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**Trafficking in women: International sex services**

Joseph Morgan Wilcox

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TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN: INTERNATIONAL SEX SERVICES

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
Criminal Justice

by
Joseph Morgan Wilcox
June 2005
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ABSTRACT

With over four million people trafficked worldwide annually, some estimate that around two million of those individuals are women trafficked into the sex industry. This study focused specifically on the trafficking of women into the United States' sex industry. Using Benjamin Mendelsohn's idea of victim precipitation, this research attempts to illustrate individual victim involvement and/or responsibility in being trafficked for work in the sex industry.

This research may also help dispel the stereotypical idea that all trafficked women are poor, young, uneducated girls forced into sex work. These findings may help us better understand which personal qualities and country characteristics are likely precursors to women being trafficked into sex work. Research findings may also help legislators create new, more effective, ways to combat trafficking of women into sex industries.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Within the last several years the issue of trafficking humans has been recognized on a global scale. In chapter two, the trafficking of women into the sex industry is discussed. An overview of the late 1800’s and early 1900’s “white slave trade” is provided along with World War Two’s influence on the trafficking of women. From there it is noted how war has, and continues to, influence the trafficking of women into sex industries around the world.

This research focuses specifically on one form of trafficking humans; women trafficked into the United States’ sex industry. This includes women forced, coerced, or voluntarily transported from one location to another, for the purpose of working in the sex industry. An adaptation from Hughes’ (2001) definition of trafficking is used for this research. Specifically, trafficking is defined as: the clandestine transportation of a person or persons, within or across national boarders.

Estimates concerning the number of women trafficked into various sex industries around the world range from 200,000 women to over two million women annually (e.g.,
Hughes, 2001; Leuchtag, 2003; Meier, 2000). For this research, countries are recognized as source countries (in which their women are heavily recruited by traffickers), transit countries (traffickers use these countries as gateways into other countries), or destination countries for trafficked women (these countries are usually where women are brought to work in the sex industry) (U.S. Department of State, 2003).

This research looks to identify precursors to women becoming involved in trafficking for prostitution and/or sexual services in the United States. The failure to find patterns or trends regarding why women are trafficked or what types of women are trafficked more often, helps dispel some myths regarding the stereotypical victim of trafficking.

This is an exploratory study using existing data from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR #3438, 2000). The original data set consists of questions and responses from international and United States women who had been or were currently in the United States sex industry.

Conducting a secondary data analysis of ICPSR study #3438, this research also uses the U.S. TIP report, and the
CIA World Factbook. Upon analysis, it was found that no recognizable differences exist between educated or uneducated women trafficked into the United States sex industry. This draws into question the stereotypical idea that all trafficked women are uneducated girls from Third World countries.

Future research on the trafficking of women into sex industries will be enhanced if suggestions made in this research are used effectively. Using internationally recognized terms and definitions of trafficking will help future researchers compare similar research projects and findings. Future research must also further explore the possibility that some women volunteer to be trafficked. A sample size of at least several hundred women, from a given sex industry, should also be used in the future.

The failure to find patterns regarding why women are trafficked, or what types of women are trafficked more often, helps dispel some myths regarding the stereotypical victim of trafficking. This also helps legislatures realize that targeting the stereotypical trafficking victims may not be as effective as previously thought.
world as sex slaves (Leuchtag, 2003; Meier, 2000). The worst-case scenario, by those estimates, would be that half of all individuals trafficked worldwide are involved in the sex industry. This process of taking women from one town or country and moving them to another, mainly for the purpose of prostitution, is seen as a violation of basic human rights to many individuals and groups throughout the international community.

Today the news is full of horror stories of young women being lured into foreign lands and forced to live as prostitutes (e.g., Doezema, 2000; Meier, 2000). These personal stories, from the trafficked women themselves, are presented in ways to not only educate and enlighten the public but to cause an international outcry for justice (Doezema, 2000). Many reports tell of 'young, innocent, women or girls' who are tricked or in some way coerced into leaving their homelands in search of jobs abroad. Once out of their homelands these 'poor, helpless victims' are then forced into prostitution (Everts, 2003; Meier, 2000).

This is the stereotypical story of what many groups would like to believe represents every girl or woman trafficked into another country. However, not all research shows this to be the case. Some research shows that being
the growing numbers of white, European women being trafficked to South America, specifically Buenos Aires. These women, although predominantly of Russian, Romanian, and Polish descent, were also from countries such as France, England, and Spain (Mirelman, 1984). In Europe, between 1880 and 1930, Buenos Aires was considered the center for the commerce in women (Mirelman, 1984).

Buenos Aires, the main port of entry to the country as well as its largest city, retained most of the foreign population with its very high male ratio. Quite naturally, this immense imbalance between men and women created a market for prostitutes from oversees (Mirelman, 1984, p.147).

Other various social pressures and sexual taboos encouraged men to "visit prostitutes as a sign of virility and masculinity" (Mirelman, 1984, p.147). Although many women were tricked or coerced into the sex industry, many European women came willingly to South America to work as prostitutes. This willingness to work in the sex industry was, at least in part, due to the great economic deprivation in that region of the world prior to, during and following World War One (Mirelman, 1984).
Being internationally trafficked and forced into sexual slavery was a fate that also befell many Asian women in the 1930's and 1940's. During World War II, Asian women were being trafficked to Japan as sex slaves. Women "were brought from Japan's Asian neighbors- Korea, China, Taiwan, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines- to the battlefields where Japanese armies were stationed" (Watanabe, 1995, p.503). These "military comfort women" were taken from their homelands and transported to Japan to relieve Japanese soldiers' "battle stress" (Watanabe, 1995). Taken from everything they knew and forced to perform sexual acts with no benefit for themselves, these women were indeed 'victims' of trafficking and sexual slavery.

After World War II, the United States military took control in Japan and created their own military bases. Seventy-five percent of these bases were on the island of Okinawa. Watanabe (1995) showed that continued influence of military personnel on mainland Japan and the island of Okinawa encouraged large numbers of trafficked women to originate from many Third World countries.

During the 1950s, brothels were built around the American bases [in Japan], and since then
trafficked women from other countries, such as the Philippines and Thailand as well as Japan, have been working in a condition of systematic forced prostitution...(p.511).

About twenty years after World War II (1960's and 1970's), during the American war in Vietnam, American troops would go on “rest and recreation” (R&R) in Thailand. In this case American troops were not directly trafficking women from surrounding countries as Japan had done in World War II. Americans were, however, influencing the trafficking of prostitutes to Thailand through their tourist dollars, as they did in Okinawa and Japan (Arnold & Bertone, 2002). A few years later, in 1977, a German gang was caught procuring women from Argentina and Uruguay and trafficking them to Frankfurt. Once in Frankfurt the women were forced into prostitution (Barry, 1981).

By the early 1980’s, international trafficking was already well documented. In 1981, Kathleen Barry reported that in “addition to the traffic in France and in the United States, there is a considerable traffic in women in Third World countries as well” (p.126). Today, the emphasis on trafficking of women into the sex industry seems to revolve around said Third World countries (Arnold
Bertone, 2002; Beyrer & Stachowiak, 2003; Watanabe, 1995).

The current focus on Third World or underdeveloped countries is evident through recent reports concerning poor, uneducated, women and girls being sold, tricked or coerced into the sex industry. These reports concentrate on women trafficked from Third World countries such as Thailand and much of Southeast Asia (Everts, 2003; Green, 2002; Interpol, 2003a). This idea of poor, uneducated, women and girls being trafficked and forced into the sex industry is exactly what many would have the world believe is currently happening in epidemic proportions.

As noted earlier, research into the trafficking of women goes back to the beginning of the twentieth century and the "white slave trade" (Doezema, 2000). The focus of this research, however, is on the re-emergence of international trafficking in women for work in the United States sex industry, in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

 Trafficking Defined

In October of 2000 the United States' Trafficking Victims Protection Act "was enacted to combat trafficking,
to ensure the just and effective punishment of traffickers and to protect victims" (U.S. Department of State, 2002, para. 8). This act defines "severe forms of trafficking" as:

(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 (U.S. Department of State, 2002, para. 10).

This definition of trafficking is rather specific. It requires some form of force, fraud, or coercion on the part of traffickers when recruiting or acquiring women for the sex industry. Although this definition specifically mentions any girls who are under 18 years of age, it applies to all women forced, coerced, or otherwise tricked into the sex industry. If this definition of trafficking were followed worldwide there would be little
misunderstanding over what is considered "trafficking." There is, however, some misunderstanding throughout the international community regarding what constitutes trafficking. Some believe that individuals have been trafficked if "they are being physically and/or psychologically forced or coerced to work" (Arnold & Bertone, 2002; p.31). Others may simply define trafficking as the trade of women "for prostitution, pornography or as unpaid labor across the national borders" (Alalehto, 2002, p.96). In this second definition, nothing is mentioned regarding force, coercion, or possibly some women's willingness to be trafficked.

