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Looking for a Hidden Population: Trafficking of Migrant Laborers in San Diego County

Final Report

Submitted to

United States Department of Justice Office of Justice Programs National Institute of Justice Grant No.: 2009-IJ-CX-0011

Prepared by

Sheldon X. Zhang, Ph.D., Principal Investigator San Diego State University Department of Sociology San Diego, CA 92182-4423 Tel: (619) 594-5448; Fax: (619) 594-1325 Email: <u>zhang@mail.sdsu.edu</u>

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FOREWORD

This project was conducted under Grant No. 2009-IJ-CX-0011, awarded by the National Institute of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, United States Department of Justice. Points of view in this document are solely those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the United States government.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This project was in partnership with the Center for Social Advocacy (CSA), a community organization established in 1969 and dedicated to advancing the civil rights and welfare of the under-privileged in San Diego. This study would not have been possible without the close collaboration and assistance from the CSA and its staff, in particular, Ms. Estela De Los Rios, Director of the CSA, and Mr. Adan Ortiz, our lead Community Outreach Worker. It is through their extensive community contacts and intuitive understanding of the migrant cultures that the study was able to be executed as planned.

The author would like to thank Dr. Cyprian Wejnert, now with the Centers for Disease Control & Prevention, who helped the field planning of this study. Dr. Michael Spiller, also with the Centers for Disease Control & Prevention, provided much needed expertise and technical assistance in using the specialized software RDSAT to analyze the project data. The involvement of both Drs. Wejnert and Spiller, who were trained by and have collaborated with Dr. Douglas Heckathorn, the developer of the RDS method used in this study, has greatly strengthened the study's fielding activities and final data analysis.

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<u>Project Managers</u>: Karen J. Bachar John Picarelli, Ph.D.

<u>Graduate Research Assistant</u>: Yang Qin, Data Manager and Statistical Assistant

Field Interviewers:

Irma Cordova, Field Coordinator Manuel Enrique Cristina Juarez Adan Ortiz Maria Stacey, MSW

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Background and Study Objectives

Although labor trafficking has received much attention in recent years, there is limited empirical research into the depth, breadth, and scope of the problem. The scarcity of reliable estimates on labor trafficking activities has long caught the attention of major international organizations and government agencies. Both policy makers and advocacy groups recognize that anti-trafficking campaigns cannot gain much credibility without the support of empirical evidence, and more importantly, reliable statistical estimates. However, empirical research on labor trafficking is no easy undertaking. It is expensive and faces major methodological challenges.

Taking advantage of recent advances in sampling methodology as well as unique access to unauthorized migrant workers in San Diego County through a partnership with a community organization, this study attempts to answer some of the basic questions confronting current antitrafficking discourse. The overarching goal of collecting empirical data that can produce valid estimates on the scope of labor trafficking activities was divided into the following two objectives:

1. To provide statistically sound estimates of the prevalence of trafficking victimization among unauthorized migrant laborers in San Diego.

2. To investigate the types of trafficking victimization experienced by these laborers.

2. Challenges in Trafficking Research

Definitional Problems. The development of empirical measures on human trafficking has long been plagued by the absence of a common definition. The lack of a shared definition

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also prevents the gathering of data for comparative studies, thus further hampering policy development. There are three main legal frameworks from which researchers in the U.S. typically use to interpret trafficking activities: (1) the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons (December 2000; Palermo, Italy); (2) the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000; and (3) the International Labor Organization definition, which stems from its Forced Labor Convention in 1930. There are overlapping elements in these frameworks -- such as the presence of fraud and coercion -- but these frameworks also differ with regard to other aspects, such as any required movement across national borders, and employment relationship. While this study attempts to synthesize these perspectives, the operationalized measures in this study are most aligned with the U.S. government's interpretation of trafficking violations.

Challenges in Empirical Data Collection. Population estimates are vital for gauging the magnitude of any social problem. However, empirical research on the hidden nature of human trafficking poses many challenges. Reviews of existing literature have found considerable deficiencies in published estimates on methods, data sources, and definitional clarity. Of the limited empirical work on human trafficking, most studies were qualitative in nature. The methods used in these studies do not allow lend themselves to the production of population estimates. Some of the major obstacles that hinder the estimation of human trafficking in the United States include: (1) a lack of systematic information about the existence of victims in areas where human trafficking activities are known to exist and (2) inadequate capacities for identifying and tracking victims.

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3. Study Design

Due to their illegal status in this country, unauthorized migrant workers provide the most likely venue where trafficking victimization can be found. However, traditional survey methods are of little use in this population due to the lack of a sampling frame. The characteristics of their membership in this "hidden" population are exactly what make them inaccessible and obviate the development of a sampling frame required for deriving population estimates.

