also attributed to the perpetuation of poverty, creating vulnerability among community residents. Further, with weakened supportive

structures (i.e., government, employment sectors) pushing people away from communities, key professionals with the highest potential to minimize risk (i.e., healthcare providers, educators, and social workers) are less engaged (Bhattacharjea, 2008; Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007; Zimmerman et al., 2011). In the absence of protective factors associated with social and human capital investments, individuals are likely to become susceptible to ploys of support, opportunities, and welcoming into groups feigning empowerment and allegiance to their well-being (Bhattacharjea, 2008; Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007; Guinn, 2007; Raigrodski, 2015).

Kapstein (2006) asserts that governments “look the other way” due to corruption instead of taking action against modern-day enslavement of people, this indifference perpetuates trafficking of persons and indicates a lack of civic engagement, and lead the victims toward an overall distrust in protective systems. The feminization of poverty and gender inequality gains some traction in this debate (Hay, 2004; Raigroski, 2015) as many of the victims of trafficking have been female (Logan et al., 2007). As Raigroski (2015) suggests the gendered narrative of human trafficking discourse negates the need to address the individual and structural obstacles trafficking victims face and imbeds the idea that trafficked women must be “saved” instead whether experiencing sex or labor exploitation. Poverty, violence, and existing immigration screening barriers that promote human smuggling can exacerbate differences in opportunities experienced within populations thus increasing the need and desire of people to see changes within their communities.

Political strife and community disenfranchisement may lead individuals to feel that their needs cannot be met through the community, or that there is a lack of community support (Bhattacharjea, 2008; Gushulak & MacPherson, 2000; Oram et al., 2012; Welch, 2012). In

addition, minorities may feel they are discriminated against by their community and search for a place where they may be more able to achieve what they need and want in life. In some cases, the political channels of the community may be actively encouraging the individual's isolation and discrimination (Fekete, 2005). Moreover, as will be discussed in the next section, socio-cultural practices of the community may encourage heterosexist, racist, classist, ageist, and patriarchal gender roles that may alienate certain segments of society (Andrijasevic & Anderson, 2009; Fekete, 2005; Raigrodski, 2015; Sharma, 2003, 2005). In the case of immigrant women, these practices may ultimately force them to feel a lack of community and social support leading to becoming displaced in search of less discrimination creating a situation in which they become ensnared in sexual or labor exploitation.

Literature examining the social and community support factors associated with labor trafficked individuals is scant. However, a study by Hovey and Magana (2002) disseminates results from a survey of migrant farm workers. A population, though not inherently trafficked, is understood to be at high risk for experiencing exploitive labor and even labor trafficking. Hovey and Mangana (2002) found that among the migrant farm workers surveyed (n=65; 40 female, 25 male) over 25% indicated that they had not had a say, or had a little say, in working as a migrant farm worker, suggesting a high level of risk for exploitation. When asked about social support and acculturative stress (how integrated they felt with the majority community) respondents indicated a moderate level of perceived social support and a moderate level of acculturative stress suggesting that among this sample, respondents were not well integrated into their communities and did not feel as though they had meaningful social support. Low social support and high acculturative stress was found to be highly significantly correlated with high levels of

anxiety among this population. As such, participants expressed experiences of exploitation, isolation, discrimination, separation and loss of family and other meaningful social ties, and higher levels of depression.

Another population experiencing an extreme lack of social and community support, have long been associated with having higher risk of commercial sexual exploitation (CSA) (Hay, 2004; Yates, et al., 1991). Seventy-five percent of youth involved in prostitution are homeless/run-aways (Yates, et al., 1991). Tyler, Whitbeck, Hoyt, and Cauce (2004) who examined the risk factors for sexual victimization among male and female homeless youths and run-aways, found that the age when youth first ran from home was associated with acquaintance sexual victimization and substance abuse. Among females there was an association between sexual victimization and knowing the assailant. Males were six times more likely to be victimized by strangers than were females.

McClanahan and colleagues (1999) found that participants who reported experiencing CSA run away from home on average nearly a year younger than their non-CSA counterparts. In turn, women who reported ever running away were significantly more likely to also report ever having prostituted than respondents who had never run-away and reported a younger age when they entered prostitution. Weber et al. (2004) found that early involvement with “the street economy” by being less than 16 years old at the first homeless experience may increase the likelihood of engaging in prostitution (p. 590). In addition, they found that having a same sex partner was the only independent predicting factor of entry into prostitution among the study population. There is little empirical research available on the association between same-sex relationships and prostitution (Weber et al., 2004).

Conclusion

Although the body of knowledge about human trafficking is growing, there is much yet to discover. The gaps in the literature pertaining to our understanding of the victims' experiences when being recruited and during the trafficking experience are plentiful, and much of the literature that exists lacks empirical and theoretical basis, suggesting a lack of scientific rigor. Moreover, very few, if any, studies have examined differences between sex and labor trafficking victimization related to perceptions of power. Many academics have conceptualized ideas about coercion and power, yet few have actually studied power as a holistic concept by which to understand the experiences of trafficking victims. I suggest that power, as conceptualized by French and Raven (1959), is a holistic view of the interpersonal relationships experienced by sex trafficking victims and, as such, will provide a more comprehensive examination and understanding about the phenomenon.

Moreover, the lack of theoretical direction in much of the literature about human trafficking is problematic, but even more problematic is the lack of human behavior theoretical application used to explain the phenomenon. Many of the theories that have been applied to understand human trafficking have come from the economic tradition to understand push-pull factors, economic trends, and more macro level effects of human trafficking. These theories are helpful in understanding which exo- and macro- level systems create or support situations in which human trafficking can exist, but they do not explain the interpersonal nature of the relationships between victims and their traffickers or individual behaviors of the victims themselves. For this reason, in Chapter Three I will apply human behavior centered theoretical

perspectives that help understand and explain power within interpersonal relationships, and how these dynamics may, in turn, influence each other.

As discussed, there is limited literature examining the traffickers' use of power and how victims' perceive such power. More limited, still, is our understandings of similarities and differences between sex and labor trafficking victims' experiences with entrapment factors and consequently, perceptions of power. In spite of an apparent emphasis on sex trafficking, emerging research suggests that sex trafficking and labor trafficking perhaps should be more equally addressed. The academic community as well as practitioners need to understand the differences between these two groups (sex and labor trafficking victims) and how to best approach prevention, intervention, and rehabilitation efforts with the differences of these groups in mind.

Chapter three will examine two theoretical models through which to study the power dynamics between traffickers and victims. Further discussion about various theoretical applications and the limitations of theories are presented. The chapter will conclude with the proposed theoretical model by which to study human trafficking victims' perceptions of traffickers' power across three points in time (i.e., recruitment, maintenance, and rescue/escape).

Table 2-3

Literature review table of empirical studies since 2012 that inform the current study, in alphabetical order.

Author(s) (Year)	Type of Trafficking Studied	Purpose	Theoretical Framework	Type of Study	Sample	Statistical Method	Major Findings & Relevance to Current Study
Barrick et al. (2014)	Labor trafficking	Understandi ng identificatio n barriers in labor trafficking	None stated	Qualitative	380 farm workers 16 non law enforcement 8 law enforcement	none	Law enforcement does not consider labor trafficking to be an issue in most places whereas non-law enforcement providers did see instances of labor trafficking among farm workers. About 25% of the farm worker respondents reported labor abuses equivalent to labor trafficking.
Belanger (2014)	Labor trafficking	Explore labor and migration experiences among Vietnamese migrants	None stated	Mixed method	646 surveys of returnees 99 interviews with returnees		Immigration policies can contribute to labor trafficking victims' sense of coercion, abuse and exploitation as their status is linked to their employer. Findings establish a continuum of exploitive labor practices from abusive labor to trafficking. Migrants who were able

							to earn money, despite experiencing abusive or exploitive labor practices, tended to view the experience neutrally, and did not consider the experience as abusive
Dank et al. (2014)	Sex Trafficking	The study aimed to measure the size and structure of underground commercial sex economies (UCSE) in 8 major U.S. cities to estimate the profit of the UCSE, and how these economies are structured.	None specified.	Mixed-Methods	<p>8 Major US cities.</p> <p>119 in-depth interviews with stakeholders (service providers, sex workers, traffickers and pimps).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve dataset • National Survey of Drug Use 	<p>Logistic regression</p> <p>Multiple regression</p> <p>Qualitative data analysis techniques was not specified.</p>	<p>The range of profits from the UCSE was from \$39.9 to \$290 million in 2007. Traffickers/pimps indicated similar entries into the sex industry that sex workers did. The link between human trafficking and arms trafficking is non-existent; however, a stronger link exists between gangs and human trafficking. Connections between drug and human trafficking vary by location.</p> <p>Pimps rely on multiple actors to maintain control including</p>

					<p>and Health</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drug Abuse Warning Network • Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System • Weapons seizure data from Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms data • National Vital Statistics data 		<p>friends and family as well as other legal businesses such as hotels, car dealerships, and retail stores.</p> <p>Traffickers use varying forms of coercion and fraud to recruit, manage and retain control over employees.</p> <p>Provides most recent empirical understanding of sex workers and trafficking victims, traffickers, and economic perspectives. Also, documents the types and use of power and coercion with the intersection of vulnerabilities.</p>
Gould (2014)	Sex trafficking	Purpose was to examine how workers got into sex work and what their	None stated	Mixed-methods	Identified 1209 sex workers in Cape Town, SA. Which were surveyed.	None stated.	Found no evidence to confirm popular anti-trafficking discourse. Confirmed other studies that suggest brothel owners do not want under aged, drug

		<p>experiences in sex work looked like. Specifically, the article sought to confirm, or debunk, popular notions about sex trafficking.</p>			<p>Two focus groups of indoor and street workers</p> <p>20 individual interviews (10 indoor sex workers and 10 street sex workers)</p>	<p>addicted, or foreign workers because they do not want to draw attention to themselves by the police. Moreover, street sex workers tended to be more independent (only 3% stated they worked with a pimp). However, they were more likely to be drug users.</p> <p>This study suggests that the US and UN policy approaches to human trafficking have created more problems than solutions and suggest a harm-reduction model to sex work be employed (rather than the abolitionist model currently being used).</p> <p>This study explored how sex workers entered prostitution, finding most entered on their own to support children or were</p>
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							introduced by family or friends (non-coercively). This study also found that sex workers experiences in sex industry were not riddled with threats and deception, rather agency and freedom. Some sex workers did experience violence at the hands of brothel owners and clients, but it appeared to be rare in this study.
Gurung (2014)	Sex Trafficking	To explore the prevailing factors of the condition of sex trafficking of women and girls in Nepal.	Intersectionality Theory Transnational Theory	Mixed-Methods	100 completed surveys 10 individuals selected for focus group and narrative analysis Interviews with the staff, founder, and director of a	None stated	The de facto factor contributing to the trafficking of Nepali women, poverty, is just one among many intersecting inequalities. Globalization, internal and external migration, transnational practices, family structure, patriarchal family structures, gendered roles, and urbanization all play vital roles in contributing to the sex trafficking of Nepali

					service agency for sex trafficked Nepal females		women. The culture of oppressing women, the discrimination women face as a consequence of the oppression, as well as social isolationism contribute to the general perception that women are commodities, and second class citizens in family and society; hence, exacerbating their risk to exploitation. Further, age, class, education, values, and physical location influenced the risk of being trafficked. This paper supports my use of intersectionality with this study, as well, establishes that the factors contributing to the trafficking of people is more complex than previously considered.
Marcus et al. (2014)	Sex Trafficking	Exploration of the roles of conflict and agency	None specified.	Qualitative	Three studies: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ethnography of 	Ethnography	Findings suggest that “recruitment” as portrayed via common anti-trafficking rhetoric

		among under aged sex workers and their pimps.			<p>street prostitution in Atlantic City</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A statically valid survey of underage sex workers in New York City • A qualitative study of pimps in New York City <p>N= 600:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 372 active sex workers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 263 under aged 	<p>is less common than purported. Moreover, many of the pimps in this study avoided working with minors as they were seen as inexperienced, unreliable, and more trouble than they were worth.</p> <p>More common than previous literature suggests is that the pimps and sex workers mutually recruit each other. Or that sex workers recruited their pimps.</p> <p>Sex workers in this study were found to have far more agency than other studies have suggested. They were able to move about freely, choose their partners or pimps and work situations. Among these findings were situations in which</p>
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					<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 204 female ○ 149 male 19 transgender 	<p>some sex workers were recruited by parental figures (step-parents, foster parents, pimps who posed as a better alternative to shelters and group homes) who required payment for their parental services to the youth. These situations were found to be rare, and truly coercive.</p> <p>Though this study focused its attention to the recruitment and initiation of minors into the sex trade, half of the participants interviewed were adults being asked about past experiences. This is one of the few studies that examines recruitment experiences among sex worker populations, and the only one that has examined the pimp's perspective.</p>
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							Lastly, this research suggests that sex workers perceive current anti-trafficking rhetoric and service agencies as not understanding their needs and only wanting to criminalize their partners.
Morselli et al. (2014)	Sex Trafficking	Examining the constructs of coercion, control and cooperation within a prostitution ring in Montreal, Canada.	Resource-Sharing Model	Mixed-Methods	N=142	Relationship networks were dichotomously coded for the existence of: degree centrality, betweenness centrality, and clustering effects. Content analysis was used to explore the police	This study found that there are inherent paradoxes within pimp/prostitute relationships and that, in general, pimping is misrepresented in current anti-trafficking literature. Pimps saw the sex workers as investments and that the relationship was based on mutual collaboration. Findings suggest that sex workers with pimps have more agency than depicted in mainstream literature. At first, the

						investigative materials of the prostitution ring	relationship can be dominant and controlling, but the longer the sex worker is in the relationship the more dependent the pimp becomes on her and the more she begins to assert herself in positions of power.
Owens et al. (2014)	Labor Trafficking	Four sites in the U.S.	None stated	Mixed-methods	N=122 client records coded N=28 survivor interviews N=34 service provider interviews N=24 law enforcement interviews	Univariate and bivariate statistics NVivo, no qualitative tradition specified.	Findings suggest that labor trafficking victims experience similar vulnerability factors as sex trafficking victim: searching for better economic opportunity and lack of social and community support. Labor trafficking victims experience many aspects of coercion including monitoring, isolation (culturally, linguistically, and geographically) as well as threats of harm. Survivors tended to self-rescue and often did not access

							supportive services for a long time after escape.
Rao & Presenti (2012)	Both Sex and Labor Trafficking	A cross-country examination of how and how much gender inequality and income matter in shaping patterns of human trafficking.	Feminist Theory	Quantitative	UNODC database of 127 countries	Ordinal logit regression.	<p>Findings suggest that gender inequality is not the main source of trafficking origination. Men and women from economically developed or developing nations were equally likely to become trafficked when they felt that their economic mobility is threatened. However, female to male income suggested Findings suggest that human trafficking studies must include elements of migration as migration and trafficking are not unique phenomena but rather on a continuum. Results indicate that poverty and gender are separate driving forces to trafficking.</p> <p>Suggests that trafficking and migration are more</p>

							intersected than previously assumed.
Simich, Goyen, & Mallozzi (2014)	Sex and Labor Trafficking	Provide an evidenced-based validated tool by which practitioners (social service and law enforcement) can more accurately identify victims of human trafficking (sex and labor)	None stated	Mixed-methods Qualitative interviews and quantitative data collection to inform tool validation, process evaluation, and knowledge translation	180 completed screening tools 53 case file reviews Face to face interviews with: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 12 service providers • 12 trafficking victims • 12 law enforcement experts 	Qualitative data was analyzed with inductive and interactive qualitative methods. Quantitative data was analyzed using factor analysis, inter-rater reliability tests, convergent , content, and criterion validity tests were performed	The results of this study created a 31 question interview tool for anti-trafficking professionals to use to better identify trafficking victims. This tool can be broken down into sex trafficking or labor trafficking questions. The professionals must have knowledge about human trafficking, and must make a determination of victimization based on the totality of responses to the questions. The tool results indicate that 87% of the questions predict overall trafficking, 71% of the questions significantly predicted labor trafficking, and 81% of the questions significantly predicted sex trafficking.

							The study provides significant contributions to the knowledge about trafficking as it is the first standardized tool to determine the existence of trafficking victimization. However, the tool leaves substantial subjective determinations to the professional(s) interviewing the individual. Moreover, this tool was developed with relatively small samples, thus, has generalizability issues.
Verhoeven et al. (2013)	Sex Trafficking	Exploring the similarities between domestic violence and sex trafficking in the relationships between traffickers and their	None stated.	Qualitative	Qualitative analysis of 12 police investigation files based in Amsterdam, Neth. and face to face interviews with the leaders of the police teams involved in	No qualitative tradition stated	The analysis of the police investigation files revealed that traffickers and the victims had intimate relationships that resembled the abusive characteristics found in domestic violence relationships: control, isolation, intimidation, violence, and exploitation. Moreover,

		victims. This study asserts that sex trafficking often has embedded intimate relationships between the trafficker and the victim that mimic domestic violence patterns.			these investigations These data represented 73 intimate relationships		the victims coped with their relationships much in the same way that domestic violence victims do: playing down the violence, believe the violence to be temporary, or as a characteristic of the relationship. These findings emphasize the interpersonal nature of trafficking relationships making them more complex in terms of the involvement of attachment and affection in the relationship.
Zhang et al., (2014)	Labor Trafficking	Estimate labor trafficking among migrant workers	None stated.	Quantitative	826 survey respondents	Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) Bivariate descriptives Logit regressions	Estimated in San Diego to be 38,458. Findings discussed risk factors to be lack of economic opportunity and lack of cultural identity/belonging. Participants experienced threats of harm, restriction, deception, and abusive

						Demographic residual population estimation technique	labor practices the severity of these experiences varied by occupation.
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Chapter 3

Theoretical Underpinnings

Introduction

Much of the research produced on the subject of human trafficking has historically lacked scholarly direction, which, ideally, is theoretically driven (Gozdziak & Bump, 2008). There has been a recent surge in scholarly publications in which more attention to the use of theory has been given. Theoretically driven studies in the past have typically employed economic theories, such as the rational choice model (Wheaton et al., 2010), or as listed in Table 2-1, resource-sharing (Moreselli et al., 2014), Marxism, and neo-Marxism (Androff, 2011), and radical feminist theory (Gozdziak & Bump, 2008; Weitzer, 2011). A few recent studies have attempted to apply, or, at least, have suggested the use of human rights perspective to the study of human trafficking (Adams, 2011; Cho, 2013; Ditmore, 2009; Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007).

Of the 12 empirical studies included in the literature review table (Table 2-2), only three studies declared the use of any theory: intersectionality, transnational, feminist, and resource sharing (typically used for studying illegal enterprises such as drug trafficking), the remaining nine studies (75%) *did not* state specific theoretical frameworks guiding the research.

Gozdziak and Bump (2008) and Weitzer (2011) suggest that feminist theories, particularly radical feminist theory and oppression paradigms, have often been used to study human trafficking, primarily sex trafficking. However, Weitzer, a staunch critic of human trafficking scholarship, argues that a flaw in oppression paradigm driven studies is that “oppression writers have fused prostitution with sex trafficking...” despite the lack of evidence

“that ‘most’ or even the majority of prostitutes have been trafficked” (Weitzer, 2011, p. 1342).

The lack of reliable evidence about the issue of human trafficking in general, and sex trafficking specifically, points to a larger problem of credibility (Fedina, 2014).

Though the construct of power is central in many branches of feminist theory, in my view, first and second wave feminist theories do not encourage researchers or practitioners to be mindful of how social and societal structures intersect and create imbalances to an individual’s experience hence impeding one’s ability to overcome obstacles to empowerment. How society views women’s positions of power, independence, and productivity juxtaposed to men in society will have broad ranging impacts on how women see themselves in the context of power, independence, and productivity (Dominelli, 2010; Lockhart & Danis, 2010).

Applying feminist theory to practice, feminist social work practice guides practitioners to address feelings of low self-efficacy originating from political and economic marginalization, as the means by which to achieve social, political, and economic progress for equitably distributed resources and power (Turner & Maschi, 2014). First and second wave feminist theories offer pragmatic ways to understand societal and structural power dynamics that can lead to the disenfranchisement of women and minority groups. Oppression paradigm researchers studying trafficking have been able to articulate how structural obstacles have, in fact, created a social climate that sexually objectifies women for male consumption. Alternatively, liberal feminists have articulated a different view of the sexual exploitation of women in which women consciously use their sexuality to liberate themselves from male hegemony and, as such, sex work is not inherently exploitive. However, liberal feminists acknowledge that some of these women are egregiously exploited in the sex trade by third party facilitators who profit from the

exploited women's labor. The opposing views of oppression and liberal paradigms have created a philosophical polarity in understanding sexual exploitation that, to me, impedes the understanding the nuances between women and their partners and employers, and how the personal, multiple, and intersected identities of women may significantly influence the interpersonal relationships between women and their partners. These interactions develop their own rules of engagement that, in part, are driven by societal norms, but also by the norms developed between the dyads (Lockhart & Danis, 2010).

International migration theories have also been applied to the study of human trafficking. International migration theories tend to mix economic, labor, material (i.e., land and natural resources), network, and institutional theories (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, & Taylor, 2013). These theories offer insight into why groups of people tend to migrate, or how governments can mitigate the effects of migration. They are inevitably exo and macro level (structural) theoretical guides. However, international migration theories offer little relevance in understanding micro level relationships between victims and traffickers and how power is used in these relationships.

The human rights perspective instructs researchers to consider rights-based needs of victims, but is not a theory *per se* with clearly measurable variables; moreover, this approach appears to be much more conceptually based at present (exceptions are Cho, 2013; Ditmore, 2009). Human rights perspective champions argue that current anti-trafficking responses, particularly in the U.S., focus far too much on criminal justice related outcomes rather than protecting the human rights and the dignity and worth of the victims (Adams, 2011). Moreover,

they argue, economic forces within environmental contexts force migration and, therefore, create vulnerability to exploitation (Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007).

Cho (2013) used the human rights approach to quantitatively understand human trafficking in the context of globalization and women's rights by using economically based variables examining women's economic rights, trade openness, female labor, and social globalization against the international database of self-reported human trafficking victimization. Ditmore (2009) found the lack of legal migration and employment options forced women to migrate, placing them in highly vulnerable positions by which to become trafficked. Furthermore, Ditmore (2009) suggests that the human rights of victims of trafficking are often undermined because of the criminal justice focus used in many anti-trafficking practices in the U.S. Cho (2013) offers an interesting use of human rights thought to understand trafficking, but like prior uses of economics-based theories, Cho's use of human rights perspective is far too macro to be able to understand the dyadic interpersonal power dynamics.

These theories offer insight to understanding how exo and macro level systems create or support human trafficking phenomena; for instance, the lack of economic opportunities, social capital, and policies support forced migration and vulnerability to trafficking. However, understanding the micro level interactions between victims and traffickers in relation to their environment is also critical to developing policies, response, after care services, and outreach programs best suited to respond to the unique needs of the trafficked individual. In order to effectively do so, a solid understanding is needed of the *interactions* of the structural components of society that contribute to the relationships between trafficker and victim which expresses trafficking vulnerability. I suggest that the use of intersectionality theory and social exchange

theory is helpful in understanding the components of trafficking victimization, and, particularly, in understanding the use of power in the interpersonal relationship between the victim and her trafficker.

Born out of Black and Critical Race Feminist theories, intersectionality theory allows researchers to examine the intersecting identities that individuals experience within the context of their environments. Further, but no less essential, is the need to understand the inter- and intra-personal relationship dynamics, specifically around the issue of the use of power between victims and their traffickers and how this use of power is influenced by the structural components of society at the various points of the trafficking relationship. As such, the use of social exchange theory will be limited to its constructs related to power in interpersonal relationships.

In summary, I assert that the commonly applied theoretical frameworks provide limited understanding of the dynamics of the interpersonal and intrapersonal relationships at play between traffickers and victims. This chapter explores social exchange and intersectionality theories that provide the conceptual framework to guide this study's examination of the victims' perception and strength of their traffickers' power and the use of power throughout the three stages of the trafficking experience. In so doing, this research also contributes to the field of human trafficking study by providing a human behavior lens heretofore neglected in human trafficking.

Social Exchange Theory

Social exchange theory (SET) asserts that human relationships are interdependent, interpersonal exchanges that are governed by the giving and receiving of negotiated valued

resources. These exchanges are examined through a cost/benefit analysis of these interactions and the gauging of what individuals can reasonably expect to gain. Moreover, these exchanges are determined by the value placed upon, or the dependence upon, another to provide these resources which, in turn, dictate the negotiation of the distribution of power, and equity within these relationships. Though there are three important variables in SET, for the purposes of this study, only one, power, will be examined.

Tucked within these exchange relationships a caveat exists: when the interaction involves people from a perceived different, or lower, social group, the majority group tends to “look the other way” when social violations occur to the minority group, accepting the behavior as a *de facto* norm. Blau states:

Groups whose geographical isolation, ethnic differences, or distinctive beliefs set them apart from the rest of the community can more easily be exploited by dominant powers, because lack of identification of the majority with these groups has the result that their exploitation *is not discouraged by general social disapproval* (Blau, 1964, p. 231-232, emphasis added).

As such, the possessor of a desired resource, who is identified as a dominant group member, has more power in the dyadic relationship. In cases in which both parties, from the same group have something the other values, power is essentially nullified. For example, two homeless friends are looking for help to get jobs and housing. One meets a person who ends up trafficking her into sex or labor work and tells her if she wants to work less she has to find another worker to take some of her clients. She asks her friend to join her and she would get housing and employment. Working together, exchanging things the other values, their power is essentially nullified (Blau,

1964; Baumeister & Vohs, 2004; Cook & Emerson, 1978; Lawler & Thye, 1999; Lawler, Thye, & Loon, 2008; Molm, 1994; Molm, 1997; Sprecher, 1998).

Power and SET

Power is theorized to have two sides: reward (positive, giving power) and coercive (negative, punishing power) (Blau, 1964; Baumeister & Vohs, 2004; Cook & Emerson, 1978; Lawler & Thye, 1999; Lawler, Thye, & Loon, 2008; Molm, 1994; Molm, 1997; Sprecher, 1998). Blau (1964) explains that the use of coercive and reward power is inherent in exchange relationships; however, the regular use of reward based power “makes recipients dependent on the supplier and subject to his [sic] power, since they engender expectations that make their discontinuation a punishment” (p. 116). In other words, according to Blau, even reward based power was meant to induce a manipulated action through an engaged relationship in favor of the power possessor so as to gain his or her self-interest. In this sense, one can interpret power (regardless of the reward or coercive intent) to mean “manipulation” or “coercion” for the manipulator’s benefit leading to coerced action on the manipulatee’s part. For example, a trafficker wants a new sex worker. The trafficker meets a woman who explains that she is looking for a job; the trafficker tells her about a great position in a restaurant where she can work. The trafficker rewarded the woman with a “job” so that the trafficker could get an additional sex worker to work for them, fulfilling the traffickers’ self-interest.

The next section will examine the application of SET to the phenomenon of human trafficking. In doing so, the author explores the entrapment factors (i.e., SES, Abuse History, Social Support, and Community Support) of human trafficking established in Chapter Two within the context of SET.