For this research, a definition adapted from Hughes (2001) is used to define trafficking. This study defines trafficking as: the clandestine transportation of a person or persons, within or across national borders. Specifically, this research focuses on women trafficked for work in the United States sex industries. Some may see this as a definition of smuggling not trafficking. Simply put, the 2004 Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP) notes that as long as the women are over 18 years of age and are not coerced or forced into sex work then it is smuggling not trafficking (U.S. Department of State, 2004). With
an over reporting in the number of women actually trafficked.

Having such a wide variety in trafficking definitions results in a variety of definitions concerning 'victims' of trafficking. Some may argue that how or why a woman is trafficked is irrelevant and that they are all victims. Others may argue that some women are willingly trafficked into the sex industry. This difference in defining trafficking victims, suggests levels of victim participation in the trafficking itself. Levels of victim participation in trafficking may also illustrate levels of force, coercion, or even complete willingness to be trafficked.

Victims and Traffickers

Many governments and non-governmental personnel would have society believe only underdeveloped or 'Third World' countries are source countries for trafficking (Everts, 2003; Interpol, 2003a; Leuchtag, 2003). Reports from these groups are inundated with the personal stories of girls and women led astray. As noted earlier, these stories are meant to provoke readers' emotions and rally support for the authors' cause. To these individuals and groups, the
typical trafficking victim is an uneducated young girl or woman from a socially disorganized or lower economic standing region.

It is argued, accurately in some cases, that these women or girls are sold, lured or tricked into leaving their home in search of a better life elsewhere. These stereotypical stories often go on to claim that women, upon arrival in a new country, are forced into prostitution with no gain for themselves (Barry, 1981; Interpol, 2003a, 2003b; U.S. Department of Justice, 2003b). There are those, however, who challenge this idea of trafficking.

Some researchers have shown there are indeed women willing to be trafficked for their own personal gain. Alalehto (2002) researched Russian women that were being voluntarily trafficked for prostitution into Sweden and Finland for their own, as well as the traffickers’ profit. The reason these women volunteered to be trafficked could be the result of safety concerns for the women. It makes sense that women give a percentage of their earnings to traffickers who also double as security for the women.

This research revealed that Estonia prostitutes were making as much in a week as they would in six months of traditional earnings in Estonia. These women were also not
the stereotypical, uneducated women of Third World
countries. Twenty-three percent had a university degree
while sixteen percent were currently enrolled at
universities. In fact, only twenty percent of the
prostitutes had no advanced education at all. This study
also noted that the men, who trafficked the women, would
often sit in vehicles outside of the building in which the
women were working. Again, it is likely that these men
were providing security for the women in the event that
clients became a nuisance.

This vast difference between trafficked women suggests
a continuum in the level of 'victim' involvement in
trafficking for sexual services. At one end of the
continuum are complete and total victims, such as the Asian
women taken from their countries and forced into sexual
slavery by the Japanese during World War II (Watanabe,
1995). Somewhere in the middle of the continuum would
reside the women who go with traffickers willingly and do
not fully understand what is expected of them. Upon
arrival at their destination, these women might find
conditions other than expected (Arnold & Bertone, 2002).
On the other end of the continuum would be women who
volunteer to be trafficked, understand the circumstances,
and agree to be sex workers (Alalehto, 2002). As mentioned earlier, by the definitions in the 2004 TIP report, this end of the continuum would be considered smuggling.

The idea of women playing a part in their own trafficking, no matter how great or how minute, is nothing new. In the 1940's, Benjamin Mendelsohn created a scale consisting of "completely innocent" victims, "victims with minor guilt" and victims "as guilty as the offender" to assign victim responsibility for crimes (Wallace, 1998, p.9). Some researchers, however, would disagree with this idea of a trafficking continuum or victim responsibility for being trafficked. Alice Leuchtag (2003) believes that women involved in trafficking "shouldn't be divided into those who are forced and those who give their consent because trafficked persons are in no position to give meaningful consent" (p.12).

Leuchtag's concern over 'meaningful consent' revolves around the subtle methods used by traffickers to recruit and lure women into being trafficked. Both direct and deceptive methods, such as offering money to poverty-stricken women or families or offering a job in another country to individuals with lower socioeconomic status, are used to exploit victims' weaknesses (Leuchtag, 2003; U.S.
Department of State, 2002). Leuchtag (2003) would argue that these women truly have no choice and thus cannot be held responsible for becoming trafficking victims. Although considered victims by many, these women would not be considered 'completely innocent' victims, as were the Japanese women in WWII who were taken from their homelands, without consent, to please the Japanese solders in combat (Watanabe, 1995).

Taking into consideration the various ways traffickers transport victims, 'complete victims' are treated far less humanely than are victims 'as guilty as the offender.' In cases involving women who are voluntarily trafficked for prostitution, the situation in which they are transported can be rather professional and much safer than women who are forced into trafficking. Oftentimes, willingly trafficked women split their earnings with the traffickers who transport them in rather casual conditions, such as aboard vans or cars, to their destinations (Alalehto, 2002).

This is in stark contrast to the transportation conditions unwilling victims must endure while being trafficked. Not only do these women have no funds to pay for their transportation but upon arrival some are forced
into sexual slavery to pay off the debt accumulated through the trafficking process (Everts, 2003; Leuchtag, 2003). The conditions these women are forced to endure while in transit often result in death due to overcrowded trucks and boats, or inhumane practices by the traffickers such as depriving the women of food and/or proper sanitary needs (Interpol, 2003a, 2003b).

Health Issues

Regardless of the way women are trafficked into the sex industry they all face serious health issues once there. These health issues range from sexually transmitted diseases (STD's), physical abuse, sexual abuse and mental abuse, often resulting in posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Beyrer & Stachowiak, 2003). The threat of STD's affects not only the sex workers but the surrounding communities as well. Men who frequent the brothels and contract certain STD's, such as HIV, run the risk of not only infecting themselves but their wives and surrounding communities as well (Beyrer & Stachowiak, 2003). This possibility of spreading disease, especially AIDS, is seen as a major contributing factor to the recent increase in trafficking legislation (Doezema, 2000).
This increase in legislation, aimed at protecting the community, has also led to the implementation of many victims' rights projects to aid trafficking victims in their recovery. Denmark, Austria, Germany, the United States, and many other countries, have all established health care and mental counseling for victims (U.S. Department of State, 2003). Some countries, however, still fail to provide adequate services for trafficking victims.

In countries like Thailand, legal residents are the only ones that can receive sex work related health care or services. Illegal sex workers in Thailand "have little or no access to these services" (Beyrer & Stachowiak, 2003, p.106). The physical health issues facing areas inundated with trafficked women and prostitution, as well as the mental and physical degradation of the women involved in sexual slavery, has caused human rights groups to call for international aid.

A Better Understanding

Obtaining a better understanding regarding the trafficking of women into the sex industry will help countries and organizations in their fight for basic human rights. This cannot be achieved, however, if countries and
organizations continue to perpetuate the trafficking stereotypes currently in place. The international community as a whole needs to be able to identify various precursors to women becoming trafficked into the sex industry. This cannot be done when the current focus revolves solely around undereducated Third World or underdeveloped countries.

Current efforts to fight trafficking in humans are based around the idea that only poor, uneducated, women and girls are trafficked into the sex industry. These stereotypes are accompanied by the idea that all trafficked women are in some way forced into the sex industry. What many legislatures fail to acknowledge is that women trafficked into the sex industry come from all over the world, not just Third World or underdeveloped countries. Likewise, research showing that women may actually choose to be trafficked into various sex industries seems to be ignored by the same people that have vowed to fight trafficking in humans. In doing so, international leaders have elected to be familiar with only one aspect of trafficking.

By not acknowledging the different aspects of trafficking, such as the idea of victim involvement,
legislatures will never completely understand trafficking as a whole. Knowing and understanding the victim spectrum of involvement will help leaders combat trafficking more effectively by addressing the different aspects of trafficking. Furthermore, policies should be implemented that are geared towards not just combating trafficking but looking to eliminate it all together.

To eliminate the trafficking of women, governments must also consider who or what is influencing the trafficking of women into sex industries. Once legislatures understand the demand side of trafficking they will be in a better position to create new, more innovative policies addressing the various aspects of trafficking women into the sex industry. Once this is done, future efforts to combat trafficking of women into sex industries will not have as big a displacement effect as current law enforcement efforts which are more target area oriented.