Respondent-Driven Sampling. Network-based referral is currently the only viable method to reach labor trafficking victims. But such traditional snowball sampling techniques have many inherent problems that undermine population estimates. *Respondent-Driven Sampling* (RDS) is developed specifically to overcome many problems inherent in traditional networkbased referral methods. RDS relies on the Markov property of its structured referral process to achieve both diversity and equilibrium (the point at which initial samples no longer mirror later samples) through successive waves of participant recruitment. By using an incentivized and structured chain referral system, the RDS method allows unbiased estimation of the target population. The core advantage of RDS is the ability to make inferences about the target population from an initial "convenience sample."

Sample Size and Power Analysis. Because few reliable estimates are available, we made several assumptions in our sample size calculation. Our power analysis suggested a sample of 555 was needed to achieve a design effect of 2, with a prevalence of .50. To be more conservative, we proposed a sample of 625 with a design effect of 3 and an overall prevalence of .25. However, because our fielding activities turned out to be more successful than anticipated, we increased the sample size and eventually reached a total of 826 completed interviews. Our

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subjects were undocumented migrant laborers who were either working at the time of the interview or recently employed in the County of San Diego.

4. The San Diego Labor Trafficking Instrument

The survey instrument used in this study was put through a rigorous development process. The instrument was reviewed by legal staff at the U.S. Department of Justice, academic researchers involved in this study, and members of our partner agency (CSA) in the community. Overall, the specific measures are in close alignment with the trafficking legislation in the U.S. and the operational indicators contained in the public announcement pamphlets issued by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Department of State. The San Diego labor trafficking questionnaire was intended to capture a wide variety of different violations, including activities that fall within both international and U.S. government definitions of human trafficking, as well as abusive or exploitative labor practices.

The survey instrument contained both structured and open-ended items. The structured questions attempted to capture common elements for statistical analysis, such as demographics, trafficking and exploitation experiences, and respondents' financial situation. Open-ended questions attempted to capture unique individual experiences and specific incidents. Specific domains of information included demographic characteristics, work and earnings, employment activities in San Diego, types of trafficking victimization and labor exploitation experienced, and migration process.

Measures on Trafficking Violations and Abusive Practices. The instrument was designed with a wide spectrum in mind. A range of measures were constructed to capture a variety of human rights violations and unfair treatment of migrant laborers. To avoid definitional

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challenges, as discussed below in the full report, a conservative (or narrow) interpretation of what may constitute "trafficking" was adopted in the survey instrumentation, and deliberate efforts were made to separate trafficking violations from abusive treatments. To qualify for *trafficking violations*, the nature of the victimization must include actual/threatened infringement of freedom of movement (e.g., holding a migrant hostage in order to extort ransom during transportation) or actual/threatened violation of one's physical integrity (e.g., physical or sexual assaults). Measures of *abusive practices* include any grossly unfair treatment or exploitative practices perpetrated by either a smuggler during transportation or an employer at a workplace, such as forbidding someone from leaving the traveling group during transportation or abandonment at the workplace. Although somewhat subjective, *abusive practices* as measured in this study also included practices that were clearly fraudulent and deceptive, definitional elements present in all international and U.S. legal frameworks.

We opted to exclude fraudulent and deceptive employment and smuggling practices from the *trafficking violations* because we wanted to obtain a set of "clean" measures, thus leaving few chances for definitional challenges. Because of the wide spectrum built into the survey instrument, future research efforts may choose to try different configurations of these measures. For instance, an even stricter or narrower definition may be adopted to count only direct and actual violations of physical integrity or freedom of movement; or a wider definition may be used to include elements of fraud and deception. Many more studies are needed to replicate and improve these measures so that uniform data and comparable estimates can be produced to guide policy discussion and resource allocation in anti-trafficking campaigns.

Pilot Test and Instrument Refinement. After its initial development and translation into Spanish, several additional steps were undertaken to improve the instrument. First, members of

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the partnering community agency reviewed the items and fine-tuned the language for adaptation with Mexican migrants, including culturally- and linguistically-sensitive probes for the respondents' idiomatic expressions of labor and travel experiences. Mock interviews were conducted to test the length and flow of the questions. Two focus groups were then conducted with unauthorized migrant laborers who were recruited from the project area and interviewed using the instrument. Based on the results and feedback from these focus groups, further refinements were made before the instrument was put into field use.

