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**ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY
OFFICE OF SEX TRAFFICKING
INTERVENTION RESEARCH**

**A FOUR-YEAR ANALYSIS
OF LABOR
TRAFFICKING CASES IN
THE UNITED STATES**

**EXPLORING CHARACTERISTICS
AND LABOR TRAFFICKING PATTERNS**

February 2018

**A Four-year Analysis of Labor Trafficking Cases in the United States: Exploring
Characteristics and Labor Trafficking Patterns**

Arizona State University Office of Sex Trafficking Intervention Research

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

It is difficult to estimate the global scale of labor trafficking due to the hidden nature of this egregious crime. In the United States, labor trafficking is a pervasive and important national problem. Media reports indicate that labor trafficking occurs in both rural and urban areas in the U.S., with victims who are both U.S. citizens and migrant workers of any gender, race, and sexual orientation. The International Labor Organization (ILO) Forced Labor Convention (1930) defined forced labor, with exceptions, as: “all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily”. As noted by the Joint UN Commentary (2011), much of labor trafficking occurs by manipulating legal migration channels and exploiting the vulnerabilities of persons, including migrant workers who are migrating for the purpose of searching for work and sustainable employment.

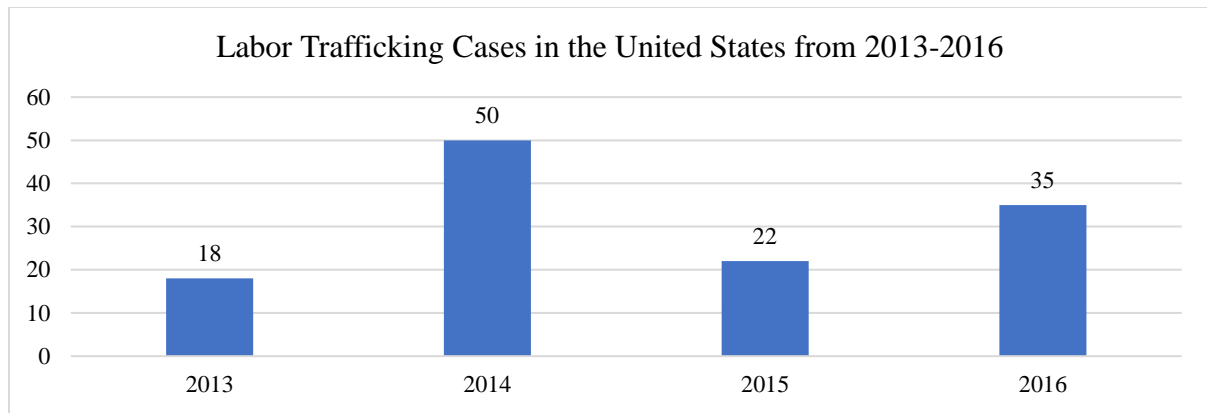
Due to the covert nature of labor trafficking activities, creating reliable statistics on prevalence, frequency, geography, and particulars of labor trafficking have been difficult to develop (Clawson, Layne, & Small, 2006). Over the past decade, the Federal Bureau of Investigations (2016) has reported that they have assisted in the arrest of more than 2,000 human traffickers of both sex and labor trafficking, but labor trafficker-focused research primarily has relied on small convenience samples with limited ability to compare cases across time. This study used a systematic search method to determine the arrests for labor trafficking of U.S. citizens and migrant workers in the United States from 2013 to 2016.

Research and Methods

This study utilized data collected through a structured online search that produced a four-year picture of the arrests in the United States of the specific charge of *labor trafficking* from 2013 to 2016. Data was collected from online venues initially through google searches to find the cases and then a deeper exploration online of each case including court records and statements from local, state and federal law enforcement. The findings from this report include individual and case details including characteristics of the labor traffickers (gender, race, age, professions, country of origin, and gang involvement), details about how they recruited and victimized their forced labor victims, and information about their case resolutions.

Findings

The research team identified 125 persons arrested for labor trafficking of migrant workers and U.S. citizens and 120 victims of labor trafficking in the United States from 2013 to 2016.



Out of 50 states in the United States of America, there are 20 states that have documented arrests for labor trafficking from 2013 to 2016. These include: California, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Key background information:

- 73.6% (n = 92) of the cases were of labor trafficking only.
- One quarter (n =33, 26.4%) of the cases involved both labor and sex trafficking.
- 83.2% (n = 104) of the labor trafficking cases involved only adult victims, 8.8% (n = 11) of the cases involved only minor (under age 18 years old) victims, and 8% (n = 10) of the cases involved both adult and minor victims.

Labor trafficker demographics (n = 125):

- 63.4% (n = 78) of the labor traffickers were male, and 37% (n = 45) of the labor traffickers were female.
- Female labor traffickers were found to be younger than the male labor traffickers, with the average age of female labor traffickers being 41.38 years old and the average age of male labor traffickers being 43 years old.
- Only one case (1%) of the labor trafficking arrests involved information that the trafficker was gang involved.

Labor trafficking victim demographics (n = 120):

- Gender information was provided for 70 (58.3%) of the labor trafficking victims. Of the 70 labor trafficking victims, 74.3% (n = 52) were female, 22.9% (n = 16) were male, and 2.9% (n = 2) were transgender.
- 76% (n = 92) of the labor trafficking victims originated from another country other than United States. Three quarters (n = 88, 73.6%) of the labor trafficking victims were brought to the U.S. as household/domestic duties workers, 11.2% (n = 14) were smuggled for the purpose of being exploited.
- 62.5% (n = 75) of the labor trafficking victims knew their trafficker prior to the trafficking experience.

Recruitment tactics:

- Labor traffickers used staffing agencies, word of mouth, job advertisements, newspapers, and technology (email, online ads, and smartphones) to recruit victims into a labor trafficking situation.

- 33.6% (n = 42) of the cases involved a labor trafficker who recruited victims through a staffing agency.
- 34.4% (n = 43) of the cases involved a labor trafficker who used debt bondage to force the victim into the labor trafficking situation.
- 49.6% (n = 62) of the cases involved a labor trafficker who used promises of money and wealth to recruit their victims, and 37.6% (n = 47) promised goods and rewards to the victim at the time of recruitment.
- 62.4% (n = 78) of the cases involved a labor trafficker who used their job position or position of authority to recruit the victim.
- 27.2% (n = 34) of the cases involved a labor trafficker who used bait and switch tactics, or tricked the victim into thinking they would be doing another job at the time of recruitment.
- 72% (n = 90) of the labor exploitation took place at the traffickers' homes.

Victim control tactics:

- 97.6% (n = 122) of the labor traffickers used psychological violence against the victim and/or the victims' family.
- 28.8% (n = 36) of the labor traffickers used threats of violence against the victim or the victim's family.
- 25.6% (n = 32) of the labor traffickers used physical force against the victim.
- 14.4% (n = 18) of the labor traffickers used physical force against the victim's family.
- 19.2% (n = 25) of the labor traffickers used sexual violence against the victim.
- 30.4% (n = 38) of the labor traffickers threatened to report the victim to the immigration for deportation.
- 26.4% (n = 33) of the labor traffickers withheld the victim's passport/visa.
- 5.6% (n = 7) of the labor traffickers threatened the victim with a firearm.

State lines and national borders:

- 76% (n = 92) of the cases included transportation across national borders from 16 different countries. Almost one in three victims (n = 39, 31.2%) originated from Mexico.
- 49.6% (n = 62) of the labor traffickers crossed state lines with their victim(s) and moved victims to up to 8 states.
- 73.6% (n = 92) of the labor traffickers bought tickets for travel for victims (auto, bus, trucks, airplanes, and trains).
- 11.2% (n = 14) of the cases involved a victim who was smuggled to the trafficking location and exploited.

Case identification and labor trafficker arrest:

- A majority of the cases (n=99, 79.2%) were reactive cases, with the trafficker being arrested as a result of an investigation for other activities (tax fraud, money laundering) (n=55, 55.56%), or police identified the victim in an immigration (ICE) sting/sweep (n = 31, 31.31%), an anonymous caller (n = 7, 7.07%), or someone else (neighbors, passerby) called the police about the situation (n = 6, 6.06%).

Trafficker case resolution:

- Labor traffickers were indicted on an average of 7.7 criminal charges.
- Labor traffickers were convicted on an average of 4.56 criminal charges.
- 6.4% (n = 8) of the labor traffickers were denied bond.

- Case resolutions were found for 99 (79.2%) of the cases.
- 58.4% (n = 73) of the labor trafficking cases resulted in a plea agreement.
- 72% (n = 90) of the labor trafficking cases went to trial.
- 5.6% (n = 7) of the labor traffickers had their charges dropped completely.
- 58.4% of the labor traffickers were found guilty.
- 16% (n = 20) of the labor traffickers paid restitution.
- Sentences for the labor traffickers ranged from no time in prison to life in prison with an average minimum sentence of 6.13 years in prison.

Trends over the four years (2013 to 2016):

- The number of labor trafficking cases nearly doubles from 18 cases in 2013 to 35 in 2016. However, 2014 alone had 50 cases.
- There was a steady increase in immigrant labor trafficker involvement over the four-year period.
- The gender of the labor traffickers stayed consistent over time.
- There was an increase in labor traffickers involved in visa fraud over the four-year period.
- There was a steady increase of labor traffickers being involved in withholding victims' passport/visa over the four-year period.
- Mexican migrant workers comprised the largest number of victims, followed by Thai migrant workers.
- There was an increase in labor traffickers providing their victims with shelter as a recruitment tool.
- More labor traffickers were found to exclusively victimizing only migrant workers over the four-year period.

Implications

The findings of this study indicate that arrests for labor trafficking in the United States increased from 2013 to 2016. This could be for a number of reasons including that awareness and training about labor trafficking has increased and more cases are detected in our communities by community members, victims, and law enforcement; prosecutors may be increasingly using labor trafficking specific language as they charge labor traffickers to better encompass the crimes, and perhaps the media (where many of these arrests were identified) has shown increased interest in labor trafficking and increasingly include arrests in journalistic reports.

Little is known about labor trafficking cases in the U.S. and these labor trafficking cases are rich with detail and complexities. Many of the case reports had detailed information about the labor trafficker and their actions but little information about the labor trafficking victims. Recruitment tactics most often used to recruit U.S. citizens included friendship, romance, giving a place to stay to the victim, promising a job and good life, and promises of money and wealth.

The labor trafficking cases included the use of technology, exploitation of economic vulnerabilities, and recruitment through places such as staffing agencies, restaurant owners, and home health care agencies. This study found that the labor traffickers were most often persons known to the labor trafficking victims. Out of 50 states in the United States, there are only 20 (40%) states that have arrested individuals for specific charges of labor trafficking. The southwest region of the U.S. had the highest number of labor trafficking cases during 2013 to 2016.

The increased prominence of staffing agencies to recruit victims into a labor trafficking situation has implications for public involvement. Learning more about the unique roles of foreign national individuals in the recruitment and labor trafficking of migrant workers, as well as their previous labor exploitation experiences, are necessary next steps to explore and to gain a greater understanding of evolving labor trafficking trends. The level of violence used by the labor traffickers to recruit and exploit migrant workers should be considered when law enforcement investigates crimes and during the prosecution of the labor traffickers. Future research and training should be focused on the areas of the country with no or few arrests for labor trafficking, as well as the hospitality, agriculture and home health care agency industries, which in most cases were found to interact with a migrant worker labor trafficking victim.

Limitations and Conclusion

There are important limitations of this study to consider including that it includes only labor trafficking arrests in the U.S. that were reported online, either through the media or through information releases. Other cases could have been filed against labor traffickers using different crime types (kidnapping, assault, theft, human smuggling) which would not have been detected by this study's methodology. This information can contribute to new training materials for awareness, prevention, and detection. This study is the first of its kind and is an important step towards developing a general understanding of what identified labor trafficking cases looked like in the United States.

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A Four-year Analysis of Labor Traffickers of Migrant Workers and U.S. Nationals: Exploring Characteristics and Labor Trafficking Patterns

INTRODUCTION

Labor trafficking is a prevalent yet rarely discussed social injustice of our time. It can be considered a modern day form of slavery. Victims are exploited through force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of forced labor. Victims of labor trafficking come from numerous ethnic and racial groups; men, women, boys, girls, and transgender individuals lured by the promise of better life—finding themselves laboring against their will in the United States (Fletcher. et al, 2005). It is clear that there is a link between the broader migration phenomenon and trafficking in persons. Labor trafficking victims, however, are not always migrant workers and, per the legal definition, do not need to be moved physically for them to be considered as having been trafficked (UNODC, 2016). In addition to the presence of transnational organized crime elements in the victims' countries of origin and victims' socio-economic profile, factors in the United States economy, the legal system, and immigration policy are what support forced labor to exist in the United States (Laurel E. et al, 2005). Most of the existing research focuses on these factors and vulnerabilities, along with the forced labor experiences of labor trafficking victims, and the challenges of exiting a forced labor situation. Few studies have focused exclusively on labor traffickers, and even few have focused on the labor traffickers of migrant workers.

Fletcher, Bales, and Stover (2005) uncovered and explored forced labor as a serious and pervasive problem in the United States. Clawson, Layne, and Smalls (2007) developed and documented methods that estimated the number of females and males trafficked for the purpose of sexual and labor exploitation from eight countries (Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, and Venezuela) into the United States at the southwest border, as well as the scope to other countries (Eastern and Central Europe) and to other points of entry into the United States. Clawson, Layne, and Smalls (2007) also explored the movement of victims once in the United States. Zhang, Spiller, Finch, and Qin (2014) focused on the extent of trafficking violations in one of the United States' largest Spanish-speaking immigrant destinations, San Diego County, California. Agarín, Dames, Parks, and Saint-Felix (2014) focused more on clients (victims) and consumers (traffickers/buyers) of labor trafficking. Busch-Armendariz, Nsonwu, and Cook Heffron (2009) explored the types of traffickers based on key characteristics found in the literature and in prosecuted cases.

Other studies explored the organization, operation, and victimization process of labor trafficking across multiple industries in the United States (Owens et al., 2014), the existence of labor trafficking in U.S. supply chains of product and services (Block et al., 2015), the health of men forced into labor trafficking in the United States (Omole, 2016), victim abuse and exploitation along a continuum, from victims' recruitment for work in the United States through their migration experiences (if any), employment victimization experiences, and efforts to seek help, to their ultimate escape and receipt of services (Owens et al., 2014; Fletcher. et al, 2005; Agarín et al., 2014), and consequences of human trafficking (Montague, & Pharm, 2016). In a larger study about labor market, Fletcher et al. (2005) explored the roles of risk management, recruitment methods, and use of violence through interviews with six survivors, key informants, including government officials, service providers, and advocates who have extensive experience

Currently, no national database or data collection tool is being used in the United States to collect the arrest of persons for labor trafficking of migrant workers. Furthermore, no national estimate of how many arrests have been made each year for the labor trafficking of migrant workers is available. In the federal level data collection on labor trafficking, such as the Uniform Crime Report, labor trafficking reporting is for involuntary servitude, which is a combined arrest number of labor traffickers, harbored persons, and bonded laborers.