Social Exchange Theory and Human Trafficking

In applying social exchange theory to human trafficking, a complex web of interconnected interactions unfolds. I postulate that the use of coercion in a sex or labor trafficking scenarios involves the use of power, specifically, the kinds of power as theorized by French and Raven (1959) (i.e., coercion, referent, reward, legitimate, and expert powers) in ways available to the trafficker. See Figures 3-1 through 3-3 for a hypothesized illustration of how social exchange theory may be used to measure the identified factors of trafficking, suggesting a clearer understanding of power in the context of human trafficking situations during the three phases of trafficking (recruitment, maintenance, and rescue/escape). The literature pertaining to these factors is discussed below in relation to their relevance to SET. Examples of sex and labor trafficking within the framework of SET in the literature will be offered in parentheses where appropriate.

Recruitment Phase and SET. During the recruitment phase of the trafficking experience, the entrapment factors highly influence victims' vulnerability to trafficking instability that traffickers utilize for their own gain. These entrapment factors are exacerbated by the victims' fear of loss (i.e., social and community support) and fear, or risk, of retaliation by the traffickers for failure to comply with their demands. Recent literature and popular discourse has begun to suggest a link between forced female migration due to fleeing economic, political, cultural instability and war, domestic violence, and sexual violence increase in women's vulnerability to exploitation by human trafficking across the globe as these women search for safer, more stable environments to support themselves and their families (Anthias, 2014).

Socio-Economic Status. Economic instability creates power imbalances making it easier for traffickers to use any form of power (negative or positive) to get what they want; whereas, the poor simply want to survive. Economic insecurity incentivizes risk taking among the poor in a cost/benefit analysis to achieve some portion of their needs or desires. As such, poverty encourages people to take enormous risk (e.g., Hay, 2004; Spangenberg, 2001; Barrick et al., 2014; Zhang, 2014), reducing the power they possess to be able to demand needs and wants (e.g., Logan et al, 2009). Moreover, economic instability has undesirable social attributes that often limit the economic and educational opportunities the poor would otherwise utilize (e.g., Ugarte et al, 2000).

Abuse History. High levels of abuse history found among trafficked women (Chauvin et al., 2009; Zimmerman, 2008) has suggested a strong impetus for these women to seek an alternative to their current experience (Cook & Emerson, 2009; Yates et al., 1991). The abuse itself can limit one's general sense of power, but also causes one to evaluate the resources they possess against those they desire—causing an imbalance. Moreover, the lack of community support (i.e., community integration and identification) contributes to the vulnerability of trafficking victims. Once the distribution of socio-economic resources is unequal, in the trafficker's favor, the target's agency is limited and the “person is by definition a trafficked individual and is thus ‘commodified’” (Wheaton et al., 2010, p. 122).

Social and Community Support. Social and economic instability through power imbalance, emotions, and isolation, is viewed as a lack of authority in SET (Baldwin, 1978) or a lack of agency according to Wheaton and colleagues (2010), and leads a decrease in community

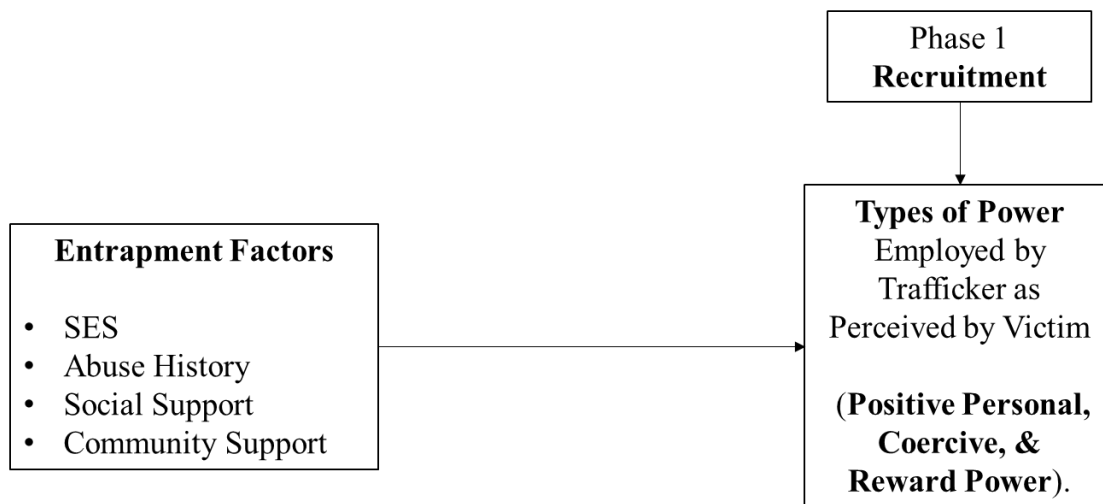
support (Chauvin et al., 2009). In the absence of feeling supported by their communities, people will look elsewhere to fill the void.

Individuals measure their power positions based on cultural, structural, social-cognitive, sensory, attributions, and social formations inherent in emotional reactions to situations (e.g., Bhattacharjea, 2008; Hovey & Magana, 2002; Lawler & Thye, 1999; Kapstien, 2006). In this way, the lack of economic and educational opportunities, strips one's power, thereby compelling one to find better or more stable opportunities (Barrick et al., 2014; Gajivic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007; Raigrodski, 2015). Thus, in the interest of maintaining one's self-interest, and, in the absence of good alternatives, risk-taking is more palatable to the victim seeking relocation; for example, in search of a better life, because the "perceived benefits of relocation outweigh the known costs" (Belanger, 2014; Wheaton et al., 2010, p. 122). In other words, in the cost-benefit analysis, the victim negotiates their feelings of loss, or fear, against the known outcome of remaining in a bad situation by reaching out for a solution deciding that the unknown is a more reasonable choice than remaining with the known. Hence, victims perceive traffickers to have positive personal, coercive, and reward kinds of power during the recruitment phase of the trafficking experience.

Entrapment factors influence the victims' perception of the kind and use of power by the traffickers in the recruitment of victims into human trafficking. These factors also set the stage for the next phase of the trafficking experience: maintenance, whereby, because of the power used by traffickers, victims are coerced into believing they have no way out, they are trapped, and they are destined to this life. To maintain this smoke-screen of reality, traffickers must change the kind of power they use to keep victims from leaving by shifting mirrors of power.

Figure 3-1

Social Exchange Theory and Victims' Perception of Traffickers' use of Power during the Recruitment Phase of Trafficking.



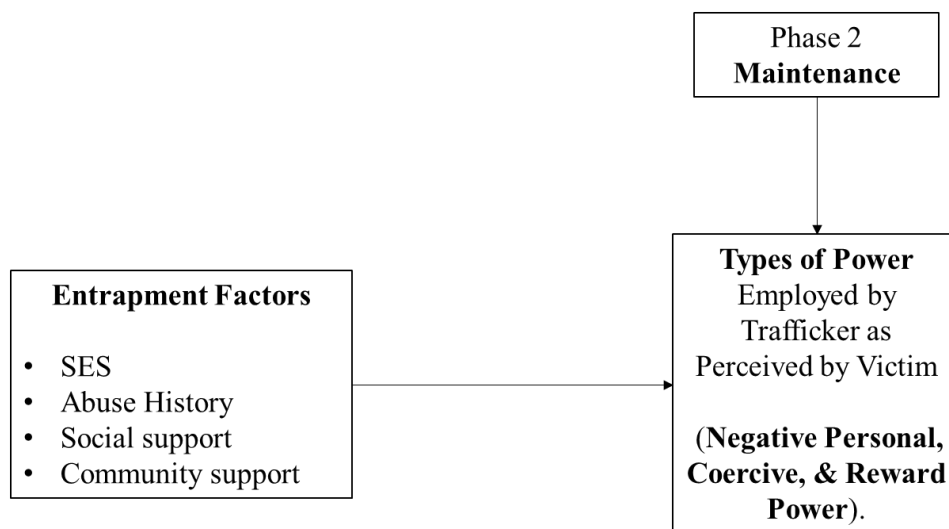
Maintenance Phase and SET. During the recruitment phase, traffickers convince victims to take a chance on their promises. Once victims are isolated from *social and community support systems*, and realize the consequence of the decision to trust the trafficker, another phase of the experience begins—maintenance. They use knowledge about the lives of the victims, current and historic, to entice them into their traps. In the maintenance phase, traffickers continue to use knowledge about *abuse history* and experiences with low *socio-economic status* to maintain power over their victims.

At the maintenance phase, entrapment factors still have considerable influence over the victims' perception of their options. Victims do not want to go back to the conditions they just escaped, they do not want to endanger their families, and they still believe that the traffickers' promises will come to fruition—because they have to.

The lack of *community support* experienced by victims of trafficking, as demonstrated through cultural and structural stereotypes about women and their positions within societies, also plays a role in determining victims' perceptions of power status (Cwikel et al., 2004; Hovey & Magana, 2002; Owens et al., 2014; Ugarte et al., 2001). For example, fear of losing financial stability may not mean very much to women in these positions as they already lost it or never had it, but fear of retaliation may be a more persuasive tactic some traffickers could use if it means their families could be hurt. By the same token, retaliation may not mean much if the victim does not have family to speak of, but fear of losing whatever protection they receive from the trafficker is enough to maintain their compliance. Thus, during the maintenance phase of the trafficking experience, victims perceive traffickers to have negative personal and reward powers—or coercive power.

Figure 3-2.

Social Exchange Theory and Victims Perception of Traffickers' use of Power during the Maintenance Phase of Trafficking



Rescue/Escape Phase and SET. As suggested in the literature review, the paucity of research on the perception of power during the rescue/escape phase of the trafficking experience, whether labor or sex trafficking, renders this portion of the theoretical application highly speculative. As explained earlier, I will not distinguish between those who have been rescued and those who escaped, as I am interested in general perceptions of power at specific phases among my study population, and differences between sex and labor trafficked participants.

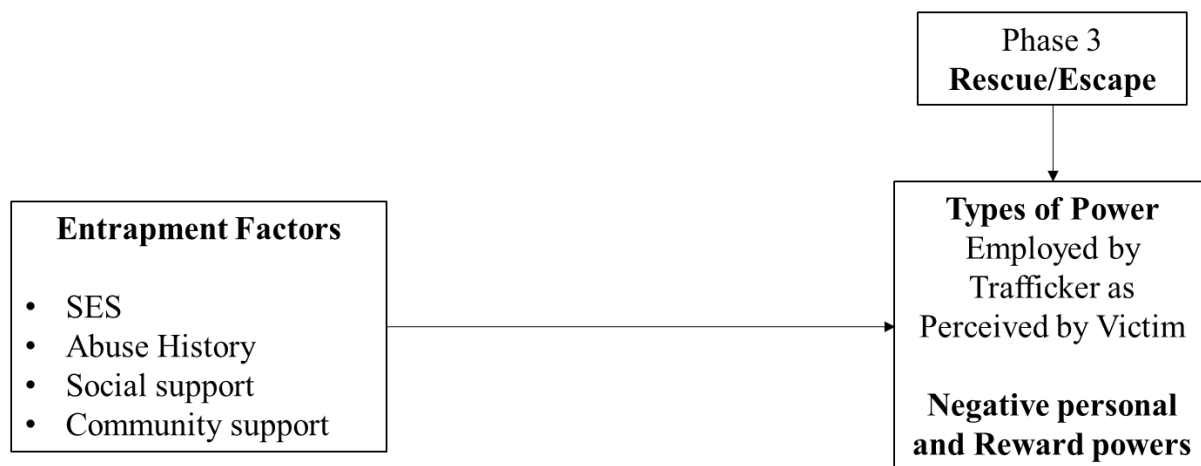
In this final phase of the trafficking experience, the kinds of power traffickers use to recruit and exploit victims does not initially change from the maintenance phase. Victims perception of losing what life they have left or of losing life in general usurps any power they may perceive their traffickers may use. Available research has offered what little insight exists concerning why victims stay in the trafficking experiences suggesting that the lack of knowledge about resources outside of the trafficking network and lack of viable alternatives earning incomes prevents victims from seeking escape or rescue (Ditmore, 2009; Nair, 2003; Owens et al., 2014). Moreover, the typical approach to a raid rescue is often violent, scary, and confusing as law enforcement officials break into the location and arrest everyone inside (Ahmed & Seshu, 2012; Magar, 2012), or incorrectly process victims as criminals failing to route victims to victim services providers (Owens et al., 2014). Moreover, in the case of labor trafficking victims, authorities often fail to recognize the exploitation workers may be experiencing processing them as “undocumented” workers (Zhang et al., 2014; Brennan, 2014). These findings perhaps contribute to victims feeling trapped and isolated and the feeling that the last time they escaped a seemingly bad situation, they were trafficked. Many victims who are forcibly taken out of trafficking situations and subsequently placed in protective housing (e.g., shelters) do not

understand why they are there (Nair, 2003), view the protective location as equally oppressive (Ahmed & Seshu, 2012; Soderland, 2005). In addition, raids and other “rescue” operations usurp victims’ self-determination by imposing rescuers’ beliefs that victims need to be rescued and that victims do not know what is best for themselves (Magar, 2012; Soderland, 2005).

SET suggests that these victims perceive the kinds of power and use of power very similarly, if not the same as, victims in the maintenance phase of the trafficking experience—that is they perceive traffickers to possess negative personal and reward powers. They have no reason to suspect they will soon be taken out of the trafficking situation, or that anyone would perceive them as victims of sexual or labor exploitation. However, upon rescue and during the early phases of recovery, SET would suggest that the victims’ perception of traffickers’ power would be somewhat weaker than at maintenance phase but they are still very much afraid of what traffickers may do to loved ones or to the rescued victims if they are discovered. Moreover, they are uncertain about the provider’s intentions, the shelter environment, and so on, perceiving the rescue to be an extension of the trafficking experience.

Figure 3-3

Social Exchange Theory and Victims Perception of Traffickers' use of Power during the Rescue/Escape Phase of Trafficking.



SET helps to understand why victims may, in essence, choose paths leading to exploitation, and how victims' perception of traffickers' power effectively forces complacency to traffickers' demands. SET shows how *personal* these social exchanges are. Victims make the best decisions for their lives, based on the available resources at their disposal. In the absence of any way to negotiate more power, better resources, or more opportunity, victims choose the highest reward available to them.

Intersectionality Theory

Feminist theories embrace considerations of “power relations that examines male dominance and female subordination while working to achieve equality and opportunity for women” (Robbins et al., 2012, p. 110). Moreover, feminism helps explain the oppression of marginalized groups such as people of color, class-status, migrants, and alternative life styles within social and political structures of society (Quek, 2010; Wilson, 2008). However, until

recently, feminist theory lacked a way to examine how multiple oppressive experiences intersect with each other, more fully explaining the experiences of marginalized groups.

Relatively new to feminist theory (Crenshaw, 1993; Shields, 2008; Hancock, 2007b), intersectionality theory proposes that the realities of the lived experiences of women, and groups in general, cannot be understood through gender, race, economy, or structural forces alone. Rather, it is at the *intersection* of these identities that the lived experiences of power and oppression that marginalized groups experience is truly understood (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013; Crenshaw, 1993; Hancock, 2007b; Mehrotra, 2010; Shields, 2008).

The identities people have (e.g., sexuality, race, gender) contribute to and explain the “causal complexities” of oppressive existences (Hancock, 2007b), and that one must examine the *multiplicity* of these identities in these experiences. “Intersectionality examines how distinctive social power relations mutually construct each other not just that social hierarchies exist” (Bowleg, 2008, p. 313). In other words, for intersectionalists, it is not enough to say that oppression exists because of patriarchy or racism, but, rather, that these social hierarchies create a multi-morbidity of oppression, a matrix of domination, that simultaneously are created by and create each other.

Intersectionality has been conceptualized in terms of structural intersectionality and political intersectionality (Verloo, 2006). Structural intersectionality involves understanding how racial, sexist, and/or heteronormative inequalities create structural marginalization (Verloo, 2006). For example, a racial minority is not hired for positions in which racial majorities typically are hired, while at the same time she is not considered for employment because of her sexual minority status (Verloo, 2006). Political intersectionality describes how inequalities and

the intersection of these inequalities are important political strategies to understand (Verloo, 2006). For example, experiences of racial and sexual minorities are intermingled with majority experiences to protect them from potentially racist and sexist policy development, rather than recognizing these experiences as uniquely different (Verloo, 2006).

The social and political context of one's race, gender, sexuality, and so on, influences one's perception of their power in society, and which of the identities are more dominant within the social hierarchies than exist in the environment in which the individual lives. What society describes as important identities may or may not be aligned with individuals' perception of individual dominant identities; hence, individuals may find themselves in more or less powerful positions within the environment in which they live. For example, though I am an educated, Caucasian American, heterosexual, female living in the American south, how I describe my identity may imply that my education is more dominant than my race, sexuality, or socio-economic status within the context of my environment and as such compounds upon all other identities I possess (e.g., education [race x gender x sexuality x socio-economic status] = Kathleen Preble).

Included in the intersectionality portion of this study is the underlying assumption that gender, race, and age will influence the extent to which the entrapment factors are felt at each phase of the trafficking experience, ultimately influencing the victims' perception of traffickers' power. For example, age may greatly impact the ways in which entrapment factors are felt among victims as younger victims may be more persuaded by lack of social and community support and abuse history, than an older victim who may be more persuaded by other entrapment

factors like lack of socio-economic status. Further, this underlying assumption implies a need to examine interactions between independent variables and their influence on perceptions of power.

In this study, race, age, and gender, as well as the phases of the trafficking experience and the factors of entrapment provide the context for victims' perception of their traffickers' power and explains how this perception remains a powerful stronghold, overcoming the victims' will to escape across the three stages of victimization. Intersectionality aids in our understanding of why women might make decisions that ultimately lead to exploitive situations—even when they know exploitation is a likely outcome (Anthias, 2014; Belanger, 2014; Raigrodski, 2014; Quek, 2010; Wilson, 2010). When a victim's power is stripped away by culturally and socially prescribed gender, racial, and political limitations of the equity between groups becomes constrained leaving trafficked women and other oppressed groups to become more easily exploited.

Further, the diversity of experiences *within* groups, in this study of human trafficking victims, adds to the complexity of these circumstances as the external constraints exploit and oppress individuals' identities in unique ways (Hancock, 2007b). The within group and between group differences offer a more holistic understanding of the experiences marginalized women have (Lockhart & Danis, 2010). A single group of human trafficking survivors, for example, may represent different trafficking experiences, several different nationalities, ethnic groups, sexualities, socio-economic histories and so on, even though they share a common experience (human trafficking). Intersectionality guides us to understand their experience is not simply the culmination of these experiences in the context of their personal conception of identity, but that these experiences are interlocked to create a unique identity of the individual which guides social work practitioners away from one-size-fits-all service systems (Lockhart & Danis, 2010).

Intersectionality theory is necessary to include in this study because of the emphasis on examining social power within the context of the multiplicity of identities of cultural, legal, political, and economic forces driving the sexual exploitation of women and oppressed groups.

Intersectionality Theory and Human Trafficking

From an intersectionalist point of view, the complexity of human trafficking becomes more clearly understood. Coercive power, or negative personal and, in part, reward kind of powers (i.e., French & Raven, 1959), in a human trafficking scenario allows traffickers to manipulate victims' perceptions of their traffickers' power through the exploitation of victims' identities which have been shaped by, and shape, the entrapment factors experienced throughout life. "Ethnicity, 'race', gender, sexuality and class involve processes and relations of hierarchisation, unequal resource allocation and inferiorisation relating to a range of economic, political and social interests and projects and to distinctive (and variable) forms of social allegiance and identifications" (Anthias, 2014, p. 29). These interests, Anthias (2014) suggests, include the condoning of domestic and sexual violence, forced and servile marriages, honor based violence, and trafficking of women (primarily for sexual services). Chong (2013) presents a poignant, intersectionalist argument explaining how women become vulnerable to sex trafficking:

the social classification of women based on the construction of their racial and ethnic identities as non-dominant, which is also categorised by the hegemonic ideology and discourse as inferior, plays a major role in exposing them to trafficking, due to structural poverty and marginalisation, and to sexual violence,

which is a common factor in the domestic and social realm that works to socially alienate them (p. 198).

Exploitation via human trafficking essentially robs victims of power constraining their ability to negotiate actions and rationally evoke power status within relationships. See Figures 3-4 through 3-6 for a hypothesized illustration of how Intersectionality theory may be used to measure the identified factors of trafficking that shape victims' multiple identities, and how victims then perceive the power and use of power of their traffickers across the three phases of the trafficking experience. The following subsequent application of intersectionality theory and human trafficking will parallel the SET application by guiding the reader through the application of intersectionality and the phases of the trafficking experience.

Recruitment and Intersectionality Theory. At the heart of the intersections between age and the social constructions of gender and race, combined with the structural forces perpetuating low *SES*, *social support*, *community support*, and experiences with *abuse history* is the identity women possess. These experiences exacerbate the stifling constraints women face in their ability to actually have choices in their lives due to the socially and politically imposed limitations on women's ability to live freely (e.g., sexual and racial marginalization, abuse). In the absence of clearly "good" alternatives, which would serve to protect women and oppressed groups' self-interest, the only rational choice left is that which represents the lesser cost or constraint of the presented solution (Wilson, 2008). Social constructions of gender (i.e. political prescriptions of women's legitimacy in the public sphere) and race (i.e. political assumptions about the superiority or inferiority of races in the public sphere), and one's age create a recipe

through which to experience the “matrix of domination” among those vulnerable to trafficking. This recipe is then compounded through the victims’ experiences with entrapment factors (i.e., SES, abuse history, social support, and community support) creating unique experiences among the group of trafficking victims, as well as to the individual victims themselves. The traffickers look for women who are working but are looking for a better life unable to provide adequately for themselves or their families, or women whose environmental conditions are such that they are seeking something better (Anthais, 2013; Antonopoulos, Winterdyk, & John 2005).

Abuse History. High levels of abuse history found among sexually trafficked women (Chauvin et al., 2009; Zimmerman, 2008) has suggested a strong impetus for women to seek an alternative to their current experience (Cook & Emerson, 2009; Russell, 2014). This negates a victim’s sense of agency and protection from the patriarchal constraints of political and legal structures because many times the abuse suffered at the hands of caretakers or significant others, was not taken seriously, was a condoned practice thereby limiting the level of protection women can expect from such abuses, or by holding women accountable for the abuses they have suffered (Andrijansevic & Anderson, 2009; Gushulak & MacPherson, 2000; Russell, 2014). To my knowledge there have not been studies done with labor trafficking victims studying prior abuse experiences to be able to determine if abuse history is an entrapment determinant for this population. For the purposes of this study, and from suggestions in the literature (Anthias, 2014) that abuse history may be a factor initiating a woman vulnerability to trafficking, I hypothesize abuse history is an equal entrapment factor for labor trafficking victims as sex trafficking victims. Hence, trafficked women’s experiences with abuse and how this abuse was handled has

enormous ramifications in terms of the ways in which these women might perceive the power they possess in relation to their trafficker's power and the environment in which they live.

Socio-Economic Status. Poverty creates an imbalance of power making it harder for women and oppressed groups to assert their agency to get what they want (e.g., Chong, 2014; Hay, 2004; Logan et al., 2009; Spangenberg, 2001). Poverty has undesirable social attributes, and stereotypes, which are often culturally and societally prescribed (e.g., Androff, 2011; Bhattacharjea, 2008; Chong, 2014; Kapstein, 2006). The negative cultural and societal characterizations of the poor, and perhaps more poignantly, of poor women (and specifically of marginalized racial or ethnic groups) reduces poor women's agency and ability to reasonably negotiate actions that preserve their self-interests in current and future desires (e.g., Chong, 2014; Logan et al, 2009). Additionally, age clearly influences the effects of poverty on a victim's experience as the younger the victim, the fewer life experiences she has with which to judge social interactions and the fewer legitimate socio-economic opportunities she has with which to support herself.

Compounded by experiences with gender, race, and age oppression, poverty takes on a salient meaning to trafficking victims such that they not only will seek anything with the promise of improvement in their daily experiences, but that they also have limited life experiences through which to judge the legitimacy of the opportunities presented. This matrix increases victims' perceptions of the traffickers' power, that, in the recruitment phase, lead victims to believe that their trafficker has their best interests at heart, has legitimate wherewithal to actualize promises, and will follow through with commitments (Anthais, 2013); hence, giving

traffickers positive personal, coercive, and reward type powers. Because of social environmental disparities, victims must believe traffickers' promises if they want to survive.

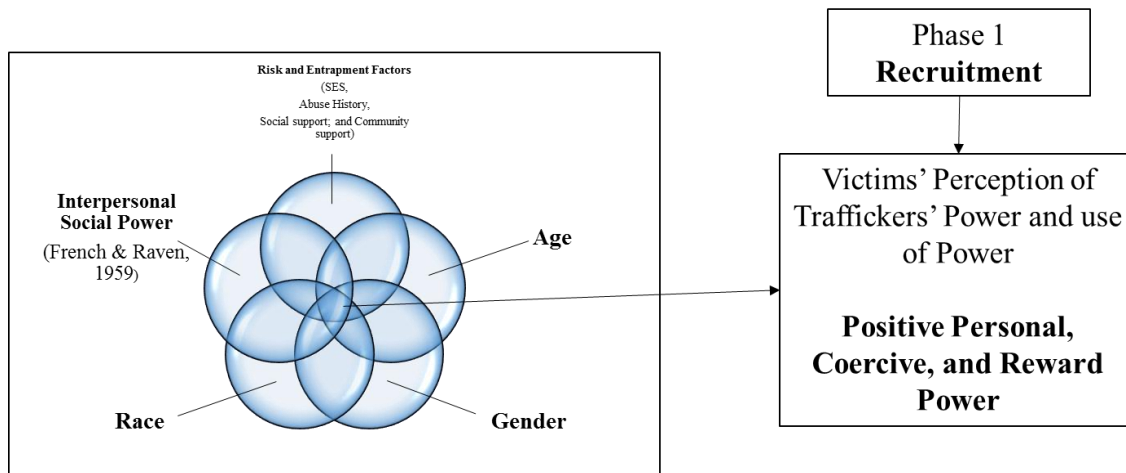
Chong (2014) argues that poverty is one of the structural components underlying one's vulnerability to trafficking as it contributes to human rights violations experienced particularly by women and children and those who migrate. Supporting this notion, Russell (2014) argues that the current narrative surrounding sex trafficking discourse is dominated by the feminization of migration, but much less concerns the feminization of poverty ignoring "the complex reasons why many women seek to begin the process of obtaining employment that eventually ends up becoming a form of human trafficking" (p. 534). Discriminatory, sexist, and racist stereotypes provide mechanisms by which traffickers can more easily exploit potential victims (Anthais, 2014; Chong, 2014). As such, poverty and discrimination exacerbate inequality of disparate conditions making "human trafficking [sic] a by-product of social global insecurity" (Chong, 2014, p. 203). The kind of power the trafficker may use at various stages, and certainly at the recruitment phase, of the trafficking experience is calculated such to maximize the inequities their victims already experience within their identity. Vulnerabilities and inequities are exposed to both the trafficker and the victim to make obvious that victims try to minimize their exposure to dangers.

Social and Community Support. Socio-economically, individuals measure power positions based on cultural, structural, social-cognitive, sensory, attributions, and social formations inherent in capitalistic, patriarchal social structures (e.g., Anthais, 2013; Bhattacharjea, 2008; Chong, 2014; Kapstien, 2006; O'Brien, 2008; Wilson, 2008). Further, the intersection among poverty, lack of socio-economic stability, and social and community support

exacerbates the multiplicity of inequities experienced by victims of trafficking, hence, limiting the range of options before them, and constraining women’s ability to make well informed decisions.