5. Fielding Activities

This study relied on the staff members from the CSA, our community partner, to develop initial seeds and to provide assistance in gaining trust from the unauthorized migrant community. All field staff participated in intensive training in interviewing techniques and field protocols. All staff took and passed a University-approved human subject protection training course. All research assistants were trained to conduct paired interviews with community outreach workers from the Center for Social Advocacy. In addition, frequent staff meetings were held throughout the data collection period for debriefing purposes.

The RDS survey began with an initial set of "seeds" recruited from the target population. These "seeds" were given an incentive for completing the interview, and were then given three coupons with cash value to pass on to other eligible members within their social networks. These same incentives were offered to each subsequent wave of respondents, with the same restriction of three referral coupons per person. This process was repeated over a period of 77 weeks. There were a total of 16 interview sites spread throughout the county, and a total of 18 seeds were developed and used for initial recruitment. The number of interviews completed per week at each

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site varied both between sites and over time, as it was up to respondents to choose the interview location.

6. Main Findings

Demographic Profile. Based on our observed sample proportions, we estimate that the unauthorized population currently in the labor force in San Diego County is 52% male and 48% female. The average age of this population is about 33.48 (with a low of 32.77 and a high of 34.21). About 45% of the population is 30 years of age or younger. The vast majority of this population (85%) has less than a junior high education, and one in five has never attended school.

Because fielding activities primarily targeted Spanish-speaking populations, 98% of our respondents were Mexican. The remaining 2% were mostly from other Latin American countries. Among the target population, more than half (52%) are either married or living with a partner, 40% are single; and 7% are widowed, divorced or separated. Most of these unauthorized immigrants have at least one child (about 70%), and 17% of them have four or more children.

As expected, the primary language at home is Spanish (93%). The remaining primary languages include Mixteco, Zapoteco, and Hahuatl. In general, English language skills among this population are low. One in five speaks no word of English, 27% can manage a few simple words, and another 23% can handle simple sentences. A sizeable group of them, 29%, are proficient or even fluent in English.

For housing arrangements, the majority of unauthorized workers (68%) rent their own apartments, trailers, or houses; another 20% occupy some living space belonging to friends or families. A small number (about 7%) are homeless or live in canyons. These unauthorized

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migrant laborers find jobs mostly in low-skilled sectors: 22% work in agriculture, 22% work in janitorial/cleaning jobs, 17% work in food processing, and 12% work in construction. The remaining 27% work in other occupations including painting, carpentry/plumbing/electrical, child or elderly care, manufacturing, or as a store cashier or stockperson.

Prevalence of Trafficking Violation and Exploitation. Four composite measures were created to summarize specific trafficking violations and abusive practices perpetrated either by smugglers during transportation or by employers at the workplace: (1) *any violation*, which combines all incidents of trafficking violations and abusive transportation or labor practices; (2) *smuggler violation*, which combines all abuses and trafficking victimizations experienced while being smuggled into the U.S.; (3) *employer violation*, which combines all trafficking violations and abusive labor practices experienced in the workplace; and (4) *types of employer violation*, which groups various workplace violations and abusive practices into further sub-categories (i.e., threats to physical safety, restriction/deprivation, deception/lies, and abusive labor practices).

Any violation. The majority (58%) of the unauthorized migrant laborers currently in the work force have experienced at least one type of trafficking violation or abusive practice. Specifically, we estimate that about 31% of unauthorized Spanish-speaking workers have experienced an incident that meets the legal definition of human trafficking, and about 55% of them have experienced various abuses or exploitative practices either at the hands of their smugglers or employers.

Smuggler-specific violations and abuses. Among those who traveled with smugglers, 6% have experienced at least one trafficking violation, and 20% have endured other abusive practices during transportation to the U.S.

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Employer-specific violations and abuses. We estimate that about 28% of the unauthorized migrant laborers in San Diego County have been victims of trafficking violations at the work place. About 49% of the unauthorized immigrant workers in San Diego County have experienced abusive labor practices.

Variations in Trafficking Violations by Occupation. The study singled out the six largest labor sectors where unauthorized workers most likely find jobs (agriculture, construction, landscaping, janitorial/cleaning services, food processing, and manufacturing), and grouped the rest into the "other" category. Construction, food processing, and janitorial/cleaning were found to be the top three business sectors rife with trafficking violations and abusive labor practices.

Construction leads the pack with the highest rate of reported trafficking violations (35%) and abusive labor practices (63%). Janitorial and cleaning businesses come in second, with 36% of respondents reporting violations and 59% reporting having experienced abusive labor practices. Landscaping businesses are not far behind, with 27% reporting trafficking violations, and 60% experiencing abusive labor practices. In contrast, agriculture, which employs most undocumented laborers in the northern part of San Diego, has the lowest rate of both reported trafficking violations (16%) and abusive labor practices (27%).