This study explores the individual characteristics and labor trafficking behaviors that includes a broad sample of labor traffickers of migrant and domestic workers over a four-year period from 2013 to 2016. This study is the first study of a national cross-sectional sample of arrested labor traffickers of migrant and domestic workers and has implications for local, state and national policy.

Previous Research on the Labor Traffickers of Migrant and Domestic Workers

In a study of 122 closed labor trafficking victim service records, Owens et al. (2014) found that two-thirds of labor trafficking perpetrators were male, most of whom were in their thirties or forties. Moreover, perpetrators were both foreign nationals and U.S. citizens. Labor traffickers also reported that migrant workers were easier to manipulate and control and earn more money in the labor trafficking industry by doing hard labor and long hours than U.S. citizens. Owens et al. (2014) discovered that labor traffickers commonly victimized people from their home countries. In addition, Middle Eastern and United States suspects more commonly victimized persons from outside their country. Some victims of labor trafficking were recruited by traffickers after their arrival to the United States. Per Owens et al. (2014), recruiters and traffickers used the disadvantage of the victims during the recruitment process. Many victims of labor trafficking commonly came to the United States in search of better opportunities to better their lives and those of their family members. Recruiters and traffickers often used a combination of false promises and high-pressure, coercive tactics to get the victim to commit to the employment offer, and the use of force was rare. Victims of labor trafficking entering the United States with a visa were reported to have come into contact with authority figures when applying for a visa at a US embassy or consulate. Recruiters and traffickers would then train the victims about the interview process with embassy or consulate staff. Furthermore, there was little to no information distributed regarding workers' rights and protection or screening for indicators of possible human trafficking for victims by embassy and consulate officials (Owens et al., 2014).

Zhang et al. (2014) applied respondent-driven sampling and unique access to migrant communities in San Diego County, California. A total of 826 respondents were involved to estimate the extent of trafficking violations in one of America's largest Spanish-speaking immigrant destinations. Zhang et al. (2014) found that the rate of labor trafficking violations varied markedly across business sectors that typically hire unauthorized migrant workers. The most reported trafficking violations and labor abuses were from construction and janitorial services. In their estimation, Zhang et al. (2014), found that 30 percent of undocumented migrant workers were victims of labor trafficking, and 55 percent were victims of other labor abuses. Illegal status in the United States was suggested to be likely the most significant factor contributing to the vulnerability of labor trafficking violations in their findings.

Busch-Armendariz et al. (2009) explored the techniques used by labor traffickers to recruit migrant workers into the United States and within the United States. They described the methods employed by labor traffickers including use of “false promises of a better life in the United States, and offering smuggling services as recruitment tactics among immigrant victims” (Busch-Armendariz et al., 2009, p.6). Labor traffickers also take advantage of the vulnerabilities that marginalize U.S.-born victims (such as poverty, substance abuse, and mental illness). Busch-Armendariz et al. (2009) suggest that labor traffickers do not just use one technique, but chose from a range of behaviors to recruit and keep their victims in the labor trafficking situation depending on the characteristics of the victims. In addition, labor traffickers are very skilled at exploiting their victim’s psychological pressure-points for they know exactly which cultural or personal experiences they can prey upon to extract compliance (Armendariz et al., 2009).

Study Overview

The purpose of this study is to explore the individual characteristics and trafficking-related actions and behaviors of labor traffickers of migrant and domestic workers during a four-year period in the United States. The goals of this study are 1) to use the information to develop specific training for law enforcement and prosecutors on characteristics of labor trafficking in the United States, 2) to explore the distribution of arrests of labor traffickers of migrant and domestic workers in the United States, 3) to explore patterns of different types of labor traffickers of migrant and domestic workers (females, staffing agency-involved, solo vs. group offenders), 4) to add to the literature regarding the vulnerabilities of migrant and domestic workers exploited by labor trafficking, and 5) to fill a gap in the knowledge about the scope of arrests of labor traffickers of migrant and domestic workers in the United States.

Specifically, this study intends to address the following key research questions:

- Does every state in the United States have arrests for labor trafficking of migrant workers? If yes, what were the geographic trends over the four years (2013-2016)?
- What are the individual characteristics of the national sample of labor traffickers of migrant and domestic workers regarding gender, age, race, gang involvement, citizenship, occupation, place of origin, and criminal history?
- Do the labor trafficking actions of female labor traffickers differ from the labor trafficking actions of male labor traffickers?
- What recruitment and retention techniques were used by the labor trafficking recruiters, and were recruiters known to labor trafficking victims or strangers?
- What were the vulnerabilities and risk factors of the labor trafficking victims that were exploited by the traffickers during recruitment?
- Do staffing agency-related labor trafficking cases differ from non-staffing agency related labor trafficking cases?
- Do solo labor traffickers differ from labor traffickers who worked in groups?
- How were the labor trafficking situations identified by law enforcement?

Using descriptive and comparative analysis of the arrests over the four-year period, the study intends to present an outline of both the developing and the persistent aspects of the migrant workers’ condition adding to labor trafficking risk, as well as providing advance practice and policy proposals for risk mitigation.

METHODS

Research Design

This report uses data collected through a structured online search that produced a four-year picture of the arrests in the United States of the specific charge of *labor trafficking* from 2013 to 2016. The data for this study was collected through a two-step process. The steps include 1) a structured online search for arrests for labor trafficking of migrant and domestic workers which resulted in a master list of names and some details of the labor trafficking situation, and 2) a web search of the identified labor trafficker identified in the arrest report (media, local, state or federal report) to include any follow-up reports, court documents, or police reports.

Participants of this study were persons arrested for labor trafficking who were identified through a structured online search starting on January 1, 2013, and ending on December 31, 2016. Included in the study were persons that met the search criteria during the period identified and were charged with a labor trafficking crime against a migrant or domestic worker (both minor and adult) that occurred in the United States and the U.S. territories and were charged in U.S. jurisdictions. Data was collected for as many cases as could be identified. The Arizona State University Institutional Review Board approved this study.

This study focused exclusively on labor traffickers, defined as recruiters, contractors, employers, and others who use violence, threats, lies, debt bondage, or other forms of coercion to force people to work against their will in many different industries. To be included in this study, an arrest must have been completed for labor trafficking. Labor trafficking includes situations of debt bondage, forced labor, and involuntary child labor. The following definitions and exclusion parameters were used to identify labor traffickers for this sample:

Forced labor: includes, but is not limited to recruiting, harboring, transporting, providing, or obtaining—involved when a person uses force or physical threats, psychological coercion, abuse of the legal process, deception, or other coercive means to compel someone to work.

Bonded labor or debt bondage: one form of coercion is the use of a bond or debt. This includes, but is not limited to, traffickers or recruiters who unlawfully exploit an initial debt assumed, wittingly or unwittingly, as a term of employment.

Domestic servitude: a form of human trafficking found in distinct circumstances. This includes, but is not limited to, work in a private residence that creates unique vulnerabilities for victims. In these situations, the individual forced into domestic servitude is not free to leave his/her employment and is abused and underpaid, if paid at all.

Forced child labor: some indicators of forced labor of a child include situations in which the child appears to be in the custody of a non-family member who requires the child to perform work that financially benefits someone outside the child's family and does not offer the child the option of leaving.

The following definitions were used to identify victim type and will be used to describe the labor trafficking victims throughout this study:

Migrant worker: any individual brought into the United States from another country for the purposes of forced labor, domestic servitude, debt bondage, or child labor.

Domestic worker: any individual who originated from the United States and was exploited for the purposes of forced labor, domestic servitude, debt bondage, or child labor.

Procedures

The data for this study was collected from web-based media reports found through the Google search engine, electronically filed court documents, and online press releases from government agencies. While each of these source types have their limitations, they also have qualities that made them suitable for the purposes of this study. Web-based media reports can be used to ensure an extensive search by allowing researchers to gather the most comprehensive sample possible using the available resources. In addition, the information in media reports is based on official reports and statements from law enforcement agencies, as well as interviews from the victims or perpetrators involved. However, since the media must focus on gaining readers to generate income, they may underreport trafficking situations that are not dramatic or leave out information considered uninteresting.

Electronically filed court documents tend to be sources that provide the most complete portrayal of a trafficking situation and come from trustworthy sources. However, they are not often available since many courts do not file their records online and non-redacted documents are not available to the public when the victim is a minor. Press releases from government agencies, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) or the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), are frequently available and come from trustworthy sources, but they can be to-the-point and lacking in detailed information.

Data Analysis

Researchers entered the data into a statistical database (SPSS), which was used to collate, code, and analyze the data. T-tests, ANOVA and chi-square analysis were used to explore the labor trafficker and victim characteristics and differences as well as changes over the four-year data collection period. Comparisons between solo labor traffickers and group labor traffickers were examined as well.

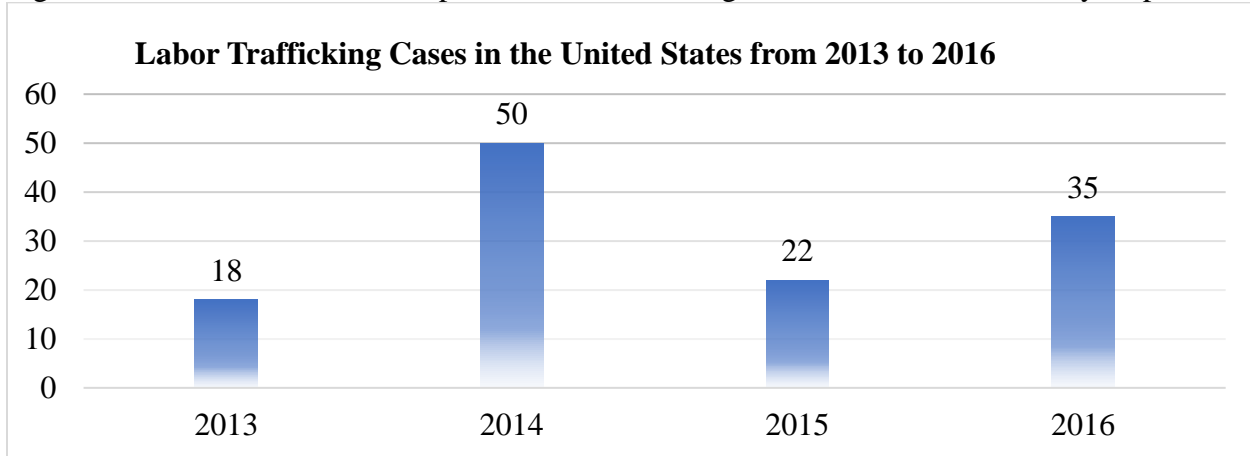
NOTE: throughout this report, victims and survivors of human trafficking may be referred to simply as ‘victims’ for narrative efficiency and in recognition of their crime victimization. It should be noted that the use of the term “victim” is not meant to be demeaning or judgmental. All victims of human trafficking have survived a horrifying combination of physical and emotional abuse, trauma, and financial distress.

RESULTS

Individual Characteristics of the Labor Traffickers (N = 125)

There were 125 persons arrested for labor trafficking of migrant and domestic workers in the United States from 2013 to 2016. The number of labor trafficking cases nearly doubles from 18 cases in 2013 to 35 in 2016. However, 2014 alone had 50 (40%) cases. About three quarters (n = 92, 73.6%) of the cases involved labor trafficking only. One quarter (n = 33, 26.4%) of the cases involved both labor and sex trafficking.

Figure 1. The number of media reported labor trafficking cases in the U.S. over a 4-year period.



The labor traffickers were identified as male (n=78, 63%) and female (n=45, 37%). The race of the labor traffickers was identified for 111 (88.8%) of the cases with 53.2% (n=59) Pacific Islander/Asian American, 18% (n=20) Caucasian, 16.2% (n=18) African American, and 12.6% (n=14) Hispanic/Latino(a).

Figure 2. Gender distribution of the labor traffickers.

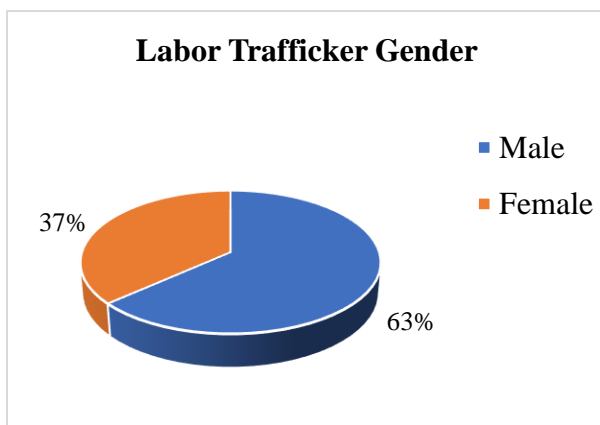
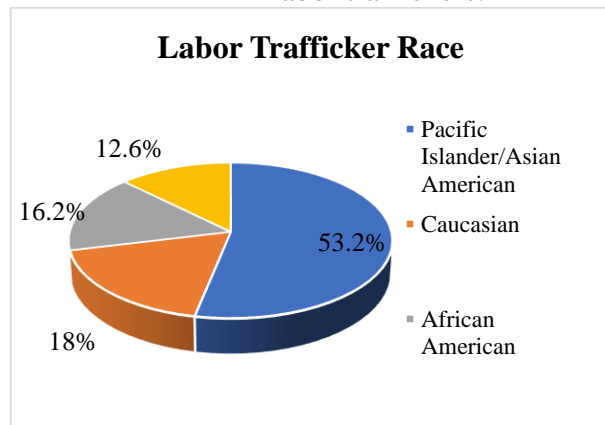


Figure 3. Race distribution of the labor traffickers.



The labor traffickers age when arrested for a labor trafficking charge ranged from 20 to 70 years old ($M=42.4$, $SD=11.21$). The female labor traffickers were found to be somewhat younger than the male labor traffickers, with an average age of 41.4 years versus an average age of 43 years for male labor traffickers. Fifty-five (44%) of the labor traffickers were United States

naturalized citizens, and 32 (25.6%) were American-born citizens. Twenty-five (20%) of the labor traffickers were non-U.S. citizens with a visa, ten (8%) labor traffickers were undocumented foreign nationals, and 3 (2.4%) were U.S. lawful permanent residents (LPRS).