Figure 3-4

Recruitment Phase and Intersectionality Theory.



Maintenance and Intersectionality Theory. *Social and economic* deprivation through power imbalance and a lack of agency, according to Wheaton and colleagues (2010), are maintained by governments and policy makers controlling legal and political structural components (i.e., migration and anti-prostitution policies) leading to individual’s inequity and loss of power (e.g., Andrijanovic & Anderson, 2009; Gushulak & MacPherson, 2000). Traffickers recognize the socio-economic vulnerability within the context of poverty and the tendency of host nations to view the phenomenon of trafficking through privileged eyes thereby not exploring the identities (racial, cultural, and social) of those trafficked (Chong, 2014). Traffickers effectively reduce “the experiences of trafficking victims to ones to which an individual could become accustomed or appreciate as an escape from poverty” (Copley, 2014, p. 52).

Social and Community Support. Furthermore, rescue agencies narrowly define identities into conflated groups (e.g., domestic sex trafficking, prostitute, sex trafficking victim; migrant worker; abusive labor worker; sweatshops) instead of allowing the identities of each cultural or ethnic group to stand alone which would illuminate the structural disparities each victim may have faced prior to becoming trafficked (Chong, 2014). These conditions create a situation whereby victims believe they rationally and un-coercively chose the outcome of being trafficked, that being trafficked is their fate, and that traffickers' treatment of them is justified as governmental and agency policies and agency's vague messages to women is that they deserve what they get (Pickering & Ham, 2014; Owens et al., 2014; Russell, 2014). With this powerful intrapersonal and interpersonal messaging to victims, traffickers are able to exploit victims with a vice-grip by manipulating victims' understanding of their current plight while mixing in physical and sexual violence and threats of such violence.

The combination of supportive services agencies denying trafficking victims the ability to have multiple identities within the group and policies that imply abuse is justified if women put themselves in dangerous situations projects an understanding of who is worthy of protection from abuse and who has the power to extend such protections. Trafficking victims may perceive that they do not belong to protected groups and are powerless to seek an alternative to the life traffickers have built for them.

Abuse History. Traffickers recognize the “marginal status of sex workers who often have histories of abuse and violence...while exploiting these vulnerabilities for personal gain” (Copley, 2014, p. 52). The abuse itself clearly limits one's general sense of power, but also inspires one to evaluate the resources possessed against those desired, thus creating an

imbalance. For example, Copley's (2014) analysis of qualitative studies exploring traffickers' neutralizations of trafficking victims' experiences found that traffickers justify their exploitive practices by providing a safer work/home environment than victims would likely have at home. Hence, victims of trafficking perceive their positions in society as not able to access resources they should be able to access as designated by society (i.e., family support), but also do not have community support to seek their desired change.

This suggests that traffickers understand, and depend upon, the lack of effective social and community support to protect women and marginalized groups against abuses, and, moreover, traffickers manipulate the absence of any effective anti-abuse response by suggesting that they are actually protecting women from harm by offering them a position in their enterprise all the while maintaining the exploitation of these women for their personal gain (Efrat, 2015). In an analysis of 12 sex trafficking cases in the Netherlands, Verhoven (2013) found that traffickers used a combination of control, rules, isolation, intimidation, and violence (abuse) to maintain control over "their women", whereby they exploited their victims' desires for a better life, belonging, financial stability, or previous life experiences (including abuse) for their personal gain (Verhoven, 2013). Similar findings were reported by Zhang (2014) and Barrick (2014) while studying farmworkers in San Diego and western North Carolina, by Lan (2008) exploring sexual and reproductive migration in Taiwan, and by Belanger (2014) while studying Vietnamese labor migrants.

The absence of clear remediation for violence against women, the intrapersonal and interpersonal messaging women send and receive, and the manipulation of the experiences women have faced by traffickers serves to enforce the idea that no one will rescue them from

trafficking—they are stuck; they are invisible. Victims not only lack effective social protection (i.e., non-abusive families), but they also lack viable supports in the political sphere (i.e., empowering social services). Traffickers reinforce this idea by telling their victims that the police, government, and social service agencies will just arrest them, mistreat them, or send them home, and therefore, the agencies are not for protection.

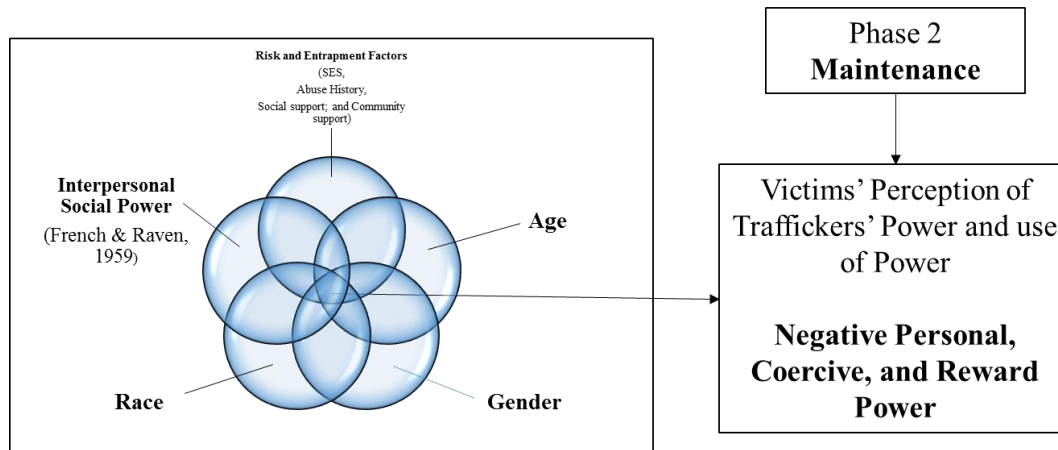
In addition, according to Copley (2014), traffickers utilize neutralization techniques found in other serious criminal violations such as international war crimes like “rape camps” to justify the trafficking of victims as well, they use the conflict within society about sex work and trafficking and the conflicted response by governments surrounding the sex industry as justification for the victimization of sex trafficking victims. “They highlighted the societal complicity in prostitution and trafficking, despite showing little concern for their role in contributing to the plight of sex workers” (Copley, 2014, p. 53). Similar assertions are suggested among labor trafficking scholars in that traffickers imply legal and immigration authority and the overt distrust of migrants in the United States as justifications for exploiting workers and suppressing worker uprisings among those who demand better treatment (Belanger, 2014; Zhang, 2014; Barrick, 2014). Lan (2008) further suggests that women being trafficked for sexual or reproductive services are further marginalized as they are not granted a presence within society even though their services are highly valued (e.g., good enough to bare children producing the next generation of citizens, but not good enough to be fit mothers).

I suggest that these factors lead people and institutions to choose to make socially desirable the exploitative treatment of social groups perceived as less powerful or less advantageous to meeting the needs of first world self-interest (Lan, 2008; Lucas, 1995, Logan,

2007; Raigrodski, 2015; Wilson, 2010). The lack of financial self-efficacy, social status, being female, and women of color all contribute to the validation of exploiting women for sexual purposes by placing social constraints on what women and minorities are supposed to do and who is worthy of assistance when needed (Andrijanovic & Anderson, 2009; Chong, 2014; Fakete, 2005). The research of Pickering and Ham (2014) suggest “immigration officers [heavily rely] on race, ethnicity and nationality to organize passenger information, predict passenger risk, and anticipate travelers’ responses to questioning and entry refusal” (p. 12). These assumptions are manifested in stereotypes of various peoples such as Asians and Southeast Asians being more prone to sex work and being difficult to work with, whereas Europeans are not profiled by immigration officers (Pickering & Ham, 2014). Moreover, migrant women are portrayed through messaging and cultural attributions denying them agency and equity, and that legal/political protection (policies and governments) will not protect them from these vices (Anthais, 2014; Chong, 2014; Nieuwehys & Pecoud, 2007; Sharma, 2003, 2005). Hence, women will perceive they have no way out once trafficked, regardless of the type of trafficking.

Figure 3-5.

Maintenance Phase and Intersectionality Theory



Escape/Rescue and Intersectionality Theory. In this section I will explore how victims' perceptions of power might differ in the rescue/escape phase of trafficking.

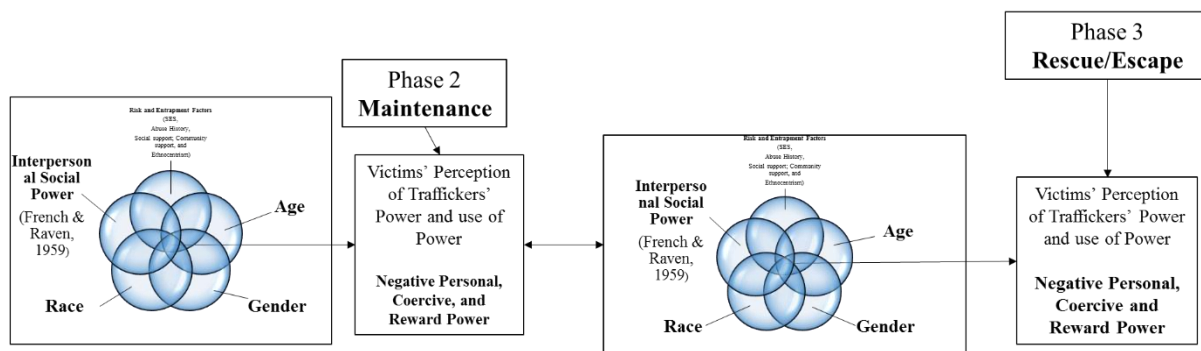
As presented in Chapter 2, (2014) found that “deception and physical coercion are difficult to sustain over a long period of time” (p. 199). These findings suggest that over time, traffickers' ability to maintain a powerful hold over their victims is weakened, or perhaps perceived as less influential to the victims, hence increasing the victims' sense of power and efficacy to leave. Gould's findings come from a survey 600 sex workers (street-based and brothel-based) and interviews with 20 sex workers in South Africa.

Moreover, findings of Marcus et al. (2014) discussed in Chapter 2, appear to debunk popular discourse on the interactions between traffickers and their victims, which is based on the idea that victims are viscerally ensnared through love, deception, and physical and sexual violence, and compounded by the violent exploitation of traffickers preventing victims from being able to leave (Marcus et al., 2014).

At the intersection of entrapment factors, victims' perception of traffickers' power, and their use of power, the kind of power used by traffickers, as perceived by victims, is determined rendering their successful escape or their subsequent continued exploitation. I hypothesize that the type of power perceived by labor and sex trafficking victims will be more like maintenance phase (i.e., negative personal, coercive, and reward power); however, the degree to which they perceive these powers will be weaker than in the maintenance phase.

Figure 3-6.

Rescue/Escape Phase and Intersectionality Theory



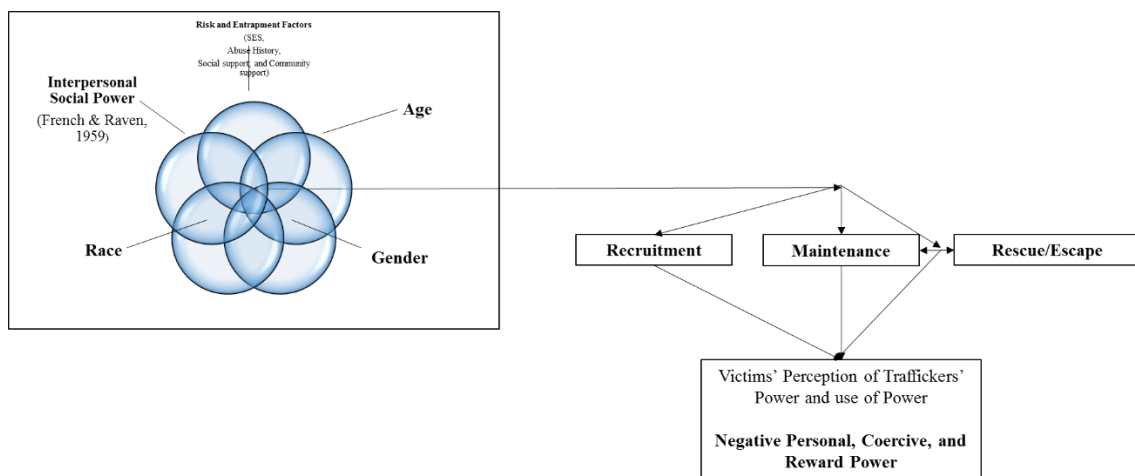
Social Exchange Theory & Intersectionality Theory

There is a substantial overlapping between Intersectionality Theory and Social Exchange Theory. When considering the use of intersectionality theory and social exchange theory constructs to better understand victims' perception of traffickers' power, two ideas are clear: intersectionality's understanding of social power within the context of multiple identities and how these identities may experience inequity simultaneously and SETs' constructs of power and equity. Figure 3-7, shows a hypothesized illustration of how SET and Intersectionality theory may be combined to understand and measure how the factors of entrapment influence the victims' perception of traffickers' power and how they utilize this power to further dominate

victims throughout the trafficking experience. Victims’ perception of traffickers’ power exists within the context of multiple identities and the matrix of domination possibly experienced by victims in each stage of the trafficking experience.

Figure 3-7.

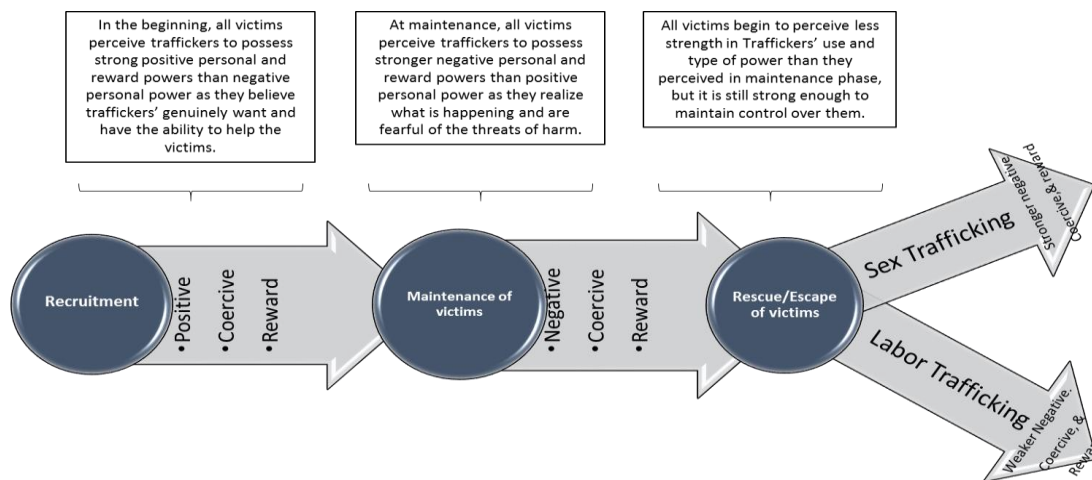
Victims’ Perception of Power and Power use by Traffickers across Three Phases of the Trafficking Experience.



During the rescue/escape phase, victims are unaware of how their escape will manifest (i.e., escape or rescue). Therefore, it is theorized that the victims’ perception of traffickers’ power, although the same kind of power, is weaker than it was at maintenance phase. Additionally, it is theorized that sex trafficking victims will perceive stronger positive personal, negative persona, reward, and coercive powers at specific phases than labor trafficking victims. Overall, because human trafficking victims have not reached a point where traffickers’ power is effectively useless, their perception of traffickers’ power is still quite strong, and for this reason these victims may have a more difficult transition into “safety”. See figure 3-8 for an illustration of this progression.

Figure 3-8.

Timeline of sex and labor trafficking victims' power perceptions.



This chapter has examined the application of Social Exchange Theory and Intersectionality Theory to understand human trafficking victims' perception of traffickers' power and use of power over the course of three phases of trafficking experience. Both theories also provide important insight into the complexity of the experiences of trafficking victims in unique ways valuable to social work research and practice. Chapter Four will discuss the proposed research design, methods, data collection and analysis procedures for this study.

Chapter 4 Methods

Introduction

This chapter provides a description of the research design and methods. Research questions and hypotheses that were tested are presented, and data collection is explained. Data analysis procedures are also presented.

A survey study was used to explore the kind of interpersonal social power by traffickers throughout the trafficking experience (i.e., recruitment, maintenance, and rescue/escape) from the victim's perspective (See Appendix D for the survey used). Overarching research questions explored in this study are: 1.) What differences in perceptions of power exist between survivors of sex trafficking compared to survivors of labor trafficking at each phase? and 2.) How influential are entrapment factors in determining the kind of interpersonal social power used by traffickers, as perceived by victims, during recruitment, maintenance, and escape/rescue phases of women involved in human trafficking? As such, the use of retrospective data collection was implemented.

Sample Size

Initially, I wanted to use a mixed-model regression analysis to test the influence of entrapment factors on perceptions of power across three phases. An a priori power analysis was computed using G*Power 3.1.9.2 (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) to determine the target sample size needed for a medium effect size. I conducted this analysis using MANOVA repeated measures within factors test as the basis for my statistical analyses as mixed-models analyses make use of MANOVA based regressions. MANOVAs are typically used to: examine changes in multiple dependent variables repeatedly measured overtime, to determine changes in a dependent variable under various conditions among subjects, and to examine the attitudes of

subjects on three or more related topics (Abu-Bader, 2010). G*Power indicated for a large effect size (.35) with a .05 significance level (two-tailed) a minimum of 39 participants was needed to complete a MANOVA repeated measures within factors test. For a medium effect size (.25) with .05 significance level (two-tailed) a minimum of 72 participants are needed to complete a MANOVA repeated measures within factors test. For a small effect size (.15) with .05 probability level (two-tailed), a minimum of 189 participants are required for a MANOVA repeated measures, within factors. Initially, my target sample was 75 total participants to achieve a medium effect size.

However, after making all possible efforts to increase my sample size, I was able to obtain 31 completed surveys, rendering my study unfit to complete a mixed-models regression analysis. Upon approval from my dissertation committee, I changed my analysis plan to include hierarchical regression analyses on each kind of power at each phase (five subscales * three phases = 15 separate regressions), and a non-parametric Mann-Whitney U Test to test group differences in perceptions of power at each phase of the trafficking experience. I used hierarchical regression analyses with this sample as it can be used with small samples, the traffickers were not always the same at each phase, and the research questions were focused on “each phase”. Due to the small sample size, however, I was limited on the number of variables I could test to between three and four. The Mann-Whitney U Test is a non-parametric t-test that can be used for small sample sizes.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The following are the research questions and hypotheses used for this project. To give context to the questions, definitions of the phases and types of victimization are provided:

Recruitment Phase: The period when the participant FIRST became involved in the sex trafficking experience she had.

Maintenance Phase: The period AFTER the participant was recruited but before she was rescued or had escaped.

Rescue/Escape Phase: The period when the participant was RESCUED (e.g., police raid) or had ESCAPED.

Sex Trafficking Victim—Anyone *exploited by a third party* for sexual services (e.g., prostitution) through the use of force, fraud, or coercion.

Labor Trafficking Victim—Anyone *exploited by a third party* for labor services, other than sex (e.g., house cleaning, Nanny), through the use of force, fraud, or coercion.

Research Question 1

What are the differences between sex trafficking and labor trafficking victims in their perception of traffickers' interpersonal social power at each phase of the trafficking experience?

Hypothesis 1

Sex trafficking victims perceive stronger interpersonal social power at recruitment, maintenance, and rescue/escape phases than labor trafficking victims.

Hypothesis 1a. *At recruitment, sex trafficking victims will perceive traffickers to have stronger positive personal, coercive, and reward powers than labor trafficking victims.*

Hypothesis 1b. *At maintenance, sex trafficking victims will perceive traffickers to have stronger negative personal, coercive, and reward powers than labor trafficking victims.*

Hypothesis 1c. *At rescue/escape, sex trafficking victims will perceive traffickers to have stronger negative personal, coercive, and reward powers than labor trafficking victims.*

Rationale. SET theory suggests that from a victim's point of view, how a victim of trafficking might perceive a trafficker's power would not be influenced by having been sexually trafficked or trafficked for other forms of labor *per se*. How one is exploited does not change how one perceives the exploitation. Even so, intersectionality theory emphasizes the need to explore within group differences to understand the nuances in how and where victims might perceive differences in coercive power. Intersectionality theory urges the exploration of small, yet meaningful, differences in the lived experiences of marginalized populations to better understand and target the needs of the population. In this study, a sex trafficking victim's perception of power may only slightly differ from that of a labor trafficking victim's perception, but these differences may have a large impact on how victims engage with and seek after-care services, for example. The literature suggests that sex trafficking victims may perceive stronger power than labor trafficking victims due to the stigma associated with being involved in the sex industry. Though labor trafficking victims would be affected by the stigma associated with being undocumented, international sex trafficking victims are affected by both the stigma of being undocumented and being involved in prostitution. Moreover, literature suggests that sex trafficking victims would perceive more positive attributes of power, reward power, and coercive power at the beginning of the experience than negative valuations of traffickers' power. As the victim progresses in the trafficking experience, her negative valuation of the traffickers' power is thought to be present along with reward and coercive powers. This hypothesis, therefore,

assumes that sex trafficking victims will perceive traffickers as having stronger social powers throughout the experience of being trafficked than labor trafficking victims.

Operational definitions.

Independent Variable: Interpersonal social power

Operational Definition: Measured by the score attained on the Measures of Interpersonal Power (MIP) scale and the three sub-scales (positive personal, negative personal, and reward powers), which is based on French and Raven's (1959) five bases of social interpersonal social power model (see parts 3, 4 and 5 on survey). Further discussion of this instrument occurs under the section entitled "Measures".

Dependent Variable: Type of Trafficking

Operational Definition: As indicated in self-report on the survey (question 4 on the survey).

Research Question 2

How do the entrapment factors (i.e., SES, abuse history, social and community support) influence victims' perceptions of the kind of interpersonal social power (i.e., positive personal, negative personal, and reward powers) used by traffickers across three phases (i.e., recruitment, maintenance, and rescue/escape) of the trafficking experience?

Hypothesis

Victims who experienced more entrapment factors (i.e., more financial strain, lower education, no employment, more experiences with abuse, and lower social and community support) will perceive traffickers as having specific kinds of interpersonal social power (i.e., negative and

positive personal, and reward powers) that vary across the phases (i.e., recruitment, maintenance, and rescue/escape) of the trafficking experience.

Hypothesis 2a. *At recruitment, victims' experiences with more entrapment factors (i.e., more financial strain, lower education, no employment, more experiences with abuse, and lower social and community support) will perceive traffickers as having more positive personal, coercive, and reward powers than negative personal powers.*

Hypothesis 2b. *At maintenance, victims' experiences with more entrapment factors (i.e., more financial strain, lower education, no employment, more experiences with abuse, and lower social and community support) will perceive traffickers as having more negative personal reward, and coercive power than positive personal interpersonal powers. The interactions of entrapment factors will be less influential from recruitment to maintenance in effecting entrapment factors influence on power perceptions.*

Hypothesis 2c. *At the rescue/escape phase, victims' experiences with more entrapment factors (i.e., more financial strain, lower education, no employment, more experiences with abuse, and lower social and community support) will perceive traffickers having more negative personal, coercive, and reward powers than positive personal power. The interactions of entrapment factors will be less influential from maintenance to rescue/escape in effecting entrapment factors influence on power perceptions.*

Rationale. Intersectionality and SET theories suggest that structural obstacles in one's environment, as well as personal characteristics and experiences contribute to the oppression and general disenfranchisement of vulnerable populations. In the case of human trafficking victims, these factors contribute to their vulnerability to become exploited. Experiences with entrapment factors (i.e., financial strain, employment, education, abuse history, social and community support) are likely to increase one's susceptibility to becoming trafficked by increasing one's vulnerability to be persuaded by interpersonal social power tactics used by those who are perceived to have more interpersonal social power. Understanding the degree to which these factors of entrapment have contributed to the victims' experience throughout may also shed light on the degree to which the traffickers are able to assert their interpersonal social power, and are able to influence the kind of interpersonal social power utilized at each phase of trafficking experience.

Operational definitions.

Independent Variable: **Phases of the trafficking experience**

Operational Definition: Determined by the self-report of participants based on predetermined definitions (refer to questionnaire questions 16-28 and parts three, four and five.)

Independent Variable: **Financial strain**

Operational Definition: Determined by higher scores on the Financial Strain Survey (Hetling et al., 2015) (question 11 on the questionnaire). More experiences with financial strain indicate more experiences with entrapment.

Independent Variable: **Employment**

Operational Definition: Determined by the self-report of experiences with employment (question 9-10 on the questionnaire). Fewer experiences with employment (i.e., “unemployed”, “homemaker”) would contribute to more severe experiences with entrapment.

Independent Variable: **Education**

Operational Definition: Determined by the self-report of experiences with financial strain (question 7 on the questionnaire). Lower educational attainment (i.e., “primary school” and “some secondary school”) would contribute to more severe experiences with entrapment.

Independent Variable: **Abuse History**

Operational Definition: Determined by self-report on Revised Conflict Tactics Scale—Short Form, in the context of “prior to trafficking” (question 14 on the questionnaire). Higher frequency of abuse experiences will equate to more experiences with entrapment.

Independent Variable: **Social Support**

Operational Definition: Determined by the self-report of experiences on the Multidimensional Perceived Social Support Scale (MPSS) answered in the context of “prior to trafficking” (question 12 on the questionnaire). Lower social support experiences will equate to more severe experience with entrapment.

Independent Variable: **Community Support**

Operational Definition: Determined by self-reported responses to the Perception of Community Support Questionnaire (PCSQ) answered in the context of “prior

to trafficking” (question 13 on questionnaire). Lower experiences with community support will equate to more severe experience with entrapment

Dependent Variable: Interpersonal social power

Operational Definition: Measured by the score attained on the Measures of Interpersonal Power (MIP) scale and the three sub-scales (positive personal, negative personal, and reward powers), which is based on French and Raven’s (1959) five bases of social interpersonal social power model (see parts 3, 4 and 5 on survey). Further discussion of this instrument occurs under the section entitled “Measures”.

Research Design

The quantitative research method for this study is survey methods. Survey research, according to Rubin and Babbie (2008), is an excellent way to understand and observe attitudes and orientations of a population. Generally, self-administered surveys are preferred as the participants fill out the information on the questionnaire leading to reduced research bias, misunderstanding, or human error (Rubin & Babbie, 2008). Important to consider when conducting survey research, like this research, is the response rate (Rubin & Babbie, 2008). A discussion of survey limitations is provided in the limitations section.

Sample Description

The sample was a convenience sample comprised of female, sex and labor trafficking victims, being served by one of the three service provider agencies in Texas that agreed to collaborate on the study: Mosaic Family Services of Dallas; Refugee Services of Texas in

Austin, and YMCA International Services in Houston. Agencies are located in large metropolitan areas serving the largest numbers of trafficking victims.