Types of Trafficking Violations. We grouped the various trafficking violations and exploitative labor practices into four categories: (1) threats to physical integrity, which involve actual or threatened assault to one's physical body (such as being locked at the workplace or unwanted sexual advances), (2) restriction and deprivation, which involve restrictions imposed by employers on unauthorized workers' physical or communicative freedom (such as not being allowed to leave the workplace after hours, or to communicate freely with families or friends); (3) deception and lies, which include false statements or fraudulent representation either made by an

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employer, or that unauthorized workers are told to make (such as being asked by an employer to lie about one's identity or work relationship); and (4) abusive labor practices, which include all other less serious but grossly exploitative labor practices (such as wage theft and workplace abandonment).

As discussed earlier, only the first two categories are counted as trafficking violations at workplace in this study. Of these broad categories of violations and abuses, *threats to physical integrity* is the least frequently reported category, with a 15% rate of victimization. About 22% have experienced some forms of physical *restriction or deprivation* at workplace. Deceptive practices or false representations (i.e., *deception/lies*) have occurred among 28% of the unauthorized workforce. The most common type involves abusive labor practices, at 45%.

Variations in Types of Violations by Occupation. *Threats to physical integrity*. Food processing leads the pack with a victimization rate of about 20% among the unauthorized workforce, followed by construction at 17%, janitorial services at 17%, and agriculture (10%). Manufacturing has the lowest rate of victimization for threats to physical integrity at 6%.

Restriction/deprivation. Janitorial/cleaning businesses and construction have the highest rate of violations, both at about 27%, followed by landscaping at 24%. Agriculture has the lowest rate of victimization as measured in this study, at 12%.

Deception and lies. Janitorial and cleaning businesses again have the highest rate of victimization at 43%, followed by those working in construction (37%). The lowest rate of victimization is in agriculture (11%).

Abusive labor practices are most common in several business sectors. This category has consistently higher rates of victimization in all occupations. At least three specific industries (construction, landscaping, and janitorial services) have victimization rates well above 50%.

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Both construction and landscaping are among the highest, where we estimate the rate of victimization to be as high as 70% (upper estimates at 95% confidence intervals). Agriculture again has the lowest rate of victimization in this category, at 25%.

7. Risk Profiles

This study explored how different individual characteristics may affect the likelihood of being victimized either during transportation or at workplace. In particular, two conceptual models are proposed here to guide our analysis: (1) level of acculturation (i.e., the better one knows about the U.S. the less likely s/he will be victimized), and (2) financial pressure (i.e., the greater the financial pressure the more one accepts risky conditions).

For the acculturation hypothesis, although our statistical models have a good fit, the overall variances explained by different models, as indicated by the pseydo- R^2 , are rather modest, with values all below .10. The only variable that shows rather consistently significant effect is the "simple sentences" category under English language ability. Unauthorized migrant laborers who can speak only "simple sentences" in English are at much greater risk of being victimized by employers than those at any other level of English language skills. Working in agriculture also reduces the chances of encountering abusive labor practices or being victimized by employers. Additional research is needed to explore why employers in agriculture are less likely to engage in trafficking violations or other abusive labor practices. None of the variables in the model make a significant difference on the likelihood of being victimized by smugglers.

For our hypothesis of financial pressure as a factor in trafficking victimization risk, the findings are similar to those of the acculturation hypothesis. Although our statistical models fit well, the overall variances explained seem rather small, as shown in the pseydo- R^2 values.

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Working in agriculture again significantly reduces worker's chances of experiencing trafficking violations and abusive labor practices. Because little information is available about the characteristics of the employers, we cannot adequately account for the low victimization rates in agriculture as compared to other business sectors. Additional research is needed to explore why agriculture has consistently lower rates of trafficking violations and abusive labor practices.

8. Summary and Discussion

Labor trafficking, as operationalized and measured in this study, appears to be rampant among unauthorized Spanish-speaking migrant workers in San Diego County. We estimate that more than 30% of our target population are victims of labor trafficking, and 55% are victims of abusive labor practices or gross exploitations. In general, violations and abuses inflicted by smugglers during transportation were far less common than those inflicted by employers at workplace. Only 6% of those who traveled with smugglers experienced trafficking violations, compared to about 28% at workplace. Even when all violations and abuses are lumped together, the rate of victimization during transportation was 23%. In comparison, the combined rate of trafficking violations and abusive practices at workplace was 52%.