Individual Characteristics of the Labor Trafficking Victims (N = 120)

Many cases had an estimation of the number of migrant and domestic workers, rather than a concrete number. A total of 120 labor trafficking victims with detailed information were able to be identified; 95 (79.2%) migrant worker victims and 25 (20.8%) United States domestic victims. An element of smuggling was indicated for 11.7% (n = 14) of the labor trafficking victims in this sample. Over half (n = 68, 56.8%) of the labor trafficking victims previously knew their labor trafficker. Of the known victim’s gender (n = 70), the majority of victims were female (n=52, 74.3%), followed by male victims (n=16, 22.9%), and two identified as transgender (n=2, 2.9%). Of the 125 labor trafficking cases, the majority of cases involved only adult victims (n =104, 83.2%), followed by 11 (8.8%) cases that involved only minor victims, and 10 (8%) cases that involved both adult and minor victims.

Ninety (75%) labor trafficking victims were held or harbored within a home, and 24% (n = 30) were held or harbored within a hotel. More than half (n = 75, 62.5%) of the labor traffickers were known to the labor trafficking victim in some way, whether as an acquaintance, family member, friend, or partner, while 40% (n = 50) of the labor traffickers were considered a complete stranger to the victim. Forty-two (35%) labor trafficking victims were recruited through staffing agencies, and 43 (35.8%) labor trafficking victims were smuggled by a trafficker from another country.

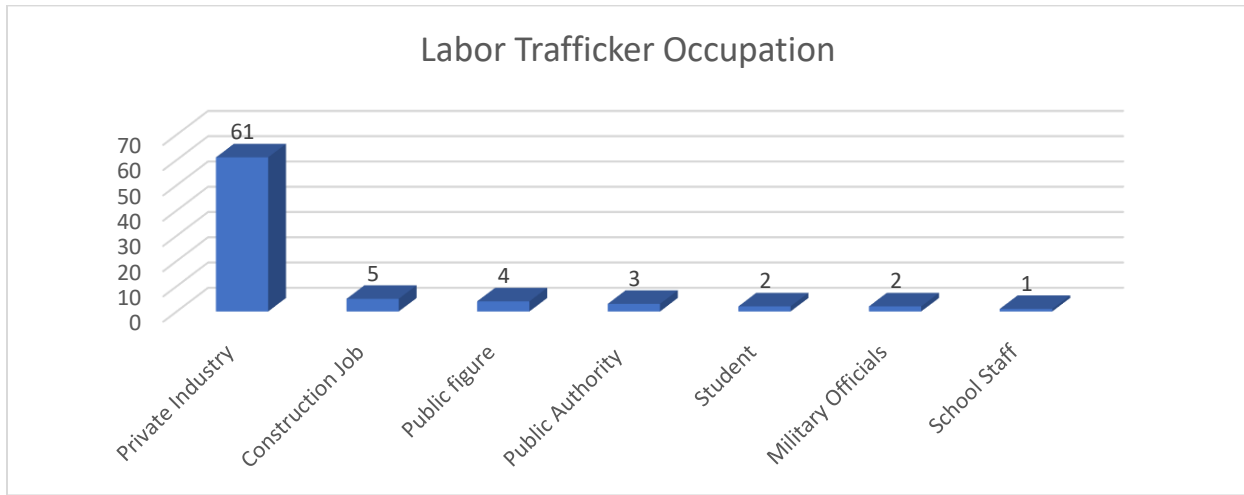
Table 1. Trafficker relationship to victim, by type.

Trafficker Relation to Victim	N =125	Percent (%)
Acquaintance	71	56.8%
Complete Stranger	50	40%
Family	2	1.6%
Friend	1	0.8%
Romantic Partner	1	0.8%

Occupations of the Labor Traffickers (n = 78)

Information on the official occupations of the labor traffickers was provided in only 78 (62.4%) cases. The occupations included in this study are only occupations considered legal and legitimate and do not include illegal sources of income. The majority of labor traffickers (n = 61, 78.2%) worked in private or service industries (truck or taxi drivers, repairmen, own or operate restaurants or owners of small businesses). Some labor traffickers (n = 5, 6.4%) owned or worked at construction job, or were public figures (athlete, actor, politician, member of royal family) (n=4, 5.1%). Three (3.8%) labor traffickers held positions of authority, such as law enforcement, firefighter, nurse, etc. Two (2.6%) labor traffickers were military officials, two (2.6%) labor traffickers were students (at a college or university), and one (1.3%) labor trafficker worked at school.

Figure 4. Reported Occupations of Labor Traffickers



Arrest Locations

The 125 individuals arrested for labor trafficking were found in reports and cases files in 20 states in the United States, including California, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin. The states with the highest number of arrests of labor traffickers are listed in Table 2 and Map 1 is a graphic view of the arrest frequency in each state.

Table 2. States with the highest number of arrests for labor trafficking of migrant workers in the U.S. from 2013 to 2016.

State	Number of arrests (N = 125)	Percent of total arrests from 2013 to 2016
Texas	43	34.4%
California	15	12.0%
New York	8	6.4%
Ohio	7	5.6%
Minnesota	7	5.6%
Wisconsin	5	4.0%
Georgia	5	4.0%
Pennsylvania	4	3.2%
New Jersey	4	3.2%
Missouri	4	3.2%

This calculation displays that for every one million people in Minnesota there are approximately one arrest of labor traffickers of migrant workers. Although Minnesota has a much lower number of arrests at seven compared to Texas' 43 arrests, their rates show that Minnesota has a much higher instance of labor trafficking arrests than Texas.

Prosecution Level

The majority of the prosecutions of the labor traffickers were at the federal level (n = 99, 79.2%). State and local jurisdictions prosecuted the remaining cases at 13 cases each (n=13, 10.4%).

Table 3. Number of prosecuted labor trafficker cases, by level.

Level	# of Cases Prosecuted	% of Cases Prosecuted
Federal	99	79.2%
Local	13	10.4%
State	13	10.4%

Actions of the Labor Traffickers

Transportation of the Victims: International

In 92 (76%) of the cases, the labor trafficker crossed national borders with the labor trafficking victim. Three quarters (n = 88, 73.6%) of the labor trafficking victims were brought to the U.S. as household/domestic duties workers, 11.2% (n = 14) were smuggled for the purpose of being exploited. Labor traffickers moved their migrant victims from up to 16 countries around the globe to the United States for the purpose of trafficking them. Forty-four (35.2%) victims originated from Mexico and Central America, and 37 (29.6%) victims originated from Southeast Asia.

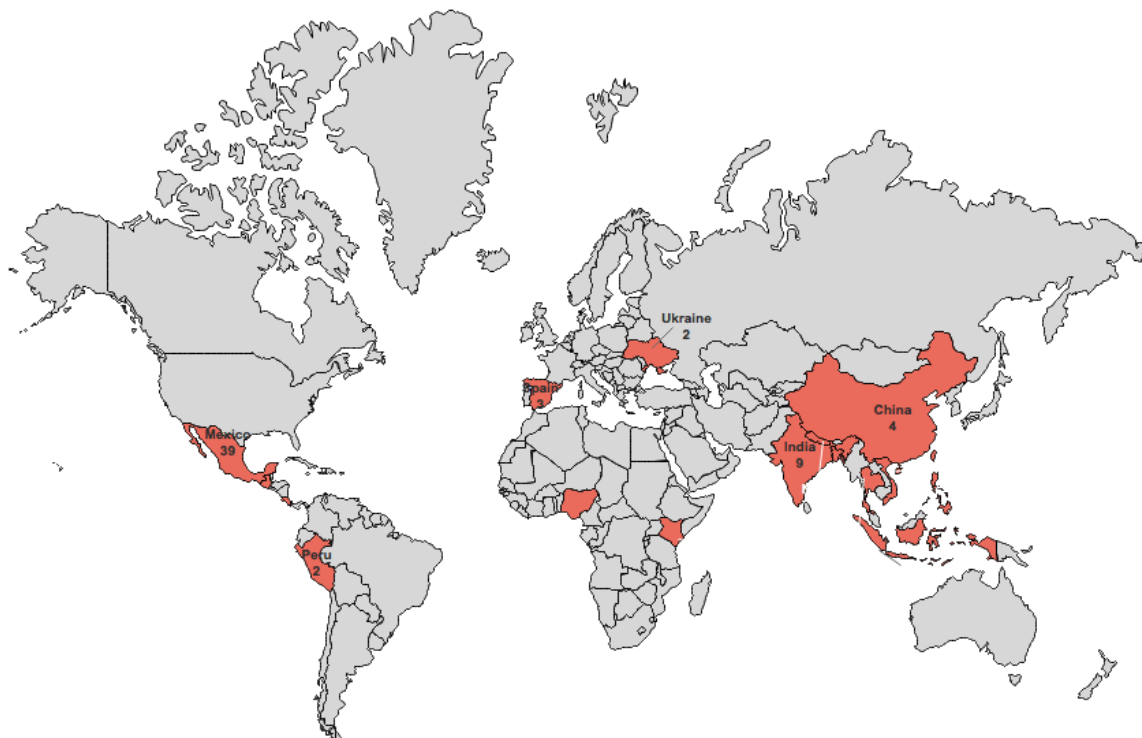
Table 4. Victim Country of Origin

Country of Origin	#	%
Mexico	39	31.2%
Thailand	14	11.2%
India	9	7.2%
China	4	3.2%
Guatemala	4	3.2%
Indonesia	4	3.2%
Nigeria	4	3.2%
Spain	3	2.4%
Peru	2	1.6%
Philippines	2	1.6%
Ukraine	2	1.6%
Bangladesh	2	1.6%
Kenya	1	.8%
Nepal	1	.8%
Costa Rica	1	.8%

Vietnam	1	.8%
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Some examples of travel patterns are:

Figure 6: Examples of labor trafficker travel patterns.



Transportation of the Victims: Within the United States

In 62 (49.6%) of the cases, the labor trafficker moved across state lines with the victim. The labor traffickers used all types of transportation (auto, bus, trucks, airplanes, trains), and moved their victims to up to 8 states within the United States.

Recruitment Tactics

Labor traffickers used a number of different tactics to find and recruit their victims. In half of the cases (n=62, 49.6%), the labor traffickers promised money and wealth to recruit victims. Labor traffickers used bait and switch tactics, or tricked victims into thinking they would be doing another job (n=34, 27.2%). Labor traffickers provided basic needs as a recruitment tactic, such as offering victims a place to stay (n=105, 84%) or providing transportation (n=92, 73.6%). Labor traffickers used debt bondage (n=43, 34.4%) to entrap their victims into a labor trafficking situation, by using a perceived debt against the victim as a means to force the victims to work to pay off the debt. Thirty-eight (30.4%) labor traffickers threatened to report the victims to the immigration for deportation and 33 (26.4%) withheld victims' passport/visa.

Trafficking Tactics and Actions (Venues)

The victims were trafficked from a variety of locations. The most common venue was the trafficker's house, with 35.2% (n = 44) of the cases using the houses to traffic, harbor, or shelter the victims. The second most common trafficking venue was from restaurant, with 34.4% (n = 43), where victims were taken to a restaurant and forced to work with little to no pay. Victims trafficked from hotels were less common (n = 10, 8.0%), as were victims trafficked, harbored, or sheltered from apartments (n = 8, 6.4%), agricultural fields (n = 6, 4.8%), and group homes (n = 6, 4.8%). Some trafficking locations were used for dual purposes, where the victim was both harbored and trafficked from that location, whether it was the labor trafficker's house, a hotel room, or an apartment.

Table 5. Labor trafficking venues.

Trafficking Location	N	Percent (%)
House	44	35.2%
Restaurant	43	34.4%
Hotel	10	8.0%
Apartment	8	6.4%
Agricultural Field	6	4.8%
Group Homes	6	4.8%

Labor traffickers used staffing agency, word by mouth, job advertisements, newspapers, and technology (email, and smartphones). Staffing agencies were used by the labor traffickers in 42 (33.6%) cases. Online job advertisements were a recruitment tool used in 30 (24.0%) cases. Labor traffickers used technology (email, and smartphones) in 27 (21.6%) cases. The website Backpage.com was used in 19 (15.2%) cases, word of mouth in 6 (4.8%) cases, and local newspapers in 2 (1.6%) cases.

Table 6. Advertisement and recruitment sites used in labor trafficking exploitation.

Recruitment Methods	N	Percent (%)
Staffing agency	42	33.6%
Online advertisement	30	24.0%
Technology	27	21.6%
Backpage.com	27	21.6%
Word of mouth	6	4.8%

Tactics and Actions

The most common tactic used by labor traffickers was threat of harm and psychological violence (n = 122, 97.6%). A large number of labor traffickers (n = 106, 84.6%) provided shelter for the victim. Labor traffickers kept victims in homes, apartments, or in hotels when transporting them across state lines. Another common tactic labor traffickers used was providing transportation or money for transportation for victims (n = 103, 82.4%).

Over one in three (n = 48, 38.4%) labor traffickers supervised victims during forced labor activities. To control and entrap the victim during the recruitment, 30.4% (n = 38) of the labor traffickers threatened to report the victim to the immigration for deportation, and 26.4% (n = 33) of labor traffickers withheld victims' passports/visas. Nearly 26% (n = 32) of the labor traffickers used physical violence to control the victim.

Table 7. Labor trafficker exploitative actions, by type.

Trafficker's Action	N	Percent (%)
Threat of Harm/Psychological Violence	122	97.6%
Provide Shelter	106	84.6%
Transport	103	82.4%
Supervise	48	38.4%
Immigration Threat	38	30.4%
Withheld Passport/Visa	33	26.4%
Physical Violence	32	26%
Post Ads	29	23.2%
Rent Hotel Rooms	28	22.4%
Provide Security	18	14.4%

Analysis of the case reports found that 84% (n = 105) of the labor traffickers either didn't pay victims for work completed, paid victims low wages, or deducted payments from victims' paychecks for transportation and other "debts" imposed on the victims. Of the known cases where the victims' received pay, 36.8% (n = 46) of the labor traffickers kept all of the money. In other instances, the labor trafficker kept most (n = 63, 50.4%) of the money, and rarely did the labor trafficker keep less than half (n = 3, 2.4%) or none (n = 0, 0%) of the money.

Victim Control Tactics

The labor traffickers used different tactics to control and entrap their victims into a labor trafficking situation, from psychological violence to physical violence and threats. Nearly all the labor traffickers (n=122, 97.6%) used psychological violence, such as threats against the victim or victim family. Physical violence, such as punching, kicking, hitting with weapons, and torture, was used in (n=32, 25.6%) of the cases. Out of these cases, physical violence without weapons, like slapping or kicking, was most prevalent (n=27, 21.6%). Sexual violence against the victims, which includes any sexual activity with minor or nonconsensual sexual activity with minors or adults was prevalent in 20% (n=25) of the cases. Firearms were also involved in 5.6% (n= 7) of the cases.

Table 8. Labor trafficker control tactics, by type.