Thirty-one survivors of human trafficking participated in this study in three sites in the state of Texas. In total, there were 11 participants from Houston, Texas which were surveyed in July and August of 2015. From Austin, Texas an additional 11 participants in October and November of 2015. Dallas participants were recruited over a longer period (July through December, 2015) as it was easier for me to meet participants at the agency's offices once they were approached and had agreed to participate. A total of nine participants were recruited from the Dallas based agency. Per participation requirements, survey respondents were all female, international survivors of sexual or labor trafficking. About sixteen percent (n=5) of the total sample self-reported experiencing both types of trafficking, aside from basic demographic analyses, these survivors were treated as labor trafficking victims. Overall, participants completed the survey in 45 minutes on average.

Settings

Austin—Refugee Services of Texas, Inc. (RST) Survivors of Trafficking (SOT) Program. Austin, Texas is located in Central Texas and has a population of approximately one million people (U.S. Census, 2013) and is the 11th largest city in the United States. A major transportation, commercial, and entertainment destination in Texas with international and interstate exchanges, the Austin area has seen a tremendous level of human trafficking activity in the last 10 years.

RST of Austin, established in 2004, is a faith-based organization with affiliations with Church World Service, Episcopal Migration Ministries, and is partnered with the U.S.

Committee for Refugees and Immigrants. The primary purpose of the agency is to assist refugees in the resettlement process by providing resettlement services, job readiness and placement services, English classes, counseling, case management, immigration assistance, and medical case management. The SOT program, established in 2005, is the lead social service agency in Austin tasked to assist rescued victims of trafficking. Working closely with law enforcement agencies and the Central Texas Coalition against Human Trafficking, RST provides 24-hour support to identified survivors. This support includes short- and long-term services to ensure the survivors' safety and long-term success.

In 2013, RST served 40 individual survivors of human trafficking and educated over 300 community members about the phenomenon. The demographic breakdown of the trafficking clients served since 2003, is 89% from Central America, 2% Asian, 3% African and U.S. Citizens each, and 1% Middle Eastern. RST has been and continues to be the human trafficking service provider in the Austin, Texas area and is a leader in anti-trafficking knowledge, policy consultation, and education about human trafficking across the state. See Appendix A for the Collaborative Letter with RST.

Dallas—Mosaic Family Services, Inc. Services for Victims of Trafficking. Dallas, Texas is located in North Texas and has a population of approximately 1.25 million people (U.S. Census, 2013); however, Dallas is situated within a major metroplex which is home to nearly seven million people making the DFW area one of the largest metropolitan areas in the nation. A major transportation, commercial, and entertainment destination in Texas with international and

interstate exchanges, the Dallas area has seen a tremendous level of human trafficking activity in the last 10 years.

Mosaic Family Services, founded in 1993, originally aimed to meet the needs of the multicultural community in Dallas as a non-profit philanthropic organization. Serving refugees and immigrants initially, Mosaic expanded its services, in 1997, to include domestic violence programming for these populations. In 2001, Mosaic expanded its mission, again, to address the needs of internationally trafficked persons providing comprehensive services to survivors. In the same year, they opened their first shelter, Mosaic House, to offer safe shelter housing for women and children affected by domestic violence and survivors of trafficking needing immediate shelter.

In 2011, Mosaic served 45 individual survivors of human trafficking and educated over 3,000 community members about the phenomenon. The demographic breakdown of the trafficking clients served in 2011, was 58% Hispanic, 11% Asian, 9% African and U.S. Citizens each, and 7% Middle Eastern. Mosaic has been and continues to be one of the largest human trafficking service providers in the nation and is a leader in anti-trafficking knowledge, policy consultation, and education about human trafficking. See Appendix A for the Collaborative Letter with Moasic.

Houston—YMCA Houston Trafficked Persons Assistance Program. Located in the Gulf Coast region of Texas, Houston is home to some 2.2 million people and is an enormous port city for international cargo shipping as well as air travel. Houston has seen some of the largest

human trafficking cases in the nation in which more than 100 victims were rescued and given comprehensive services.

In 2003, The YMCA established the Trafficked Persons Assistance Program to help identify and assist victims of human trafficking. Like Mosaic Family Services in Dallas, The YMCA International Program's Trafficking Assistance Program is a recognized national leader in service provision to survivors of human trafficking. See Appendix A for the Collaborative Letter for YMCA Houston.

Study Sample

The study took place in three locations in the state of Texas (Austin, Dallas, and Houston). Because of the transient nature of the population of human trafficking survivors, it is difficult for agencies to provide an accurate account of the number of survivors that can be approached at any given time. The best agencies can do is provide the annual unduplicated number of survivors assisted. The agencies participating in this study served on average 40 survivors of trafficking a year.

Participants meeting study criteria (i.e., international sex or labor trafficking survivor, female, Spanish or English speaking only, and at least 18 years old) were recruited from the three collaborative agencies. Those who expressed interest in participating in the study were referred to me and I explained the purpose of the study, reviewed the risks and benefits of the study, and obtained their consent to participate if they indicated they wanted to participate. Each participant was informed they did not have to participate in the study and if at any point they wished to stop the survey they could do so without penalty.

Implementation Fidelity

Working with the three collaborative agencies, I attempted to mitigate barriers to successful project completion and increase my response rate. Initially, I met with each agency several times discussing strategies that would increase my sample size and respect the needs of the individual participants. These meetings resulted in slightly different data collection procedures at each site as detailed in the Data Collection section of this chapter. Due to the study being funded through personal funds, the incentive initially was very low (\$10); however, the threat of low participation required an increase in the incentive to \$25.

Though *apriori* sample size analysis revealed for a repeated measure data analysis I needed a minimum of 39 total participants for a large effect size, I was able to collect 31 surveys. Dallas provided the smallest portion of the sample (n=9) and Austin and Houston provided 11 participants each. Typically, a survey response rate of at least 50% is considered adequate for analysis and reporting of data; however, the higher the response rate, the better (Rubin & Babbie, 2008). To my knowledge there were five potential participants in Houston and Austin that initially agreed to participate and later declined before I could survey them. In Dallas, those approached to participate, to my knowledge, did so. The response rate for this project was 69% (n=22 participants) in Houston and Austin, and 100% (n=9) in Dallas making this response rate adequate.

Significance Level and Missing Data

This study attempts to shed light on the highly exploratory area of human trafficking inquiry involving victims' perceptions of traffickers' power across the victimization experience. Because of the exploratory nature of this study, I used the .10 significance level for the following reasons. First, to my knowledge, this is the first study examining victims' perception of power at

three time points during the victims' trafficking experience. Several scholars have suggested the need to explore constructs of power during the trafficking experience (Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2012; Kim, 2012), but to date, no studies have attempted to explore this dimension of the trafficking experience—particularly with survivors of trafficking. Secondly, the low sample size of this project requires the use of a higher significance level.

Because of the small sample size, I decided to use the simple mean imputation method of the power scales to correct for missing data. The amount of missing data for each item of the scales was minimal adding to approximately two cases per scale and, as such, this researcher does not believe the simple mean imputation method will cause biasing in the sample.

Additionally, I decided to treat participants who reported experiencing both sex and labor trafficking experiences as labor trafficking victims. Labor trafficking scholars (Arfrat, 2014) suggest that a more appropriate conceptualization of human trafficking is that all forms of trafficking are placed on a continuum of labor whereby abusive labor practices are on one end, in which trafficking has not occurred, to exploitive labor practice are on the other end, in which trafficking has occurred. Hence, sex trafficking is a form of labor trafficking.

Instruments

Each participant was asked to complete a survey including demographic information, questions pertaining to particular entrapment vulnerability factors, abuse history (to further elicit entrapment information), history of social and community support (entrapment factors), the Measurement of Interpersonal Power (MIP) to measure perceptions of the traffickers' interpersonal social power from the victims' point of view, and a social desirability scale.

The survey collected retrospective data by asking survivors of trafficking to recollect their trafficking experiences generally and at three specific points in the trafficking experience. Agency partners indicated that some participants would need the questionnaire in Spanish, rather than English; therefore, the questionnaire and consent forms were translated into Spanish. The translation was done prior to data collection and through a professional translation service.

The survey questionnaire contains five sections: 1) background; 2) entrapment factors, 3) recruitment phase, 4) maintenance phase, 5) rescue/escape phase. The complete survey took participants on average 45 minutes to complete.

Background Questionnaire. In this section of the questionnaire, I asked participants about basic demographic information (i.e., gender, national origin, employment history, education, and financial strain), type of trafficking experienced (i.e., sex only, labor only, or sex and labor trafficking), which was the only modification made to the original survey after the inclusion of labor trafficked individuals, social and community support (exploring isolation and displacement history), abuse history to assess for factors of entrapment, information regarding the stages of the trafficking experience, who the traffickers were (male or female, country of origin), and if this person was a stranger or a significant other. The background information was used to explore the characteristics of the study participants.

Financial Strain Survey (FSS) was used to measure the level of financial strain, or poverty, participants have experienced. This index was developed by Hetling and colleagues (2015) following extensive explorations into economic strain among survivors of intimate partner abuse. The FSS contains 18 questions on a five point Likert scale with five subscales. The total FSS Cronbach's alpha was .84, indicating a strong level of reliability. The five

subscales all achieved strong alphas as well with the exception of one subscale concerning credit card use. Alphas ranged from .87 to .54.

The extent to which participants in this study may have experienced financial strain prior to becoming trafficked, may contribute to their vulnerability to becoming entrapped into human trafficking. The FSS will be included in the questionnaire to understand the extent to which financial strain, in fact, contributed to participants' vulnerability to becoming trafficked. In addition, the FSS will be used to understand the degree to which experiences with financial strain prior to human trafficking influenced participants' perceptions of traffickers' power during the three phases of the trafficking experience.

Revised Conflict Tactics Scale—Short Form (CTS2-SF) was used to examine abuse history among my participants. The CTS2 was developed by Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, Sugarman (1996) and is the most widely used standardized measurement to assess family violence (Straus & Douglas, 2004). Straus and Douglas (2004) revised the CTS2 to provide a shorter more manageable version of the CTS2 reducing the overall number of questions from 39 questions to 20 questions. The CTS2-SF consists of five subscales: negotiation ($\alpha=.89$), assault ($\alpha=.72$), injury ($\alpha=.94$), psychological aggression ($\alpha=.77$), and sexual coercion ($\alpha=.65$). The short form is highly correlated with the original CTS2 on each of the subscales which are provided in parentheses by their corresponding scale.

This psychometric instrument was included in this study for two primary reasons. First, I chose to use this scale because the CTS is widely used within interpersonal violence studies and generally accepted as a gold standard in interpersonal violence understandings. The second reason I chose to use the CTS2-SF is that, to my knowledge, there is no scale available that

examines, from an adult perspective, an individual's abuse history in totality. The CTS2-SF offers a shorter, widely used scale measuring the abuse experiences this study requires and includes an option for the participant to indicate if the experience ever happened in their lives.

There are several scales that examine childhood experiences, but exclude abuse experiences since childhood. As well, there are several scales that examine history with abuse since adulthood, however, primarily within the context of sexual assault and/or family violence. Likewise, there are several scales that examine histories with trauma exposure, however, trauma includes warfare, natural disasters, as well as personal abuse. The variable in this study, "abuse history", has to do with an individual's experiences with abuse, specifically physical, sexual, verbal, and emotional abuse, over their lifetime (with or without intimate partners). I used just the victimization portion of the scale, excluding perpetration and asked participants to identify who abused them in the past (i.e., parents, teachers, and/or family members) after the CTS2-SF. I will validate the scale's reliability for use in the context of assessing violence victimization over a lifetime.

Multidimensional Perceived Social Support Scale (MPSS). The MPSS (Zimet, Dahlem, Zimet, & Farelly, 1988) was used to examine participants' experiences with social support prior to trafficking. The MPSS is a psychometric scale designed to explore the extent of perceived social support systems an individual has. This scale has an overall alpha of .88, which is considered a very strong measure. In addition, this scale has three subscales that specifically examine social support in the context of family, friends, and significant others with strong alphas of .87, .85, .91 respectively. The MPSS utilizes a seven point Likert scale to assess the 12 questions in the measure. This scale has also been used in a variety of studies involving various

cultures including Middle Eastern, African, Asian, and Hispanic (e.g., Edwards, 2004; Smith, Clark, Smuk, Cummins, & Stansfeld, 2015).

The extent to which participants have experienced victimization, social support adds to the multiplicity of identities developed and experienced by victims, as suggested by intersectionality theory as it will be used as an indicator of isolation. This measure was used to understand how entrapment factors typically presented in the literature assist traffickers' use of power and which kind of interpersonal social power is used at what phase.

Perception of Community Support Questionnaire (PCSQ). The PCSQ (Garcia & Herrero, 2007) is a standardized measure, originally developed in Spanish, that was used to examine participants' experiences with community support prior to trafficking. The scale has an overall alpha of .86, which is considered a strong measure. The PCSQ also has three subscales examining community organization, community participation, and community integration of the individual. The three subscales have alphas of .88, .88, and .86 respectively. This scale uses a five point Likert system to assess each of the 14 questions. The PCSQ has also been used in studies with diverse populations (e.g., Rubin & Kelly, 2015; Sorriabas, Banos, & Marin-Garcia, 2014).

The use of this questionnaire within the survey was to assess the extent of community support experienced by the participants prior to becoming trafficked. Intersectionality theory suggests that social institutions, policies, and structural obstacles induce oppression, isolation, and marginalization of disenfranchised groups within their environments. The extent to which participants have experienced community support may add to the multiplicity of identities developed and experienced by victims and adds to the understanding of displacement and

isolation participants may have experienced prior to victimization. This measure examined how entrapment factors typically presented in the literature determine the kind of interpersonal social power used at which phase. The extent of community support will also be used to understand the degree to which to the victims perceive the traffickers' interpersonal social power as suggested by Social Exchange Theory.

Measure of Interpersonal Power (MIP) was used to explore participants perceptions of trafficker' interpersonal social power at each phase of the trafficking experience. The Measure of Interpersonal Power (MIP) was developed by Garrison and Pate (1977) in response to the lack of a perceptual measure reflecting the proposed five bases of interpersonal social power by French and Raven (1959) in an interpersonal context. This scale offers 34 items which assess the five bases of interpersonal social power using a 7 point Likert scale. This scale has three major subscales that examine "positive personal power" (i.e., the positive valuation of the power possessor "This person is very qualified and I perceive this person as powerful.") (reliability was .89), "negative personal power" (i.e., the negative valuation of the power possessor "This person is incompetent, therefore I do not perceive this person to be powerful.") (reliability was .90), and "reward" power (i.e., the perceived ability of one to give or deny rewards for positive or negative motives) (reliability was .80). Additionally, there were two subscales "coercive" and "political" that I decided to include in this study. Though Garrison and Pate dropped these subscales for their low reliability, these subscales may, in fact, be more relevant to this study's population and therefore be much better indicators of the kind of power at play at specific periods in the trafficking experience. The MIP has an overall reliability factor of .90 which is considered high.

This scale has been used to study intimate partner violence between men and women (Claes & Rosenthal, 1990), and to explore gender-role conflict in help seeking (Blazina & Marks, 2001), which gives support for the use of MIP in this context. This scale was asked at each phase of the trafficking experience. In addition, at each phase, the participants will be asked additional questions offering context to their responses including: 1) Is this trafficker the same person as the previous trafficker (e.g., from recruitment to maintenance)?; 2) What was your relationship with this person (e.g., family, friend, lover)?; and 3) How long did this period last (e.g., 6 months, 2 years)?

Social Desirability Measure was used to measure the extent to which the participants are affected by social desirability when responding to the survey questions. In efforts to limit the threats of social desirability in this study, The Marlowe-Crowe Social Desirability Scale—Short Form, developed by Strahan and Gerbasi (1972), is included. This scale asks the participants to indicate a “true” or false” next to each statement. Higher ratings indicate higher social desirability issues.

Procedures for Data Collection

Each agency required slightly different procedures for data collection; however, all three agencies required that I was the sole recruiter and data collector.

Mosaic Family Services, Dallas, Texas

Because of the proximity of this agency, I was able to have more flexibility in data collection than with the other two agencies. Mosaic does not have support groups or other group services for victims of trafficking in its care making the data collection more sporadic. Initially, the agreement was that I would go to the agency once a week until at least 25 surveys are

completed and Mosaic would inform me of the most appropriate times, days, and location to conduct data collection which would be posted around the agency on a flyer provided by me (see Appendix C). However, in the end, Mosaic requested that I not conduct the research in this manner, rather, I should wait until they contacted me when a potential participant was identified.

YMCA International Services, Houston, Texas

In Houston, I collected data from individuals over a one to two day period in Houston once in July and again in August. Agency staff indicated an opportunity for participation in research to the clients at parenting classes and direct services; those who were interested approached me for more information.

Refugee Services of Texas, Austin, Texas

Data collection with Refugee Services of Texas (RST) was similar to that of Houston in that I traveled to the agency twice to seek participation during a two day window in which participants coming to the office for direct services could approach me about the project. I did this in October and again in November, 2015.

Participants were given a \$25 gift card to a major retailer as a thank you for participating in the study which I distributed to the participants after they completed the surveys. The data was collected in a space designated by the agency such as an empty office, conference room, or other meeting room. Before each participant completed the survey, I reviewed the informed consent with the participant, answered any questions participants had, and explained how the information will be handled and used. Once the consent was signed, I distributed the surveys to the participants. Upon completion, the participants returned the survey to me, and I gave them

the incentive. All efforts were made to conduct all data collection activities for each participant at the same time in the same space.

In addition, at each data collection session, at each site, I audio recorded the survey completion process. This was done to capture any information participants shared pertaining to items on the survey. Most participants in fact did not talk while the recorder was on, even after consenting to the recording. Rather, most waited until after the recorder had been turned off to share stories. In these cases, I attempted to detail their information on the back of their surveys; however complete recording of shared information was not always possible as the next participant was often waiting. This information will not be analyzed outside of providing more context to the data analysis interpretation.

Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics examined the characteristics of the sample. Chi square and non-parametric independent t-tests were completed to examine differences of socio-demographic variables between sex trafficking and labor trafficking participants. Upon completing an analysis of the characteristics of the sample, I used a non-parametric t-test (the Mann-Whitney U test) to explore differences in perceptions of power between sex and labor trafficking participants to answer research question 1.

$$U = N_1N_2 + \frac{N_1(N_1 + 1)}{2} - R_1$$

Lastly, hierarchical regression analyses were used to understand the perception of power at each phase of the trafficking experience as influenced by the entrapment factors (i.e., SES, abuse history, social support, and community support). In the hierarchical regression, the first model consists of entrapment terms shown to be correlated with the power subscales. The

second model consists of interaction terms created to test whether these interaction terms play a moderating role in some associations found in model 1.

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 (\text{SES})X_1 + \beta_2 (\text{abuse history}) X_2 + \beta_3 (\text{social support})X_3 + \beta_4 (\text{community support})X_4 + \beta_5 (\text{interaction term 1})X_5 + \beta_6 (\text{interaction term 2})X_6 + \beta_7 (\text{interaction term 3})X_7 + e^i$$

Because of the small sample size, I needed to reduce the number of variables used in the final regression models. It was found in this initial analysis that of the SES variables (education history, employment history, and poverty/financial strain) only poverty/financial strain was correlated with power subscales and other entrapment factors; hence, the financial regression model used poverty/financial strain as the variable to represent SES. Moreover, abuse history was not found to be correlated with power subscale or entrapment factors, but the age at the time of trafficking was. For this reason, the entrapment terms included in the final regression model included age at the time of trafficking, poverty/financial strain, total social support, and total community support.

Protection of Subjects

Research participants were informed that their participation was voluntary, as well they were informed of the risks and benefits of their participation. They were also informed that if they chose not to participate, or stop their participation while completing the survey, that there would be no university related repercussions nor would there be any agency related repercussions due to their participation. Confidentiality was maintained by not relating the consent form to the matched participant's completed survey. I did number each survey to correspond with the item number in the data set. The signed consent forms and completed surveys are being stored in a locked file cabinet in a locked office and will be for at least three

years after the completion of this study. The University of Texas at Arlington Institutional Review Board approved the study (see Appendix B).

Chapter 5

Results

This chapter reports the results of the data analysis from the completed surveys obtained from trafficking survivors surveyed. First, sample characteristics are discussed followed by an examination into group differences among the sample. Correlations are shown of entrapment factors and power at the different phases. Finally, the chapter concludes with the tests of the two hypotheses being studied.

This study attempts to shed light on an exploratory area of human trafficking inquiry involving victims' perceptions of traffickers' power across the victimization experience. Because of the exploratory nature of this study, I used the .10 significance level for the following reasons. First, to my knowledge, this is the first study examining victims' perception of power at three points in time during the victims' trafficking experience. Several scholars have suggested

the need to explore constructs of power during the trafficking experience (Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2012; Kim, 2012), but to date, no studies have attempted to explore this dimension of the trafficking experience—particularly with survivors of trafficking. Secondly, the low sample size of this project requires the use of a higher significance level.

Sample Characteristics

This section examines sample characteristics and offers an analysis of significant differences between sex and labor trafficking participants. Additionally, characteristics of participants specifically examining entrapment factors along with significant differences are provided.

As shown in Table 5-1, the sample was nearly evenly split between sex and labor trafficking experiences (48.4%, n=15 sex trafficking; 51.6%, n=16 labor trafficking; $\chi^2(2, n = 31) = 31.00, p = .00$) the majority of the sample was Hispanic in ethnicity from Mexico (45.2%) and Central America ($\chi^2(8, n = 31) = 14.23, p = .079$). In about a third of the sample, police intervention was used to help the victim get away from the trafficker, nearly 26% (n = 8) escaped from the trafficking situation, and nearly 20% (n = 6) escaped with the assistance of a good Samaritan ($\chi^2(4, n = 31) = 2.14, p = .71$). Nearly three-quarters of the sample (71%, n = 22) reported attempting to escape from the trafficking experience up to 3 times before being rescued or successfully escaping and 16% reported attempting to escape 10 times or more. The majority of respondents reported being single/never married prior to trafficking (74.2%, n=23; $\chi^2(6, n = 30) = 4.21, p = .65$).

Table 5-1

Characteristics of study participants.

Characteristics	All participants (%, N=31)	Sexual Trafficking (%, n=15)	Labor Trafficking (%, n=16)	χ^2
Nationality				
Mexico	45.2 (14)	33.3 (5)	56.3 (9)	14.13 ^t
Honduras	19.4 (6)	40 (6)	0	
El Salvador	12.9 (4)	13.3 (2)	12.5 (2)	
Guatemala	6.5 (2)	0	12.5 (2)	
Cambodia	3.2 (1)	0	6.3 (1)	
Kenya	3.2 (1)	0	6.3 (1)	
Nicaragua	3.2 (1)	6.7 (1)	0	
Nepal	3.2 (1)	6.7 (1)	0	
Sri Lanka	3.2 (1)	0	6.3 (1)	
Ethnicity				
Hispanic/Latino	87.1 (27)	93.3 (14)	81.2 (13)	1.34
Asian	9.7 (3)	6.7 (1)	12.5 (2)	
African	3.2 (1)	0	6.2 (1)	
How Rescued/Escaped				
Police	29.0 (9)	40 (6)	18.8 (3)	2.14
Escaped	25.8 (8)	20 (3)	31.3 (5)	
Good Samaritan	19.4 (6)	20 (3)	18.8 (3)	
Customer	6.5 (2)	6.7 (1)	6.3 (1)	
Other	19.4 (6)	13.3 (2)	25 (4)	
Number of Times Attempted Escape				
None	12.9 (4)	13.3 (2)	12.5 (2)	4.21
1 time	16.1 (5)	20 (3)	12.5 (2)	
2 times	22.6 (7)	26.7 (4)	18.8 (3)	
3 times	19.4 (6)	13.3 (2)	25 (4)	
4 times	3.2 (1)	0	6.3 (1)	
5 times	6.5 (2)	13.3 (2)	0	
10 times or more	16.1 (5)	13.3 (2)	18.8 (3)	
Type of Trafficking				
Sexual Trafficking Only	48.4 (15)	100 (15)	0	31.00**
Labor Trafficking Only	35.5 (11)	0	68.8 (11)	
Sex and Labor Trafficking	16.1 (5)	0	31.3 (5)	
Type of Employment				
Maid/House Cleaner	9.7 (3)	6.7 (1)	12.5 (2)	
Cashier	19.4 (6)	40 (6)	0	

Factory Worker	12.9 (4)	20 (3)	6.3 (1)	
Waitress	6.5 (2)	13.3 (2)	0	
Owned Food Business	6.5 (2)	6.7 (1)	6.3 (1)	7.11
Stay at home mom	6.5 (2)	0	12.5 (2)	
Sold Souvenirs	3.2 (1)	0	6.3 (1)	
Nurse	3.2 (1)	6.7 (1)	0	
Contractor Assistant	3.2 (1)	0	6.3 (1)	
Nanny	3.2 (1)	0	6.3 (1)	
Missing	22.6 (7)	0	43.8 (7)	
Marital Status				
Single/Never Married	74.2 (23)	80 (12)	68.8 (11)	
Married/Living together	6.5 (2)	6.7 (1)	6.3 (1)	1.21
Separated	16.1 (5)	13.3 (2)	18.8 (3)	
Divorced	3.2 (1)	0	6.3 (1)	
Widowed	0	0	0	

^tp<.10; *p<.05; ** p<.01

As shown in table 5-2, employment and education backgrounds of this sample revealed that about half of the participants were employed prior to becoming trafficked (54.8%, n = 17); however, sexually trafficked (73.3%, n = 11) participants tended report being employed more often than labor trafficking (37.5%, n = 6) participants prior to trafficking ($\chi^2(5, n = 31) = 7.11, p = .21$). All participants reported a fairly equal distribution of education achievements with 30% (n = 9) reporting primary education, and a quarter of the sample reporting having achieved college education prior to trafficking (25%, n = 8; $\chi^2(3, n = 31) = 2.39, p = .49$). Most of the sample (67%, n = 21) indicated that they had experienced abuse prior to trafficking ($\chi^2(1, n = 31) = .79, p = .31$). Examining experiences with poverty (as measured by financial strain, which was dichotomized to low and high strain experiences), the sample was nearly evenly split in experiencing low and high poverty ($\chi^2(1, n = 31) = 3.88, p = .05$). More sex trafficking participants reported experiencing high poverty (66.7%, n = 10) and more labor trafficking participant reported experiencing low poverty (68.8%, n = 11). In terms of experiencing social

and community supports, the sample was fairly evenly split between high and low supports. Sex trafficking participants (60%, $n = 9$) reported more community support experiences than labor trafficking (56.3%, $n = 9$; $\chi^2(1, n = 31) = .05, p = .56$).

Examining differences in the characteristics between sex and labor trafficking participants using Chi Square and non-parametric independent t-tests showed some statistically significant differences in their experiences with entrapment factors (i.e., SES, Abuse History, Social Support, and Community Support). As Table 5-2 shows, the age at which the participants were initially trafficked was significant ($\chi^2(4, n = 30) = 8.25, p = .083$) in which sex trafficking victims tended to be trafficked between the ages of 11-29, whereas labor trafficking victims had a much wider age range at the time of trafficking; specifically, sex trafficking participants tended to be in their teens when trafficked. Participants' employment history was also significantly different between these two groups, suggesting that more sex trafficking victims than labor trafficking victims were employed prior to trafficking ($\chi^2(1, n = 31) = 2.78, p = .095$). The nationality of the participant was also significant ($\chi^2(8, n = 31) = 14.13, p = .079$) suggesting that sex trafficking victims in this sample were mostly Central American whereas labor trafficking victims tended to be more diverse. Participants' history with poverty, which was dichotomized to low financial strain experiences and high financial strain experiences indicated a significant difference between sex and labor trafficking victims where more sex trafficking than labor trafficking victims experienced high financial strain/poverty prior to trafficking ($\chi^2(1, n = 31) = 3.89, p = .049$). Examining abuse history, participant ethnicity, and education achievement did not reveal significant differences between sex and labor trafficking participants.