Combating Trafficking

Support for anti-trafficking legislation has been evident with the recent passage of several international acts, signed into effect by the United Nations and the United States. With the passing of the Trafficking Victims
Protection Act in 2000, the United States Department of State is required to issue an annual *Trafficking In Persons* Report (TIP) (U.S. Department of State, 2003). This report outlines how over 115 countries are combating the trafficking of persons within their territories. The report also helps the United States target programs and countries that need help combating trafficking. This targeting of particular countries can be seen in the TIP report through "Tier" placement of individual countries (U.S. Department of State, 2003).

All countries appearing in the report are placed into one of three tiers. Tier One consists of countries in complete compliance of minimum set standards for combating trafficking (set forth by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act). Tier Two represents countries that do not meet the minimum standards but are making significant efforts in meeting those requirements. The third tier represents those countries that do not meet minimum requirements and are making no significant effort to do so (U.S. Department of State, 2003).

In 2004, the United States *Trafficking In Persons* Report added a sub-tier to Tier Two. This sub-tier is known as the "Tier Two Watch List" (U.S. Department of
Countries on the Tier Two Watch List are in the same category as those in Tier Two but they also have additional identifiers. The additional identifiers for the Tier Two Watch List are:

A) The absolute number of victims of severe forms of trafficking is very significant or is significantly increasing [in that country]; or

B) There is a failure to provide evidence of increasing efforts [in said country] to combat severe forms of trafficking in persons from the previous year; or

C) The determination that a country is making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with minimum standards was based on commitments by the country to take additional future steps over the next year (U.S. Department of State, 2004, p.28).

Upon placement into Tier Three, countries run the risk of losing non-humanitarian and non-trade-related aid. These countries may also run the risk of losing funding for educational and/or cultural exchange programs (U.S. Department of State, 2003). Although these sanctions may encourage some countries to strive for excellence when
combating human trafficking, many countries pass anti-trafficking legislation without such threats.

In Helsinki, Finland, legislation was passed to ban street prostitution. With this legislation in effect, independently working prostitutes caught walking the streets were removed and deported, even though they were voluntarily and legally brought to Finland to work. The Helsinki laws on street prostitution not only helped identify foreign prostitutes but insured deportation as well (Alalehto, 2002). Ideally this form of combating trafficking and sex work, through legislation and enforcement, could cause voluntary prostitutes to lose money and at the same time lose interest in destination countries. Consequently this may reduce the amount of trafficking for prostitution within destination countries such as Finland. Although this type of enforcement may be successful for the target area, it also calls into question the possibility of displacement, of illegal trafficking and sex work, to surrounding areas or countries.

Between September 2003 and May 2004, Arizona state officials, together with state, local and federal officers, all worked together in an attempt to eradicate human trafficking between Mexico and Arizona (Moore & Becerra,
2004). Although the joint efforts between the various agencies significantly reduced numbers of individuals trafficked to or through Arizona it also resulted in an upsurge in trafficking through southern California (Moore & Becerra, 2004). Aggressive anti-trafficking techniques, such as the ones used in Arizona and Finland, are often the result of administrators and law enforcement officials making a "decision simply because it involves the least amount of effort but is adequate" (Stojkovic & Farkas, 2003, p.26). Consequently these same officials fail to examine all possible alternatives and often choose a direct approach that is seen as good enough (Stojkovic & Farkas, 2003). There are, however, more indirect ways to combat trafficking.

Many countries within Southeast Asia, such as Thailand, try to educate women who are either at risk of being trafficked or who are already in the sex industry (Beyrer & Stachowiak, 2003). This can be done by formal governmental groups who focus on educating at risk children, or by informal groups who use television and radio to get information out to already trafficked individuals (Arnold & Bertone, 2002; U.S. Department of State, 2003). Educating victims and possible victims has
shown to be a rather effective tool in combating trafficking into the sex industry, especially in underdeveloped countries like Thailand. Beyrer and Stachowiak (2003) note that the number of Thai women in the sex industry continues to decline and that the continued education of Thai women and families is thought to be the cause of this decline.

As noted earlier, some countries prefer a more direct route at combating traffickers. These countries take the route of prosecution for trafficking in humans. To capture and prosecute traffickers successfully, government officials often use prior victims of trafficking to identify known areas of transportation and to testify as witnesses in court against traffickers (U.S. Department of State, 2003). Some countries, such as the United States, increase penalties for trafficking related crimes (Green, 2002). Regardless of the type of action taken by government and non-government agencies, traffickers are often one step ahead.

Enforcement Coming up Short

"According to the UN, human trafficking is the third largest criminal enterprise world wide, generating an estimated 9.5 billion USD in annual revenue" (U.S.
Department of State, 2004, p.14). The majority of traffickers in this enterprise are in some way affiliated with, or actually a part of, an organized crime syndicate such as the Chinese Triad, Japanese Yakuza, or Mexican Coyote groups. (Interpol, 2003a). These groups have come to realize the profitability of trafficking in people. Alice Leuchtag (2003) states that sex slavery is one of the most lucrative forms of slavery today and that sex slaves worldwide bring their captors 10.5 billion dollars a year. Dan Everts (2003) notes that "[s]ome indicators suggest the amount of money involved in human trafficking has recently approached, or perhaps even exceeded, the amount involved in the drug trade" (p.151).

Similarities between drug trafficking and trafficking of humans do not end with money. Learning from their previous trafficking in weapons and drugs, traffickers use proven routes and methods to move people across borders (Everts, 2003). Some of these methods may even include false or forged documents and lists of officials who can be bribed (U.S. Department of State, 2003). Many trafficking groups manipulate and corrupt political and legislative officials (Bruggeman, 1998). These officials often become
involved in trafficking or at least look the other way in regards to it (U.S. Department of State, 2002).

With their ability to corrupt local governments, it is easy to see why traffickers make anti-trafficking and anti-sex industry laws as difficult to enforce today as prohibition was in the 1920's and 1930's. Further examples of the difficulty governments face in trying to control human trafficking is made obvious by the Department of State 2003 Trafficking In Persons Report (TIP). The 2003 TIP notes that trafficking is still on the rise, with 800,000 to 900,000 people trafficked annually and the likelihood of traffickers being caught and punished low. Unfortunately, just like alcohol consumption during prohibition, women will continue to be trafficked into the sex industry because there is a demand for sex services.

What Might Work

The education of Thai women is credited with the declining numbers of Thai women in the sex industry. When Thai women became more aware of the dangers associated with working in the sex industry, traffickers began going to other countries to find women. It would appear that education may be a key factor in helping stereotypical (third-world, uneducated) victims avoid being trafficked
into the sex industry or becoming sexual slaves (Beyrer & Stachowiak, 2003).

Although an international education campaign against trafficking and the sex industry would undoubtedly help some women choose other means of employment, the traffickers would eventually find women elsewhere (Beyrer & Stachowiak, 2003; Watanabe, 1995). Various traditional attempts at combating traffickers are often counter acted by the traffickers themselves. The United States and the world need to consider other means of combating the trafficking of sex workers. Perhaps a repeal of certain anti-sex industry laws would net similar results as the repeal of prohibition.

Possibility of Government Regulated Prostitution. In the United States prostitution is illegal in every state except Nevada. Nevada prostitutes and brothels are licensed through local sheriff departments in the same manner in which local casino and casino workers are licensed to operate (Brents & Hausbeck, 2001). Implementing more of these government regulated brothels throughout the country could be one way to reduce the number of illegal traffickers, illegal immigrants, and forced sex slaves in the United States. Government
regulation could also help calm societal fears of sex workers and STD's within the United States.

Having a licensed and regulated sex industry, as in Nevada, would allow government agencies to ensure women were working voluntarily and as legal residents. Requiring women to go through legal channels to become sex workers, and opening safe and legal options for men to contact these women, would remove the demand for illegal immigrants in the sex industry. Everts (2003) explains that "[i]f no employer in the countries of destination were willing to employ the victims, half the battle would already be won" (p.153). This task could be accomplished through permanent brothel license revocation if an employer was found to have knowingly employed illegal sex workers.

Some estimates report more than 50,000 women a year are sold into illegal United States brothels alone (Meier, 2000). Although regulation of sex workers would not eliminate trafficking in humans all together, it could help eliminate this sizable portion. Regulation could also help eliminate illegal trafficking profits, which as noted earlier can reach as high as 12 billion dollars a year (Meier, 2000). By implementing government regulated
brothels the United States could collect a sizable portion of that 12 billion dollars.

Societal concerns over STD's would also be eased through Nevada style governmental regulation. This form of regulation has led to Nevada brothels having lower STD rates than the population average and the "lowest HIV rate among sex workers of any U.S. state for more than a decade" (Beyrer & Stachowiak, 2003, p.107). Beyrer and Stachowiak (2003) suggest that innovative and more progressive policies and programs addressing HIV, AIDS and sex workers, need to be implemented. Nevada has an ideal blue print for such a policy. For now, however, national regulation of prostitution throughout the United States has yet to be attempted.