There are marked variations across the different business sectors that typically hire unauthorized migrant workers. Agriculture has the lowest rate of victimization among all businesses. Construction and janitorial services have the highest number of reported trafficking violations and labor abuses. It is unclear as to why agriculture has the lowest level of victimization. We suspect that the insulated and close-knit network of migrant farmworkers in North County San Diego may serve as a protective factor. Knowledge of pay scale and a limited labor pool in a close-knit farmworker community may make it difficult for farm owners to abuse

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their work crews.

In comparison, wage and employment conditions vary tremendously from business to business. The fragmented labor market and diverse job requirements make it easy for unscrupulous employers to take advantage of unauthorized workers. Data gathered in this study, which focused on the experiences of the migrant laborers, are insufficient to answer these employer-based questions. Much more data are needed to explain the observed variations in trafficking violations across different business sectors.

9. Estimating the Number of Trafficking Victims

The final step in our analysis involved determining the size of the population of unauthorized workers in San Diego so that the victimization rate may be applied to estimate the number of victims. Furthermore, since there are no representative national data on labor trafficking, one may estimate the size of the victim population by making inference from what we have learned in San Diego County. Although one may argue on the ground of ecological fallacy that a local sample cannot be generalized to the national level, we argue that the San Diego data provide some empirical evidence to suggest that trafficking violations and abusive labor practices may indeed be common in areas where there is a large unauthorized workforce. At a minimum, findings from this study can serve as a reference point for empirical studies elsewhere in the nation.

According to the Pew Hispanic Center (PHC), there are about 11.2 million unauthorized immigrants in the U.S., of which about 8 million (or about 71%) are in the workforce. A study from the Public Policy Institute of California estimates that there are 2,876,000 unauthorized immigrants in California (or 7.8% of state's total population of 36,756,000); and the figure for

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San Diego County is 198,000 or 6.6% of the general population. By applying PHC estimates to the number of unauthorized immigrants in California who are Mexican and the proportion of unauthorized immigrants who are in the workforce, our estimate is that there are about 174,240 unauthorized Mexicans in San Diego County, of which 124,460 are in the labor market. Finally, we multiply this number by our estimated rate of trafficking victimization in San Diego County (30.9%). Based on these assumptions, we estimate that there are 38,458 are victims of labor trafficking violations in San Diego County. Using the San Diego findings to guestimate national figures, there could be as many as 2,472,000 trafficking victims just among unauthorized Mexican immigrants in the U.S., of which 495,293 are in California.

Regardless of how one estimates the number of unauthorized workers in the U.S. or in San Diego County, if the same or similar rates of victimization are found elsewhere in the U.S. (depending on how one defines labor trafficking), the number of labor trafficking victims may indeed be staggering. Even if one adopts the narrowest definition of human trafficking (i.e., counting only direct and actual violations to physical integrity), the number of trafficking victims is still large enough to warrant serious policy debate. This is because the population base of undocumented immigrants in the U.S. is so large. Any small percentage, once applied to such a large population, will produce many victims.

10. Alternative Interpretations and Counter Explanations

It is always prudent to explore alternative interpretations of these findings. First, the instrument may have been too sensitive, thus detecting more violations than there actually were. In other words, there may have been many false positives. While additional studies are needed to validate and improve the instrument, the instrument passed the face validity test during its development stage, and received some positive evidence of internal validity based on observed

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patterns in trafficking violations. Second, San Diego may be an anomaly. Because San Diego is a border county, local employers may be particularly aware of the predicament of unauthorized migrants and thus adept at taking advantage of their vulnerable situations. Third, recent changes in immigration practices have made it difficult for unauthorized workers to move across the border as well as within the U.S. With limited mobility, unauthorized laborers are left with few choices but to take whatever jobs are available, thus increasing their risk exposure to trafficking violations or other forms of exploitation.

On the other hand, recent research also suggests that the findings from this study may not be unusual at all. Unfair labor practices have long been documented by government agencies in minimum wage audits in the U.S. Researchers in industrial relations have also found widespread labor law violations in the areas of wages, work conditions, and housing. Other researchers have found widespread abusive labor practices such as minimum wage violation, overtime violation, "off-the-clock" work compensation, and paystub violation in three major cities in the U.S. In other words, there is enough overlapping evidence to suggest that abusive labor practices, some of which meet the legal definition of human trafficking, are common and widespread in lowskilled and unregulated labor markets throughout the U.S.

11. Policy Implications

There are no easy solutions to the rampant trafficking violations and gross exploitation of unauthorized workers found in this study. The victims' legal status appears to be the most important factor in determining their likelihood of victimization, as few other variables seem to explain much of their experience. However, their illegal status also confounds countertrafficking efforts. Major immigration reforms are unlikely in the current political climate.