Table 5-2

Characteristics of Study Sample and Entrapment Factors.

Entrapment Factor	All participants (%, N=31)	Sexual Trafficking (%, n=15)	Labor Trafficking (%, n=16)	χ^2
Age at Trafficking				
0-10	6.5 (2)	0	12.5 (2)	
11-19	35.5 (11)	53.3 (8)	18.8 (3)	
20-29	41.9 (13)	40 (6)	43.8 (7)	8.25 ^t
30-39	6.5 (2)	0	12.5 (2)	
40-49	6.5 (2)	0	12.5 (2)	
Missing	3.2 (1)	6.7 (1)	0	
SES				
Education				
Primary	29.0 (9)	40 (6)	18.8 (3)	
Some Secondary	22.6 (7)	20 (3)	25 (4)	2.11
Secondary Graduate	22.6 (7)	13.3 (2)	31.3 (5)	
Some or Graduate	25.8 (8)	26.7 (4)	25 (4)	
College				
Employment History				
Unemployed	41.9 (13)	26.7 (4)	56.2 (9)	2.78 ^t
Employed	58.1 (18)	73.3 (11)	43.8 (7)	
Financial Strain/Poverty				
Low	51.6 (16)	33.3 (5)	68.8 (11)	3.89*
High	48.4 (15)	66.7 (10)	31.3 (5)	
Abuse History				
Abuse	67.7 (21)	60 (9)	75 (12)	.80
No Abuse	32.3 (10)	40 (6)	25 (4)	
Total Social Support				
High	48.4 (15)	46.7 (7)	50 (8)	.03
Low	51.6 (16)	53.3 (8)	50 (8)	
Total Community Support				
High	58.1 (18)	60 (9)	56.3 (9)	.05
Low	41.9 (13)	40 (6)	43.8 (7)	

^tp<.10; *p<.05

Note: Only financial strain/poverty is used in regression to represent the entrapment factor SES due to the small sample size.

Table 5-3 examines which kind of power is strongest at each phase of the trafficking experience. I conducted a simple means test on the perceived power subscales to see which

power had the highest mean—or was being perceived the most. This is important to understand as what kind of power the participants generally perceived and how the entrapment factors may influence their perceptions of power differently at the different phases. Their perceptions of power could reveal understandings about power during the trafficking experience. During recruitment, coercive power (M = 5.77; SD = 1.49) has the highest mean indicating it is being perceived more strongly than the other types of power at this phase. During maintenance phase, coercive power (M = 6.16; SD = 1.33) was the highest mean, indicating that coercive power was most perceived during maintenance phase. During rescue/escape phase, coercive power, again, achieved the highest mean (M = 5.77; SD = 1.65).

Table 5-3

Means of power perceptions at each phase.

	Mean (N=31)	SD
Recruitment Powers		
Positive Personal	5.36	1.61
Negative Personal	2.89	1.80
Political	4.51	1.08
Coercive	5.77	1.49
Reward	4.80	1.77
Total Power	4.66	.90
Maintenance Powers		
Positive Personal	5.72	1.49
Negative Personal	2.36	1.32
Political	4.75	1.25
Coercive	6.10	1.33
Reward	4.94	1.79
Total Power	4.80	.83
Rescue/Escape Powers		
Positive Personal	5.36	1.61
Negative Personal	2.81	1.86
Political	4.56	1.16
Coercive	5.77	1.65
Reward	4.87	1.97
Total Power	4.69	.79

Additionally, reliability scores were calculated for each MIP power subscale (i.e., positive personal, negative personal, coercive, reward, and political powers as well as an additional “total power” subscale) at each phase to ensure that the scales were accurately reflecting what is being measured with this sample. This additional analysis is especially important as the scale being used to measure power (MIP) has not been used previously with this population. During recruitment phase, coercive power revealed an adequate reliability score for this sample ($\alpha = .52$), as did total power ($\alpha = .66$); however, reward power did not obtain an adequate reliability score for this sample ($\alpha = .14$). I decided to include reward power analysis in this dissertation as the analysis revealed interesting correlations that may be strengthened with a larger sample, as well, the reliability score may also strengthen with a larger sample. During Maintenance phase, negative personal power obtained an adequate reliability score ($\alpha=.67$). Finally, reliability scores for rescue/escape phase indicated strong reliability for positive personal power ($\alpha = .89$) and negative personal power ($\alpha = .85$), while political power did not achieve an adequate level for this sample ($\alpha = .32$). I decided to report these findings for the same reasons noted above for the poor reliability score during recruitment.

Differences on Entrapment Factors Between Sex and Labor Trafficking

To examine group differences in this sample, a Mann-Whitney U test was performed which is a non-parametric t-test used for small sample sizes. This test randomly assigns ranks to the items being tested from low to high, then reports the mean of these ranks to demonstrate group differences. The larger the differences are between group mean ranks, the more significant the difference is. The sum of ranks is the sum of the ranks assigned to the item from which the mean was achieved. The U statistic, based in the data, helps to determine if the

hypothesis can be accepted or rejected. If it is significant then we can reject our null that there are no group differences. Presented below are the means and standard deviations for group differences, as these are more commonly reported demonstrations of group differences, along with the Mann-Whitney U statistic (U), and the significance level.

Examining differences between sex and labor trafficking participants more significant differences were found. As Table 5-5 demonstrates, there were no significant differences between the groups in age at trafficking, education achievement, length of victimization, and abuse history. There were several significant differences found in other measures. Sex trafficking participants (M = 46.25, SD = 11.47) more than labor trafficking participants (M = 35.96, SD = 16.55) experienced financial strain prior to trafficking (U = 68 (z = -2.06), p= .04). Labor trafficking participants (M = 18.52, SD = 8.51) more than sex trafficking (M = 13.13, SD = 7.32) experienced significant other support prior to trafficking (U = 73 (z = -1.87), p = .06). However, sex trafficking participants (M = 14.79, SD = 6.04) more than labor trafficking participants (M = 11.00, SD = 6.60) experienced Community Organization support (U = 76 (z = -1.75), p = .08).

Table 5-5

Non-parametric independent t-test of group differences between sex and labor trafficking victims in ratio level entrapment factors.

	<u>Sex Trafficking</u> (n=15)		<u>Labor Trafficking</u> (n=16)		U	p
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Age at Trafficking	18.71	4.07	24.06	11.64	76	.13
SES						
Education	2.27	1.28	2.63	1.09	99	.39
Financial Strain/Poverty	46.25	11.47	35.96	16.55	68	.04*
Abuse History						
Total Abuse History	22.25	11.47	25.12	24.11	100	.59
Social Support						

Significant Other	13.13	7.14	18.52	8.51	73	.06 ^t
Family	13.13	7.32	17.50	10.57	90	.23
Friends	12.73	8.04	15.94	10.00	99	.40
Total	39.00	17.01	51.96	26.51	86	.18
Community Support						
Integration	9.87	3.02	11.44	4.99	96	.34
Participation	12.07	3.97	12.50	5.57	112	.72
Organization	14.79	6.04	11.00	6.60	76	.08 ^t
Total	36.73	8.71	34.94	12.47	113	.78

^t p<.10; * p<.05

Correlations among Entrapment Factors and Phases of Trafficking

Examining continuous level entrapment factors in Table 5-6 demonstrates that the age at trafficking is positively correlated with education prior to trafficking ($r(28) = .43, p = .018$), and is correlated with significant other support ($r(28) = .46, p = .010$). Age at the time of trafficking is also positively correlated with family support ($r(28) = .32, p = .081$), total social support ($r(28) = .35, p = .061$) and the level of community integration ($r(28) = .32, p = .085$). Education is positively correlated with employment ($r(29) = .35, p = .054$) and with community participation ($r(29) = .41, p = .021$). No other significant correlations were found.

Table 5-6
Correlations of continuous entrapment factors (N=31).

	Age at Trafficking	Education	Employment	Financial Strain/Poverty	Abuse History	Significant Other SS	Family SS	Friends SS	Total SS	Integration CS	Participation CS	Organization CS	Total CS
Age at Trafficking													
SES													
Education	.42*												
Employment	-.20	.35 ^t											
Total FSS	.25	.16	-.25										
Abuse History													
Total Abuse History	.10	.23	.18	.27									
Social Support													
Significant Other	.46**	.16	-.06	-.02	-.04								
Family	.32 ^t	.04	.02	-.14	-.30	.62**							
Friends	.15	.10	-.13	.05	-.27	.69**	.58**						
Total	.35 ^t	.11	-.08	-.05	-.24	.88**	.85**	.87**					
Community Support													
Integration	.32 ^t	.17	.06	-.16	-.06	.58**	.55**	.54**	.64**				
Participation	.24	.41*	.13	.01	.24	.33 ^t	.30	.24	.33 ^t	.67**			
Organization	-.04	-.13	-.23	.27	.20	-.24	-.26	-.08	-.22	.03	.04		
Total	.20	.17	-.06	.27	.20	.23	.19	.27	.26	.71**	.74**	.64**	

^tp<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01

As shown in table 5-7, I examined the correlations of the entrapment factors and the kinds of interpersonal social power at each phase of trafficking. No significant correlations at the recruitment or maintenance phase were found. However, at the rescue/escape phase, several significant correlations were revealed. Age at the time of trafficking was positively correlated with political power ($r(28) = .44, p = .015$) during the rescue/escape phase. The overall poverty measurement (Total FSS) was negatively correlated with negative personal power ($r(28) = -.38, p = .037$) and positively correlated with reward power ($r(29) = .37, p = .039$). Abuse history was positively correlated with coercive power ($r(28) = .34, p = .064$). Total Community Support was significantly correlated with positive personal ($r(29) = .33, p = .07$), negative personal ($r(28) = -.37, p = .045$), and political powers ($r(29) = .47, p = .008$).

Table 5-7

Correlations of entrapment factors and powers at the phases of trafficking experience (N=31).

	Education	Age at the time of trafficking	Employment	Total FSS/Poverty	Abuse History	Total SS	Total CS
Interpersonal Social Power							
Recruitment							
Positive Personal	-.03	.26	.06	-.18	.08	-.06	.14
Negative Personal	-.09	.12	.06	-.06	-.06	-.14	-.03
Political	-.07	.27	-.30	.03	-.10	-.15	.11
Coercive	-.16	-.10	.27	-.14	-.04	-.18	.07
Reward	-.04	.20	-.11	.18	.01	-.03	.21
Total	-.11	.30	.02	-.11	-.01	-.16	.15
Interpersonal Social Power							
Maintenance							
Positive Personal	-.26	.17	-.08	-.09	-.09	.03	.02
Negative Personal	-.22	-.31	.26	-.05	.27	-.25	-.20
Political	.11	.22	.05	.06	.07	.12	.29
Coercive	.07	.11	.26	-.12	.10	.12	-.19
Reward	-.09	.23	-.14	.10	.11	.21	.20
Total	-.21	.14	.08	-.07	.11	.03	.04
Interpersonal Social Power							
Rescue/Escape							
Positive Personal	-.19	.14	-.26	.12	.12	.10	.33 ^t
Negative Personal	-.13	-.15	.24	-.38*	-.10	-.22	-.37*
Political	.18	.44*	-.12	-.01	-.00	.23	.47**
Coercive	-.02	-.07	.28	-.11	.34 ^t	-.09	.09
Reward	-.08	.09	-.05	.37*	.15	.28	.28
Total	-.23	.12	-.03	-.07	.17	.07	.29

^t p<.10; * p<.05; ** p<.01

Test of Hypothesis 1—Group Differences in Power Perceptions

Hypothesis 1: *Sex trafficking victims will perceive stronger interpersonal social power at recruitment, maintenance, and rescue/escape phases than labor trafficking victims. At recruitment, sex trafficking victims will perceive traffickers to have stronger positive personal, coercive, and reward powers than labor trafficking victims. At maintenance, sex trafficking victims will perceive traffickers to have stronger negative personal, coercive, and reward powers than labor trafficking victims. At rescue/escape, sex trafficking victims will perceive traffickers to have stronger negative personal, coercive, and reward powers than labor trafficking victims.*

Table 5-8

Mann-Whitney U Test non-parametric test of group differences in perceived power by sex and labor trafficked participants.

	<u>Sex Trafficking</u> (n=15)		<u>Labor Trafficking</u> (n=16)		U	p
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Recruitment Phase						
Positive Personal	33.07	9.11	32.08	9.14	104	.526
Negative Personal	12.87	7.28	10.27	7.11	86	.285
Political	14.34	3.14	12.84	3.07	80.50	.185
Coercive	11.47	3.14	11.63	2.92	114	.807
Reward	9.53	3.07	9.67	4.06	103	.684
Total Power	81.36	14.44	76.22	17.96	86.50	.419
Maintenance Phase						
Positive Personal	32.13	11.53	36.31	5.17	107	.603
Negative Personal	9.53	5.71	9.31	5.02	111.50	.966
Political	13.43	3.45	15.00	3.98	103.5	.500
Coercive Power	11.07	3.37	13.50	.73	56	.007**
Reward	9.27	3.45	10.43	3.71	96	.333
Total Power	75.43	17.35	84.91	8.83	78	.152
Rescue/Escape Phase						
Positive Personal	43.01	7.08	30.38	11.12	103	.500
Negative Personal	10.87	6.57	11.60	8.44	112.50	.983
Political	12.83	3.17	14.47	3.68	104.50	.535
Coercive Power	11.53	2.88	11.56	3.74	106.50	.581
Reward	10.20	3.36	9.31	4.48	110	.688
Total Power	79.45	13.28	77.63	13.19	110.50	.934

** p<.01

To test the first hypothesis, I used a non-parametric independent t-test, the Mann-Whitney U test, to examine the differences in mean scores between sexual trafficking and labor trafficking participants in their perception of power at each phase of the trafficking experience. As shown on Table 5-8 there were no statistically significant differences between labor and sex trafficking victims in the recruitment or rescue/escape phase. Only in the maintenance phase did differences emerge. Labor trafficking victims ($M = 13.50$, $SD = .73$) more than sex trafficking victims ($M = 11.07$; $SD = 3.37$) perceived coercive power at the maintenance phase of trafficking ($U = 56.00$ ($z = -2.276$), $p = .007$, two tailed). The results of this test indicate that this hypothesis was not supported.

Test of Hypothesis 2—Factors Associated with Perceived Power

Hypothesis 2: *Victims who experienced more entrapment factors (i.e., more financial strain, lower education, no employment, more experiences with abuse, and lower social and community support) will perceive traffickers as having specific kinds of interpersonal social power (i.e., negative and positive personal, and reward powers) that vary across the phases (i.e., recruitment, maintenance, and rescue/escape) of the trafficking experience.* This hypothesis has three sub-hypotheses each presented separately with their respective analyses below.

Because of the small sample, I was limited in the number of predictor variables I could use in the regression analyses. I decided to limit independent variables (i.e., entrapment factors) to three or four variables. To determine which independent variable to use, I referred to the correlations tables to find variables that were significantly correlated with types power as well as consulted theory to determine which variables should be included even without significance. Finding that there were few significant correlations between entrapment factors and types of

power, in fact the only ones found were in rescue/escape phase, I decided that poverty, social support, and community support should be entrapment factors included in regression models as they were significantly correlated with powers at rescue/escape phase. Additionally, age at the time of trafficking, theoretically, should have influence over the perception of traffickers' power, and as such, I included age at the time of trafficking as an entrapment factor. Further, age at the time of trafficking correlated with more entrapment factors than did education, employment, or abuse history. For these reasons, I decided to include age as an entrapment factor. I then further examined the significant correlations between entrapment factors to create interaction terms. Entrapment factors that were significantly correlated were used to create interaction terms (i.e., age at the time of trafficking and poverty; age at the time of trafficking and social support; and social support and poverty).

For each phase, I conducted a two model linear hierarchical regression for each type of power using age at trafficking, poverty, total social support, and total community support as the independent variables in model one representing the simple entrapment factor variables. I used the interaction terms I created (i.e., age at the time of trafficking and poverty; age at the time of trafficking and social support; social support and poverty) in model two, representing the interaction terms.

Finally, I checked for multicollinearity issues in the regression using the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) score and tolerance in the regression analysis. The results of the VIF value should be less than 10 with tolerance less than 0.1 to assure that multicollinearity is not an issue (Abu-Bader, 2010). In each regression analysis, the VIF values were less than 2.5 and tolerance less than 0.1 for each independent variable indicating a low threat of multicollinearity issues

were present. Results for the hierarchical multiple regression are shown in Tables 5-9 through 5-17 below.

Hypothesis 2a: Recruitment. It was hypothesized that *victims' experiences with more entrapment factors at recruitment (i.e., more financial strain, lower education, no employment, more experiences with abuse, and lower social and community support) will perceive traffickers as having stronger positive personal, coercive, and reward powers than negative personal powers.*

Analysis of the perception of power during recruitment, revealed that none of the models significantly predicted perceptions of power. However, as shown in Table 5-11, a few significant results were found within models for three kinds of powers: Coercive, Reward, and Total Powers. The significance of these models are presented in the ANOVA table (Table 5-9) as well, the model summary is shown in Table 5-10.

Table 5-9

ANOVA results of hierarchical multiple regression models at recruitment phase

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Coercive Power					
Model 1	13.57	4, 28	3.39	.33	.86
Model 2	67.72	7, 28	9.67	1.05	.43
Reward Power					
Model 1	26.29	4, 27	6.57	.49	.76
Model 2	80.09	7, 27	11.44	.89	.53
Total Power					
Model 1	731.26	4, 26	182.81	.76	.56
Model 2	1414.81	7, 26	202.12	.84	.57

Note: No significance found in models

As shown in Table 5-10, adding the interaction terms to the second model generally strengthened the models in recruitment phase, supporting the notion that interaction terms are especially important in understanding perceptions of power during recruitment phase.

Table 5-10

Model Summaries of Hierarchical Multiple Regression at Recruitment Phase

	R ²	Adj. R ²	ΔR ²	ΔF(df)	p
Coercive Power					
Model 1	.05	-.11	.05	.33 (4, 24)	.86
Model 2	.26	.01	.21	1.96 (3, 21)	.15
Reward Power					
Model 1	.08	-.08	.08	.49 (4, 23)	.75
Model 2	.24	-.03	.16	1.40 (3, 20)	.27
Total Power					
Model 1	.12	-.04	.12	.76 (4, 22)	.56
Model 2	.24	-.05	.11	.95 (3, 19)	.44

Note: No significance found

As shown in the model summary (Table 5-10), adding the interaction terms increased the predictive capacity of the second model of coercive power by 21% ($\Delta R^2 = .21$), this increase resulted in a nearly significant model ($p = .15$). Nearly the same increase occurred in reward power in which the model experienced a 16% ($\Delta R^2 = .16$) increase in predictive capacity by including interaction terms, even though this increase did not produce a significant model. These results do not support the hypothesis that entrapment factors influenced the perception of positive personal, reward, and coercive powers at recruitment phase.

Table 5-11

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Influencing Perception of Power at Recruitment.

Variable	Model 1 Coercive			Model 2 Coercive			Model 1 Reward			Model 2 Reward			Model 1 Total Power			Model 2 Total Power		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i> <i>B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i> <i>B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i> <i>B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i> <i>B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i> <i>B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i> <i>B</i>	β
Age at Trafficking	-.04	.08	-.11	.01	.11	.03	.08	.10	.17	.20	.14	.43	.47	.43	.23	.73	.59	.36
Poverty	-.01	1.3	-.00	.16	1.2	.03	.33	1.51	.05	.43	1.49	.06	-6.66	6.50	-.22	-6.45	6.73	-.22
Total Social Support	-.02	.03	-.16	-.02	.03	-.18	-	.03	-.14	-.05	.04	-.32	-.24	.14	-.35	-.36	.18	-.57 ^t
Total Community Support	.02	.07	.07	.04	.06	.12	.08	.08	.21	.11	.08	.31	.14	.33	.10	.33	.35	.22
Poverty * Age at Trafficking				-.03	.18	-.04				-.21	.21	-.30				-.45	.99	-.14
Social Support * Age at Trafficking				.01	.00	.58*				.01	.01	.51 ^t				.03	.02	.37
Poverty * Social Support				-.07	.07	-.29				-.02	.08	-.08				.11	.33	.09

Note: Models were not significant.

^tp<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01

Examining the regression results (shown in Table 5-11) demonstrated that though there were not many significant findings, the associations between entrapment factors and perceptions of power provide the beginnings of understandings about this complex issue. Social support appears to be the most influential entrapment factor in perceiving coercive power during recruitment; however, this correlation is dependent on age at the time of trafficking. In other words, social support was a key factor in perceiving coercive power at recruitment; however, it was moderated by the age of the respondent as demonstrated by the interaction term social support and age at the time of trafficking ($\beta = .58; p < .05$).

Community support ($\beta = .21, p = \text{n.s.}$) was the most influential entrapment factor in perceiving reward power during recruitment. When interaction terms were added into the second model this relationship was lost and the interaction term social support and age the time of trafficking ($\beta = .51; p < .10$) was significantly correlated with the perception of reward power at recruitment and this term increased the influence that social support and age at the time of trafficking had in perceiving reward power.

In influencing the perception of total power, social support ($\beta = -.35; p = \text{n.s.}$) appeared to have the most influence. However, when the interaction terms were added in model 2, the influence of social support increased significantly ($\beta = -.57, p < .10$) due to the interaction term social support and age at the time of trafficking. These results indicate that interaction terms appear to have generally increased the strength of the standardized regression coefficients in perceiving coercion, reward, and total powers. In perceiving coercive power, the interaction term social support and age at the time of trafficking appears to be moderating the perception of power.

Hypothesis2b: Maintenance. At maintenance phase, it was hypothesized that victims' experiences with more entrapment factors at maintenance (i.e., more financial strain, lower education, no employment, more experiences with abuse, and lower social and community support) will perceive traffickers as having stronger negative personal, coercive and reward power than positive personal interpersonal powers.

Table 5-12

ANOVA results of hierarchical multiple regression models at maintenance phase

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Negative Personal Power					
Model 1	241.26	4, 27	60.31	2.56	.066 ^t
Model 2	361.96	7, 27	51.71	2.45	.055 ^t

^t p<.10

Examining the regressions for maintenance, as hypothesized negative personal power was found to have significant models at the $p < .1$ level, Model 1: ($F(4, 27) = 2.56, p = .066$; Model 2: $F(7, 27) = 2.45, p = .055$), as shown in Table 5-12. As with recruitment phase, adding the interaction terms in the second model strengthened the regression model, further suggesting support for the importance of exploring the interaction effects that influence perceptions of power during maintenance phase.

Table 5-13

Model Summary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression at Maintenance Phase

	R ²	Adj. R ²	ΔR ²	ΔF(df)	p
Negative Personal Power					
Model 1	.31	.19	.31	2.56 (4, 23)	.066 ^t
Model 2	.46	.27	.15	1.91 (3, 20)	.161

^t p<.10

As shown in Table 5-13, Model 1 accounted for 31% ($\Delta R^2 = .31$) of the variance on the scale of negative personal power. Adding interaction terms in model 2 increased the predictive capacity of the model by only 15% ($\Delta R^2 = .15$), indicating that the interaction terms had a smaller effect on the perception of power than the entrapment factors at recruitment phase. This analysis partially supports accepting the hypothesis that entrapment factors would influence victims' perception of negative personal, reward, and coercive powers as negative personal power was the only significantly perceived power at maintenance phase.

Table 5-14

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Influencing Perception of Power at Maintenance.

Variable	Model 1			Model 2		
	Negative Personal			Negative Personal		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Age at Trafficking	-.31	.13	-.44*	-.14	.17	-.20
Poverty	-.15	1.99	-.01	.22	1.91	.02
Total Social Support	-.02	.05	-.08	-.08	.05	-.35
Total Community Support	-.13	.10	-.25	-.18	.10	-.22
Poverty * Age at Trafficking				-.40	.27	-.37
Social Support * Age at Trafficking				-.00	.01	-.03
Poverty * Social Support Interaction				.20	.10	.45 [†]

Note: Model 1 and 2 were significant at $p < .10$

[†] $p < .10$; * $p < .05$

As demonstrated in Table 5-14, in Model 1 age at the time of trafficking ($\beta = -.44$, $p < .05$) significantly influenced the perception of negative personal power at maintenance phase, however, when interaction terms were added in model 2, this significance disappeared. This indicates a moderated mediating effect is present. That is, the interaction between poverty and social support ($\beta = .45$, $p < .10$) played a role in the

association between age at trafficking and perception of negative power. However, because of limited data, we cannot tell how this moderated mediator took place. This finding needs more exploration. However, it makes sense that age would significantly influence the perception of negative personal power as with age, one’s life experiences serve as a protective factor to adverse life events; conversely younger victims would be more likely to more positively value the power of those they perceive as having more power. This analysis partially supports sub-hypothesis two in that entrapment factors significantly influenced the perception of negative personal powers during maintenance phase; however, reward and coercive powers were not perceived.

Hypothesis 2c Rescue/Escape. It was hypothesized that *at rescue/escape phase, victims’ experiences with more entrapment factors at rescue/escape (i.e., more financial strain, lower education, no employment, more experiences with abuse, and lower social and community support) will perceive traffickers having stronger negative personal, coercive, and reward powers than positive personal power.* Additionally, it was hypothesized that at rescue/escape the kinds of power would not be as strongly perceived than at maintenance phase.

Table 5-15

ANOVA results of hierarchical multiple regression models at rescue/escape phase

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Positive Personal Power					
Model 1	394.80	4, 28	98.70	.99	.44
Model 2	441.99	7, 28	63.14	.56	.78
Negative Personal Power					
Model 1	608.78	4, 27	152.20	3.84	.016*

Model 2	639.99	7, 27	91.43	2.08	.095 ^t
Political Power					
Model 1	73.46	4, 28	18.37	2.29	.089 ^t
Model 2	106.09	7, 28	15.16	1.99	.105

^tp<.10; *p<.05

Two kinds of power were found to be statistically significantly perceived as shown in Table 5-15: Negative personal (Model 1: $F(4, 27) = 3.84, p = .016$; Model 2: $F(7, 27) = 2.08, p = .095$) and Political powers (Model 1: $F(4, 28) = 2.29, p = .089$; Model 2: $F(7, 28) = 1.99, p = .105$). However, unlike with recruitment and maintenance phases, the addition of interaction terms to the regression model did not strengthen the model, rather, they weakened the models consistently. This should be expected as during rescue/escape phase, the factors that made victims vulnerable to exploitation prior to trafficking should be less “important”, as other factors during exploitation perhaps become more important as vulnerability factors to trafficking.