Fears of Government Regulated Prostitution. Bold and innovative legislation used to combat trafficking, such as government-regulated brothels, creates fear among some in society. There are several reasons society hesitates to legalize or regulate prostitution. One reason, mentioned earlier, is the fear of STD outbreaks. As Beyrer and Stachowiak (2003) showed, with proper government regulation, STD outbreaks are an unsubstantiated societal fear.
Others may worry about a “bad element” or “undesirables” getting into the business (Brents & Hausbeck, 2001). This argument is understandable when one considers Alalehto’s (2002) research of Russian organized crime exploiting the growing sex trade in Sweden and Finland. This argument is nullified, however, with the implementation of Nevada style regulations. As Brents and Hausbech (2001) point out, Nevada brothel owners must undergo a full background check including an FBI check.

Some individuals also fear prostitution would be a gateway for other, more traditional, organized crime activity such as drug and weapons trafficking, immigrant smuggling, and the smuggling of other goods (Bruggeman, 1998). This theory was dispelled earlier when it was shown that traffickers actually use pre-existing information on past drug trafficking and goods smuggling to traffic people, not the other way around. Likewise, if the sex industry were properly regulated, immigrant smuggling into the sex industry would be so minimal that traffickers would not be afforded the opportunity to test new routes for weapons, drug or human trafficking.
Victims’ Rights

New legislation, enforcement efforts, and policy proposals are geared toward helping current and future victims of trafficking. Since many sex workers suffer secondary forms of victimization such as police harassment, police sexual abuse, arrest and/or prosecution as prostitutes, many trafficking victims do not report crimes to law enforcement officials (Barry, 1981; Beyrer & Stachowiak, 2003). Other times victims may take matters into their own hands. Such was the case when three Thai women tried to escape from their captors, and, in the process, killed the barkeep where they worked (Watanabe, 1995).

The three Thai women were further victimized, by the legislation in place at the time, when they were placed in prison for the murder of one of their captors (Watanabe, 1995). In the United States, wives who are abused by spouses are often able to use the “battered women’s syndrome defense” to avoid imprisonment, after they violently confront and sometimes kill their spouse (Gosselin, 2002, p.332). As in the case of the three Thai women, many sex workers or sex slaves that are abused have no legal defense after violently confronting captors.
Until recently, many of these women had no legal help at all.

Although the Thirteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution outlaws slavery and involuntary servitude, which could be used to combat sexual slavery and forced prostitution, it is argued that individuals trafficked into the sex industry "deserve special consideration and services" (Beyrer & Stachowiak, 2003, p.114). This argument for victims' rights has been seen as reasonable by many countries worldwide and has been addressed through new legislation. The United States has recently passed the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (U.S. Department of Justice, 2003a).

This legislation was enacted "to combat human trafficking by ensuring the effective punishment of traffickers, [and] enhancing protection for victims..." (U.S. Department of State, 2003, p.13). The act also covers health services provided to victims of trafficking and sexual slavery. This new international awareness of trafficking and sexual slavery revolves around human rights violations and how individual rights to life, liberty, and freedom from slavery should be upheld worldwide (U.S. Department of State, 2003).
trafficked women. Women were grouped according to their educational attainment. Comparison variables were then used in an attempt to illustrate women who were willingly trafficked into the sex industry and those who were forced. In doing so, this research looks to identify characteristics of women voluntarily trafficked into the sex industry and those forced into it.

Research Question 3 - Do trafficked women's individual educational levels provide recognizable differences between women who volunteer to be trafficked into the sex industry and those who are forced?

The aim of this research is to provide a clearer understanding as to which women are at greater risk of being forcibly trafficked into the sex industry. Unfortunately, the problems associated with the original project (Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research study #3438) have greatly hampered this effort. With this in mind, research question 4 aims at addressing future methodological concerns for research concerning the trafficking of women into the sex industry.

Research Question 4 - How can research be enhanced to improve our understanding of trafficking of women into the sex industry?
Clarification of these research questions provides a better understanding of the scope of human trafficking into the sex industry. With a better understanding of trafficking, legislators will be in a better position to propose future methods of combating this crime. These research findings may also encourage the development and implementation of bold, new trafficking prevention techniques, that may more effectively reduce the overall number of victims trafficked into the sex industry.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODS

Existing Data Source

The original research project used primary research information from interviews with trafficked and prostituted women in the United States' sex industry. The resulting data set consists of questions and responses from international and United States women who had been or were currently in the United States sex industry. The research framework attempted to track trafficked women from their hometown, through experiences in the sex industry, to their present place in life. This was done by collecting information on trafficked women's backgrounds, activities while in the sex industry, if and how they were controlled, and how they coped with their situations.

Trafficked women were also asked about experiences with recruiters, traffickers, pimps, and customers involved in the sex industry. Information was gathered on respondents' views concerning trafficking and prostitution policies, the organization of the sex industry, and health and legal aspects of the business (ICPSR #3438, 2000, n.p.). Responses from these interviews can be retrieved
via the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research. (ICPSR #3438, 2000).

After locating women in the sex industry researchers used target sampling to interview international women and women from the United States who were trafficked into the United States' sex industry. The exact system used in the 'target sampling' was not described in the original research. This weakness is further explored in the 'original study limitations' section of this thesis. In all, a total of 41 trafficked women were interviewed using both open and closed-ended questions. A sample of the original questionnaire, which interviewers were supposed to use when interviewing trafficked women, can be found in Appendix A.

Current Research

For this research project a secondary data analysis was used. This unobtrusive research method considered both quantitative data (closed-ended questions) as well as qualitative data (open-ended question). A descriptive data analysis was conducted using data retrieved from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR #3438, 2000).
As mentioned previously, the original data set for ICPSR study #3438 contains an example of the questionnaire the original research project was supposed to use when interviewing women trafficked into the sex-industry (Appendix A). Unfortunately, the original research failed to follow this example uniformly. Instead, interviewers often reworded questions. This caused an inconsistency in not only the questions asked but the type of responses given as well. For this reason the researcher went through each interview individually and identified questions that were not changed in the original research. After identifying consistent close-ended questions between the 41 interviewees the researcher then identified 22 questions to be categorized and coded for further analysis (Appendix B).

Definitions

To properly understand the methods used for this study, certain terms used in the research questions need to be clarified. For this research the term 'source countries' refers to the seven countries from which the 41 women surveyed in the original research project originated. In research questions one and two, the literacy level of the interviewees' source country is determined by the CIA
World Factbook. The data used are from the Central Intelligence Agencies' website. It provides the fundamental and factual reference material on a given country or issue and was last updated on February 10, 2005 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2005).

Other terms and phrases, used throughout this research, use definitions adapted from the United States Department of State Trafficking In Persons Report (TIP) (2003). A country’s support for anti-trafficking legislation, be it strong or weak, is determined by the TIP. This report is also used to determine source country tier placement. The report’s placement of source countries is the basis for which anti-trafficking support, or lack thereof, is determined.

The TIP report divides countries into three tiers. In order for countries to show 'stronger support' for anti-trafficking legislation they need to be located in Tier One of this report. The TIP also lays out which countries are source, transition, and destination countries. This research does not, however, consider who was reported as source countries in the TIP report.

Instead, this research considers the seven countries from which interviewees originated as source countries.
This is important when considering the relationship between lower national literacy rates and the likelihood of being trafficked into the sex industry, as addressed in research question two. Likewise, this research does not consider any transition countries and the only destination country to be considered is the United States.

These variables (literacy and women's source country) were used to compare individual countries and their involvement in trafficking of women into the sex industry. The goal was to determine whether or not countries with higher national literacy rates show stronger or weaker support for anti-trafficking legislation and if they are more or less likely to be source countries for the trafficking of women.

As mentioned earlier trafficking is defined as: the clandestine transportation of a person or persons, within or across national borders. This research focuses specifically on women trafficked for work in the sex industries of the United States. This focus on women in the United States' sex industry requires further clarification as well. The sex industry is defined as: any work in areas of prostitution (such as escort services), the creation of sex films, or working in strip clubs.
Although the terms trafficked and trafficking carry a negative connotation, research question three addresses the idea that women being trafficked are not always victims but may actually volunteer to be trafficked. By assigning victim responsibility the researcher shows a spectrum of victim involvement ranging from 'completely innocent' victims to victims 'as guilty as the offender.' This application of a victim spectrum has been adopted from Benjamin Mendelsohn's (1947) idea of victim involvement in crimes (Muncie & Wilson, 2004). While addressing research question three it is also shown that some women who are trafficked not only volunteer but also know exactly where they are being trafficked too. This is an attempt to illustrate the category, 'as guilty as the offender,' or show a 'willing participant.'