Control Type	N	Percent (%)
Psychological Violence	122	97.6%
Physical Violence	32	25.6%
Physical Violence without Weapons	27	21.6%

Sexual Violence	25	20.0%
Firearm Control	7	5.6%
Drug Control	4	3.2%

Case Studies: Examples of movement of labor trafficking victims

Case Study 1

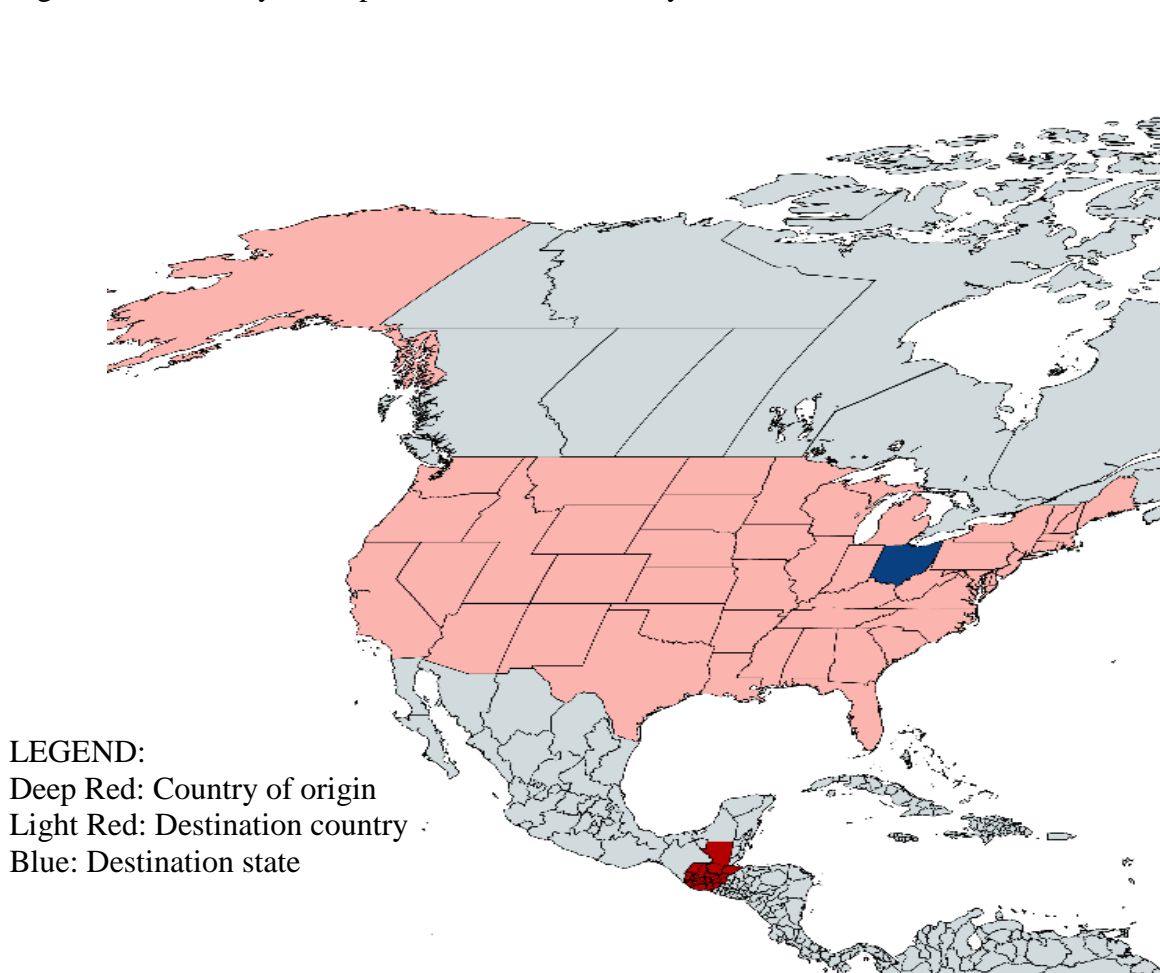
On July 2, 2015, three people were charged by a federal grand jury for smuggling eight victims under the age of eighteen and two adults into the United States from Guatemala to force them to work at egg farms in Ohio. The labor traffickers and their associates recruited workers as young as fourteen or fifteen from impoverished environments and falsely promised them employment, a better quality of life, and a chance to attend school in the United States. After smuggling and transporting the victims into the United States, the traffickers imposed thousands of dollars of debt on the victims, who found themselves unable to pay off the debt due to the rent and fees they were also required to pay to their captors. The traffickers forced the victims into debt bondage, ordering them to live in dilapidated trailers in Marion, Ohio and to work at physically demanding jobs at Trillium Farms. The eight underage victims and the two adult victims were forced to work up to twelve hours a day to clean chicken coops, loading and unloading crates of chickens, de-beaking chickens, and vaccinating chickens.

Three other defendants associated with this case were also arrested and charged with harboring undocumented immigrants as part of a fifteen-count superseding indictment. Although they were not violent toward the victims, the labor traffickers withheld the victims' paychecks and threatened them with physical harm in order to compel them to work. The labor traffickers also used humiliation, deprivation, and other means to keep the workers under their control and entrapped in a labor trafficking situation. In a letter from one of the victims, the ringleader of this labor trafficking ring was characterized as a "very rich and powerful man in Guatemala" and as "someone you won't want to upset". The labor trafficking ringleader was reported to have billed the victims and their families for up to \$15,000 or more for getting them across the border. He also often took property deeds from the families as collateral. The labor traffickers exclusively focused more on victims under the age of eighteen because they thought the underage victims were easier to control, and would be harder workers.

The three labor traffickers and their three associates were found guilty by the U.S. District Judge of the Northern District of Ohio and were ordered to pay a total of \$67,230 in restitution, jointly and separately, to the victims. The trafficking ringleader pled guilty on August 24, 2015, to conspiracy to commit forced labor, forced labor, witness tampering, and harboring undocumented immigrants and was sentenced to 188 months in prison. A second trafficker pled guilty on December 14, 2015, to conspiracy to commit forced labor and was sentenced to 10 years in prison. A third co-defendant was sentenced on April 11, 2016 to 51 months in prison. Three more associates, pled guilty to immigration offenses in connection with the case and were sentenced to six, 12 and 15, months in prison, respectively.

The case was investigated by the FBI Cleveland Office's Mansfield Resident Agency, the Department of Homeland Security, the Marion Police Department and the Marion County Sheriff's Office and was jointly prosecuted by Trial Attorney from the Civil Rights Division and Assistant U.S. Attorney of the Northern District of Ohio. According to a search warrant application, law enforcement agents knew as far back as October 2011 that undocumented immigrants were being smuggled into the mobile home park on the outskirts of Marion.

Figure 7. Case study 1- Map of victim movement by labor trafficker



Case Study 2

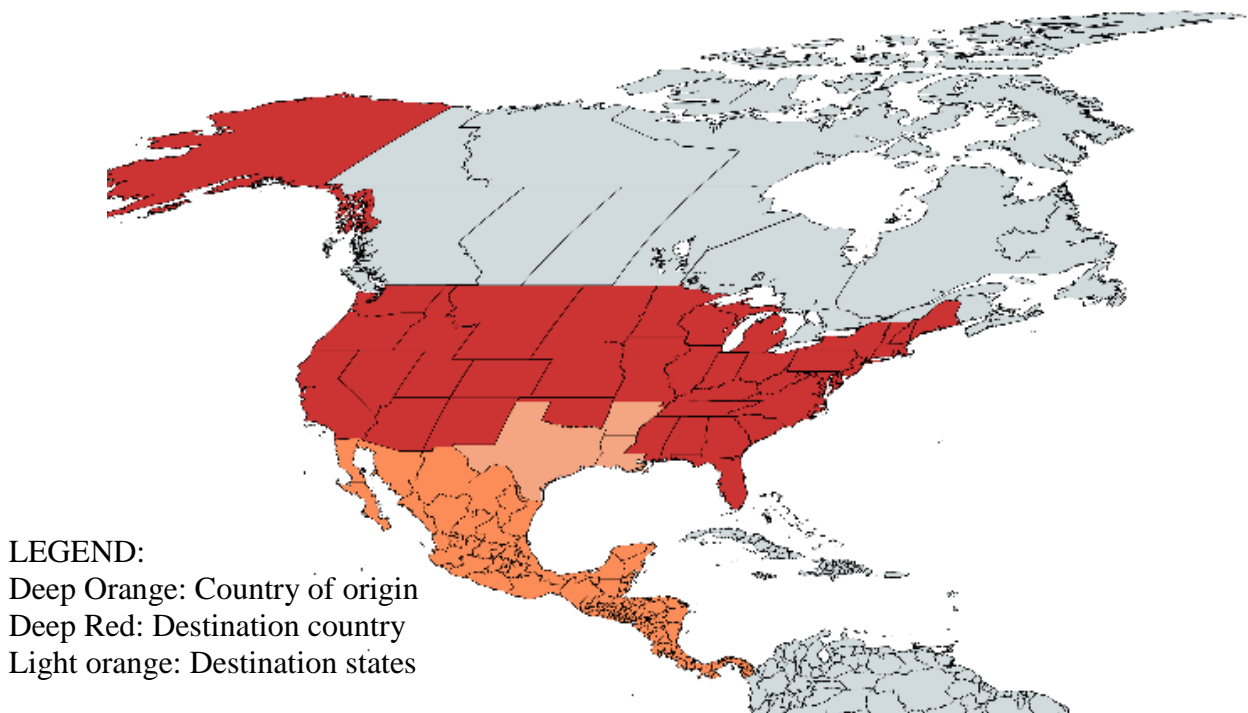
Beginning January 30, 2014, a task force of federal, state, and local law enforcement launched a tri-state human trafficking crackdown in southeast Houston by raiding two employment agencies in the Chinatown area, described as the center of a large conspiracy that supplied hundreds of undocumented immigrants, mostly from Mexico and Central America, to Chinese restaurants. Federal indictments charged 32 individuals with RICO conspiracy and conspiracy to transport, harbor, encourage, and induce undocumented immigrants to reside in the United States. Law enforcement agents also arrested suspected undocumented immigrants after the raiding. The undocumented workers were forced to work six days a week, required to put in 12-hours a day, and were not paid overtime or allowed to keep tips or gratuities. In order to avoid paying employment taxes, the labor traffickers paid the workers in cash. The traffickers also failed to provide the workers with health insurance, vacation, or sick time.

The indictment led to the arrest of 23 individuals, including the two owners of the two staffing agencies responsible for using a fleet of vans to deliver the undocumented workers to restaurant jobs in Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas. The other 21 individuals arrested included a team of eight drivers, as well as owners and managers who allegedly employed and exploited the victims. The victims were subjected to unfavorable living arrangements either at the restaurant

operator's residence or at other off-site residential locations. The labor trafficking victims lived in confined quarters where they slept on the floor or air mattresses. There were eighteen people crowded into a 2,000-square-foot house. Additionally, the owners of the staffing agencies charged the victims a \$300 to \$630 fee to place them with restaurants, which was deducted from their first month's wages. The restaurant owners and managers paid victims a flat salary of \$1,000 to \$2,000 a month for 72 hours work weeks.

This case was investigated by U.S Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and Homeland Security Investigations (HSI). Other offices and agencies include Homeland Security Dallas, San Antonio and New Orleans, U.S. Customs and Border Protection's Office of Air and Marine, U.S. Marshals Service, and police departments in Houston, Port Arthur, and Beaumont. The owners of the two employment agencies pled guilty to racketeering violations in connection with an employment referral conspiracy and were sentenced to 13 months and 18 months, respectively. They were also ordered to forfeit a residence and pay a \$2.2 million judgment.

Figure 8. Case study 2 - Map of victim movement by labor trafficker.



Group Trafficking Operations

Group makeup (n = 47)

The 125 labor traffickers in this study were a part of 47 separate cases when they were grouped together with their codefendants. Fifteen cases included a solo labor trafficker and 31 cases included a group of labor traffickers. Each group had an average of 3 labor traffickers ($SD = 7.468$), with a minimum number of one trafficker per group and a maximum of 31 labor traffickers found in a group. These cases had an average of eight victims ($SD = 7.184$), with a minimum number of one victim and a maximum number of 18 victims in one case.

Group Recruitment Tactics (n = 31)

When analyzing labor trafficker behavior in a group setting, it was found that the labor traffickers used many different tactics to find and recruit their victims. Labor traffickers recruited their victims through force, fraud, and coercion. A majority of the labor traffickers 96.8% (n = 30) used threats of harm and psychological violence against the victim. They offered victim a place to stay (n = 23, 74.2%), promised money/wealth to the victim (n = 19, 61.3%), promised goods/rewards to the victim (n = 11, 35.5%), used perceived debt against the victim (debt bondage) once the victim arrived at the trafficking location (n = 13, 41.9%), threaten to report the victim to immigration (n = 15, 48.4%), or used threats against the victim’s family (n = 13, 41.9%).

Table 9. Group labor trafficker recruitment methods, by type.

Recruitment Method (n = 31)	n	Percent (%)
Fraud		
Offered victim a place to stay	23	74.2%
Promised money/wealth	19	61.3%
Bait and switch	14	45.2%
Used debt bondage	13	41.9%
Promised goods/rewards	11	35.5%
Relationship		
Complete Stranger	12	38.7%
Acquaintance	7	22.6%
Friend	3	9.7%
Romantic	2	6.5%
Family	1	3.2%
Coercion		
Threats of harm and psychological violence	30	96.8%
Threatened to report the victim to immigration	15	48.4%
Used threats against victim or victim’s family	13	41.9%
Withheld victims’ passport/visa	13	41.9%
Threaten the victim with a firearm	2	6.5%
Force		
Physical violence	8	25.8%
Used force against victim or victim’s family	6	19.4%
Sexual violence	4	12.9%

Recruitment types and Tools

Solo labor traffickers were more likely to offer a victim a place to stay (n = 11, 73.3%), promise money and wealth (n = 8, 53.3%), promise goods and rewards (n = 7, 46.7%), or used job position to recruit victim (n = 6, 40.0%).

Table 10. Comparison of labor trafficker recruitment tools and use of violence, solo trafficker vs. group of labor traffickers.

Recruitment type	Solo Trafficker (n = 15)	Group Trafficker (n = 31)
Offered a place to stay	11 (73.3%)	23 (74.2%)
Promised money and wealth	8 (53.3%)	19 (61.3%)
Promised goods and rewards	7 (46.7%)	11 (35.5%)
Trafficker used job position to recruit victim	6 (40.0%)	14 (45.2%)
Staffing agency	3 (20.0%)	3 (9.7%)
Bait and switch	2 (13.3%)	14 (45.2%)
Debt bondage	2 (13.3%)	13 (41.9%)

Recruiting by group labor traffickers was more like to be based on trafficker offering a place to stay (n = 23, 74.2%), promised money and wealth (n = 19, 61.3%), bait and switch (n = 14, 45.2%), trafficker used job position to recruit victim (n = 14, 45.2%), debt bondage (n = 13, 41.9%), promised goods and rewards (n = 11, 35.5%), or staffing agency recruiting the victim (n = 3, 9.7%).