Table 5-16

Model Summary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression at Rescue/Escape Phase

	R ²	Adj. R ²	ΔR ²	ΔF(df)	P
Positive Personal Power					
Model 1	.14	-.00	.14	.99 (4, 24)	.44
Model 2	.16	-.12	.02	.14 (3, 21)	.94
Negative Personal Power					
Model 1	.40	.30	.40	3.84 (4, 23)	.016*
Model 2	.42	.22	.02	.24 (3, 20)	.870
Political Power					
Model 1	.28	.16	.28	2.29 (4, 24)	.089 ^t
Model 2	.40	.20	.12	1.43 (3, 21)	.26

^tp<.10; *p<.05

Examining the significant outcome of political power, as shown in Table 5-16, reveals that adding interaction terms accounted for a 12% ($\Delta R^2 = .12$) increase in predictive capacity in the model indicating that interaction terms are important in understanding victims' perception of political power at rescue/escape phase of trafficking, although, again, the interaction terms in maintenance phase represented more of the predictive capacity than being shown here in rescue/escape phase. As shown in Table 5-16, the perception of negative personal powers was significantly influenced by the entrapment factors, and accounted for 40% ($\Delta R^2 = .40$; $p = .016$) of the predictive capacity of the model. However, when interaction terms were added, the model was weakened, losing its significant relationship and predictive capacity ($\Delta R^2 = .02$; $p = .870$).

Table 5-17

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Influencing Perception of Power at Rescue.

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 1			Model 2			Model 1			Model 2		
	Positive Personal			Positive Personal			Negative Personal			Negative Personal			Political			Political		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>b</i>
	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>		<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>		<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>		<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>		<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>		<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	
Age at Trafficking	.20	.26	.16	.07	.39	.05	-.19	.17	-.19	-.80	.25	-.08	.13	.07	.43 ^t	.06	.10	.15
Poverty	-.17	4.01	-.01	-.42	4.23	-.02	-4.44	2.58	-.30 ^t	-4.18	2.76	-.28	-.62	1.13	-.10	-.72	1.11	-.12
Total Social Support	-.02	.09	-.04	-.03	.12	-.07	-.04	.06	-.12	-.06	.08	-.20	.00	.03	.00	-.01	.03	-.09
Total Community Support	.36	.20	.36 ^t	.37	.22	.38	-.28	.13	-.38*	-.29	.15	-.36 ^t	.13	.06	.43*	.16	.06	.51*
Poverty * Age at Trafficking				.30	.62	.15				-.26	.39	-.18				.22	.16	.34
Social Support * Age at Trafficking				-.01	.02	-.10				.00	.01	.00				.00	.00	.04
Poverty * Social Support				.09	.23	.11				.08	.14	.13				.04	.06	.16

Note: Positive personal power models were not significant; Negative personal power model 1 significant $p < .05$, model 2 significant $p < .10$. Political power model 1 significant $p < .10$, model 2, not significant.
^t $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

As shown in Table 5-17, Total Community Support ($\beta = -.38, p = .042$) was significantly correlated with positive personal, negative personal, and political powers at rescue/escape phase. However, none of the interaction terms indicated moderating effects that influenced the perception of power; in other words, these associations were not conditional on any other factors. This indicates that community support is the key factor for influencing the perception that traffickers possess positive personal, negative personal, and political powers at rescue phase, no matter what other factor/circumstances occur.

When the interaction terms were loaded in the second model, the regression coefficients for many of the entrapment factors increased. For example, the coefficient for poverty increased sharply from Model 1 ($\beta = -4.44, p = \text{n.s.}$) to Model 2 ($\beta = -.30, p < .10$), suggesting that interaction effects, though only accounting for 2% ($\Delta R^2 = .02$) of the predictive capacity (see Table 5-16) of the model, did influence victims' perception of power during rescue/escape phase, though not as much than at maintenance, as hypothesized. In other words, the inclusion of interaction terms did moderate trafficking victims' perception of negative personal power at rescue/escape phase, though not as strongly than as at maintenance in which the interaction terms accounted for 15% ($\Delta R^2 = .15$) of the predictive capacity of the model.

This analysis suggests that a partial acceptance of the hypothesis that entrapment factors influenced victims' perception of negative personal, reward, and coercive powers at rescue as negative personal power was significantly predicted. However, two powers not hypothesized to be perceived, were, in fact, perceived, suggesting further exploration is needed. Additionally, the

hypothesis that at rescue/escape phase the perceived powers negative personal, reward, and coercive powers would be weaker than at maintenance phase is supported as the predictive capacity of the models was lower at rescue/escape phase than at maintenance phase.

Social Desirability Testing

Survey participants were given the Marlowe-Crown Social Desirability scale to test for threats to social desirability in the data. After conducting a reliability test for the scale with the participants in this study, it was found that the scale was unsuitable for use with this sample ($\alpha = .35$). As such, I cannot determine threats to social desirability that may exist in this study.

Chapter 6

Discussion

This chapter discusses the results of the study in the context of the extant literature concerning human trafficking. I begin with a discussion of the results followed by examinations of the tested hypotheses. Implications to theory, policy, social work education, and practice are also presented.

The significance of this study is, primarily, that it is the first of its kind, to my knowledge, to examine the key components of victims' perceptions of power throughout the trafficking experience, as influenced by entrapment factors. This study sought to explore how victims experience coercion through the more salient construct of power (Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2012; Kim, 2012), of which coercion is a form of power, so as to better understand power at each phase of the trafficking experience. This enhanced knowledge, I believe, will assist providers improve prevention, intervention, and after-care services for victims of trafficking by better targeting the unique needs this population has at each phase of the experience.

Moreover, this study sought to understand the unique experiences of sex versus labor trafficking victims to better understand how to target prevention, intervention, and after-care services for each sub-population. Until recently, few studies examined these within group differences among human trafficking survivors (e.g., Simich et al., 2014), which are important as even subtle differences may account for wide variances in how providers may think about approaching this population during prevention, intervention, or after-care services.

Discussion of Results

Below I discuss general sample characteristics in the context of extant literature, followed by more specific examinations of results of the tested hypotheses. As a note, it is difficult to determine the similarities and differences between this sample and samples in the literature for the variables I examined, as for example, social and community support has not been often used as a variable in trafficking research. However, when possible, I provide citations for these similarities and differences.

Sample Description

Demographics. The sample in this study was primarily Hispanic (87.1%), originating from Mexico (42.2%), which is similar to other studies on trafficking (Farrell et al., 2010). However, the primarily Hispanic sample is not surprising since the study was conducted in Texas where, in 2015, 40% of the population is Hispanic (Texas Department of Health and Human Services, Population Projections, 2015). Asians (9.7%) and Africans (3.2%) also participated in this study which was nearly evenly split between sex (48.4%) and labor trafficked (51.5%) individuals. However, 16% of the labor trafficked participants self-reported experiencing both forms of trafficking. For the purposes of data analysis these participants were included in the labor sample. About a third of the sample (n=9) were rescued by the police, a quarter through escape (n=8), and another six were aided by a good Samaritan. This is somewhat comparable to other studies such as Owens and colleagues (2014) reporting 19% of their sample having police intervention, nearly 60% escaped, and 38% were aided by good Samaritans.

Entrapment Factors. Sex and labor participants experienced similar entrapment experiences prior to trafficking. In general, the significant majority of the *age at the time of*

trafficking was between 11 and 29 years of age for both sex and labor victims, which appears to support literature (Farrell et al., 2010). However, testing of group differences did not reveal significant differences in age at the time of trafficking between sex and labor participants. Participants in this sample were fairly well *educated* with a third achieving primary education and a quarter having achieved at least some college (25.8%). Though not significant, labor trafficked participants tended to be slightly more educated (31.1% had graduated High School) than sex trafficking participants (40% received primary education only) in this sample. Similarly, Dank et al. (2014) study found that victims were more well educated than previous studies have suggested (e.g., Chauvin et al., 2009). In this current study, participants also reported significant *employment history* in that more sex trafficking (73.3%) than labor trafficking (43.8%) participants were employed prior to becoming trafficked. Interestingly, labor trafficking participants were nearly evenly split between being employed and unemployed prior to trafficking whereas three-quarters of the sex trafficking participants were employed prior to trafficking. This finding appears to neither support nor contradict previous findings in the literature suggesting that lack of education and economic opportunities are significant risk factors for trafficking vulnerability (Chauvin et al., 2009; Efrat, 2015; Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007; Zimmerman et al., 2008).

In terms of experiences with *poverty*, labor trafficking (68.8%) participants significantly more than sex trafficking (33.3%) participants reported low financial strain prior to trafficking in spite of reporting more unemployment experiences. Owens and colleagues (2014) in their study of labor trafficking survivors noted that labor trafficked victims identified that a “lack of upward mobility, economic opportunity... drove many...to seek employment overseas” (p. 29), a similar

finding was also noted by Dank et al. (2014) and Preble et al. (2015) in studies of sex trafficking and prostitution survivors.

Though there were no significant differences in abuse experiences between sex and labor trafficking participants, participants in this study reported that there were more *prior abuse* experiences (67.7%), in general, than no abuse experiences (32.3%), which is consistent with the extant literature in human trafficking studies (Efrat, 2015; Gushulak & MacPherson, 2000; Zimmerman, Hossain, & Watts, 2011). More specifically, in this study, labor trafficking participants (75%) more than sex trafficking participants (60%) reported more abuse experiences. The entrapment factor abuse history was not a significant predictor of power perception, nor was it experienced significantly differently by sex or labor trafficked participants. This is particularly interesting as much literature suggests prior abuse history is a major entrapment factor used by traffickers to recruit, control, and prevent escape (Chauvin et al., 2009; Kramer & Berg, 2003; Logan et al., 2009; Rosenblatt, 2014; Ugarte, 2000). The finding could be indicating a hesitancy among this sample to report prior abuse histories or it may be an issue of defining prior abuse histories differently across cultures. A few participants offered a little insight about abuse histories such that possible verbal and neglectful abuse experiences may have been present in their lives, but they did not believe this was abusive. It is also possible that abuse history is not a causal indication to future exploitation experiences. Much more study is needed to determine the extent to which prior abuse histories influence risk to becoming trafficked, and later influences perceptions of traffickers' power during the trafficking experience.

There were no significant differences found between sex and labor trafficking participants in experiences with *total social or community support* suggesting that both populations experienced similar social environments; however, more labor trafficking (M = 18.52; SD = 8.51) than sex trafficking participants (M = 13.13; SD = 7.14) experienced more significant other support prior to trafficking, while more sex trafficking (M = 14.79; SD = 6.04) than labor trafficking participants (M = 11.00; SD = 6.60) experienced community organization support prior to trafficking. It is possible that because some of the labor trafficked participants were older at the time of trafficking (the “oldest” trafficked participant was 47 at the time of trafficking) this could be influencing this finding such that they would have had more opportunities for social support whereas the generally younger sex trafficked participants would not have had as many friends and significant others to serve as protective factors for them. That sex trafficking victims experienced more community organization support prior to trafficking is interesting and seemingly not logical. However, in reflecting upon what participants disclosed during the survey, participants indicated higher community engagement while they were in primary school as they were engaged in civic events, such as parades and community clean-ups, much more during this period in their lives than at any other time. Given that sex trafficking participants were more likely to have acquired only primary education, this explanation seems plausible. However, this general finding neither supports nor contradicts current literature involving understandings of community and social support experiences among trafficked individuals since no significant differences were found among the total experience. However, literature does suggest lack of community and social support systems increases the vulnerability to trafficking (Bhattacharjea, 2008; Hay, 2004; Hovey & Mangana, 2002; Raigrodski, 2015).

Discussion of Hypotheses Testing

Hypothesis 1: Sex and Labor Trafficking Participants' Perceptions of Power

Hypothesis one asserted that sex trafficking victims more than labor trafficking victims would perceive interpersonal powers at each phase of the trafficking experience. The findings of this study did not support this hypothesis. There were no significant differences in perceptions of power between sex and labor trafficking participants, with one exception. Labor trafficking victims ($M = 13.50$, $SD = .73$) more than sex trafficking victims ($M = 11.07$; $SD = 3.37$) perceived coercive power at the maintenance phase of the trafficking experience.

Intersectionality directs an investigation into within group differences. The results of this study revealed that there were few real group differences among human trafficking survivors, in general (see discussion of sample characteristics above); however, one significant difference in perceptions of power was found. To my knowledge there have been no studies examining differences between sex and labor trafficking victims' perception of power to date. Labor trafficking victims more than sex trafficking victims perceived coercive power at the maintenance phase, which was the only significant difference in all of the phases in terms of the perception of specific kinds of power. This was a surprising finding in that the literature and theory would suggest that perhaps sex trafficking victims more than labor trafficking victims would perceive coercive tactics during all of the phases, but especially during the maintenance phase when traffickers typically impose more abusive treatment, sleep deprivation, and other means of coercive control (Dank et al., 2014; Davidson, 2013; O'Connor & Healy, 2006; Owens et al., 2014). Findings in this study perhaps suggest that it is possible that during maintenance phase, when victims are relocated often repeatedly into new unknown environments, all while

being abused by the traffickers, that this change in social environments alters victims' sense of traffickers' power, making this phase more caustic in their memories. This explanation helps to understand why, perhaps, victims lose "respect" for traffickers' legitimate power, and are more impacted by the loss of social and community connectedness.

The finding that the negative valuation of traffickers' power is significant is interesting as it suggests that victims, perhaps, do not believe traffickers have a legitimate basis for power, in spite of the exploitation they are under. Perhaps it is a combination of time and change in the social environment that is influencing the perception of negative personal power during maintenance phase, more than the actions of the traffickers themselves. However, recent studies such as Owens et al. (2014) and Baldwin et al. (2014) examining the experiences of labor trafficking victims have found the traffickers' use of humiliation, shame, and sleep deprivation served to undermine victims' sense of supporting their families or having an ability to complete tasks which, in turn, prevented their escape. Similar reports from sex trafficking focused studies have also suggested extreme physical, emotional, and sexual brutality (Aronowitz & Dahal, 2014; Cwikel & Hoban, 2005; Davidson, 2013; Dank et al., 2014; Laczko & Gramegna, 2003; O'Connor & Healy, 2006). Additionally, Simich et al. (2014) found that labor trafficking victims more than sex trafficking victims were made to feel unsafe or scared while working. However, to date, I am unaware of any comparative studies of the experiences of sex and labor trafficking victims to understand how the preferred methods of recruiting, controlling, and preventing escape traffickers may use vary between trafficking type, and hence creating a unique coercive bond.

Finding that there is little difference between labor and sex trafficking victims in terms of their perception of power, coupled with few differences in entrapment experiences prior trafficking, is important as this finding supports questioning the notion that sex trafficking is inherently different than labor trafficking and perhaps the victims experience more trauma or coercive tactics than labor trafficking victims. This finding suggests that more study is needed in exploring the legitimacy of conceptualizing sexual trafficking as uniquely different from labor trafficking.

Hypothesis 2: Perceptions of Power at Each Phase of Trafficking Experience

Hypothesis two argued that all trafficking victims would perceive specific kinds of interpersonal power at specific phases and that the entrapment factors would influence these perceptions. This general hypothesis was partially supported. At recruitment, I hypothesized that victims would perceive positive personal, coercive, and reward powers, which was not substantiated in this study. At maintenance phase, I suggested negative personal, coercive and reward powers would be perceived. Findings revealed only coercive powers were being perceived at this phase, which was influenced by age at the time of trafficking. Finally, at rescue/escape phase, I postulated that negative personal, coercive, and reward powers would be perceived however, at a lower strength than at maintenance phase. The findings of this study partially supported my hypotheses. These perceptions were influenced by community support. While negative personal power was significant, positive personal and political powers (not hypothesized) were also significant at this phase.

The examinations of power perceptions as influenced by entrapment factors revealed several surprising results. First, the lack of significant power perceptions at recruitment is

interesting as literature and theory would suggest some of the strongest perceptions of power would occur here (Aronowitz & Dahal, 2015; Blau, 1965; Dank et al., 2014). Considering Social Exchange Theory and Intersectionality Theory as they relate to the results of this study suggest that victims may initially perceive the possibility of equal exchanges and that these exchanges are highly influenced by the intersected identities from prior life experiences. However, in later stages of the trafficking experience, these exchanges become less and less equal and less dependent on intersected identities (such as age at the time of trafficking and social support) from previous experiences.

The results of the analyses also revealed that the interaction terms (i.e., age at the time of trafficking and poverty, age at the time of trafficking and social support, and social support and poverty) were important moderating variables to the perception of power at each phase. These terms were strongly influential during recruitment and gradually became less important to the perception of power at maintenance and rescue/escape phases. This analysis points to the importance of understanding how intersected identities, in fact, greatly influence the perception victims have of their power, or in this case, oppression, within the environment. The intersections of poverty, age at the time of trafficking, and social support, as studied in this project, served to, in many cases, increase the degree to which entrapment factors influenced the perception of a predicted power, particularly in the beginning of the trafficking experience. Indeed, the intersected marginalization victims experience through poverty, age, and social connectedness prior to becoming trafficked appears to have exacerbated victims' perception of oppressive life experiences and the perception that traffickers have powers they may not have actually had.

Recruitment. During recruitment I hypothesized that victims would perceive positive personal, coercive, and reward powers. Results indicated that during recruitment, the influence of social support, moderated by age at the time of trafficking, appears to influence perceptions of coercive, reward, and total powers. Given that coercive power undergirds perceptions of power, in general, during recruitment phase participants indicated that they perceived traffickers to have the ability to manipulate actions (coercive power) and to actualize promises (reward power) but felt as though they were being manipulated at the same time. Further, that the entrapment factors did not influence power perception at recruitment until the interacting terms (i.e., age at the time of trafficking * social support; age at the time of trafficking * poverty; poverty * social support) were added to the second model is also surprising. This suggests that, although not statistically significant in this study, the intersected identities of entrapment experiences are perhaps more influential in recruitment phase than simply SES, social support, or community support alone in influencing victims' perception of power. However, in later stages of the trafficking experience these intersected identities become less influential in the perception of power as by rescue/escape, there were no significant interaction terms moderating the perception of power by rescue/escape phase. In recruitment phase, there were no significant findings to suggest victims feel particularly coerced into the trafficking situation; however, the interactions of the age at the time of trafficking and social support were significant terms influencing the perception of coercive and reward powers. Moreover, coercive power was the strongest power perceived at recruitment phase. The lack of finding significant models that predicted a perceived power type suggests that perhaps victims felt as if this exchange had their best interests in mind and they had negotiated the best decision they could at that time.

Maintenance. At maintenance phase I suggested negative personal, coercive and reward powers would be perceived. Results indicated that negative personal power was the only perceived power revealed, which is interesting as this scale measures the victims' *negative valuation* of the power of their trafficker (e.g., "This person is incompetent, therefore I did not perceive her/him to be powerful"; "I don't respect this person; therefore, I don't perceive him/her to be powerful). The results indicate that for each year older a participant was at the time of trafficking they perceived less negative personal power during maintenance phase by .44 units. Additionally, negative personal power was found to have the lowest mean among interpersonal powers at maintenance phase, suggesting it to being the least perceived power. To understand this seemingly contrary result, I reflected on what a few of the victims talked about concerning their experiences (note: most of the participants, although consenting to the audio recording, waited until the recorder was off to detail their experience). They talked about not having an alternative or knowing how they could get out, making statements such as: No, I didn't respect them, I didn't want to do what they said, but what else could I do? (paraphrasing).

Realizing that this perception is undergirded by the general sense of coercive power suggests that perhaps participants did not necessarily believe traffickers' as capable power holders, but rather were being manipulated to remain in the exploitive relationship. It may be that it is not the coercive power traffickers themselves possess, but the coercive power of the intersected life experiences prior to trafficking that is influencing the victims' perception of traffickers' power at maintenance. In other words, victims, in this sample, did not think traffickers' competently held their positions of power, but were feeling manipulated, compelled, by the intersected experiences of youth, poverty, and the lack of social support and community

support prior to trafficking such that they felt they had no other option but to remain with the trafficker. In fact, some of the participants did talk about their feelings of not having an alternative. A couple of participants, in particular, talked about finding themselves under the care of their homeless and mentally ill mother's friend after their abusive/alcoholic father abandoned them at the ages of 6 and 8 years old. This woman told the girls that she had promised their mother that she would care for them. She immediately began having them clean houses and commercial properties in lieu of attending school and would later traffick the women to Texas to clean all the while using a blend of Catholicism and Santeria to intimidate and confuse the girls into not escaping. These participants demonstrate, viscerally, how the entrapment factors themselves may play a role in influencing the perception of power, and not that the trafficker is particularly adept at manipulating these life experiences for their advantage. This is a subtle difference that may be vitally important in future studies.

Applying theory to the results at maintenance, labor trafficking victims more than sex trafficking victims perceived coercive power, which was the only group difference found among perceived powers. While the analyses suggested a significant perception of negative personal power at maintenance, which was highly influenced by the age at the time of trafficking, victims may have felt as though, during maintenance, their ability to negotiate power equally was compromised but they did not believe the trafficker was particularly worthy of having the power they possessed. This seems to suggest that something external (e.g., the social environment or the change of social environment) must be compromising the victims' ability to effectively negotiate their power in their favor during maintenance. One explanation for this variance, is that at maintenance phase victims realize their traffickers are not the coercive, abusive, omnipresent

beings suggested in the literature, or perhaps the abuse has worn out its usefulness as demonstrated in recent studies by Gould (2014) and Marcus et al. (2014), but, rather, compel their victims to perform actions because of the absence of an alternative. In other words, yes, victims do what they are told and are fearful of repercussions if they do not perform the mandated task, but it could be that what is controlling them is the lack of alternative options known to them. It is not coercion, abuse, or fear that is holding victims' hostage, rather, it is the lack of social and community connectedness which would otherwise serve as a protective factor against their exploitation. This supports some studies that are beginning to emerge (e.g., Balinger, 2014) that are documenting the plight many migrant workers face when mired in exploitive work situations and have few, if any, protections or alternatives to the work they are doing and the need for exited survivors to overcome the isolation imposed upon them through government regulations and cultural expectations. Further, they must also overcome the near constant surveillance they experience at the hands of their traffickers while being exploited (Hovey & Mangana, 2002; Owens et al., 2014; Weber et al., 2004). More study of this explanation is needed.

Rescue/Escape. I postulated that during the rescue/escape phase, negative personal, coercive, and reward powers would be perceived; however, at a lower strength than at maintenance phase. The findings at the rescue/escape phase suggest that a rise in prior community support resulted in an increase of positive personal power, a reduced perception of negative personal power, and an increased perception of political power. However, when examining the strength of perceived power from maintenance to rescue/escape, evidence that power is weaker at rescue/escape phase is suggested. Interestingly, political power, though not

hypothesized at any phase, was significant at the rescue/escape phase of the experience. The questions having to do with political power were as follows: “He/she has no political influence.”, “This person has a lot of political clout.”, and “This person is able to delegate responsibility to others”. In interacting with the participants they often asked how to answer these questions, particularly at the rescue/escape phase, as they did not know if their traffickers, in fact, had friends in politics. I believe that the questions were inappropriate for this population. Moreover, the answer options were on a seven-point Likert scale, in which 4 was “neutral”. Many of my participants selected neutral in the absence of an “I don’t know” option. I suspect that these answers may be skewing the results of this particular power type. Continuing the logic from theoretical applications during maintenance phase, participants’ responses suggest that at rescue/escape they perceived traffickers as not being particularly worthy of holding various kinds of power but felt as though their ability to negotiate their power was compromised; although their power was less compromised than during maintenance phase.

Another interesting outcome of this study is that the rescue/escape phase of the trafficking experience revealed far more significant results than the other two phases. One explanation for this may be that this was the most recent salient memory of the experience hence the one with the strongest feelings and memories associated with it. Additionally, it is possible that victims, while thinking about their rescue/escape experiences, may be conflating their experiences with their traffickers with experiences they initially had with their service providers during rescue or escape, which is resulting in the significance of positive valuation of traffickers’ power as well as the importance of prior community support at this phase. This explanation is somewhat supported in that at the rescue/escape phase, positive personal power (the positive

attribution of power toward the trafficker) was revealed (although the model was not significant) which coincided with a reduction of the negative valuation of traffickers' power.

It has been well-documented that in particular, the rescue process is traumatizing, confusing, and can be rather violent (Ahmed & Seshu, 2012; Soderland, 2005; Magar, 2012). Often victims are confused as to whom they can trust after the rescue operation as law enforcement and even service providers can be perceived as another trafficker-like person in the eyes of the victim (Owens et al., 2014). Moreover, victims who escape, often wait many months or years before seeking social service support (Owens et al., 2014). Additionally, there is the obvious change in social environments that is inherent in the rescue or escape process which is, again, unknown to the victim but well known to the service providers (or persons in authority). It seems logical that the participants in this sample may be reporting this time of confusion and trauma in which service providers and traffickers may have been one in the same in the victims' point of view. Some studies that are critical of rescue-focused interventions have suggested that the participants in the studies did not know why they were in shelter (Nair, 2003), and equated shelter/rehabilitation programs with jail and were places in which survivors experienced further abuse leading them to return to their traffickers (Ahmed & Seshu, 2012). These, and similar studies, perhaps support the idea that at rescue/escape traffickers and service providers are one in the same to the victim, at least initially.

Limitations

Findings of the study need to be considered within the context of its limitations including sample size and threats to the reliability and validity of the methodology of the study. The

following examines these limitations, as well as, indicates areas for future study that derive from the results of the current study.

Sample Size

The first major limitation in this study is the small sample size. The small samples limit interpretations of the results and findings cannot be generalized to the larger human trafficking population (sex and labor). Among quantitative studies of trafficking populations, other researchers have also appeared to be challenged with low samples and the hard to reach nature of this population (Dovydaitis, 2011; Piper, 2005). In fact, recent studies have included samples as small as 20 survivors of trafficking (e.g., Crawford & Kaufman, 2008, N=20; Rosenblatt, 2014, N=25).

Although I had prior relationships with each agency and I met with each agency several times to discuss the project and strategize with them about best practices to increase the participation, I was still reliant on agency staff to be “on board” in allowing me to have access to the potential participants to recruit for this study. Initially providers were very supportive, and generally remained so throughout the process; however, as the project continued and problems with recruitment ensued, providers became increasingly frustrated and foci changed. With this decrease in research support, referrals for participation also waned. I made every effort to maintain weekly contact with each agency contact, unless otherwise agreed that I would contact them on specific dates. To keep staff engaged in the research process and make sure they had opportunities to ask questions about the research or address concerns, I attended staff meetings, when permitted, baked cookies for the staff, and invited staff to lunches or coffee.

I made every effort possible to increase the sample size, which was a constant challenge throughout this project. I had originally narrowed the study population to sex trafficking survivors only; however, following the suggestions of my collaborative agencies, and consulting with my dissertation committee, I later included labor trafficking survivors increasing my sample by 50%. I had also originally offered participants a \$10 incentive for participation, primarily because I funded this dissertation from my own money. However, based on feedback from my collaborative agencies I decided to increase the incentive to \$25 per participant which helped increase the sample as well. While collecting data in Houston and Austin, I arranged for food to be present during the survey period, which helped the participants willingness to complete the surveys. Lastly, I volunteered to teach English to shelter residents at the Dallas agency in efforts to be more familiar among potential participants and the staff. This strategy proved not to be helpful as only one participant was utilizing shelter services, and direct services staff were often not at the shelter.

Due to the small sample size, I was unable to conduct the data analysis I had planned (mixed-models regression analysis), which would have allowed me to more easily and robustly examine the data more like longitudinal data, and would have provided the interactions as part of the analysis, rather than having to create them myself. The small sample also limited my ability to explore cultural nuances of perceptions of power. Most of the sample was Hispanic, making my sample too homogenous, rendering my ability to compare across ethnic or national groups impossible due to a lack of diversity.