Validity and Reliability

Responses to the questions selected for secondary analysis were easily categorized and coded since most responses in the original data set are either "yes" or "no." Unfortunately, the original data set contained several problems related to validity and reliability. As pointed out earlier, the original research failed to follow
the research used target sampling to interview international women and women from the United States who were trafficked into the United States sex industry. The problem is that no explanation is given as to what sampling procedures or criteria were used to identify these 'targeted individuals.' Did the research just look for trafficked women in general? Was the research geared more towards finding women working in the United States' sex industry? Where were the women found? Were they all arrestees or were they found through snowball sampling? Once targeted women were located, why were certain women eliminated from the study? Furthermore, it is unclear as to whether or not there were actually any sampling procedures or criteria implemented at the beginning of the original study.

One possible explanation for this is that the original research project was a bit overzealous in stripping possible participant identifiers from the data set. If this is the case, the data set is extremely limited and further research is hindered by this overemphasis on participant confidentiality. Logistical problems such as these make it difficult for future researchers to
substantiate any findings based on, or compared to, this data set.

Coding

After insuring that questions required for this research were asked in a consistent manner, coded interviewee responses were grouped together accordingly (Appendix B) and analyzed. Subsequently, these data were examined in an attempt to explore an relationship between certain variables. A separate table was created to illustrate and rank the seven source countries of the interviewees by their national literacy levels. Coding for these levels are based on the CIA World Factbook (2005). Similarly, a table was created to show the countries determination in combating trafficking. Coding for this table was based on the countries tier placement in the 2004 Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP).

Interpretation

Analyses of these data relied on the researcher’s ability to identify commonalities between countries as well as women trafficked into the sex industry. Unfortunately, in some cases no relationships were found between tested
variables. Finding no patterns or trends between variables is often considered unfortunate but in this research it helps us understand the true scope of trafficking into the sex industry. With no obvious identifiers or precursors to women being trafficked, law enforcement, legislatures, politicians, and other various aid groups will have to consider more general forms of combating trafficking as opposed to the targeted combat currently in place in various regions of the world.
CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS

The Sample

The original research project used primary research information from interviews with trafficked and prostituted women in the United States' sex industry. The resulting data set consists of questions and responses from international and United States women who had been or were currently in the United States' sex industry. The research framework attempted to track 41 trafficked women from their hometown, through experiences in the sex industry, to their present place in life. This was done by collecting information on trafficked women's backgrounds, activities while in the sex industry, if and how they were controlled, and how they coped with their situations (ICPSR #3438, 2000, n.p.).

Trafficked women were also asked about experiences with recruiters, traffickers, pimps, and customers involved in the sex industry. Information was gathered on respondents' views concerning trafficking and prostitution policies, the organization of the sex industry, and health and legal aspects of the business (ICPSR #3438, 2000,
A sample of the original questionnaire, which interviewers were supposed to use when interviewing trafficked women, can be found in Appendix A. Responses from these interviews can be retrieved via the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR #3438, 2000).

Testing Research Questions

To address research question one, the United States *Trafficking in Persons Report* (2004) was used to determine how strongly various countries support anti-trafficking legislation. Along with research question number two, research question number one also used the *CIA World Factbook* (2005) to determine the various source countries' literacy levels. For research question two, source countries were determined by where the 41 interviewed women originally came from. This resulted in the aforementioned seven source countries.

**Research Question One**

For analyzing the research question on national literacy rates, several tables have been created to help reduce unneeded and unused information from both the *CIA World Factbook* (2005) and the TIP (2004). Table 1 shows
the literacy rates of the seven source countries in this research. This information was retrieved from the CIA World Factbook (2005). Table 2 provides additional information on these seven source countries by listing their 2004 TIP tier placement.

Table 1. National Literacy Rates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nation or Territory</th>
<th>Adult Literacy Rates</th>
<th>Countries Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>99.7%</td>
<td>47,732,079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>99.6%</td>
<td>143,782,338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>97.0%</td>
<td>293,027,571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
<td>94.1%</td>
<td>3,897,960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>92.3%</td>
<td>19,905,165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>86.4%</td>
<td>184,101,109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>67.5%</td>
<td>5,359,759</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 2 shows the tier placement of countries based on the United States Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP) (2004). Since the United States puts this report together, and sets the standards by which other countries are judged,
it and its territories (Puerto Rico) do not appear in any of the tiers. For the purpose of this research, it was assumed that since the United States and its territories are setting the TIP standards, they must be located in Tier One.

Table 2. Supporting Anti-Trafficking Efforts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tier Placement</th>
<th>Countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tier One</td>
<td>United States, Puerto Rico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tier Two</td>
<td>Ukraine, Sri Lanka, Brazil, Nicaragua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tier Two Watch List</td>
<td>Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tier Three</td>
<td>(no countries)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Tier One of the TIP (2004) is the tier in which all countries meeting or exceeding the United States' minimal requirements, in combating international trafficking of persons, are located. Aside from the assumption that the United States and Puerto Rico are located in Tier One, none of the countries from our data set are located in Tier One.
Tier Two consists of all countries showing an effort to combat the trafficking of persons, but not meeting the United States’ minimal requirements. Tier Two and the Tier Two “watch list” are where the five remaining countries are located. Countries in Tier Three are seen as doing little or nothing to combat the trafficking of persons. No countries in the data set are classified as Tier Three countries.

To answer research question one, tables 1 and 2 must both be observed. Through this observation, it is shown that a source country’s national literacy rate has no direct affect on its show of support, or lack of, for anti-trafficking efforts. This conclusion is illustrated by both Nicaragua and Russia. Nicaragua shows that, just because a source country has a low national literacy rate, it does not mean they will show weaker support for anti-trafficking efforts when compared to countries with higher national literacy levels.

Case in point: Nicaragua shows just as much support for anti-trafficking efforts as the Ukraine. Thus, a source country with only a 67.5% national literacy rate shows just as much support for anti-trafficking efforts as does a country with a 99.7% national literacy rating.
Conversely, Russia shows that a source country with a high national literacy rating can show little to no support for anti-trafficking efforts. With its 99.6% national literacy rating, Russia shows far less support for anti-trafficking efforts than source country's with comparable literacy ratings. Again, it appears that a source country's national literacy level is not related to whether or not the country will show strong or weak support for anti-trafficking legislation.

Research Question Two

In addressing research question two, table 1 is compared against table 3. Arranged chronologically by their national literacy levels, table 3 shows the number of women originating from the seven source countries in this research. The number of women originating from each country is shown under the frequency column. A percentage column was also created to help further illustrate how many women from the sample came from each country.

Research question two is concerned with the possibility that source countries with lower national literacy rates may produce more women trafficked into the sex industry than do source countries with higher national literacy rates. After observing tables 1 and 3, it is
noted that countries with high national literacy rates, namely the United States and Russia, produce far more women trafficked into the United States' sex industry than do countries with low national literacy rates. This observation is reiterated when looking at Nicaragua.

Table 3. Source Countries of Interviewees (N=41)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nation or Territory</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nicaragua has a much lower national literacy rate than the United States and Russia yet they produced only 2.4% of the woman trafficked into the United States' sex industry. Comparing Russia (29.3%) or the United States (58.5%) it appears that countries with lower national literacy rates
are not necessarily more likely to produce higher numbers of women trafficked into the sex industry.

**Research Question Three**

Research question three looks to identify whether or not trafficked women’s educational levels provide recognizable differences between women who are voluntarily trafficked into the sex industry and those who are forced into it. To do this, several variables are considered. Before addressing this research question, each of the 41 individual questionnaires were examined to ensure each question was asked uniformly. Questions that were not asked uniformly were omitted in an attempt to reduce or eliminate sampling error.

Questions found to be uniformly asked to each interviewee were then set aside for analysis. Questions that were uniformly asked but received no response from various interviewees were also included. This results in some of the following tables not showing 41 responses. Some questions were also considered ‘uniform’ if the interviewer failed to ask the question. These individual, unasked questions were also deemed usable and they too result in tables not showing 41 responses. The following
is an exploration of the responses to questions deemed 'uniformly asked.'

Table 4. Education v. Paid for Own Travel (N=30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Paid for Own Travel:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K-12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS Grad/GED</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College/College Grad</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continuing with the idea of literacy rates, the next three tables focus on the individual educational levels of trafficked women. First the level of education for each trafficked woman was compared to whether or not they paid for their own travel. Specifically, table 4 explores women’s education levels and whether or not they were willingly trafficked or forced into the sex industry. The willingness aspect of this equation is represented by whether or not the women paid for their own travel.

Table 4 shows the majority of women at each education level paid for their own travel. What this may indicate is that many women are indeed willingly trafficked into the sex industry. If women are paying for their own travel
then surely there is at least some sort of willingness on their part to be trafficked. Table 4 does not, however, present a convincing argument for education being a 'recognizable difference' between women who volunteer to be trafficked into the sex industry and those who are forced. The ratio of "yes" to "no" answers does not reveal any pattern or trend.