Table 11. Comparison of labor trafficker actions, solo trafficker vs. group of labor traffickers.

Labor Trafficker Actions	Solo Trafficker (n = 15)	Group Trafficker (n = 31)
Restriction to control victim	14 (93.3%)	21 (65.6%)
Recruit victim	12 (80.0%)	28 (87.5%)
Take money from victim	11 (73.3%)	23 (74.2%)
Immigration/deportation threat	6 (40.0%)	15 (48.4%)
Withheld passport/visa	6 (40.0%)	13 (40.6%)
Starved victim	4 (26.7%)	5 (15.6%)

Group labor traffickers were more likely to take money from victim (n = 23, 74.2%), place restriction to control victim (n = 21, 65.6%), threat to report victim to immigration (n = 15, 48.4%) or withheld victim's passport/visa (n = 13, 40.6%).

Table 12. Comparison of labor trafficker characteristics, solo trafficker vs. group of labor traffickers.

Labor Trafficker Characteristics/Techniques	Solo Trafficker (n = 15)	Group Trafficker (n = 31)
Transport victim	13 (86.7%)	22 (68.8%)
Provide shelter for the victim	12 (80.0%)	23 (71.9%)
Provided transportation	8 (53.3%)	20 (62.5%)
Cross national borders with the victim	7 (46.7%)	8 (25.0%)
Cross state lines with the victim	4 (26.7%)	19 (59.4%)
Supervised victims	4 (26.7%)	14 (43.8%)
Post adds for victim	2 (13.3%)	6 (18.8%)
Provide security	2 (13.3%)	2 (6.3%)

Arrest Information

Arrest Methods

Law enforcement officers were able to use a variety of strategies to identify trafficking situations and arrest labor traffickers. Most often, police identified a trafficking situation reactively, when they arrested a trafficker as a result of an investigation for other activity (n=46, 36.8%), police found the victim in an immigration (ICE) sting/sweep (n = 31, 24.8%), and the victim contacted the police to turn their trafficker in (n = 16, 12.8%). Other times, police received an anonymous call (n = 12, 9.6%), did a sting (n = 6, 4.8%), police found a suspected ad online (n = 3, 2.4%), a person in a position of authority to the victim contacted the police (n = 2, 1.6%), or someone else called the police about the situation (n = 2, 1.6%).

Table 13. Arrest methods of labor traffickers.

Arrest Method	N	Percent (%)
Investigation for other activity	46	36.8%
Immigration (ICE) sting/sweep	31	24.8%
Victim reported to the police	16	12.8%
Police received an anonymous call	12	9.6%
Police did a sting	6	4.8%
Official agency contacted police	2	1.6%
Someone else called the police about the situation	2	1.6%
Authority figure reported to the police	2	1.6%
Victim was arrested for illegally staying in the U.S.	2	1.6%
Police found a suspected ad online	2	1.6%
Police recognized the trafficking situation	2	1.6%

The majority of the labor trafficking victims were not arrested in these cases (N= 87, 69.6%). The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was involved in helping to investigate and prosecute a large number of these cases (N= 102, 81.6%).

Bail/Bond (n = 85)

Bail information was available for 85 cases (68.0%). Once they were arrested, most labor traffickers were offered a bail or bond (n = 76, 89.4%). Only 9.4% of labor traffickers (n = 8) were denied bail. The rest were offered bail ranging from \$0 to \$5,000,000 at an average of \$250,000.00.

Indictment (n = 118)

Information on indictment charges were found for 118 (94.4%) of the labor trafficking cases. For the rest of the labor traffickers, information was either not available or they had not been officially indicted yet. Out of the labor traffickers who were indicted, they were indicted with an average of 3.88 criminal charges.

The labor traffickers were most commonly indicted with charges related to labor trafficking (n= 89, 75.4%), such as labor trafficking, forced labor, conspiracy to commit forced labor, domestic servitude, labor trafficking by force, fraud or coercion, involuntary servitude, involuntary servitude of minor, and trafficking for labor/benefits. Twenty-nine (24.6%) of the cases were indicted for both sex and labor trafficking.

Table 14. Human trafficking indictment charges against the labor traffickers, by type.

Indictment Charges (N = 118)	n	Percent (%)
Labor Trafficking	89	75.4%
Both labor and sex trafficking	29	24.6%

Charges related to human trafficking, such as promoting prostitution (n = 14, 11.9%), prostitution related crime (n = 12, 9.6%), contribute to delinquency of a minor (n = 6, 5.1%) were the second most common indictments.

Table 15. Charges related human trafficking indictment

Indictment Charges	n	Percent (%)
Promoting prostitution	14	11.9%
Prostitution related crime	12	9.6%
Contributing to the delinquency of a minor	6	5.1%

Other common charges include charges related to racketeering (n = 33, 28.0%), harboring unauthorized citizens (n = 27, 22.9%), fraud (n = 24, 20.3%), evading employment taxes (n = 18, 15.3%), kidnapping (n = 6, 5.1%), obstruction of justice (n = 4, 3.4%), sex crimes (n = 4, 3.4%), and domestic violence (n = 2, 1.7%).

Table 16. Indictment charges unrelated to labor trafficking against the labor traffickers.

Other Indictment Charges (n = 118)	n	Percent (%)
Racketeering	33	28.0%
Harboring unauthorized citizens	27	22.9%
Fraud	24	20.3%
Evading employment taxes	18	15.3%
Kidnapping	6	5.1%
Obstruction of justice	4	3.4%
Sex Crimes	4	3.4%
Domestic Violence	2	1.7%

Pleas and Trials (n = 118)

Labor traffickers' pleas to their indictment charges was available in 118 cases (94.4%). A majority of the labor traffickers pled guilty or agreed to a plea bargain with the court (n = 70,

59.3%). Only a small number of labor traffickers pled not guilty (n = 4, 3.4%), and over 37.3% (n = 44) of the defendants pled no contest, or nolo contendere.

Conviction (n = 77)

Conviction information was available for 77 cases (61.6%). Of the labor traffickers who were convicted, they were convicted of an average of 1.87 criminal charges, with the largest number at 5 charges. These crimes tended to be mid-level felonies, slightly lower than the indictment charges. As with indictment charges, the labor traffickers were most commonly convicted of charges related to labor trafficking (n = 59, 76.6%), followed by human trafficking (n = 6, 7.8%) and promoting prostitution (n = 6, 7.8%). Other common crimes included those related to sex and labor trafficking (n = 5, 6.5%), and compelling prostitution (n = 1, 1.3%).

Table 16. Labor trafficking related conviction charges against the labor traffickers.

Conviction Charges (n = 77)	n	Percent (%)
Labor trafficking	59	76.6%
Human Trafficking	6	7.8%
Promoting Prostitution	6	7.8%
Sex and Labor Trafficking	5	6.5%
Compelling Prostitution	1	1.3%
Pandering	0	0.0%
Kidnapping	0	0.0%

Conviction charges unrelated to labor trafficking included racketeering (n = 33, 42.9%), and fraud (n = 13, 16.9%), prostitution (n = 5, 6.5%), sex crimes (n = 3, 3.9%), domestic violence (n = 3, 3.9%) and obstruction of justice (n = 1, 1.3%).

Table 17. Conviction charges unrelated to labor trafficking against the labor traffickers.

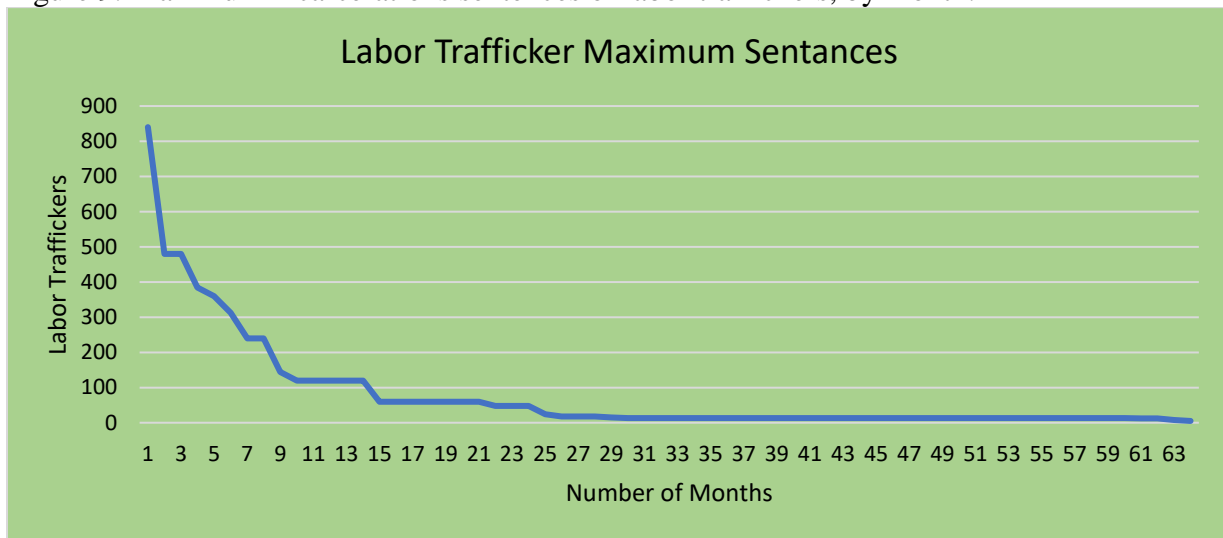
Other Conviction Charges (n = 77)	n	Percent (%)
Racketeering	33	42.9%
Fraud	13	16.9%
Prostitution	5	6.5%
Sex Crimes	3	3.9%
Domestic Violence	3	3.9%
Obstruction of Justice	1	1.3%
Drug Possession	1	1.3%
Nuisance or Status Crimes	1	1.3%
Violent Crimes	0	0.0%
Drug Distribution	0	0.0%
Property Crimes	0	0.0%
Traffic Violation	0	0.0%
Weapon Involvement	0	0.0%
Violation of Terms of Release	0	0.0%
Protective or Restraining Order Violation	0	0.0%

Sentencing (n = 84)

Sentencing information was available for 84 (67.2%) of the labor traffickers. A large majority of the labor traffickers with known sentences were sentenced to jail or prison time (N=65, 77.4%). Sentences ranged from no time in prison to life in prison with an average minimum sentence of 6.13 years in prison. Ten (11.9%) of the labor traffickers were granted “time served” (no more jail/prison time). Out of those labor traffickers, the average minimum time in jail or prison was 140.66 months and 255.64 maximum jail or prison time in months. For the labor traffickers who were sentenced to probation, the minimum length of probation was 24 months, or two years, and the maximum length of probation was 46.8 months, or almost four years. A total of four labor traffickers (3.2%) were sentenced to parole and only one labor trafficker (0.8%) was sentenced to life on parole.

Information about restitution was provided in 83 (66.4%) labor trafficking cases. Of these cases, 20 (24.1%) labor traffickers were ordered to pay restitution to their victims. Those labor traffickers were required to pay an average of \$153,583.91 to their victims, with a minimum restitution amount of \$18,000 and a maximum restitution amount of \$1,200,000.00.

Figure 9. Maximum incarcerations sentences of labor traffickers, by month.

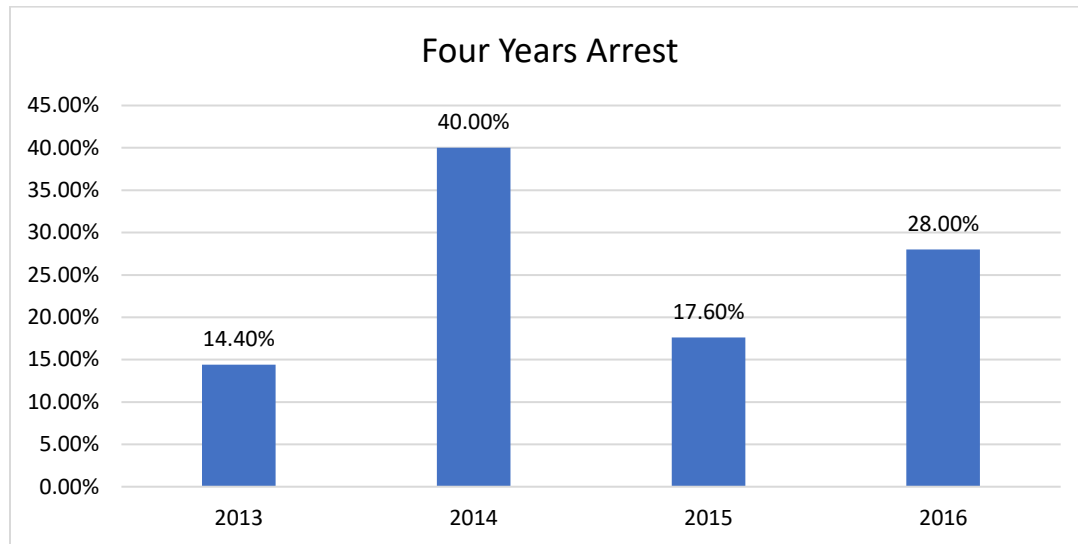


Trends over the Four Years

The below graph demonstrate an increase in labor trafficker arrests throughout the United States over the four-year study period from 2013 to 2016. In 2013, arrests totaled only 18, however, in 2014 alone there was a major increase to 50 (40%) arrests. Total arrests steadily increased with each passing year. Total arrests in 2015 were 22, and total arrests in 2016 were 35, nearly doubling the arrests in 2013. The number of female and male labor traffickers in all four years was steadily the same, except in 2014 where male labor traffickers doubled (n= 36) the female labor traffickers (n = 14).

The amount of states in which arrests took place jumped each year and one can visualize this progression with the gradual filling of shaded states.

Figure 10. The rate of labor trafficker arrests from 2013 to 2016.



Individual Labor Traffickers Across the Four Year Study

Demographics

The gender makeup of this sample was compared using chi-square analysis across all years. The third gender option, “Other” was excluded from the analysis since there was no trafficker whose gender was not “Male” or “Female” in all four years. With this option excluded, analysis showed no significant differences as time passed ($\chi^2 (3, N = 125) = 4.437, p = .218$). The percentage of male labor traffickers increased from 12.7% in 2013 to 22.8% in 2016, hitting a peak in 2014 when 45.6% of the sample was male.