Reliability and Validity Threats

Reliability limitations. Reliability concerns in research have to do with does the research consistently examine or measure what it sought to examine or measure across subpopulations, time (Lund Research, 2012). Threats to reliability in this study include changing the participant criteria for inclusion, using an audio recorder during the survey, and changes in the type of data collection facility.

Changes to participant criteria. As detailed earlier, to increase the sample size about half way through the data collection phase, I needed to include labor trafficking survivors. This study was originally conceptualized for sex trafficking survivors only, rendering the inclusion of labor trafficking survivors as potentially haphazard. However, the inclusion of labor trafficking proved to strengthen the study in terms of gaining the ability to examine within group differences among trafficking victims, which served to allow more contextual understandings of power perceptions among trafficking survivors.

Audio recording. The use of an audio recorder while participants completed the survey appeared to increase participants' discomfort with disclosing information about their experience that may have offered context to the answers given in the survey. Though the participants consented verbally and in writing to having the recorder on, most of them did not discuss their experiences until after the recorder was off. When I mentioned this to one service provider, she commented that law enforcement officers often complain of the same issue and have not been able to find a solution to the issue. The presence of the recorder appeared to inhibit participants' willingness to talk about their experiences, and may have impacted their answers to the survey questions inadvertently in that participants may have been hyper-aware of the recorder and less

focused on the survey questions. When the recorder was turned off, participants became visibly less tense, and generally offered to detail substantial portions of their trafficking experiences. I attempted to detail the information in writing after the participant left the room, but I was not always able to do this as the next participant was often waiting.

Data collection facility. Finally, changes in the facilities where data collection was conducted may have contributed to reliability threats in this study in that there were three different agencies collaborating in this research in three different locations in the state of Texas, and each time data was collected in these agencies, the exact location of data collection (i.e., office, conference room) was different depending on the availability of the agency space. The interactions agency staff had with the participants may have been different depending on the organization's culture, agency type (secular or faith-based), and funding source of the agency.

Validity limitations. Validity constraints in research considers whether the research actually examines or measures what it sought out to do (Lund Research, 2012; Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002). Validity threats to this study include carry over effects (repeated measures), retrospective data collection, inconsistent reliability scores of the MIP, and researcher expectancy.

Carry over effects. The repeated measure, the Measure of Interpersonal Power (MIP), could be a threat to the validity of the study in that participants could have gotten fatigued after answering the same questions repeatedly. It could also be that participants, after becoming more familiar with the questions in the repeated measure, answered more precisely in later phases than in the earlier phases. In thinking about the experiences I had with the participants, I believe the

potential for both forms of carry over effects could be present. Many were tired after completing the survey, and others asked fewer questions the farther along they were in the survey.

Retrospective studies. Retrospective studies are problematic as memories become faded over time and can be influenced by other memories (Briere, 1992; Zeitlin & McNally, 1991). However, in this case, it is the only method logically and ethically feasible to study how a trafficker's use of interpersonal social power influences the trafficking experience across three points in time. Moreover, recent studies involving highly traumatized populations, such as returning combat personnel have found that the threat of recall bias is actually not as problematic due to the traumatic imprinting, essentially, that occurs because of the traumatic event (Zeitlin & McNally, 1991). In other words, humans may have a hard time remembering events or specific details over time, like what was worn to your best-friend's wedding 15 years ago, but if the event is particularly salient (traumatic), humans tend to remember the details of the traumatic episode very well over time because it becomes imprinted in our memories.

Inconsistent reliability scores. The finding that the reliability scores of the MIP somewhat varied across the phases of the trafficking experience is a limitation in that it raises questions about the usefulness of the MIP in measuring power among trafficking survivors. Further, the MIP was not developed for retrospective data collection. The MIP was developed to measure interpersonal social power in the workplace, not among intimate partners as would be more like the case in this study—one can argue, however, that the relationship between victim and trafficker is a mix of intimate partner and workplace as was suggested in Preble (2015).

Although the MIP achieved sufficient alphas at each phase for the subscales presented, reliability scores are impacted by the number of items in the scales. In this instrument, each

subscale had a different number of items which could account for the variability in the reliability outcomes; lower number of items may result in more troublesome reliability scores. I believe the issue here is less about the usefulness of the measure with this population and more about asking participants to think about three distinct phases at the same time. In other words, I think the reliability scores were impacted by participants' conflation of the phases of trafficking and the number of items in the subscales.

Researcher expectancy. Finally, I, myself, may have caused some validity issues in that having collected each survey, I also answered questions regarding survey items the participants had. Most of the time, participants had questions regarding the meaning of individual words (specifically the words assertive, persuasive, and authority), for which I offered synonyms which may have unintentionally influenced the way in which participants answered questions in favor of my subconscious ideas about the data.

Survey research has flaws in that it tends to fit “round pegs into square holes”, thus not allowing for the unique experiences of individual respondents to emerge (Rubin & Babbie, 2008, p. 385). Survey data does not offer context to the lived experiences of respondents, such as would be eliminated by qualitative research (Rubin & Babbie, 2008). Further, questionnaire research can be artificial in that what a person reports may not necessarily reflect her reality (for example: stating that one believes she is a healthy eater, but the reality is that she eats fast food everyday) (Rubin & Babbie, 2008). I chose to conduct this survey data collection method as I needed a way to understand how to ask about coercive power at each phase of the experience as in previous research (e.g., Preble, 2015), participants responded to questions about coercion with

very broad constructs that were not helpful in terms of understanding how to improve current prevention, intervention, or after-care services.

Lastly, no social desirability scale was used in the study. Although in an effort to minimize social desirability threats, a social desirability measure (Social Desirability Scale—Short Form) was included in the survey to ensure participants a reliability analysis found that the scale was not reliable for this sample and could not be used in the study.

Future Studies

Despite the study's limitations, findings begin to provide insight to an extremely complex and daunting task of understanding what coercion means to a victim of sex or labor trafficking. These insights, it is hoped, will inspire future studies and discussions that will better target and serve victims of trafficking with far less trauma than I believe we currently impose. I begin this section with a brief "lessons learned" examination followed by concrete ideas of future studies I wish to pursue.

Lessons Learned

If I were to conduct this study again, I would split the project into three distinct projects each focusing on one particular phase at a time. This study, examining all three phases together, has an advantage that I can easily, and efficiently, compare each phase concurrently. However, this strategy proved to be overwhelming to my participants. Some experienced fatigue toward the end of the survey, while others, after obtaining a better grasp of the content of the survey, may have interpreted questions differently than in the beginning. By focusing on one phase at a time, it would have been more feasible, as well, to conduct qualitative interviews along with the surveys to elucidate the contextual information survey studies inherently lack. Additionally,

focusing on one phase allows the participant to, in turn, focus on the particular trafficker at that specific phase, rather than asking the participant to think about all of the traffickers at the same time. This tactic, I believe, would increase the reliability (or consistency) and validity (or accuracy) of future studies about perceptions of power at each phase.

If I were to do a similar study, I would strongly encourage, based on previous experiences with this population, having one or two evenings in which the providers would invite all potential participants to a dinner where I could recruit the maximum number of participants possible at one time. This may require the use of several approved data co-collectors to survey or interview participants separately, as most participants requested to complete this survey in private.

In addition, I would also train all staff at the agency on how to talk about research and working with researchers. It became apparent while working with some of the agencies that they may have used language when talking about the research project in general, that may have been inadvertently disempowering to the clients leading them to be hesitant to participate in the study. Other agencies appeared to use the research study as an opportunity to empower their clients and discuss American conceptualizations about human trafficking, which served, in the providers' view, to bolster clients' strengths. How providers present opportunities to engage in research needs to be consistent across agencies.

Future Studies

The first major study I will begin as informed by this study is to conduct qualitative examinations of trafficking survivors' experiences with coercive power at each phase. Using the findings from this study, I will design questions aimed to gain a more complete contextual

understanding of victims' perceptions of power at each phase. For example, the understanding that underlying any perception of power influenced by entrapment factors is coercive power, I would like to ask questions such as: "In what ways did your previous life experiences influence your feelings about the trafficker's power while you were being trafficked?" "How much did your experiences with X entrapment factor impact the power the trafficker had in your relationships with him or her?" Understanding that the interaction effects were more important in recruitment than in rescue/escape, I would like to explore how they influence perceptions of power and why they become less important. For example, I might ask questions like: "In what ways did your age at the time of becoming trafficked and your lack of social support impact your perception of the trafficker's power?" Moreover, I would like to explore if there are any other factors that become more important during later phases of the experience that are because of the experience of being trafficked. For example, I might ask a question like: "What specific experience while you were being controlled began influencing your understanding of your trafficker's power?" "Do you think this experience became more important in your perception of the trafficker's power than the previous life experiences that lead you to become trafficked?"

Future studies should examine more in-depth interaction effects of entrapment factors and other variables, such as age, gender, ethnicity, as well as interactions between entrapment factors to understand more clearly how these intersected identities influence victims' perceptions of power in the trafficking experience. Understanding how these intersected identities influence the lived experience one has at various phases of exploitation will impact the ways in which we approach our prevention, intervention, and after-care programming to be more mindful of victims' experiences before and during the trafficking experience.

Another future study that should be undertaken is a much more detailed exploration into the differences between sex and labor trafficking victims to examine whether prevention, intervention, and after-care services ought to be unique to the type of trafficking or not. It appears as though few studies have attempted to examine experiences before, during, and after trafficking, but to my knowledge, no studies have conducted a comparison of the two trafficking types together. Likewise, more studies should be conducted to explore the effect social and community isolation (or changes in the social environment) has on survivors' lives before, during, and after a trafficking experience. Results from this study suggest, albeit weakly, that the isolation victims face is more telling of their perception of power during a trafficking experience than the violence and deprivation they endure.

Additionally, future studies should work to explore the issue of participants perhaps conflating various phases together, hence making reliable understandings of survivors' experiences at these phases more difficult. Focusing on one phase for one research project has the potential to limit this problem, perhaps making it easier to conduct comparative studies between phases over time. It is possible, however, that the various phases of the trafficking experience are inseparable in the memories of the survivors because of the intensity, trauma, and confusion of the experience, or simply in the way that victim's experience the life event, making it impossible for survivors to clearly delineate one phase from another. More research is needed in this area to fully understand how victims of trafficking conceptualize the experience of trafficking for themselves. Either way, in studying power perceptions in distinct periods of the experience separately or together will be a limitation on any future studies regarding this subject due to recall bias.

Implications for Theory

Social Exchange Theory

At the heart of social exchange theory is the idea that people give and take needed or wanted resources that they believe are of equal value and negotiate on equal terms (Blau, 1964; Baumeister & Vohs, 2004; Cook & Emerson, 1978; Lawler & Thye, 1999; Lawler, Thye, & Loon, 2008; Molm, 1994; Molm, 1997; Sprecher, 1998). However, in the context of French and Raven's (1959) five bases of social power, the perception of one's level of power can influence the other's perception of what can be exchanged for equal value.

The results of this study suggest that there are important negotiations victims make prior to becoming trafficked, based on previous life experiences, and that they wager these negotiated exchanges to advance their desired outcome. However, after they realize something tragic has happened, previous life experiences become less important in their attempts to negotiate a better outcome for themselves. These previous life experiences are perhaps replaced by other important power negotiations incurred by the change in social environments as victims are moved from one unknown location to another, but to which traffickers are very familiar. Their current perception of the trafficker and of the trafficking experience changes how victims try to negotiate power terms in their favor within the context of their social environment, which is confined and alien to them. Underscoring these negotiations is the understanding that victims perceive coercive power throughout the trafficking experience, suggesting that they are manipulated into making decisions about their lives by the circumstances in their environments. Here we can begin to understand that perhaps traffickers gain power not because of unique resources traffickers possess (i.e., capability, brutality, or legitimacy) as much as the

environmental constraints and changes within these social environments that victims live within exacerbates the power traffickers exhibit by proxy. Herein lies, perhaps, an important contribution this study makes for Social Exchange Theory: more understanding is needed in how trafficking victims negotiate power with abusers who usurp power by proxy of environmental constraints of victims.

Recently, studies have begun to explore this very issue. Conceptual studies and a few empirical studies have begun examining the effects that economic and political instability and domestic and sexual violence have on forced female migration (e.g., Antias, 2014; Oram et al., 2014; Ugarte et al. 2000). Much more study is needed to clearly understand how and why external environments undermine women's ability to negotiate interpersonal power in their favor, and how these external power proxies (and negotiations) change as environments change.

Intersectionality Theory

Intersectionality is the study of “interlocking oppressions, multiple identities, and social inequality in women's lives” (Mehrotra, 2010, p. 417). Intersectionality places importance upon the notion that how various identities are inter-related and how society defines these identities plays enormous roles in interpersonal relationships as well as societal norms that create power disparities (Anthais, 2013; MacKinnon, 2013). To this end, the moderating effects of the interaction terms at various phases in this study underscores the need for social workers to develop and implement theory, policy, and practice that is sympathetic to the impacts intersected identities may have on risks individuals may possess to becoming trafficked and the continued vulnerability once trafficked.

Moreover, the few significant differences between groups (sex and labor) found in this study imply key differences in terms of how practitioners might focus prevention and after-care services for the sub-groups of trafficking survivors. These findings perhaps give support to the notion intersectionality practitioners advocate: provide more individualized services to clients based on the life experiences that may have created one's unique vulnerability to human trafficking, and on the individuals' unique trafficking experience, rather than generalizing treatment based on the type of trafficking endured (Lockhart & Danis, 2010).

In terms of contributing to the theory of intersectionality, this study demonstrates that perhaps there is a need to be cognizant that these multiple intersected identities change over the course of traumatic experiences because of time and the social environment and that these changes imply that the identities, themselves, may also change during traumatic experiences such that what combination of identities that created vulnerability to trafficking in the beginning, may not be as important in determining continued vulnerability later in the experience. Mehrotra (2010) argued for the development of a "continuum of intersectionality theorizing" (p.418) within social work scholarship (and practice) to include considerations of the impacts identities other than gender, social class, and race might have on marginalized communities of women to gain "greater understandings of how interconnected systems of inequality operate on multiple levels to affect marginalized people" (p. 419). The findings of this study perhaps suggest the need to explore identity and identity changes and the impact of time on identities. Identities are formed and modified in the context of time and the environment. This theoretical contribution suggests a strong need to study human trafficking longitudinally within this continuum of intersectional scholarship. This insight can help researchers and practitioners develop more

concrete approaches to working with human trafficking populations that honor the unique identities at specific points in time during the trafficking experience.

McCall (2005) suggested that there are three kinds of intersectionality theories she called: intercategorical (exploring intersectionality vis-à-vis social groupings such as race and gender), intracategorical (focusing on the diversity within marginalized groups), and anticategorical (focusing on the language and discourse of social categories that perpetuate marginalization).

This study essentially combined intercategorical and intracategorical approaches to intersectional study, and perhaps suggests that anticategorical understandings of identities within the context of time and the social environment needs to be further explored. As one survives through traumatic experiences, strategically utilizing the resources within confined environments that are inherently foreign to these women, identities are shaped and redefined by these environments; hence, the discourse used to describe their experiences by those who have more than likely never experienced trafficking themselves, impacts the intersected identities of these women in various ways.

Researchers and practitioners must begin to realize how the social environment and time impacts the ways in which we ought to engage with this population during prevention, intervention, and after-care services. Women who have been trafficked are often conceptualized as having had low education, high poverty, and many abuse experiences prior to becoming trafficked and this conceptualization, upon which after-care services are based, is continued. We must change this paradigm to respect the lived experiences and the multiplicity of identities of these women, recognizing the inherent strengths they have exhibited to protect and improve their lives throughout the ordeal of having been trafficked.

Implications for Policy

Currently, policies regarding human trafficking are increasingly focused on the sexual trafficking side of the abuse (Chuang, 2006; Farrell & Fahy, 2009). Especially since the Bush administration, federal policy has increasingly conflated voluntary prostitution with sex trafficking (Chuang, 2010; Zimmerman, 2010). This study adds support to the notion that human trafficking should equally emphasize labor and sex trafficking victimization, much as recent scholars have advocated (Erfat, 2014; Zhang et al., 2014).

Many policies regarding human trafficking response and after-care tend to vary depending on the agency, the state, and the funding source for the efforts. Therefore, in this section, I relate my policy implications to the issues brought up in the extant literature regarding prevention, intervention, and after-care programming. It seems that many human trafficking policies concerning intervention take a criminal justice approach (Chuang, 2006; Farrell & Fahy, 2009) focusing efforts on dramatic and often dangerous rescue operations. This paradigm encourages responders to impose paternalistic beliefs that the victim does not know what is best for her and must be rescued paying little attention to the dignity and worth of the victim (Adams, 2011; Ahmed & Seshu, 2012; Bandyopadhyay, 2004; Chuang, 2006; Ditmore, 2009; Soderland, 2005; Magar, 2012). By focusing on the dignity and worth of the individual, presumably providers would focus on after-care services and empowerment more than “rescue”. As Chuang (2006) and Lanier, Farrell, and Bezuidenhout (2014) discuss, victims are often detained and/or arrested and the consideration for protection (and assumingly trauma-focused after-care) is given less consideration. In fact, this study suggests, perhaps a far better policy focus ought to be on addressing the intersected identities that create vulnerabilities to becoming trafficked, hence

reducing the number of potential victims of the crime. When thinking about prevention and after-care services, this study suggests a number of interesting policy approaches.

First, prevention policies, which are “practically an afterthought” (Chuang, 2006, p. 154) currently, ought to focus a larger effort on educational and social/community supports to empower community members at risk of becoming trafficked from falling victim to traffickers. The sexually trafficked individuals in this study reported higher financial strain, lower educational achievement and social supports than labor trafficked individuals. However, labor trafficked participants reported higher abuse histories than sexually trafficked participants. Hence, rather than committing the resources we currently have to anti-migration awareness campaigns (Anthais, 2013; Chong, 2014; Chuang, 2006; Nieuwehys & Pecoud, 2007; Sharma, 2003, 2005) or expensive and frightening criminal justice programs (Chuang, 2006; Lanier et al., 2014), perhaps a more grassroots effort is needed to bolster educational, social, and community support systems within communities increasing protective factors within communities to shield the community’s most vulnerable from being preyed upon. This is a policy remedy that Chuang has been advocating for the past 10 years, and one that has not, in my view, received the attention it requires. More to the point, in Chuang’s (2006) view, policy emphases toward the prevention of the re-trafficking of victims, rather than the prevention of migration, “are more victim-focused—providing housing, social services, and legal and medical assistance to victims to assist in reintegration into their home communities—these are only provided on a short term basis” (p. 154). The importance of the interactions in this study (such as age at the time of trafficking and social support), begin to build the empirical justification for the bolstering of natural protective resources in home communities that may serve to prevent trafficking

vulnerability in the first place. Rather than attacking a symptom of the phenomenon (migration), this policy shift would be addressing a primary precursor to vulnerability (increased sustainable community development).

Moreover, until recently our human trafficking prevention policy explicitly forbade the support of any service that even implied sympathy for the practice of prostitution in a provision of the TVPA called the “Prostitution Loyalty Oath” mandating formal statements that agencies seeking federal funds would not “...promote, support, or advocate the legalization or practice of prostitution” (TVPA, 2003, Sec. 7, (g) Limitation on use of funds, para 1). Agencies failing to include such language in their policies were denied any funding, including public health responses, raising questions about the quality of care victims of trafficking receive and the legitimacy some agencies have in serving this traumatized population (Chuang, 2010; Zimmerman, 2010). The U.S. Supreme Court struck-down this provision of the TVPA in 2013 (Devi, 2013), but the social (un)acceptance of working with sex workers’ rights agencies remains problematic.

Finally, after-care policies, which tend to be related to service provision such as sheltering and intense short-term case management, have been generally criticized for having “significant barriers to providing services to victims...[placing victims] in jails, detention centers, runaway shelters, and group homes that are inappropriate for them” (Orme & Ross-Sheriff, 2015, p. 291), and may vary considerably depending on the agency and funding source. Once a victim is removed from a trafficking situation, in many situations in the U.S., she is then placed in protective shelter that commonly doubles as a domestic violence shelter (such is the case for all three of the collaborative agencies in this study, to my understanding) (U.S. HHS,

2012). For some victims, this transition can be confusing, disempowering, and often feels as though they are just as isolated and controlled as they were with the trafficker (Ahmed & Seshu, 2012; Soderland, 2005). Much of the current literature pertaining of after-care services including practice models and policy recommendations have identified the need for short and long term direct services care from a trauma-informed perspective (Heffernan & Blythe, 2014; Macy & Johns, 2011; Orme & Ross-Sheriff, 2015).

However, the findings in this study suggest that there ought to be a step before actual service delivery such that after-care policies should be very cognizant of victims' perhaps transferring their perceptions about the trafficker on to the after-care service provider and on the impacts that changes in the victims' social environment from recruitment to rescue/escape have had on their ability to engage in after-care services. Much more study is needed to examine the rescue process and victims' initial perception of service providers. In light of the suggested findings in the current study, perhaps a new intervention model is needed for first responders to work together to ensure intervention efforts do not confuse victims in the process of being rescued or escaping about the persons in authority (whether they are abusers or "good" people). One way to achieve this could be through the partnerships discussed above, hence making a "rescue" operation less necessary as the social and community connections would support the victim to escape directly to after-care services or law enforcement. Further research is needed to support these program implications; however, future policy directives may be well-served to include funding to support such service model development.

Implications for Social Work Education

Current education surrounding human trafficking details dramatic, scary, and emotionally triggering testimonies of survivors' terror while trafficked. Social workers and students are provided with overwhelming and often contradictory "facts" about human trafficking that are typically not based on evidence leading to confusion and, in some ways undermines the credibility of the field and the seriousness of the issue (Alvarez & Alessi, 2012; Fedina, 2014; Weitzer, 2011). This is contrary to the guidance that the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE), Education Policy and Accreditation Standards (EPAS) sets forth in educational policy standard 2.1.6, stating that social work practitioners should utilize evidenced based interventions and engage in research (CSWE, EPAS, 2008). Adding to these issues is the fact that human trafficking is often framed in a sex trafficking or child trafficking only context often negating the existence of labor trafficking all together which is contrary to the social work principle of considering the dignity and worth of all people marginalized by society. Social work education with regards to human trafficking should place a premium on the most current, reliable evidence to teach our students about the human rights abuse as well as how to appropriately respond to it (Alvarez & Alessi, 2012; Fedina, 2014).

An important implication of the study for social work education is to teach students to think about intersected identities that contribute to trafficking vulnerabilities and perceptions of power (Mehorotra, 2010). According to the CSWE EPAS,

The dimensions of diversity are understood as the intersectionality of multiple factors including age, class, color, culture, disability, ethnicity, gender, gender identity and expression, immigration status, political ideology, race, religion, sex,

and sexual orientation. Social workers appreciate that, as a consequence of difference, a person's life experiences may include oppression, poverty, marginalization, and alienation as well as privilege, power, and acclaim (p.4-5).

To this end, Mehrotra (2010) advocates that as social work educators, we must “engage [students] with theory and scholarship that can support greater understandings of how interconnected systems of inequality operate on multiple levels to affect marginalized people (p. 419). Students need to think about how these intersected identities exist within the framework of the person-in-environment perspective and how changes over time and changes in social environments influence intersected identities. Direct services social work practitioners need to be able to understand how victims of trafficking experience these intersected realities, how these identities influence their decision making before and during the trafficking experience, and, ultimately, how victims may react to after-care services. For example, in social work classes or trainings, students can be given scenarios with the same major theme, but varying identities throughout to strategize appropriate after care service plans and then discuss how the varying identities have impacted the service plans students have applied. Coupled with this should be discussions about how the students' personal identities are influencing their assumptions about “appropriate” service plans, illustrating the ease with which our personal privileges invade service delivery.

During macro practice course work, teaching to understanding the nature of power, how victims perceive power, and how victims' intersected identities have shaped their decision making processes throughout their lives can aid future practitioners in responding to victims with more empowering service plans. As Alvarez and Alessi (2012) point out about education

surrounding human trafficking, it is rare to be “exposed to a more multifaceted narrative on human trafficking, one that takes into account the economic, political, and social consequences of globalization (Alvarez & Alessi, 2012, p. 146). Discussions surrounding issues of migration, feminization of poverty, political conflict and the like could easily interject case stories about trafficking to illustrate how these complex issues can create perceptions of undermined personal power leading one to make difficult choices in the absence of good alternatives. Moreover, the importance of emphasizing strengths perspective in social work practice leads to understanding that victims’ have strategically placed themselves to maximize their positions of power is a strength (Busch-Armendariz, Nsonwu, Heffron, 2014), and central to social work ethos. Equally important is helping clients learn how to use these strengths to navigate future relationships which will also have power negotiations (Molm, 1997).

Implications for Practice

There are two major practice implications this study has on working with trafficked populations. First, the idea that intersected identities plays an important role in victims’ perceptions of power at various points in the trafficking experience is important. No longer should we conceptualize this phenomenon in binary terms: you were trafficked and now you are “rescued”. Social work practitioners need to recognize that these intersected identities influence the perception of the victim’s power prior to, during, and after the experience—AND that the experience itself alters the identities that are important in perceiving power. A second implication for social work practice is the recognition that the changes in the social environment also influence perceptions of power, by the influencing the identities that are important at the various points in the trafficking experience. Often social workers view the person-in-

environment as somewhat static (what is happening now). In the case of trafficking victims, as evidenced throughout the literature (e.g, Macy & Johns, 2010), providers conceptualize the person-in-environment as the vulnerability factors prior to trafficking and then the experience itself. The idea that not only do identities change throughout the experience but so too do environments, which have profound impacts on the individuals' interpretation of their identities, perhaps challenges social work practitioners to go beyond vulnerabilities and focus on the outcomes of the trafficking experience.

Inherently there is a power imbalance that continues each time the victim is moved, continuing through the rescue or escape. The victim cannot experience or be aware of social and community supports, nor how to achieve employment outside of the current relationship in an unknown environment. Hence, the interpersonal relationship between victim and trafficker plays a much larger role in determining perceptions of power the farther from home the victim gets. This study suggests that providers should be mindful that victims seeking services after exiting a trafficking situation perceive traffickers—or people in positions of authority—as having both positive and negative personal, as well as political powers. Power perceptions suggest that victims may perceive people in positions of authority as having strong abilities to get them to do what they want them to do and have the political influence to have it be done.

How this may impact direct social work practice with survivors is the need to build upon the survivors' confidence in making their own choices while at the same time “being tolerant of a victim's possible distrust” of the service provider (Orme & Ross-Sheriff, 2015, p. 292). Certainly, the strengths-based perspective is crucial during after-care services in empowering clients to engage with their social environments more positively. As Busch-Armendariz,

Nsonwu, and Heffron (2011) discuss, bolstering clients' self-efficacy to handle post-service challenges is critical and often, at least now, hampered by short-term service programs. After initial services were complete, clients in the Busch-Armendariz et al. (2011) study did not always understand how to access social and financial services available to them and that their social networks were not always helpful during times of crisis. This may offer support for the idea that trafficked clients still view service providers as persons in authority to which they should comply—even if they do not fully understand that to which they are complying. Perhaps a step beyond establishing self-efficacy among trafficked clients, is to help the client identify strengths and assets, both personally and in their environments, and then help them understand how to use these strengths during future challenges which will undoubtedly come. Clearly, trafficking survivors have enormous strengths and capabilities to survive such an ordeal as trafficking, which ought to be central in initiating services, engaging clients in services, and empowering clients to succeed beyond services.