However, the original research questionnaire did not ask if women were forced to pay back their travel expenses or if they willingly paid to be transported from one place to the next. Thus, the limitations of the data do not allow for further exploration into this issue.

Table 5. Education v. Method of Entry (N=34)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Smuggled.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Not Asked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K-12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS Grad/GED</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College/College Grad</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 shows that the majority of the women in this study may have been willingly trafficked into the United States' sex industry. Since most of the women in this
study were not illegally trafficked into the United States. This indicates a level of willingness on the part of the women. Instead of being smuggled or forced to come to the United States it appears that many of the women chose to come to the United States through legal means.

Again the ratio of "yes" to "no" answers is so similar between each educational grouping that no pattern or trend can be observed between them. For this reason, table 5 also fails to present a 'recognizable difference' between women who volunteer to be trafficked into the sex industry and those who are forced.

Table 6. Education v. Access to Travel Documents (N=30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Access to Travel Documents at all Times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K-12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS Grad/GED</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College/College Grad</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A similar comparison was conducted between educational levels of trafficked women and whether or not they had access to their travel documents at all times (Table 6).
If women did indeed have access to their travel documents at all times then again they are showing a level of willingness on their part to be trafficked into the United States. This idea was used in table 6 to compare willingness levels to individuals' educational levels.

The same number of trafficked women that said they were not illegally brought to the United States in table 5 also said they had access to their travel documents at all times in table 6. Likewise, the same number of women that claimed to be smuggled into the United States in table 5 also said they did not have access to their travel documents at all times in table 6. These numbers also corresponded precisely with the same educational level groupings in both tables. Therefore, these two tables support the position that the majority of women in this study were willingly trafficked into the United States' sex industry. Although a majority seems to exist in the data set for women willingly trafficked, versus women who were forcibly trafficked, there is still no notable difference in trafficked women with regard to their educational levels.

As illustrated in table 7, regardless of the second variable used, if trafficked women's educational level is
the controlling variable in a comparison, no recognizable differences are found. The idea for comparisons in table 7 was to look for possible coercion or false pretense on the part of traffickers. Women who report their original agreements changed upon arrival at their destination are considered victims of coercion, force, or fraud. Women reporting that their agreement had remained the same are considered willing participants of trafficking.

Table 7. Education v. The Agreement (N=33)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Did the Agreement Remain the Same</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K-12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS Grad/GED</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College/College Grad</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prior scholars have maintained that women within certain educational groups, such as the less educated, are more likely to be tricked, forced, or coerced into the sex industry. This would have been denoted by a clear majority of women in the K-12 educational range answering 'No, the agreement did not remain the same.' Unfortunately, table 7
shows no difference between the educational levels of trafficked women and whether or not their agreement had stayed the same. The ratio of "yes" to "no" answers are so similar, between each educational grouping, that no recognizable difference can be observed between them.

This is encouraging, however, since tables 4 through 7 all seem to echo the conclusions reached for research questions one and two. That is to say that educational levels, be it national or individual, do not have a direct or notable influence on source countries' anti-trafficking efforts, the number of women trafficked from a given source country, or whether or not women are forcibly trafficked into the sex industry.

Research Question Four

Research question four is concerned with future research regarding the trafficking of women into the sex industry. Specifically, research question four asks how future studies can be enhanced to improve our understanding of this problem. Using the original research and data set for this research project as an example, it is easy to see that many things need to be addressed so future research projects achieve more useful results.
First, future researchers will need to conceptualize trafficking. Perhaps it would be useful to use the same definition as that of a worldwide representative such as the United Nations. Creating new definitions or using one nation’s definition of trafficking will cause problems when researchers try to compare findings globally. Since trafficking is a global phenomenon, using an international definition would allow future research projects to compare their findings without major compatibility problems.

Recognizing that some women are indeed willingly trafficked into various sex industries would also be a step in the right direction for future researchers. Once this is done researchers can ask women if they were willing participants, coerced, or forced into being trafficked. With these responses researchers would then be able to look for recognizable differences between women who volunteer to be trafficked into the sex industry and those who are forced. Without asking such questions researchers will have to find variables that may or may not represent willingness on the part of trafficked women. As illustrated by this research, finding variables that may represent a woman’s willingness to be trafficked is not a reliable method in determining willingness.
Questions regarding women’s willingness to be trafficked need to be part of an overall questionnaire that is to be administered to trafficked women in the targeted sex industry. Once this questionnaire is drawn up and agreed upon by the researchers, it must be applied uniformly to all women surveyed. This is a key requirement for enhancing future research. Research participants cannot be forced to answer any questions they are uncomfortable with. But all women interviewed must be asked the same questions and they must all be asked every question. Failure to do so will result in degraded analyses and results.

The number of women interviewed in future research should also be higher than this data set. A sample population of at least several hundred should be implemented in future research projects. This should help reduce the weaknesses resulting from women who refuse to answer certain questions and help researchers find more significant results. This will also help researchers infer findings onto the larger target population in their research.

Once researchers have finalized their research instrument they must decide on how to administer it.
they can help eliminate the forced trafficking of women into the sex industry. When researchers with political agendas and extreme ideologies are granted funding for such research they inevitably look to promote their own interests not that of the trafficking victims.
CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Summary

The goal of this research was to identify educational differences between women voluntarily trafficked into the United States’ sex industry and those who were tricked, coerced or forced. A data set retrieved from ICPSR study #3438 was used in conjunction with several governmental websites to facilitate this secondary analysis. The two main websites used in this research belong to the United States Department of Justice and the United States Central Intelligence Agency.

The data set retrieved from the ICPSR contained verbatim questionnaires of women trafficked into the United States. The original interview questions and the women’s responses were all recorded and provided for this secondary data analysis. Due to weaknesses in the research methods of ICPSR study #3438, several steps were taken to eliminate or greatly reduce the level of error in this secondary analysis.

Once these weaknesses were controlled for, several separate variables were used to see if trafficked women’s
educational levels had any noticeable influence on whether or not they were trafficked. The findings in this secondary research support the idea of a victim spectrum of involvement. Each variable used in this analysis showed that many women are willingly trafficked, regardless of their educational level. This also supports the position that women trafficked into the sex industry are not all young, uneducated girls.

This position was also supported when source countries' national literacy rates were compared to said countries' involvement in anti-trafficking efforts. This comparison showed that a county's national literacy rate also had no noticeable affect on source countries' anti-trafficking efforts. In other words, countries with low national literacy rates were just as likely to show support for anti-trafficking efforts as countries with high literacy rates.

The national literacy rates also had no affect on determining which countries had higher numbers of women trafficked into the sex industry. Countries with high levels of national literacy rates had some of the highest rates of women trafficked from their countries. Counties
with high national literacy rates also had some of the smallest numbers of women trafficked into the sex industry.

Future Research

Personal stories of women trafficked into the sex industry are common in anecdotal research and news media. Future research needs to move beyond anecdotal research in order to provide a better understanding of trafficking. This research needs to implement more rigorous methodology. We already know that some of the women trafficked into the sex industry are poor, uneducated, and come from Third World countries. The problem is that past studies have targeted these types of women specifically; rather, these studies need to identify how pervasive the problem is by region, country, or particular sex industry.

Future methods should include the use of terms and definitions internationally associated with trafficking. Using internationally recognized terms and definitions of trafficking will help future researchers compare similar research projects and findings. Future research must also further explore the possibility that some women volunteer to be trafficked. This idea would be negated, however, if the international community used the United States’
definition of trafficking. In such a case, volunteering to be trafficked into the sex industry would be considered smuggling.

A larger number of research participants must also be used in order to go beyond anecdotal research. A sample size of at least several hundred women, from a given sex industry, should be used in the future. Questionnaires used to interview or survey trafficked women must be applied uniformly throughout each project. When these two things do not occur the resulting data set is plagued by weaknesses. After completing their research, researchers should then thoroughly described how their datum was collected. This will allow secondary researchers the opportunity to replicate and verify the studies findings. Further details regarding future research are also addressed in research question fours' analysis section.

Study Limitations

When doing this secondary analysis the research concentrated on eliminating or significantly reducing the residual weaknesses produced in the original research project. This does not mean, however, that no new weaknesses were created. One possible weakness in this
study may be the result of comparing late 1990’s/early 2000 year interviews to 2004 TIP reports and 2005 CIA facts.

Using interviews and statistics that may represent two separate time frames may be misleading. To eliminate this problem, future researchers should obtain more detailed information on when a research participant was trafficked into the sex industry. This would allow researchers to look at that year’s corresponding TIP report and the CIA World Factbook literacy rates. Analyzing the corresponding years would help researchers achieve a better understanding of trafficking trends for those given years.