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However, law enforcement and regulatory agencies can still devise effective counter measures at the tactical level to minimize the most egregious forms of trafficking violations. The planning and implementation of these measures will require a clear priority in resource allocation and sustained attention towards long-term outcomes.

Penalty and Legal Deterrence. Relentless and high-profile prosecutions are needed to reaffirm the government's determination to stop labor trafficking and project deterrence far and wide within business communities, particularly in unregulated labor markets. Unfortunately, current research suggests that response from state governments remains anemic, with the majority of prosecutors having never prosecuted any labor trafficking cases or even recognizing it as a problem. Much more leadership is needed from federal justice agencies whose investigations and prosecutions often set the standard and example for state judiciaries to emulate.

Collaboration between Government Agencies and Advocacy Groups. Investigation and prosecution of trafficking cases requires collaboration with community-based organizations that have much closer relationships with unauthorized immigrants. Due to the recent changes in laws in several states, local police agencies are increasingly being viewed, in the eyes of unauthorized immigrants, as an extension of the federal immigration agency. Distrust and apprehension run deep within immigrant communities, legal or illegal. Although the rights-based agendas of advocacy groups may not always agree with the needs of law enforcement agencies, it is important to recognize the indispensable role that these community advocates can play in raising awareness and creating a social environment hostile to trafficking violations and labor exploitation. Without the bridge provided by these advocacy groups, law enforcement agencies, federal or local, will have a difficult time reaching out to the immigrant community.

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Public Awareness Campaigns. Among the most effective ways to reduce labor trafficking is perhaps public awareness campaigns. Anti-trafficking messages, including highprofile prosecutions of trafficking cases and available social services such as venues for reporting trafficking violations and shelters for victims need to be publicized through community outreach efforts by advocacy groups in the community. The idea is to create a social environment that is hostile to trafficking activities, warning unscrupulous employers of the serious consequences should they become the target of police investigations, and to alert victims to available services. In this context, advocates in anti-sex trafficking movement have done an excellent job through their many publicity venues. The recent passing of Proposition 35 in California, which significantly increases penalty for sex traffickers, is such an example. Unfortunately, the much more serious and rampant problem of labor trafficking continues to struggle for attention from policy makers and the public in general.

12. Design Limitations

There are several limitations to this study design. First, the RDS method is still evolving and some researchers are questioning the accuracy of its estimates based on various assumptions. Second, RDS cannot reach victims who are isolated or have no social contacts, such as domestic servants. Third, the labor-intensive nature of RDS restricts data collection to the confines of specific geographical areas, thus limiting its generalizability. Only through a series of similar surveys in regions with known concentrations of unauthorized laborers can we gradually arrive at a more precise knowledge of the extent and nature of labor trafficking activities at the state or national level.

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This network-based sampling process also seems to be constrained by the boundaries of ethnic networks; that is, unauthorized Mexicans typically do not socialize with unauthorized immigrants of other ethnic or national groups. All of our seeds turned out to be Mexicans.¹ As a result, our study may have oversampled Mexicans due to the fact that these Mexican migrants tend to have close-knit and insulated networks that favor in-group referrals.

However, this high percentage of Mexicans among unauthorized work force in San Diego County may also reflect the reality. Three authoritative sources on population estimates provide evidence in support of the representativeness of our sampling method. Based on the most recent American Community Survey (ACS) estimates, close to 90% of those identifying themselves as Hispanic or Latino in San Diego County are Mexicans. Second, in the 2010 Census, 87.75% of San Diegans who identified themselves as Hispanic or Latino are of Mexican descent. Third, according to Pew Hispanic Center's latest estimates, Mexicans make up anywhere from 81% to 95% of the unauthorized immigrants in California. Figures from all three sources are only slightly lower than our estimates, which is to be expected. We estimate that close to 40% of unauthorized Spanish-speaking immigrants have unconventional housing arrangements (renting or living for free with friends and families, living in canyons or being homeless). Therefore, conventional methods may not have captured these individuals in the official count.

The lack of empirical data is hampering meaningful policy discourse and the development of effective counter measures. We believe RDS is a viable method and should be used by more researchers on a wider scale across the country to generate a more accurate picture of the prevalence and incidence of labor trafficking violations in the U.S. Together with

¹ It is our understanding that other researchers using the RDS method may actively recruit or add seeds at any time in the recruitment process to loosely represent the target population. However, such selective seed development requires existing knowledge of the target population. Since there are current no published data on this hidden population, we did not actively develop other-than-Mexican seeds. This practice may have led to oversampling of the Mexican migrant laborers, as discussed later in the report as a limitation.

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researchers from other places around the world, we should and can produce an empirical foundation for meaningful policy discourse and counter-trafficking planning.