Continuing with the thought that after-care policies should develop additional steps to account for the changes to the social environment that may have impacted victims' marginalization, is to explore the creation of an intersectionality informed and evidence informed practice model whereby the intersected identities of identified victims drives the nature of the investigation and after-care service delivery, which would de-emphasize the vulnerability factors prior to trafficking and recognize the impacts the actual trafficking experience has had on the victims' identity, as well as the strengths of the individuals.

Prevention programming that is aimed to educate current victims about helpful resources ought to focus more on fostering social and community connectedness. Understandably, this

would be a seemingly daunting task. How can we access a population that is actively being hidden by their abuser? Perhaps the answer lies in partnering with similar populations that are often ostracized themselves from society. For example, working with known, not exploited, prostitutes to watch-out for and empower women who are being exploited would increase the social and community connectedness of both populations. Reaching out to migrant labor organizations to educate and empower workers who know about others with whom they work that are being exploited has been a demonstrated success model (i.e., Coalition of Immokalee Workers) for protecting migrant farm workers as well as identifying trafficked farm workers in the Florida region.

Conclusion

Understanding how victims of trafficking conceptualize coercive power is a nascent area of study and one to which the current study sought to contribute by focusing on the construct of interpersonal social power. The results of this study suggest that victims' prior life experiences with social support, community support, and their age at the time of trafficking influenced victims' perceptions of specific powers at specific phases of the trafficking experience. Moreover, prior life experiences lessened in importance as the trafficking experience progressed. These results will begin conversations among researchers and practitioners to further explore the ramifications of how perceptions of power are influenced, how perceptions change over time, and how these perceptions may influence service engagement post-trafficking experience. Inherent in the goal of this research was to improve our understanding of more appropriate methods of prevention, intervention, and after-care services for those impacted by this human rights abuse with less trauma and more emphasis on empowering survivors of trafficking.

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Appendix A

Letters of Collaboration



FOR YOUTH DEVELOPMENT®
FOR HEALTHY LIVING
FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

International Services

6300 Westpark Drive, Suite 600, Houston TX 77057

P 713 339 9015 www.ymcahouston.org

November 6, 2014

This proposed letter of collaboration details the staff, their agency roles and the roles they will hold while participating in dissertation research of Kathleen M. Preble, MSW, under the direction of Dr. Beverly M. Black, committee chair, exploring the types of power used by traffickers of sex trafficking victims from the victims' perspective during three phases of the trafficking experience: recruitment, maintenance, and rescue/escape. The terms of this letter may change slightly after Ms. Preble has successfully completed the defense of her proposal. Any changes will be made clear as soon as possible to the collaborative agency.

Staff Names and Agency Roles:

Jeff Watkins, Executive Director YMCA International Services, Inc.

Constance Rossiter, Social Responsibility Director, Trafficked Persons Assistance Program

Role in Research:

Each of the above named people will perform the following tasks:

- Direct researcher to groups in which she can recruit participants for the research.
- Answer general questions from research participants about the research such as what the survey is about and the benefits of participating in such research.
- Reassure clients of YMCA International Services, Inc. of Houston that participation or non-participation will not affect the services they receive at YMCA.
- Assist researcher in securing an interview room/location suitable for the individual interview.
- Provide counseling services to participants should they request such intervention after participating in the research.

By signing this Letter of Collaboration, I understand my role in this research project and that I am required to follow UTA-IRB Protocols.

Jeff Watkins, Executive Director



Constance Rossiter

Constance Rossiter, Social Responsibility Director

This proposed letter of collaboration details the staff, their agency roles and the roles they will hold while participating in dissertation research of Kathleen M. Preble, MSW, under the direction of Dr. Beverly M. Black, committee chair, exploring the types of power used by traffickers of sex trafficking victims from the victims' perspective during three phases of the trafficking experience: recruitment, maintenance, and rescue/escape. The terms of this letter may change slightly after Ms. Preble has successfully completed the defense of her proposal. Any changes will be made clear as soon as possible to the collaborative agency.

Staff Names and Agency Roles:

Aaron Rippenkroeger, CEO

Erica Schmidt, Area Director

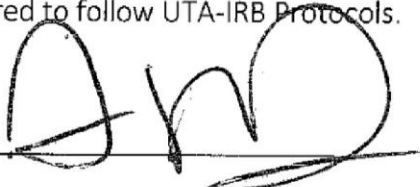
Kay Mailander, Program Supervisor

Role in Research:

Each of the above named people will perform the following tasks:

- Direct researcher to groups in which she can recruit participants for the research.
- Answer general questions from research participants about the research such as what the survey is about and the benefits of participating in such research.
- Reassure clients of Refugee Services of Texas at Austin that participation or non-participation will not affect the services they receive at Refugee Services of Texas at Austin.
- Assist researcher in securing an interview room/location suitable for the individual interview.
- Provide counseling services to participants should they request such intervention after participating in the research.

By signing this Letter of Collaboration, I understand my role in this research project and that I am required to follow UTA-IRB Protocols.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'AR', is written over a horizontal line.

Aaron Rippenkroeger, CEO



MOSAIC

FAMILY SERVICES

Executive Director

Walter H. Nguyen, Ph.D.

Executive Board:

Ron F. Cook
Chairman

Angela Lee
Vice-Chairman

Bradley A. Parks
Treasurer

Sana Gebarin
Secretary

Immediate past chairman
Anthony Nguyen, D.O.

Board

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Alexis Collard

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Audrey Stein

Vaishali Bhatia, JD

This proposed letter of collaboration details the staff, their agency roles and the roles they will hold while participating in dissertation research of Kathleen M. Preble, MSW, under the direction of Dr. Beverly M. Black, committee chair, exploring the types of power used by traffickers of sex trafficking victims from the victims' perspective during three phases of the trafficking experience: recruitment, maintenance, and rescue/escape. The terms of this letter may change slightly after Ms. Preble has successfully completed the defense of her proposal. Any changes will be made clear as soon as possible to the collaborative agency.

Staff Names and Agency Roles:

Bill Bernstein, Deputy Director

Sulan Chang, Assistant Program Director

Role in Research:

Each of the above named people will perform the following tasks:

- Direct researcher to groups in which she can recruit participants for the research.
- Answer general questions from research participants about the research such as what the survey is about and the benefits of participating in such research.
- Reassure clients of Mosaic Family Services, Inc. of Dallas that participation or non-participation will not affect the services they receive at Mosaic Family Services of Dallas.
- Assist researcher in securing an interview room/location suitable for the individual interview.
- Provide counseling services to participants should they request such intervention after participating in the research.

By signing this Letter of Collaboration, I understand my role in this research project and that I am required to follow UTA-IRB Protocols.

Sulan Chang
Assistant Program Director
sulanc@mosaicsservices.org
(214) 821-5393 ext. 258



Appendix B

IRB Approval Letter



MODIFICATION TO AN APPROVED PROTOCOL:

Pursuant to Title 45 CFR 46.103(b)(4)(iii), investigators are required to, “promptly report to the IRB any proposed changes in the research activity, and to ensure that such changes in approved research, during the period for which IRB approval has already been given, are **not initiated without prior IRB review and approval** except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subject.”

Modifications include but are not limited to: Changes in protocol personnel, number of approved participants, and/or updates to the protocol procedures or instruments and must be submitted via the electronic submission system. Failure to obtain approval for modifications is considered an issue of non-compliance and will be subject to review and deliberation by the IRB which could result in the suspension/termination of the protocol.

INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT:

The IRB approved informed consent document (ICD), showing the stamped approval and expiration date of the article must be used when prospectively enrolling volunteer participants into the study. The use of a copy of any consent form on which the IRB-stamped approval and expiration dates are not visible, or are replaced by typescript or handwriting, is prohibited. The signed consent forms must be securely maintained on the UTA campus for the duration of the study plus three years. The complete study record is subject to inspection and/or audit during this time period by entities including but not limited to the UT Arlington IRB, Regulatory Services staff, OHRP/FDA and by study sponsors (if the study is funded).

ADVERSE EVENTS:

Please be advised that as the principal investigator, you are required to report local adverse (unanticipated) events to The UT Arlington Office of Research Administration; Regulatory Services within 24 hours of the occurrence or upon acknowledgement of the occurrence.

TRAINING

All investigators and key personnel identified in the protocol must have filed an annual Conflict of Interest Disclosure (COI) and have documented *Human Subjects Protection (HSP)* training on file with this office prior to protocol approval. HSP training certificates are valid for 2 years from completion date.

COLLABORATION:

If applicable, approval by the appropriate authority at a collaborating facility is required prior to subject enrollment. If the collaborating facility is *engaged in the research*, an OHRP approved Federalwide Assurance (FWA) may be required for the facility (prior to their participation in research-related activities). To determine whether the collaborating facility is engaged in research, go to: <http://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/humansubjects/assurance/engage.htm>



UNIVERSITY OF
TEXAS
ARLINGTON

OFFICE OF RESEARCH ADMINISTRATION
REGULATORY SERVICES

CONTACT FOR QUESTIONS:

The UT Arlington Office of Research Administration; Regulatory Services appreciates your continuing commitment to the protection of human research subjects. Should you have questions or require further assistance, please contact Alyson Stearns at astearns@uta.edu or Regulatory Services at regulatoryservices@uta.edu or 817-272-2105.

Sincerely,

Christopher Ray

Digitally signed by Christopher Ray
DN: postalCode=76019, o=The University of Texas at Arlington,
street=701 South Noddaman Drive, st=TX, l=Arlington, c=US,
cn=Christopher Ray, email=chrtray@uta.edu
Date: 2015.09.16 10:56:58 -0700

Christopher Ray, PhD, ATC, CSCS
Associate Professor, Department of Kinesiology
UT Arlington IRB Chair

REGULATORY SERVICES
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Appendix C
Participant Flyer

Participants Needed



**FOR A RESEARCH PROJECT ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING
VICTIMIZATION EXPERIENCES.**

**COMPLETE A CONFIDENTIAL 20 MINUTE SURVEY ABOUT
YOUR EXPERIENCES AND RECEIVE A GIFT CARD AS A
THANK YOU.**

**PLEASE MEET KATHLEEN PREBLE IN ROOM XX TO
PARTICIPATE!**

HAVE QUESTIONS?

CALL ME 817-701-9374

Appendix D

Survey

**This survey asks you about human trafficking victimization across three stages of experience (recruitment, maintenance, and rescue/escape).
Demographic information is also asked.**

An audio recorder will be on during the time you are completing this survey to record any questions you may have about the content of this survey and any information you share about your experience related to the content in this survey.

Please do NOT share your name, where you live or other identifying information while the recorder is on.

Thank you for taking this survey.

Part 1. Please answer the following demographic questions:

1.) Gender:

- Female
- Male

2.) What is your current age?

3.) What was your age at the time you first were involved, or recruited, in trafficking?

4.) How were you exploited?

- Sexual trafficking only
- Labor trafficking only
- Sexual and labor trafficking

5.) What is your national origin? _____

6.) What is your race/ethnicity (select as many as you need)?

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Black/African Descent | <input type="checkbox"/> Caucasian/European Descent | <input type="checkbox"/> Middle Eastern/Arabic Descent |
| <input type="checkbox"/> African | <input type="checkbox"/> Hispanic/Latino | <input type="checkbox"/> Pacific Islander/Native Hawaiian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Asian | <input type="checkbox"/> Indigenous/Tribal | |

7.) What is the highest level of education obtained BEFORE becoming trafficked?

- | | | |
|--|---|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Primary school | <input type="checkbox"/> Some or graduate College | <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Some secondary school | <input type="checkbox"/> Trade/Vocational School | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary school graduate | | |

8.) What was your marital status BEFORE becoming trafficked?

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Single, never married | <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed | <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Married or living together | <input type="checkbox"/> Separated | |

9.) Employment status BEFORE becoming trafficked:

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Employed/self-employed | <input type="checkbox"/> Student |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Homemaker | <input type="checkbox"/> Retired |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Out of work | Other |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Military | _____ |

10.) What was your position in your employment (i.e., factory worker, secretary, accountant)? _____

11.) Please answer the following questions about your financial situation BEFORE becoming trafficked:		Never	A few times	Some-times	Most of the time	Always
1	I know how interest works on my current debts.	1	2	3	4	5
2	I feel well informed about financial matters.	1	2	3	4	5
3	I feel financially educated.	1	2	3	4	5
4	Are you ever unable to sleep well because of financial worries?	1	2	3	4	5
5	Do you ever get headaches from worry over money matters?	1	2	3	4	5
6	Do you muscles get tense when you add up your bills?	1	2	3	4	5
7	Does your financial situation cause you to feel heartburn or an upset stomach?	1	2	3	4	5
8	I find it difficult to pay my bills.	1	2	3	4	5
9	I don't have enough money to pay my bills.	1	2	3	4	5
10	Many of my bills are past due.	1	2	3	4	5
11	I pay my bills on time.	1	2	3	4	5
12	Financial problems hurt my relationships.	1	2	3	4	5
13	There are disagreements about money in my home.	1	2	3	4	5
14	My relationships with others are affected by financial problems.	1	2	3	4	5
15	I tend to argue with others about money.	1	2	3	4	5
16	I take on more debt to get nicer things.	1	2	3	4	5
17	I make purchases on credit cards hoping that I will have the money later.	1	2	3	4	5
18	I get new credit cards to pay off old ones.	1	2	3	4	5

12.) BEFORE becoming trafficked, what kinds of social support (i.e., friends, family) did you have?

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Neutral	Moderately Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	
1	There was a special person who was around when I was in need	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	There was a special person with whom I could share my joys and sorrows.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	My family really tried to help me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	I got the emotional help and support I needed from my family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5	I had a special person who was a real source of comfort to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	My friends really tried to help me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	I could count on my friends when things went wrong.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	I could talk about my problems with my family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9	I had friends with whom I could share my joys and sorrows.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	There was a special person in my life who cared about my feelings.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	My family was willing to help me make decisions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	I could talk about my problems with my friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

13.) BEFORE being trafficked, what kinds of community support did you have?

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	I identified with my community.	1	2	3	4	5
2	My opinions were valued in my community.	1	2	3	4	5
3	Few people in my community knew who I was.	1	2	3	4	5
4	I felt like my community was my own.	1	2	3	4	5
5	I collaborated in organizations and associations in my community.	1	2	3	4	5
6	I took part in activities in my community.	1	2	3	4	5
7	I took part in some social or civic groups in my community.	1	2	3	4	5
8	I responded to calls for support in my community.	1	2	3	4	5
9	I didn't take part in social or civic groups in my community	1	2	3	4	5
10	I couldn't find people that would help me feel better.	1	2	3	4	5
11	I couldn't find someone to listen to be when I felt down.	1	2	3	4	5
12	I couldn't find a source of satisfaction for myself.	1	2	3	4	5
13	I wasn't be able to cheer up and get into a better mood.	1	2	3	4	5
14	I couldn't relax and easily forget my problems.	1	2	3	4	5

14.) BEFORE being trafficked, did you experience any types of abuse? Please answer the following questions:		1 time	2 times	3-5 times	6-10 times	11-20 times	More than 20 times	Happened in the past	Never Happened
If something has happened ever in the past, but you cannot recall how many times, please mark "7". If the event has never happened, please mark "8".									
1	My abuser explained his or her side or suggested a compromise for a disagreement with me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
2	My abuser insulted or swore or shouted or yelled at me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
3	I had a sprain, bruise, or small cut, or felt pain the next day because of a fight with my abuser.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
4	My abuser showed respect for, or showed that her or she cared about my feeling about an issue we disagreed on.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
5	My abuser pushed, shoved, or slapped me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
6	My abuser punched or kicked or beat me up.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
7	My abuser destroyed something belonging to me or threatened to hit me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
8	I went to see a doctor (MD) or needed to see a doctor because of a fight with my abuser.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	My abuser used forced (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make me have sex.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
10	My abuser insisted on sex when I did not want to or insisted on sex without a condom (but did not use physical force).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

15.) The person or people who abused me (check all that apply):

- Family member
- Friend
- Significant Other
- Professional (i.e., school official, police official, therapist)
- Stranger
- Other _____

Part 2. Please answer the following questions about your traffickers at three points in your experience.

Please use these definitions to help you answer the following questions:

Recruitment: Remember the period when you FIRST got involved in the trafficking experience you had.

Maintenance: Remember the period AFTER you were recruited but before you were rescued or had escaped.

Rescue/Escape: Remember the period you when were RESCUED (e.g., police raid) or had ESCAPED.

16.) How long were trafficked (from the time you were recruited until your rescue/escape)? (e.g., 6 months) _____

17.) Was the person who recruited you into trafficking the same person who maintained control over you during the trafficking experience?

- Yes
- No

18.) What was the national origin of the person who recruited you? _____

19.) What was the race/ethnicity of the person who recruited you?

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Black/African
Descent | <input type="checkbox"/> Hispanic/Latino | <input type="checkbox"/> Asian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> African | <input type="checkbox"/> Indigenous/Tribal | <input type="checkbox"/> Pacific
Islander/Native
Hawaiian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Caucasian/Europea
n Descent | <input type="checkbox"/> Middle
Eastern/Arabic
Descent | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |

20.) What was the gender of the person that recruited you?

- Male
- Female

21.) Was the person from whom you escaped, the same person who recruited you?

- Yes
- No

22.) If no, what was the national origin of the person from whom you escaped?

23.) What was the race/ethnicity of the person from whom you escaped?

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Black/African
Descent | <input type="checkbox"/> Hispanic/Latino | <input type="checkbox"/> Asian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> African | <input type="checkbox"/> Indigenous/Tribal | <input type="checkbox"/> Pacific
Islander/Native Hawaiian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Caucasian/European
Descent | <input type="checkbox"/> Middle
Eastern/Arabic
Descent | |

24.) What was the gender of the person from whom you escaped?

- Male
- Female

25.) Was the person from whom you escaped, the same person who maintained control over you in the middle of your experience?

- Yes
- No

26.) If no, what was the national origin of the person to maintained control over you in the middle of your experience? _____

27.) What was the race/ethnicity of the person who maintained control over you in the middle of your experience?

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Black/African
Descent | <input type="checkbox"/> Hispanic/Latino | <input type="checkbox"/> Asian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> African | <input type="checkbox"/> Indigenous/Tribal | <input type="checkbox"/> Pacific
Islander/Native
Hawaiian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Caucasian/Europea
n Descent | <input type="checkbox"/> Middle
Eastern/Arabic
Descent | |

28.) What was the gender of the person that maintained control over you in the middle of your experience?

- Male
- Female

29.) Who rescued you from the trafficking situation?

- | | | |
|--|---|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> No one, I escaped | <input type="checkbox"/> Good Samaritan | <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> The Police | <input type="checkbox"/> Local NGO | |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Customer | |

Part 3. The following questions ask about your perception of the traffickers' use of power during RECRUITMENT.

Remember when you first met the person who got you involved in the trafficking experience you had. Remember how this person made you feel, the way he or she spoke to you, how he or she listened to you. Answer the following questions with this person in mind:

30.) How long did this period last? (e.g., 2 weeks) _____

31.) This person was a:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Significant other (e.g., boyfriend, lover, spouse) | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Friend | <input type="checkbox"/> Employer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Acquaintance | <input type="checkbox"/> Family Member |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Stranger | |

	<i>Remember your RECRUITER, the person that you first met and who introduced you to trafficking:</i>	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Moderately	Neutral	Moderately	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	This person had a great deal of influence over my behavior.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	She or he was a powerful person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	When people did not agree with this person, she or he penalized them for their behavior.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	I saw this person as a leader.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	I found him or her to be a very persuasive person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	I saw this person as unpowerful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	She or he could not reward others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	I thought she or he was a nonthreatening person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9	This person was very authoritative.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	She or he had no political influence.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	This person was very qualified and I perceived him or her as powerful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	This person was assertive.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	She or he was not influential.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14	I did not respect this person; therefore I did not perceive him or her to be powerful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15	This person had a legitimate base for his or her power.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16	This person was able to reward others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17	She or he was not persuasive.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18	I saw this person as a follower.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19	This person was unable to punish others when they did not conform to his or her wishes.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20	I did not do what this person said because I did not believe in what they said or did.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21	This person was unable to manipulate the actions and behaviors of others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22	This person effectively controlled those around him or her.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23	She or he was a prestigious person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24	This person had a lot of political clout.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25	She or he was unable to make decisions and initiate action.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26	I had confidence in his or her ability to be a leader for others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27	I perceived this person to be powerful because she or he was competent.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28	This person was not qualified for the power of his or her position.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29	She or He was able to threaten others and get away with it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30	This person was incompetent; therefore I did not perceive him or her to be powerful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31	She or He was able to manipulate others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

32	This person was unable to keep others under his or her control.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33	This person was able to delegate responsibility to others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34	She or He seemed to me to be a follower.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Part 4. The following questions ask about your perception of the traffickers' use of power during MAINTENANCE.

Remember the period AFTER you were recruited but before you were rescued or had escaped. During this period you were likely controlled by another and experienced limited personal freedoms. Remember how your trafficker made you feel, the way he or she spoke to you, how he or she listened to you during this period. Answer the following questions with this person in mind:

32.) How long did this period last? (e.g., 2 years) _____

33.) Is this person different from the person you thought of in the previous section?

- Yes No

34.) Was this person a:

- Significant other (e.g., boyfriend, lover, spouse) Stranger
 Friend Employer
 Acquaintance Family Member

	<i>Remember your MAINTENANCE, the person who controlled you during your trafficking experience:</i>	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Moderately	Neutral	Moderately Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	This person had a great deal of influence over my behavior.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	She or he was a powerful person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	When people did not agree with this person, she or he penalized them for their behavior.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	I saw this person as a leader.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	I found him or her to be a very persuasive person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	I saw this person as unpowerful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	She or he could not reward others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	I thought she or he was a nonthreatening person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9	This person was very authoritative.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	She or he had no political influence.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	This person was very qualified and I perceived him or her as powerful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	This person was assertive.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	She or he was not influential.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

14	I did not respect this person; therefore I did not perceive him or her to be powerful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15	This person had a legitimate base for his or her power.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16	This person was able to reward others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17	She or he was not persuasive.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18	I saw this person as a follower.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19	This person was unable to punish others when they did not conform to his or her wishes.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20	I did not do what this person said because I did not believe in what they said or did.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21	This person was unable to manipulate the actions and behaviors of others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22	This person effectively controlled those around him or her.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23	She or he was a prestigious person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24	This person had a lot of political clout.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25	She or he was unable to make decisions and initiate action.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26	I had confidence in his or her ability to be a leader for others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27	I perceived this person to be powerful because she or he was competent.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28	This person was not qualified for the power of his or her position.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29	She or he was able to threaten others and get away with it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30	This person was incompetent; therefore I did not perceive him or her to be powerful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31	She or He was able to manipulate others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32	This person was unable to keep others under his or her control.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33	This person was able to delegate responsibility to others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34	She or He seemed to me to be a follower.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Part 5. The following questions ask about your perception of the traffickers' use of power during RESCUE.

Remember the period you were RESCUED. Remember this time period: how did the trafficker make you feel, listen to you, and speak to you?

35.) *How many times did you try to escape before getting away from the trafficker?* _____

36.) *Was this person different from the person you thought of in recruitment?*

Yes No

37.) *Was this person different from the person you thought of in maintenance?*

Yes No

38.) Was this person a:

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|---------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Significant other (e.g., boyfriend, lover, spouse) | <input type="checkbox"/> | Stranger |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Friend | <input type="checkbox"/> | Employer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Acquaintance | <input type="checkbox"/> | Family Member |

	<i>Remember your RESCUE, the person who controlled you at the point of your rescue experience:</i>	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Moderately	Neutral	Moderately	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	This person had a great deal of influence over my behavior.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	She or he was a powerful person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	When people did not agree with this person, she or he penalized them for their behavior.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	I saw this person as a leader.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	I found him or her to be a very persuasive person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	I saw this person as unpowerful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	She or he could not reward others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	I thought she or he was a nonthreatening person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9	This person was very authoritative.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	She or he had no political influence.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	This person was very qualified and I perceived him or her as powerful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	This person was assertive.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	She or he was not influential.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14	I did not respect this person; therefore I did not perceive him or her to be powerful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15	This person had a legitimate base for his or her power.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16	This person was able to reward others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17	She or he was not persuasive.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18	I saw this person as a follower.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19	This person was unable to punish others when they did not conform to his or her wishes.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20	I did not do what this person said because I did not believe in what they said or did.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21	This person was unable to manipulate the actions and behaviors of others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22	This person effectively controlled those around him or her.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23	She or he was a prestigious person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24	This person had a lot of political clout.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25	She or he was unable to make decisions and initiate action.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26	I had confidence in his or her ability to be a leader for others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27	I perceived this person to be powerful because she or he was competent.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28	This person was not qualified for the power of his or her position.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

29	She or he was able to threaten others and get away with it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30	This person was incompetent; therefore I did not perceive him or her to be powerful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31	She or he was able to manipulate others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32	This person was unable to keep others under his or her control.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33	This person was able to delegate responsibility to others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34	She or He seemed to me to be a follower.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Please answer the following questions about yourself.		True	False
1	I am always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.	True	False
2	I always try to practice what I preach.	True	False
3	I never resent being asked to return a favor.	True	False
4	I have never been irked when people express ideas very different from my own.	True	False
5	I have never deliberately said something have hurt someone's feelings.	True	False
6	I like to gossip.	True	False
7	There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.	True	False
8	I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.	True	False
9	At times I have really insisted on having things my own way.	True	False
10	There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things.	True	False

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

Biographical Information

Kathleen M. Preble was born in Orrville, Ohio on December 19, 1976 to parents Dr. Finnie and Deborah Murray. In 1995, she graduated from Athens High School in The Plains, Ohio and embarked on her undergraduate degree in Political Science the following fall at The Ohio University in Athens, Ohio earning her B.A. in Political Science, Pre-Law in 1999. Following her graduation, she began working in Washington, D.C. with a lobbying firm quickly deciding this was not what she wanted to do, she enlisted in the U.S. Peace Corps, Honduras where she was an agricultural volunteer for nearly three years between May, 2000 and December, 2002. Upon Ms. Preble's return, she enrolled in the Masters of Science of Social Work program at the University of Texas at Arlington, and completed the degree requirements in December, 2005. From 2004 through February, 2007, she worked with refugees, asylees, and human trafficking victims at Catholic Charities of Fort Worth's (CCFW) Refugee and Immigration Program as a case manager. In 2006, she became the victims of trafficking point of contact for the United States Catholic Conference of Bishops for CCFW. In March, 2007, she was hired to be the program coordinator for the Fort Worth Police Department's federally funded Human Trafficking Investigation Unit, where she managed the grant activities, funding, and provided educational outreach, and auxiliary support to the unit investigators, community professionals, and the public in matters regarding human trafficking response and awareness. In 2011, Ms. Preble resigned from her position in the Human Trafficking Investigation Unit to pursue her doctoral education, specializing in human trafficking research, at the University of Texas at Arlington's School of Social Work. In August, 2016 she will begin her first academic appointment at the University of Missouri School of Social Work.