A second weakness stems from presuming what variables in the original study may imply a woman’s willingness to be trafficked. Future researchers should consider asking the trafficked women if they were willingly trafficked into the sex industry or if they were in any way forced, coerced, or tricked. Asking these questions would help eliminate any guesswork from the analysis. This would help researchers further understand trafficking if they could find patterns in regards to which women were more likely to be willingly trafficked.

The data set used in this analysis can in no way predict global trends in trafficking. The data set was far
too small and contained far too many methodological errors. Although those errors were controlled in this secondary research, some new errors may have been created. What can be said for this research is that it shows young and/or uneducated women are not the only ones recruited/trafficked into the sex industry. In fact it supports the claim that some older and highly educated women are trafficked into the sex industry as well.

Such a small data set may not be able to conclusively answer the research questions asked in this study, but it can show that the stereotype of trafficked women being young, uneducated, and originating in a third-world country are not entirely accurate. This point is further established when one considers the fact that over 70% of the women in this data set were over 18 years of age when they first entered the sex industry. Again, this shows that women trafficked into the sex industry are not solely young girls, as many stereotypes regarding trafficking claim.

Policy Implications

The failure to find trends regarding why women are trafficked, or what types of women are trafficked more
often, helps dispel some myths regarding the stereotypical victim of trafficking. This also helps legislatures realize that targeting the stereotypical trafficking victims may not be as effective as previously thought. Before new legislation or other anti-trafficking efforts are implemented legislatures need to clearly understand the problem. This cannot be done with the current research available. When more thorough research is completed legislatures will be able to combat trafficking in much more effective ways. For now, most anti-trafficking efforts are all target area oriented. As mentioned before these types of efforts can result in displacement effects.

What legislatures must do is conduct thorough research on the target area before they take action against traffickers, especially when it involves the sex industry. It is understood that this is not a plausible approach when sudden trafficking outbreaks or resulting influxes of crime occur due to trafficking. In such cases it is understood that law enforcement efforts must be swift. If possible, however, these areas should be studied and then attacked. The elimination of trafficking, even in a specific area, is not possible without a clear understanding of what is causing it.
To effectively implement new anti-trafficking efforts, law enforcement officials will need to also understand the demand side of trafficking. Simply arresting traffickers or the women trafficked into the sex industry does nothing more than clear a given area. This can result in new traffickers coming into the same area and bringing new sex workers with them. These new traffickers and sex industry workers may be more covert and thus harder to expose and capture. This scenario can be avoided if efforts to understand the demand side of trafficking into the sex industry are addressed and researched.

Earlier it was noted that Thailand has implemented educational programs for individuals at risk of being trafficked. These educational efforts in Thailand have been credited with the reduction in the number of Thai women trafficked into the sex industry. Although that claim may be accurate, this research shows reason to believe educational programs would have little effect on preventing the trafficking of women into the United States sex industry.

This research has shown no pattern or trend between the educational levels of women and their likelihood of becoming trafficked sex workers. Thus, international
results in Nevada having less women illegally trafficked into the sex industry.
APPENDIX A

ORIGINAL QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TRAFFICKED WOMEN
Questionnaire for International and
U.S. Women in the Sex Industry in the U.S.

PERSONAL INFORMATION
1. Age
2. Languages spoken
3. Nationality/Country/State of origin
4. Description of hometown (urban/rural/military base/islander etc.)
5. Highest level of education
6. Past work experience
7. Wages earned before leaving home country
8. Household income before leaving home country
9. Do you have any dependants? If yes, how many?
10. Residency/immigration status in the U.S.
11. Children: None, Age, Living Situation (where, with whom)

METHODS OF RECRUITMENT
1. How did you get involved in the sex industry? Describe your expectations or understanding of what you would be doing.
2. Were you recruited by someone or was there a person(s) who was involved in getting you to come to the
U.S.? By whom? Friend/Neighbor, Spouse/Partner, Family member, Stranger, Business/Agency, Print/Media advertisement, Other, explain.

3. Were others recruited with you? If so, how many?

4. How much money were you promised?

5. Did you sign a contract? If yes, for how long?

6. Were you/your family/anyone else paid any money ahead of time? If so, how much?

7. Did you have to pay it back? If yes, how were you told you’d have to pay it back?

8. Did the agreement remain the same once you arrived in the US? If no, please explain.

9. Were you prostituted in your hometown, country or other countries before entering the US?

10. If yes, where were you in prostitution? Outside the U.S.? Describe establishment e.g. bar, massage parlor; etc. Description of location(s) e.g. rural, urban, island, military base, entertainment strip, etc.

11. At what age did you begin in the sex industry?

12. In retrospect, is there anything you wished you had known before committing to this arrangement/being recruited?
METHODS OF MOVEMENT

1. Describe your travel experience to the US.
   Paid for own travel? If no, who paid? How much? Travel alone? If no, in a group? Number in group?
   Smuggled/Illegal? If yes, please explain
   Were they all traveling for the same purpose?
   Type of Visa? Tourist, Work permit, Student, Unknown, Other.
   Sponsor? If yes, who sponsored?

2. Did you have access to your travel documents at all times? If no, who held?

3. Did you know what the requirements to travel and work outside your home country were?

4. Did you have access to any financial resources?

5. Once in the US, where did they put you?

6. Were you moved from place to place in the US? Outside of the US? If yes, where you were transported?

7. Once in the US, were you free to move about as you pleased? If no, please describe.

METHODS OF INITIATION

1. Did you work anywhere else in the U.S. before entering the sex industry? If yes, what did you do?
2. What was the first sex business you were put into? What did you do after that?

3. Describe the establishment(s) where you were prostituted in the U.S.? Where? Type (e.g. bar, club, street, etc.)

4. How did you learn to do the sex acts?

5. Did you start out by yourself or were there other women who went through initiation or training with you?

6. Was there any violence inflicted on you when you first started? Were you forced to do things you were uncomfortable with?

   Physical violence Yes No Frequency ___________ Describe
   Sexual assault Yes No Frequency ___________ Describe
   Verbal threats Yes No Frequency ___________ Describe
   Death threats Yes No Frequency ___________ Describe
   Use of weapons Yes No Frequency ___________ Describe
   Usage of drugs/alcohol Yes No Frequency ____ Describe
   Other Describe

7. What would happen if you resisted or tried to leave?

METHODS OF CONTROL

1. In your opinion, did you have freedom? Were you free to leave or return home or find employment
elsewhere?

2. If you did not have freedom, please describe who controlled you and how you were kept from having personal freedom/rights

Physical violence No Yes Frequency Describe
Sexual assault No Yes Frequency Describe
Psychological abuse No Yes Frequency Describe
Verbal threats No Yes Frequency Describe
Death threats to you/family No Yes
  Frequency Describe
Use of weapons No Yes Frequency Describe
Usage of drugs/alcohol No Yes
  Frequency Describe
Isolation/confinement/restraints No Yes
  Frequency Describe
Other Describe

3. Were you allowed contact with family or friends?

4. Were you ever allowed to move about outside of the establishment on your own? (e.g. go to the store, hospital, take days off)

5. Did you witness others being beaten/harmed? If yes, describe how many women and how often.
6. Did you ever see or hear of anyone being killed? If yes, describe who and how often.

METHODS OF COPING AND RESISTANCE
1. Describe your daily schedule.
2. How did you get by emotionally and physically on a daily basis?
3. Describe how you dealt with working in the sex industry.
4. Did you ever use drugs or alcohol or take medication? If yes, please explain
5. What did you do with your time when you were not seeing the men who paid for you?
6. Did you ever try to escape/leave this industry? If yes, please describe

History of Abuse
1. Were you ever abused/assaulted in your life (physical, sexual, psychological)? If yes, by whom? For how long?

EXPERIENCE WITH OTHERS INVOLVED IN THE INDUSTRY
A. Experience with Pimps/Recruiters/Traffickers
1. If applicable, who were your pimping agents?
2. Do you know where your recruiters/pimps originated from? US? Home country? Elsewhere?
3. How many were there?
4. Were they employed or connected with the place that you worked at?

5. Do you know if your recruiters/pimps operated independently or were involved in any other criminal activity?

6. Do you know if they were involved in any other type of business? If yes, please describe.

7. Who told you what to do on a daily basis?

8. Who did they report to?

9. Who was the boss?

10. Who owned the establishment?

11. Who collected the money?

12. Who else worked there? What did they do?

13. Were there other women who were not prostitutes who worked in the establishment?

14. Did any of these people above ever assault you or threaten your safety/life?

B. Experience with Buyers

1. Describe who the men who bought you were?

2. How many men did you have sex with in a day?

3. What kind of sex did the men who paid for you want?

4. Did the establishment for screen men for diseases/cleanliness?
5. Were you forced to have sex with men without a condom?
6. Did men pay more money for that?
7. How did you get men to wear a condom?
8. Did men generally use condoms when asked?
9. What percentage of men used condoms?
10. Did the men ever hurt you? If so, how?
11. Did they ask you to do things you didn’t want to? If yes, what were those things?
12. Did you have the right to refuse or choose not to perform any of these acts?
13. Did the sex ever get violent? If yes, how often?
14. Did you ever think that you would be killed by any of the men?
15. Did the establishment do anything to any man who was violent toward you?