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I. BACKGROUND

I.A. Study Purpose and Objectives

The U.S. is not exempt from the horrors of modern day slavery; many criminal cases have been reported in the news. For example, in a story by John Bowe (2003), three unauthorized farmworkers from Mexico were trafficked to work on a tomato farm in Florida, making as little as forty cents per bucket weighing 32 pounds each. To make \$50 a day, each worker had to haul in two tons of tomatoes, or 125 buckets. These migrants worked 8 to 12 hours a day, six or seven days a week. When pay day arrived, the owners deducted from their already meager wages a long list of expenses: a check-cashing fee, rent, food, work equipment, the cost of the ride from Arizona, and daily transportation to and from the fields. These three and many others on the farm essentially worked for free. With the help of an advocacy group, the three escaped, leaving behind all their belongings including their Mexican identification. An advocacy group later assisted with successful prosecutions of the owners.

It is no secret that many businesses in the U.S. rely heavily on unregulated or poorlyregulated labor forces. According to official statistics, about 1.2 million farm laborers work on the nation's farms and ranches. Seventy percent of these workers are hired directly by the farm operators (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 2008). Businesses such as construction, landscaping and lawn maintenance, domestic care, food processing, and hospitality services are also major employers of unauthorized laborers. Few doubt that some unauthorized immigrants workers are deceived or coerced into indentured labor and trapped in jobs in which employers have complete control over practically every aspect of their lives. But no one knows the depth, breadth, and scope of the problem.

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The scarcity of reliable estimates on the scope and scale of labor trafficking has long caught the attention of major international organizations (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2009; International Labor Organization 2005, 2006; International Organization for Migration 2000). The U.S. Department of Justice, in its annual assessment of anti-trafficking efforts (2007:2), called for enhanced efforts "to monitor and combat labor trafficking both domestically and internationally, especially in light of a new mandate concerning forced labor and child labor." Needless to say, anti-trafficking campaigns cannot be sustained or retain credibility without the support of such estimates.

All of that being said, empirical research on labor trafficking is no easy undertaking. It is expensive and faces several major methodological challenges. By taking advantage of recent advances in sampling methodology and the unique access to the "hidden population" in San Diego County provided by a community organization, this study attempts to offer empirical findings to answer some of the basic questions confronting the current anti-trafficking movement. The overarching goal of the study was divided into the following two main objectives:

1. To provide statistically sound estimates on the prevalence of trafficking victimization among unauthorized migrant laborers in San Diego. The overarching goal of this study was to estimate the proportion of the target population that has been victimized either during their migration to the U.S. or in the workplace in San Diego. Although conceptually straightforward, this goal required careful operationalization of the measures, and rigorous sampling protocols. By design, this study focused on the experience of the victims, as opposed to that of the perpetrators.

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2. To investigate the type of trafficking victimization. In addition to the prevalence, we were also interested in the type of victimization. By the government's account, trafficking is a multi-billion dollar enterprise (U.S. State Department 2006: 6). However, little is known about how migrant laborers in different occupations are being victimized.

Additionally, this study was interested in learning about the migration process of these unauthorized laborers, exploring factors associated with their decision to come to San Diego and learning about their employment activities including where they find jobs and how much they get paid, and how they negotiate and deal with prospective employers. This study was also interested in identifying the social service needs of these unauthorized migrant workers as well as exploring possible strategies for improving efforts in combatting labor trafficking.

I.B. Review of Relevant Literature

Economic problems, conflicts, and globalized commerce have contributed to large-scale irregular migration around the world in recent decades, subjecting millions to unscrupulous human smugglers and employers bent on extracting profits from abundant and cheap human labor (Zhang 2007). Whether as a country of origin, transit, or destination, no country is exempt from human trafficking (Turner and Kelly 2009). Bales (2004:12-13) attributes the growth of this modern day slave trade to two main factors: (1) the dramatic increase in world population, particularly in poor countries, which intensifies competition for work and cheapens human labor; and (2) rapid social and economic change in developing countries, which disrupts traditional ways of subsistence and social support systems. Whereas in the past slaves were expensive to procure and difficult to transport, today's "slaves" are cheaper, and thus more profitable (Kara 2011; Bales 2007). Moreover, because of their abundance, today's slaves are disposable and can

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be easily replaced as soon as they cease to become productive or profitable (Bales 2007).

Most cases of forced labor involve migrant workers in economic sectors (e.g., agriculture and construction) where the cost of labor is a main determinant of the business' competitiveness (Belser 2005). Most of the workers have limited education and about half of them lack work authorization (Belser 2005). The largest proportion work in crop production such as fruit, vegetable, and horticultural crops where planting and harvesting are labor intensive. The total illegal profits made with the world's forced laborers are estimated to reach \$ 10.4 billion, with the highest profit margins in the industrial countries and Latin America (Belser 2005).