Involvement in Trafficking

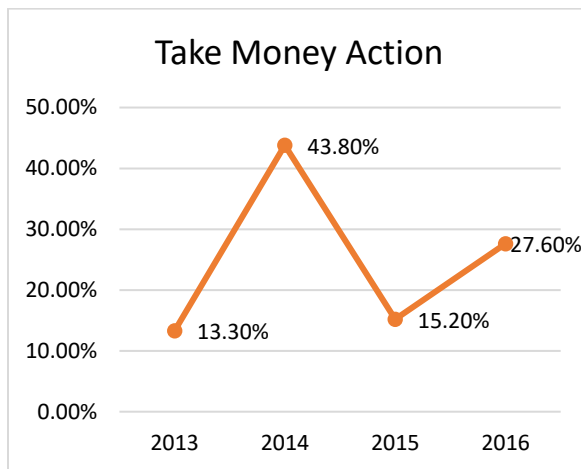
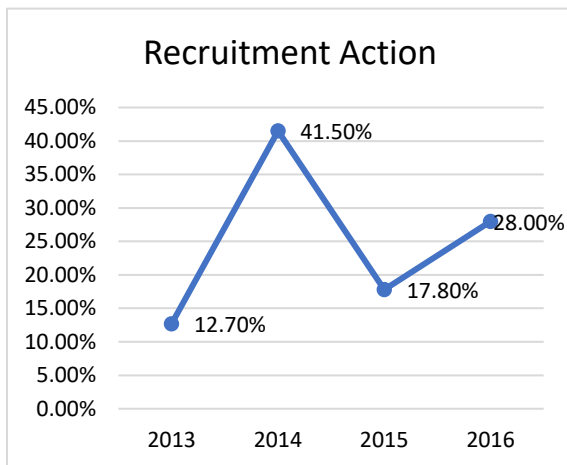
Researchers measured each trafficker’s involvement in their respective trafficking operations by noting the specific actions they committed to further the operations. These actions were divided into the following categories:

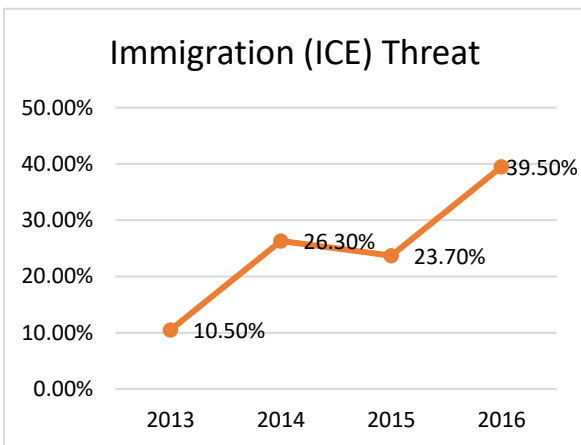
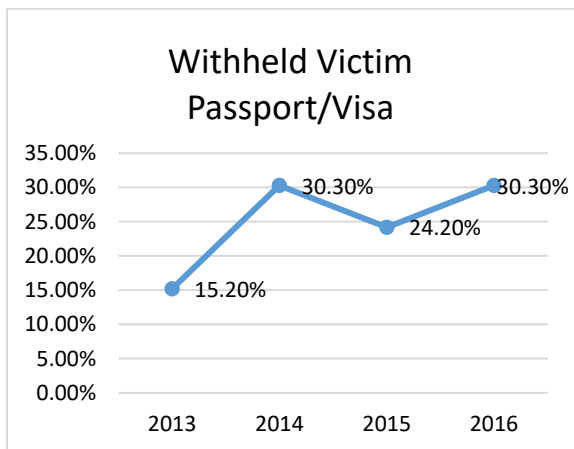
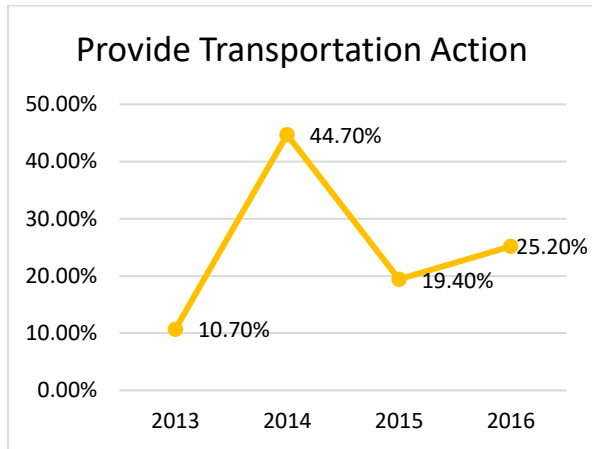
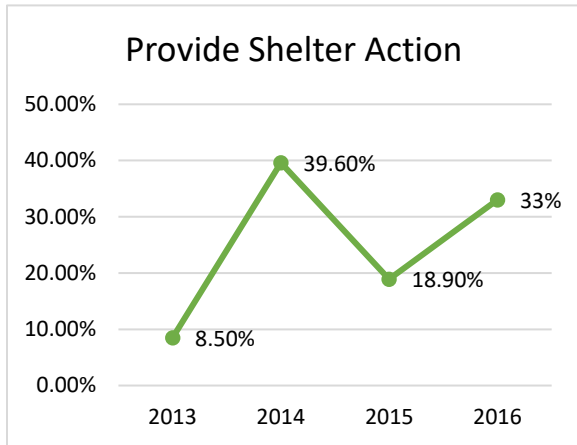
- a. Recruiting victims
- b. Withholding victims’ passport/visa
- c. Placing restriction on victims
- d. Starving victims
- e. Threatening to report victims to the immigration for deportation
- f. Threatening to harm victims family members
- g. Posting advertisements for the victims
- h. Providing shelter for or living with victims
- i. Renting hotel rooms for shelter
- j. Providing transportation or money for transportation to the victims
- k. Giving victims drugs and/or alcohol
- l. Providing security for victims during trafficking activities
- m. Supervising victims during trafficking activities
- n. Collecting money made from trafficking acts
- o. Physically assaulting victims

- p. Sexually assaulting adult victims or engaging in sexual acts with underage victims
- q. Threatening victims

Analysis revealed changes in prevalence for several of these actions. The amount of labor traffickers who engaged in recruitment slightly increased as the years passed ($\chi^2 (3, N=118) = 5.443, P=.142$). In 2013, the amount of labor traffickers who engaged in recruitment was 12.7%. This figure increased to 41.5% in 2014, and then dropped back to 17.8% in 2015. The proportion of labor traffickers who took money from the victim followed a similar trend to those who recruited victims ($\chi^2 (3, N=105) = 5.014, P=.171$). In 2013, the amount of labor traffickers who engaged in taking money from the victims was 13.3%. This figure increased to 43.8% in 2014, and then dropped back to 27.6% in 2016. The amount of labor traffickers who engaged in providing shelter or living with victims significantly increased as the years passed ($\chi^2 (3, N=106) = 23.847, P<.000$). In 2013, the amount of labor traffickers who engaged in providing shelter or living with victims was 8.5%. This figure significantly increased to 39.6% in 2014, and then dropped back to 18.9% in 2015 followed by 33.0% in 2016. The proportion of labor traffickers who provided transportation or money for transportation to the victim followed a similar trend to those who provided shelter for or living with victims ($\chi^2 (3, N=103) = 11.490, P<.009$). In 2013, the amount of labor traffickers who engaged in providing transportation or money for transportation to the victim was 10.7%. This figure significantly increased to 44.7% in 2014, and then dropped back to 25.2% in 2016.

The amount of labor traffickers who engaged in withholding victims' passport/visa increased between 2013 and 2016 ($\chi^2 (3, N=33) = 2.281, P=.516$). The percent of labor traffickers who withheld their victims' passports/visas doubled from 15.2% in 2013 to 30.3% in 2016, shortly after hitting a low mark of 24.2% in 2015. The amount of labor traffickers who threatened to report their victims to the immigration (ICE) for deportation also slight increased over the years ($\chi^2 (3, N=38) = 6.840, P=.077$). This increased from 10.5% in 2013 to 39.5% in 2016. Labor traffickers who placed restrictions on victims increased significantly ($\chi^2 (3, N=75) = 47.996, P=.000$) from 16% in 2013 to 41.3% in 2016, shortly after dropping to 26.7% in 2015. The proportion of labor traffickers who physically assaulted (beat, choke, etc.) their victims increased significantly of years ($\chi^2 (3, N=27) = 20.597, P=.000$). It significantly increased from 6% in 2014, after hitting high in 2013, when it was 37. It also stayed at 37% in 2016, similar to 2013.





Trafficking Operations

Group Makeup

The type and size of the labor traffickers' operations were measured by whether or not the labor traffickers had U.S. national victims or migrant victims, and by counting the number of known migrant victims that were involved. The prevalence of trafficking operations with U.S. national victims decreased significantly over the years ($\chi^2 (3, N = 34) = 40.543, p < .000$), meaning that labor traffickers victimized migrants exclusively in later years. In 2013, the amount of labor trafficking victims who were U.S. nationals was 44.1% ($n = 15$). This figure decreased to 17.6% ($n = 6$) of cases in 2016. Furthermore, as expected, the prevalence of trafficking operations targeting migrant victims than U.S. national victims increased significantly ($\chi^2 (3, N = 89) = 40.543, p < .000$). In 2013, there was one (1.1%) count of labor trafficking of a migrant victim, which increased to 47.2% ($n = 42$) in 2014 and dropped to 32.6% ($n = 29$) in 2016.

There were also changes in the number ($N = 10$) of labor traffickers involved in trafficking both minor and adult victims in each operation as time went on ($\chi^2 (3, N = 10) =$

12.176, $p < .007$). In 2013, there were only $n = 4$ (40%) out of the 10 labor trafficking cases involved both minor and adult victims. This amount stayed steady in 2015 ($n = 4$, 40%) and dropped to 0% ($n = 0$) in 2016. This may demonstrate that labor traffickers were more likely to engage in labor trafficking of adult victims, rather than with both minor and adult victims.

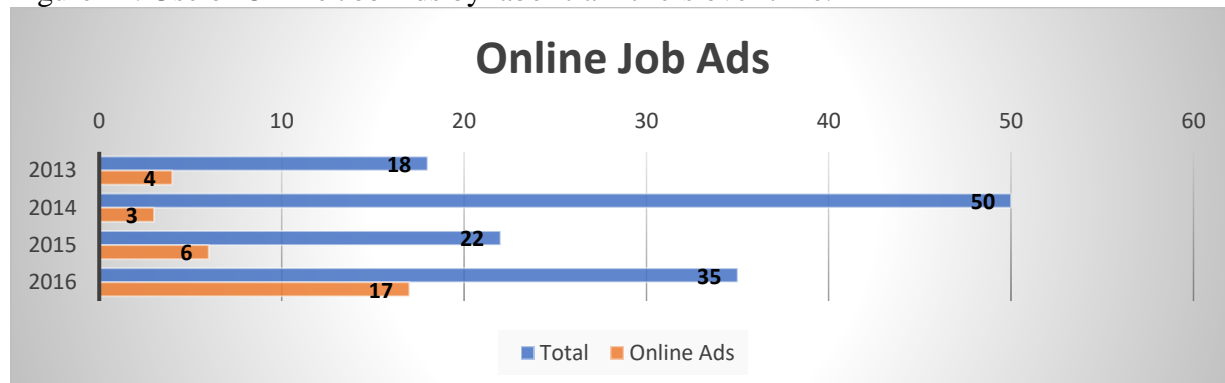
Recruitment Tactics

The recruitment tactics were measured by researchers examining victim vulnerabilities and the different tactics labor traffickers used to gain the trust of their victims. The only item that showed significant change in prevalence over the years was the labor trafficker offering the victim a place to stay ($\chi^2 (3, N = 105) = 23.485, p < .000$). The amount of cases in which at least one victim was provided shelter decreased from 41.9% in 2014 to 16.2% in 2015 and increased again to 33.3% in 2016.

Trafficking Tactics

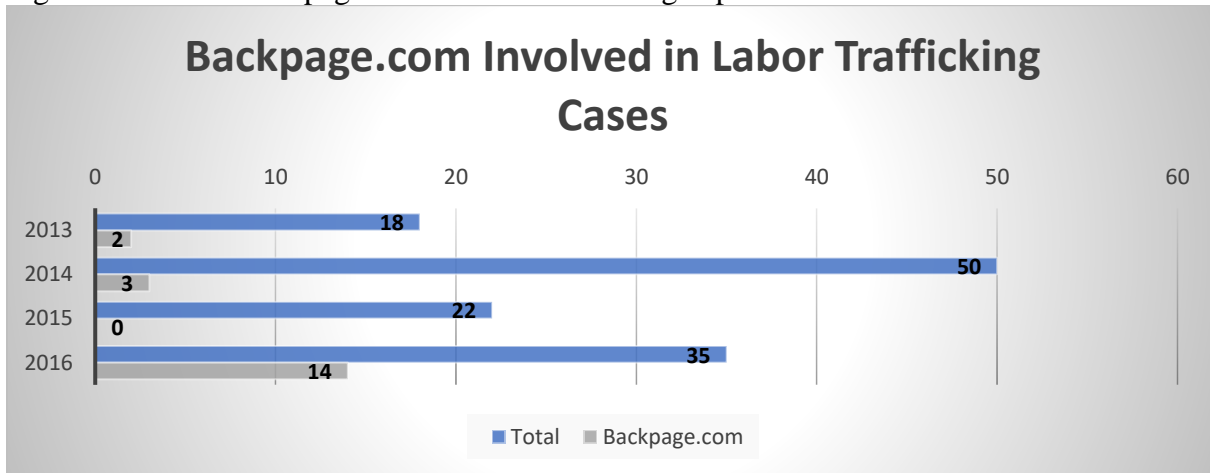
Other trafficking tactics were measured by the types of locations that were used as places for victims to engage in forced labor, debt bondage, or domestic servitude with traffickers/and or a recruiter. These location types included: a trafficker or associate's house, a trafficker or associate's apartment, a hotel room, an agricultural field, and at outcall locations such as places recruiters/traffickers have contracts with. There were significant changes in the prevalence of three of these trafficking locations as the years passed. The use of a trafficker or associate's house increased significantly ($\chi^2 (3, N = 90) = 42.623, p < .000$). In 2013, only 2.2% of cases included labor trafficking from a house and in 2014, 43.3% of cases included labor trafficking from a house. This figure dropped to 17.8% in 2015 and then went back up in 2016 to 36.7%. The prevalence of trafficking operations in which victims were trafficked from the trafficker or associate's apartment also saw significant changes ($\chi^2 (3, N = 30) = 28.910, p < .000$). In 2014 and 2015, trafficking activities from an apartment was between 6.7% (2014) and 10.0% (2015) compared to previous year when in 2013 it was 33.3%. This figure eventually increased significantly to 50% ($n = 15$) in 2016. Finally, the prevalence of cases in which victims were trafficked from a hotel room followed a similar trend to those who were labor trafficked from the trafficker or associate's apartment ($\chi^2 (3, N = 30) = 16.576, P = .001$). In 2013, 20% of the cases included labor trafficking from a hotel room, and in 2015, only 10% of the cases included this. However, in 2016, 53.3% of cases included trafficking from a hotel room. The use of online job advertisements in the labor trafficking situations increased over the four years from four (22.2%) cases in 2013 to seventeen (48.6%) in 2016.