C. Experience with Other Women in Prostitution
1. How many other women were prostituted in the establishment? Can you describe who these other women were? Ages, nationalities, language spoken, are they still in the sex industry?
2. Please describe any contact or relationships (good or bad) that you may have had with other women in the industry? How did you communicate?
EXPERIENCE WITH OUTSIDE AGENCIES, SERVICES

Medical / Health

A. Health effects


2. Did you become very ill while in the sex industry? Chronic pain, Loss of appetite/Nausea, Exhaustion, Other.

3. Did you have to go to the emergency room/hospital?

4. While in the industry did you know about birth control and infection prevention?

5. Did you use any form of birth control at that point?

6. Did you ever have any sexually transmitted infections? Did you have any symptoms? (e.g. bleeding during intercourse, itching, burning, sores, warts)

7. When the men used condoms, did the condoms ever irritate you/make you uncomfortable?

8. Did you bleed?

9. Did the condoms ever break?

10. Were you ever told that you might get HIV or other sexually transmitted infections from prostitution?
11. Have you ever been tested for HIV or any other diseases?

12. Did you ever get pregnant while in the industry?

13. If yes, did you ever have to have an abortion/were forced to abort? Or did you have the child?
   Number of live births, Number of children, Number of abortions.

14. If you had the child/children, where are they now?

15. How would you describe your own emotional well being?
   Depressed, Unable to feel, Hopeless, Difficulty sleeping, Nightmares, Easily startled/always on guard, Rage, Self blame/guilt, Other.

16. Are you currently suicidal?

17. Have you felt suicidal while in the sex industry?

18. Did you try to kill yourself while in the sex industry?
   If so how many times?

19. Have you/are you using drugs or alcohol? If so, when and why did you start using?

B. Health provision

1. Did the pimps or owners of the establishment ever bring in a doctor to the establishment? If so, when did that happen?

2. Do you think he/she was a real doctor?
3. Were you ever seen at a particular health center/hospital? If yes, where?

4. If yes, was your medical provider aware of your situation in prostitution?

5. Did you ever have to have sex with your medical provider?

6. Were you ever referred to any social services from the hospital?

Law Enforcement

1. Have you ever had to deal with law enforcement agencies/police in the US? Outside the US?

2. If so how did you come to have contact with the police?
   Through a raid, Sought assistance yourself, Other.

3. Describe your experiences with law enforcement in the US.
   Were you charged with any crime?
   Detained?
   Bailed out? If yes by whom?

4. If you were detained where were you held?

5. What were the conditions of this place?

6. Were you required to appear in court?

7. Were you informed of your legal rights? Appointed an attorney?
8. Was information presented to you in a way that you could understand?

9. Were you ever referred to any social services from the police station?

10. Describe the events, outcome or status of your case.

11. Did you ever have to have sex with any law enforcement agent?

Immigration

1. Have you ever had to deal with Immigration Naturalization Services?

2. If so, how did you come to have contact with them?

   Through a raid, At airport, Other.

3. Please describe your experience and involvement with them.

4. Were you detained/held by INS at any time?

   Were you charged with any crime?

   Detained?

   Bailed out? If yes by whom?

5. If you were detained where were you held?

6. What were the conditions of this place?

7. Were you required to appear in court?

8. Were you informed of your legal rights? Able to secure an attorney?
9. Was information presented to you in a way that you could understand?

10. Describe the events, outcome or status of your case.

11. Were you ever referred to any social services from the INS?

12. Did you ever have to have sex with any INS agents?
   Housing/Safe relocation, New identity, Asylum, Other, please describe.

Social Service / Advocacy Agencies

1. Have you ever dealt with any advocacy or social service agencies? If yes, please describe which agency.

2. Was the agency knowledgeable about how to deal with your situation?

3. Was information presented to you in a way that you could understand?

4. What relief was sought or what services were provided to you?
   Shelter/homeless or battered women’s Legal services
   Substance abuse treatment Religious support
   Child Protection Services Law enforcement
   Support Group Housing
   Mental health services Job skills
Financial aid for relocation, etc Healthcare
Other

5. Did you ever have to have sex with any social service providers?

FUTURE GOALS/RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Are you in or out of the sex industry at this point?
2. Do you feel that you are safe from your pimps/establishment? If no, what do you need to be safe?
3. What do you see as the best option for yourself presently and in the future?
4. What do you need to be able to achieve these goals?
   Education, Job skills training, Financial aid,
5. Would you ever recommend this experience for other women? Please explain.
6. Would you ever want for your daughters or your sisters to ever have to be in the sex industry?
7. What do you think needs to change to make things better for women in your situation or women who may find themselves in this situation?
8. Some have suggested that prostitution should be legalized and considered a job. Do you think that
governments should recognize prostitution as a form of work?

9. What do you think needs to happen to: Trafficked women?
   Traffickers? Buyers? Establishments involved in sex trade?

10. What do you feel would be necessary to stop sex trafficking in this country? Education/informational campaigns, Service coordination/collaboration, Change in laws, Consistent/uniform enforcement, Stricter penalties for traffickers, Other.

11. Do you believe that the laws and penalties for this crime adequately address the issue?
APPENDIX B

CODEBOOK
Codebook for data coded by secondary researcher

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PRIORWRK  Involved in the sex industry elsewhere before coming to the United States

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AGESTART  At what age did you begin in the sex industry

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RECRUTED  Were you recruited to come to the US

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WHYRECRT  Recruited to do what

9  Measurement Level: Scale

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MNY4WRKR  Were you promised any money
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CONTRACT  Did you sign a contract
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AGREEMENT  Did the agreement remain the same once you arrived in the US
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Value   Label
0      no
1      yes
97     not asked
99 M   missing/ not answered

PAIDTRVL  Paid for own travel
13            Measurement Level: Scale

Missing Values: 99
Value   Label
0      no
1      yes
97     not asked
99 M   missing/ not answered

SMUGGLED  Smuggled/Illegal Method of entry
14            Measurement Level: Scale

Column Width: 8  Alignment: Right
Print Format: F8
Write Format: F8
Missing Values: 99
Value   Label
0      no
99
1  yes
97  not asked
99 M missing/ not answered

TRVLDOCS  Did you have access to your travel documents at all times
15  Measurement Level: Scale
  Missing Values: 99
  Value  Label
  0  no
  1  yes
  97  not asked
  99 M missing/ not answered

MONYWTHU  Did you have any money with you (while traveling)
16  Measurement Level: Scale
  Missing Values: 99
  Value  Label
  0  no
  1  yes
  97  not asked
  99 M missing/ not answered
  100
USMOVMT  Once in the US, were you free to move about as you pleased

17  Measurement Level: Scale

Missing Values: 99

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<tr>
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<th>Label</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>not asked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99 M</td>
<td>missing/ not answered</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

UNCOMFRT  Asked to do things you were uncomfortable with

18  Measurement Level: Scale

Missing Values: 99

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<tr>
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<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>not asked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99 M</td>
<td>missing/ not answered</td>
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RESISTLV  Resisted or tried to leave

19  Measurement Level: Scale

Missing Values: 99
Value | Label
--- | ---
0   | no
1   | yes
97  | not asked
99 M | missing/ not answered

FRE2LEV  Were you free to leave or return home or find employment elsewhere
20
Measurement Level: Scale
Missing Values: 99

Value | Label
--- | ---
0   | no
1   | yes
97  | not asked
99 M | missing/ not answered

CNTCTFF  Were you allowed to contact family or friends
21
Measurement Level: Scale
Missing Values: 99

Value | Label
--- | ---
0   | no
1   | yes
NOCONDOM  Expected to have sex without a condom

22  Measurement Level: Scale

Missing Values: 99

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<tr>
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<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>not asked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99 M</td>
<td>missing/ not answered</td>
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MENHURTU  Did men ever hurt you

23  Measurement Level: Scale

Missing Values: 99

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>not asked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99 M</td>
<td>missing/ not answered</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AGESTRTD  recoded age started

24  Measurement Level: Scale
Missing Values: 99

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>18 y/o and older</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>not asked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99 M</td>
<td>missing/not answered</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

EDUCATX  education recoded

25  Measurement Level: Scale

Missing Values: 99

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>k-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>HS Grad/GED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>some college/college grad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>not asked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99 M</td>
<td>missing/not answered</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WYRECRRTD  Recruited to do what recoded

26  Measurement Level: Scale

Missing Values: 99

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Label</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sex industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>non-sex industry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
97   not asked

99 M missing/not answered
REFERENCE LIST