Figure 11. Use of Online Job Ads by labor traffickers over time.

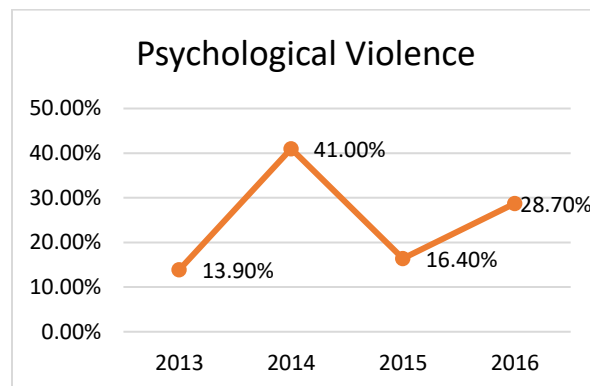
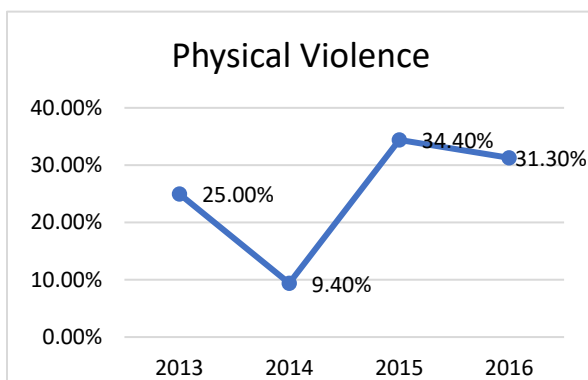


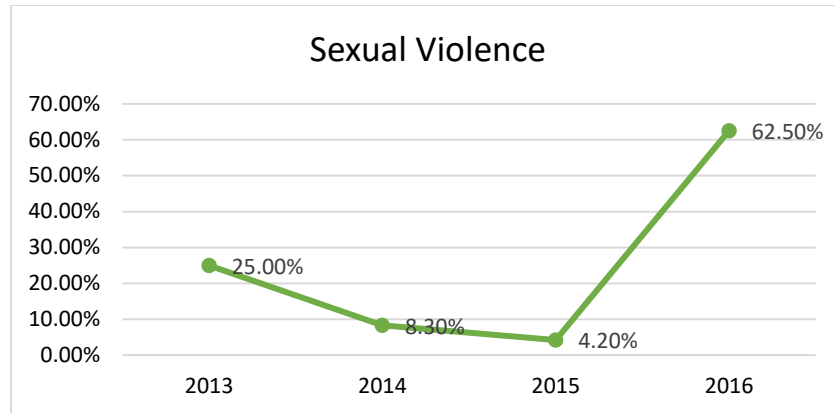
Backpage.com was involved in 11.1% of the cases in 2013 and 40% of the cases in 2016.

Figure 12. Use of Backpage.com in labor trafficking exploitation.



Information on the use of different types of violence as control tactics was gathered and measured by researchers. Physical violence included any hitting, kicking, beating, with weapons, choking, and other infliction of physical harm. Sexual violence included any non-consensual sexual activity, which included rape and sexual assault against adult and minor victims, as well as any sexual activity with minor victims, since they cannot consent. Psychological violence includes threat against victims, their families, and other forms of verbal and psychological abuse. The use of physical violence saw no major changes as the years passed ($\chi^2 (3, N = 32) = 20.480, p < .000$). In 2014, the use of physical violence against victims dropped to 9.4% compared to 2013 when it was at 25.0%, however, increased in 2015 to 34.4% and 31.3% in 2016. The use of psychological violence against victims saw a few major changes over time ($\chi^2 (3, N = 122) = 7.060, p < .070$). In 2013, 13.9% of cases involved the use of psychological violence, and in 2015, that number increased to 41% of cases and dropped to 28.7% of cases in 2016. Finally, the use of sexual violence against victims decreased ($\chi^2 (3, N = 24) = 25.436, p < .000$) from 25% of cases in 2013 to 4.2% of cases in 2015, and increased in 2016 to 62.5% of cases.





Criminal Justice System

Arrest Methods & FBI involvement

Arrest methods were analyzed to determine how law enforcement officers became aware of the trafficking situation, as well as the subsequent steps they took to investigate, rescue the victims, and arrest the labor traffickers. The proportion of traffickers who were arrested as a result of an investigation for other activity fluctuated significantly over the years ($\chi^2 (3, N = 118) = 44.080, p < .000$). In 2013, 9.3% of cases were discovered when a trafficker was arrested as a result of an investigation for other activity. This increased to 42.4% in 2014 and decreased to 29.7% in 2016. The rate of victims contacting police for help decreased significantly over years ($\chi^2 (3, N=25) = 12.682, p < .005$). In 2013, 36% of cases were discovered when victims contacted law enforcement. This decreased to 28% in 2016. The number of arrests made by law enforcement in immigration (ICE) stings/sweeps fluctuated significantly over time ($\chi^2 (3, N = 31) = 61.835, p < .000$). This data shows that it was only in 2014 (100%) police found the victim in an immigration (ICE) sting/sweep.

The FBI was involved in helping to investigate and prosecute a large number of these cases (N=64, 51.2%). The FBI was involved in the investigation of these cases more and more commonly as time passed. The FBI involvement increased significantly over the years ($\chi^2 (3, N = 64) = 39.208, p < .000$). The FBI was involved in 9.4% of the trafficking cases in 2013 (n = 6), which increased to 48.4% (n = 31) in 2016.

Indictment

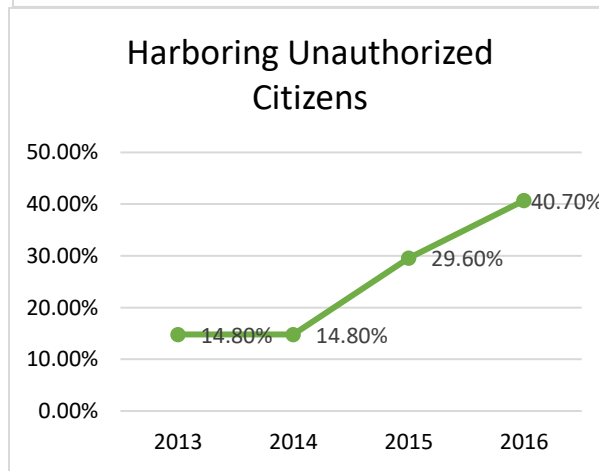
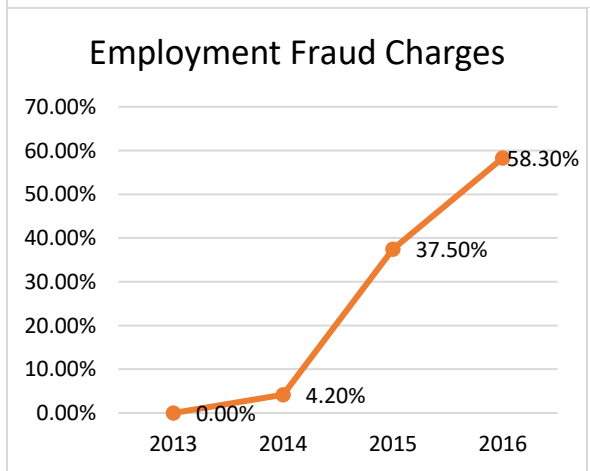
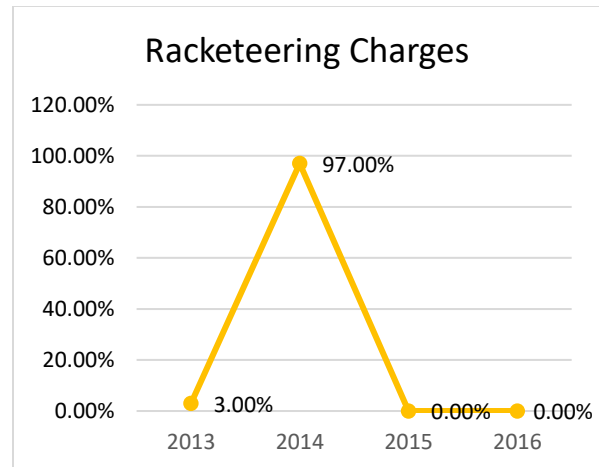
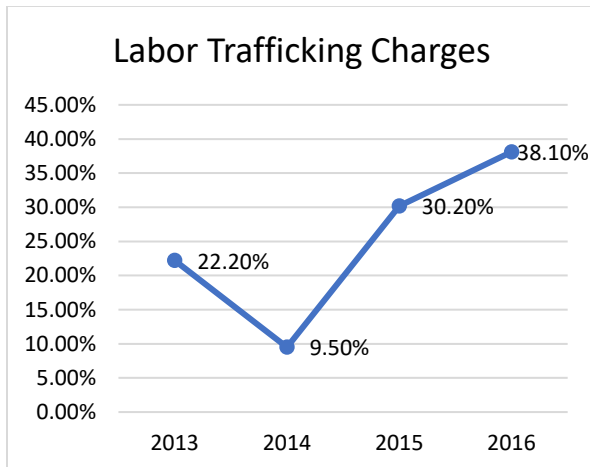
Researchers gathered information on the level of the prosecuting court in each of these cases. It was noted whether cases were originally prosecuted in a local or county court, a state court, or a federal court. As time passed, labor trafficking cases were much more like to be prosecuted in federal court, than in local or state courts ($\chi^2 (3, N=99) = 50.083, p < .000$). In 2013, only 6.1% of cases were brought to federal court (n = 6), compared to that of state court (n = 10, 76.9%). However, in 2016 the number of cases brought to federal court jumped to 31.3% (n = 31), and only four cases were brought to local court (30.3%) and no (n = 0) cases were brought to state court.

Researchers gathered information on the types of crimes labor traffickers were charged with in their indictments, using the most recent indictment, which often meant using a superseding or secondary superseding indictment. Charges that were often used in these

trafficking cases, such as charges against crimes related to forced labor, human trafficking, evading employment taxes, harboring unauthorized citizens, fraud, were closely analyzed. There were significant changes in the use of different types of common indictment charges as the years passed.

The amount of labor traffickers who were charged with labor trafficking fluctuated significantly over the years ($\chi^2 (3, N = 63) = 46.265, p < .000$). In 2013, 22.2% of labor traffickers were charged with this crime, which decreased to 4.2% in 2014 and significantly increased to 58.3% in 2016. Charges related to racketeering were inconsistent over years ($\chi^2 (3, N = 33) = 72.676, p < .000$). In 2013, there was 1 charge related to racketeering, which then dramatically increased to 32 (97.0%) charges in 2014 and dropped to zero (0.0%) in both 2015 and 2016.

Charges related to employment fraud became more common over years ($\chi^2 (3, N = 24) = 27.303, p < .000$). In 2013, there were zero (0%) charges related to employment fraud, which increased to 32.1% in 2014. This rate continued to increase over the next two years. In 2016, the rate of charges related to employment fraud was at 50%. The amount of labor traffickers who were charged with harboring unauthorized citizens increased over time ($\chi^2 (3, N = 27) = 8.213, p < .042$). In 2013, 14.8% of the labor trafficking were charged with harboring of unauthorized citizens, which increased 40.7% in 2016.



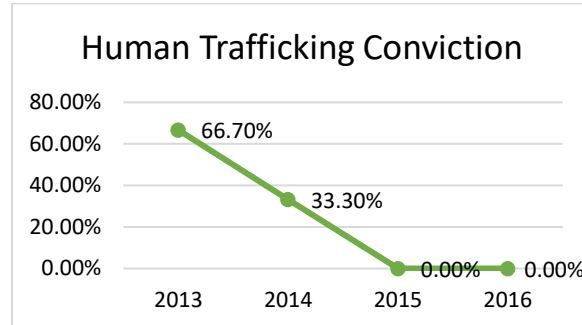
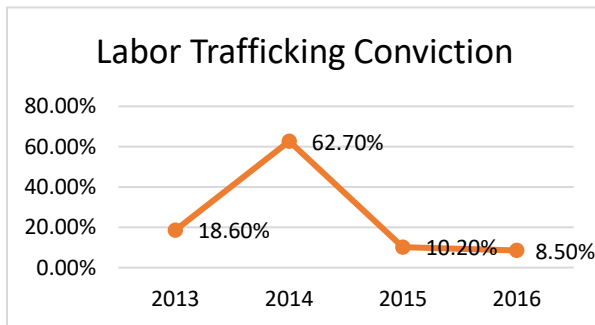
Pleas and Trials

After labor traffickers were indicted, many had a choice to take a plea deal with the court or to plead not guilty to the charges. Those who pled not guilty could participate in a trial with a jury of their peers. The proportion of labor traffickers whose cases went to a jury trial was inconsistent over time ($\chi^2 (3, N=90) = 5.827, p < .120$). In 2013, the amount of cases that went to trial was 13.3%. This rate increased in 2014 to 53.3% and dropped to 15.6% in 2015.

Conviction

The average number of criminal charges that labor traffickers were convicted with fluctuated as time passed [F (3, 72) = .104, p = 0.035]. In 2013, labor traffickers were convicted with an average number of 1.86 criminal charges. This increased to 1.92 criminal charges in 2014, and dropped to 1.85 criminal charges in 2016. Given the inconsistency in the amount of cases that went to trial, researchers expected the average number of conviction charges to also stay inconsistent over time.

Labor traffickers were convicted of the crimes that they pled guilty to or that they were found guilty of in a trial. Conviction charges were closely analyzed by researchers in the same way indictment charges were analyzed. Only two types of conviction charges showed significant changes as the years passed. Conviction in labor trafficking charges decreased significantly ($\chi^2 (3, N = 59) = 23.032, p = .000$) from 62.7% in 2014 to 10.2% in 2015 and 8.5% in 2016. Conviction in human trafficking charges also decreased significantly ($\chi^2 (3, N = 6) = 12.050, p < .007$) from 66.7% of human trafficking conviction charges in 2013 to 0% of human trafficking conviction charges in 2016.



Sentencing

The average jail or prison sentence fluctuated as years passed [F (3, 80) = 2.235, p = 4.781]. Sentences ranged from no time in prison to life in prison with an average minimum sentence of 6.13 years in prison.

DISCUSSION

This study found 125 persons in the United States who were arrested for labor trafficking. The number of arrests for the labor trafficking slightly increased over the four years of this study. Establishing the number of arrests for labor trafficking in the United States is helpful for a number of reasons: 1) this number helps develop frameworks for the scope of the problem of

labor trafficking in the United States, 2) establishes that labor trafficking is a real and present issue that should be discussed at local, state and federal levels, and 3) promotes the discussion and implementation of strategies regarding prevention, identification, and intervention. Labor trafficking is a crime that cannot be neglected and is certainly part of the complex chain of supply and demand. This study indicates that in 2014 alone, there were 50 persons arrested for labor trafficking in the United States. The probability that there will be an increase in cases in 2017 and into the future was measured by the slight increase of cases in this study. The widespread labor trafficking-focused training initiative around the United States by federal agencies including the Department of Homeland Security and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) can in part be credited for this increase. Local and state level trainings have also convened throughout the U.S. with a specific focus on training social service and mental health providers, community corrections, law enforcement, and prosecutors.

Thirty states in the United States did not have any arrests of persons charged with labor trafficking from 2013 to 2016, which may indicate a number of issues. Perhaps, labor traffickers of migrants and U.S. nationals are being identified and arrested but are being charged with other related criminal charges, or labor traffickers of migrants and U.S. nationals are not being identified or charged. Future research should focus on these 30 states in which there were no arrest in order to determine the extent of labor trafficking trainings available to their law enforcement and prosecutors, as well as their city and state policies to determine if there are any statutory barriers to arresting labor traffickers of migrants and U.S. nationals.

Almost 73 percent of the labor traffickers crossed national borders from 16 different countries with their victim(s) and 50 percent of the labor traffickers crossed state lines with their victim(s), moving them across up to 8 states within the United States, indicating that multiple jurisdictions may be involved in each case. This partially explains why 79.2% of the cases were at the federal level. The need to involve and provide training to state and county police and transportation industry workers, including those related to buses, trains, airplanes and rental cars is emphasized by this finding. Furthermore, trainings must be developed that specially focus on persons working along transportation corridors, such as the focus of Truckers against Trafficking, to train truck drivers and those working in gas stations and convenience stores along highways.

This study indicates that, although female arrests increased over the duration of the study, the majority of the arrested labor traffickers were males. The role of female labor traffickers was most likely as part of a group. The cases involving female labor traffickers targeted the most vulnerable victims: those who needed a place to stay, those who were victimized as domestic servants, and those who were psychologically threatened. Female labor traffickers were also more like to be involved in cases where victims knew their labor traffickers.

Recruitment tactics of the labor traffickers included focusing on vulnerable migrants and U.S. nationals, such as those who needed a place to stay, or those who were in financial crisis. Promises of money and wealth, as well as perceived debt (debt bondage) against the victim were dominant recruitment features in the labor trafficking cases. In many cases, the labor traffickers used threats of harm and psychological, physical, and sexual violence as ways to condition their victims. Many cases indicated that adult migrant laborers faced passport confiscation, coercive

recruitment, and other forced labor-related tactics. Other types of tactics and violence used by the labor traffickers were traffickers tricking the victim into thinking they would do another job, using force against victim's family, and threatening to report the victim to immigration (ICE) officers.

This study indicates that labor traffickers usually recruit victims of their own nationality or ethnic background. It further indicates that labor trafficking appears to be closely linked to migrant smuggling enterprises run by Asian, Eastern European, and Mexican organized crime networks, among others. Some of these operations feed victims into situations of forced labor. The findings indicate that there were 95 (76%) migrant laborer victims and 25 (20%) U.S. national victims. In these cases 73.6% of victims were brought to the U.S. as domestic workers and 11.2% were smuggled for the purpose of being enslaved. In the case of workers trafficked for Ohio egg farms, Guatemalan teenagers and adults were smuggled by a Guatemalan-American business man and two associates from Mexico. First they kept the victims away, hidden in unsafe and unsanitary trailers where the migrant laborers were hidden and isolated from law enforcement and unlikely to be visited by inspection teams from the Department of Labor. Second, the labor traffickers took money from their victims, charging them with traveling fees and shelter fees—as part of their perceived debt bondage. Finally, the labor traffickers were confident that neither the teenagers nor adult victims, all of whom were undocumented immigrants, would report the labor traffickers to the authorities for fear of arrest and deportation. It appears that the labor traffickers targeted the migrant laborer community by design.

The majority of the cases in this study involved a group of labor traffickers, as opposed to solo labor traffickers. Solo labor traffickers were likely to be U.S. nationals compared to the case of foreign nationals involved in group labor trafficking. Groups were more likely to traffic victims for the purpose of working in businesses. Group labor traffickers were more likely to have been involved in providing tickets for travel for their victims for the purpose of working in domestic servitude and the restaurant industry, as well as offering the victim a place to stay.

Law enforcement officers identified labor trafficking cases through a number of strategies. Many cases were reactive cases, where traffickers were arrested a trafficker as a result of an investigation for other activity (n=46, 36.8%), police found the victim in an immigration (ICE) sting/sweep (n = 31, 24.8%), and the victim contacted the police to turn their trafficker in (n = 16, 12.8%). The Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) was involved in helping to investigate and prosecute a large number of these cases (n = 64, 51.2%) and the majority of these cases were filed in a federal court. The FBI was involved in the investigation of these cases more and more commonly as time passed.

LIMITATIONS

Interpretation of this study should be done with caution, as with all cross-sectional studies. The primary limitation of this study is lack of data. The research team used a structured and systematic strategy to capture all of the labor trafficking of migrant laborer and U.S. national cases in the United States that resulted in the arrest of a labor trafficker; however, some cases may not have been reported by the media or by law enforcement and prosecutors. Some variables in this study have missing data, due to what was available online and through targeted searches.

Information that was particularly difficult to find was the origin of the trafficking situations and details about the trafficking activity (where, how, rules, etc.). Victim specific data was missing for many cases because the victim was underrepresented, arrested or deported as a result of immigration status. In some cases, the media decides not to disclose the victim's identity; thus, the research team was unable to search for more information on the labor trafficking victims.

FUTURE RECOMMENDATIONS

In the United States, forced labor remains a widespread problem because there is a public ignorance of the crime, lack of legal actions, insufficient sensitivity to victims, and demand for cheap goods and services by the public. Despite all of these barriers, forced labor can be prevented. There is a need to implement a public awareness campaign which will take effort and cooperation from government and community members alike. The government of the United States has already recognized the scope of the problem of forced labor. It continues combating these abuses in the U.S., as well as overseas. In 2000, the legislation established Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) which provides a comprehensive legal framework to tackle trafficking in the United States. As a result, there have been successes in enforcing laws that bring perpetrators of labor trafficking and human trafficking at large to justice. This further leads to changes in approach and practice. These comprehensive set of regulations were designed to ensure that criminal traffickers are prosecuted by law and that victims of labor trafficking have access to rights, protection, and resources that are specific to the kind of exploitation and abuse they endured. There seems to be a lack of support from nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), legal advocacy groups, service agencies, and other community-based groups in support of victims of forced labor. Furthermore, labor trafficking continues to exist due to the lack of public awareness about human trafficking and transnational law enforcement networks to tackle the problem. To capitalize on the results of this study, the research team recommends the following activities:

1. Targeted training to airport security, and airport and airline personnel on warning signs for labor trafficking, as well as to personnel employed by other forms of public transportation, such as buses, trains, and taxi services.

Airport security, and airport and airline personnel as well as personnel for other forms of public transportation can play a key role in the fight against human trafficking. With proper training, they can begin to identify human trafficking situations and assist victims of human trafficking. The more public transportation personnel know about the warning signs of trafficking behavior, the better equipped they will be to recognize victims of human trafficking during travel. The first step to combatting human trafficking is knowing what to look for. The DHS Customs and Border Protection's "Blue Lightning" needs to make it clear that identifying potential human trafficking victims is more than a voluntary duty. Public transportation personnel can start by asking themselves:

- a. Is someone traveling with the passenger in control of what the passenger says and does?
- b. Does the passenger constantly avoid making eye contact?
- c. Is the victim not allowed to hold his/her own identification or ticket? Does the passenger carry only a few or no personal items?

- d. Is the passenger dressed inappropriately (clothes are out of season or don't fit correctly)?
- e. Does the passenger avoid answering questions?
- f. Does the passenger have no knowledge of their travel destination, and reason for traveling or who they are going to meet and stay with?
- g. Are there signs of wounds or bruises? Tattoos "branded" on the passenger?
- h. Are there signs of anxiety, fear, tense, depression, nervous, submissive and can't seem to move independently?

This research found out that labor traffickers were more likely to specialize on the forced labor of migrant workers. As the research has shown, and as law enforcement personnel know innately, a key component of labor trafficking is the element of control. The research has covered at length the methods, causes, and results of control but less has been said about how selective methods of control (e.g., physical, sexual, psychological, social, cultural, economic) tend to affect migrant victims of labor trafficking as opposed to U.S. national victims. This study found that tendencies towards victimizing migrant laborers correlates strongly with immigration status difference between the trafficker and the victim, trafficker inclination towards violence, providing money for travels, perceived development of debt bondage, and providing basic needs like shelter.

2. *Community-based awareness about labor trafficking recruitment tactics, venues of trafficking, and resources for support.*

Victims of human trafficking need the same kind of advocacy from their communities as victims of domestic violence. Applying knowledge about domestic violence to better understand trafficking victims and their reluctance to leave a harmful situation is helpful. Human trafficking recruitment tactics, such as physical violence, sexual violence, threats of harm and psychological violence, and coercive control are often mirrored by domestic violence. The targeted victimization of migrant worker victims is an especially troubling finding from this study and one that requires further discussion and research to enhance law enforcement's understanding of its practical implications. While the demand for labor is significant, the demand for labor from migrant laborers is especially important to note, especially if migrants are undocumented. Recruiters and traffickers of migrant laborers are intentionally targeting migrants for labor, and companies and individuals are intentionally hiring and making contracts with migrant laborers with no compunction or inhibition.

Targeted training for community members must recognize that victims of labor trafficking are forced into labor and that members within our communities are forcing them. This is occurring in *our communities*, and it is happening to *our fellow humans*. Further conversation and community awareness should focus on matters of demand for cheap labor, community education and the judicial process to address the labor trafficking of migrant victims, as well as U.S. nationals. Each of these will assist to decrease incidences of migrant and U.S. national victimization through the consistent education of the public and to increase disincentives to those engaging in the commercial labor exploitation, either as a recruiter, trafficker, or as a consumer, through enhanced penalties. Community-based awareness about the crime of forced labor can foster public

pressure on companies and individuals to take responsibility for the treatment of workers in the United States. U.S. officials should also take part in encouraging workers and employment organizations to promote awareness about forced labor within their constituencies.

3. *Discussion about how to provide protection for victims being brought into US, while not adding to the current climate of immigration fear in the US.*

This research found that 97 (76%) of the labor trafficking victims were migrant workers (both documented and undocumented), most of whom were arrested or deported. Often times when migrant victims of labor trafficking are identified, law enforcement officials focus on whether the victims entered the United States legally or illegally. Even when found carrying the proper legal documents, immigration officials hardly look at visa fraud and abuse conducted by the labor trafficker. Rather than putting the victim through more harm, the U.S. Department of Labor should focus on combating fraud and abuse of federal visa programs by labor traffickers and take legal action against the labor traffickers who abuse these programs. Migrant victims of labor trafficking should be provided assistance in accordance to the United States Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act (TVPA). There will always be a need for immigration assistance for international victims of trafficking—especially if they wish to stay in the United States. According to the TVPA, the migrant victim may be granted access to several types of immigration assistance, if he/she chooses to cooperate with law enforcement.

4. *Proactive policing techniques to identify and provide assistance and support to labor trafficking victims (person-centered, trauma informed).*

Providing person-centered and trauma informed services to victims of human trafficking is essential to meeting their needs. By offering opportunities for personal, educational and economic advancement, these services can help stabilize victims. Through social services, victims can become economically and personally independent when they obtain an education, gain new job skills, develop life and social skills, learn a new language (if needed), and obtain employment which are highly essential for a victim to reintegrate into society. Service providers that focus on person-centered responses are also encouraged to collaborate with agencies that are credible, trauma-informed, and who are familiar with the complex nature of human trafficking and immigration laws for victims who are foreigners. Trauma-informed personnel are trained in the effects of trauma on individuals and are sensitive to the unique nature of trauma survivors.

Per U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, the following concepts are key to making services trauma-informed and more effective:

- a. *Understanding trauma is a defining and core life event* with a complex course that can shape a survivor's sense of self and others, rather than a discrete event with predictable and immediate impact.
- b. *Understanding the consumer/survivor's complaints and symptoms are coping mechanisms* and original sources of strength within a relational approach to

solutions that may no longer be effective, rather than viewing them as problems within an individualized view of the solutions.

- c. *Understanding the primary goals of services are empowerment and recovery* (growth, mastery, and efficacy) which are prevention-driven, limited by survivor self-assessment and recovery needs, and require both the consumer and provider to assume shared risks, rather than the primary goals being stability and absence of symptoms, a crisis orientation, time-limited by economic and administrative needs, and oriented to minimizing provider liability.
 - d. *Understanding the service relationship is collaborative*, with the survivor and provider having equally valuable knowledge, rather than viewing it as hierarchical with the provider having superior knowledge. This equal relationship ensures survivors are active planners and participants in ensuring their safety and developing services. This approach places a priority on choice and control and trust developed over time, rather than treating the survivor as a passive recipient where safety and trust are assumed from the outset.
- 5. *Development of local labor coalitions to increase awareness about labor/human rights, and to provide a space for individuals to discuss labor disputes.***

The development of a local labor coalition to increase awareness about labor/human rights would be helpful for those wanting to join a supportive community where they can share their experiences and access information on a variety of topics. What anti-trafficking coalitions can do is to provide training for judicial professions so they can understand the unique aspects of human trafficking. The coalition could be made up of agencies such as the state's Department of Labor, Homeland Security, Immigration and Customs Enforcement, Law enforcement from major cities in the state, survivors of labor trafficking, researchers, social service providers who work with foreign nationals, etc. This coalition could serve as a space to discuss and plan interventions for labor trafficking, prevention programs for labor trafficking, and a space where grass roots labor groups or unions can come to discuss labor disputes. The coalition can take part in building connections in the community with migrant workers, establish a relationship of trust and partnership, and empower communities of migrant workers to organize, learn their labor rights, and take part in the action against labor trafficking in the United States.

6. *Development of an online resource for those seeking services for labor exploitation.*

There needs to be more developed online resources for those seeking services for labor exploitation which then will design a public awareness campaign to combat forced labor. Overall, there is a need for better and more standardized data collection and tracking, as well as improved data sharing across government and non-government agencies within and outside the United States. The limited availability and access to important information (e.g., number of illegal border crossings, number of false documents recovered, number of missing persons, number of suspected trafficking operations) present challenges to verifying assumptions and refining estimates.

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