Even in the U.S., there is no shortage of trafficking victimization in a variety of industries, from domestic servitude to agriculture (Bales 2009: 117). After analyzing hundreds of cases reported in the media and by government sources, Bales, Fletcher, and Stover (2004) from Free the Slaves, an anti-slavery organization based in California, identified modern-day slavery as most prevalent in the U.S. economic sectors of prostitution and sex services, domestic service, agriculture, sweatshops/factories, and restaurant and hotel work; and victimization is most concentrated in states with large immigrant populations such as California, Florida, New York, and Texas.

International organizations and the U.S. government claim that tens of millions of people are trafficked around the world for sexual and labor exploitation (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2009; International Labor Organization 2005, 2006; International Organization on Migration 2000; U.S. State Department 2008). Bales (2004: 9) estimated 27 million slaves worldwide, the majority of whom were bonded laborers in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal. In 2005, the International Labor Organization (ILO) estimated that there were at least 12.3 million people in forced labor worldwide (Belser, de Cock, and Mehran 2005). About 2.5

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million of these are forced to work by the state, the army, or rebel military groups. The remaining 9.8 million are exploited by private agents and enterprises. Of these, only about 1.4 million (or 14 percent) are in commercial sexual exploitation, while most (7.8 million) are in forced labor exploitation.

In a more recent study, the ILO (2012) updated its estimates of global trafficking victimization based on an analysis of published reports and accounts of identified victims. The ILO used two teams of researchers to conduct separate coding schemes to verify all reported cases. Using the capture-recapture method with these identified cases, the ILO put the total number of forced laborers at 20.9 million, 18.7 million (90%) of whom were exploited by individual employers or private enterprises (ILO 2012). More specifically, among these estimated victims, 4.5 million (22% total) were victims of forced sexual exploitation, and 14.2 million (68%) were victims of forced labor, in economic activities such as agriculture, construction, domestic work, and manufacturing.

Despite these grim estimates, labor trafficking has not gained as much attention as sex trafficking, which has remained front and center in the larger anti-trafficking movement (Gozdziak and Bump 2008). For instance, the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2006 provided additional funds aimed at reducing demand for illicit sex, including block grants of \$25 million to states and local law enforcement to investigate and prosecute buyers of commercial sex, educate individuals charged with or attempting to purchase commercial sex, and collaborate with local NGOs to provide services to victims (U.S. State Department 2006). The legislation also provided \$10 million through the Department of Health and Human Services to local governments and NGOs to help survivors of human trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation.

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In an exhaustive review of existing literature, Farrell et al. (2009) identified 110 sources that provided a count or some estimates of human trafficking. The vast majority these counts referred to sex trafficking or the sexual exploitation of children. Only 17 sources provided information from which a count or estimate of labor trafficking could be inferred (Farrell et al. 2009: 16). In their review of nine reports from service organizations, Logan, Walker and Hunt (2009) found the same scarcity of empirical data on human trafficking in general and labor trafficking in particular. In fact, there is so much attention on sex trafficking involves sexual exploitation (see Barrows and Finger 2008). Even the U.S. government for years has claimed that the majority of transnational victims are women and children "trafficked into commercial sexual exploitation" (U.S. Department of State 2008). In a comprehensive literature review, Gozdziak and Bump (2008: 7) lamented that current research has focused on sex trafficking almost "to the detriment of investigating trafficking for bonded labor and domestic servitude."

A growing number of researchers have become concerned about this troubling trend and have advocated a shift in research and policy discourse (see Feingold 2005). Belser (2005) points out that the majority of human economic activities, forced or otherwise, are *not* concerned with sex. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) also acknowledges the uneven coverage and believes that the greater problem of forced labor and domestic servitude has been largely ignored (UNODC 2009). In a UNODC survey of member states, of the 52 countries that identified trafficking activities, 79 percent were related to sexual exploitation. UNODC believes that the under-detection of labor trafficking was universal across regions and even countries (UNODC 2009: 11). The limited knowledge about labor trafficking has long caught the attention of major international organizations including UNODC (UNODC 2009), the International Labor

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Organization (ILO 2005, 2006), and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (IOM 2000). The U.S. Department of Justice (2007:2), in its annual assessment of anti-trafficking efforts, called for enhanced efforts "to monitor and combat labor trafficking both domestically and internationally, especially in light of the new mandate in the 2005 TVPRA (i.e., Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act) concerning forced labor and child labor."

Aside from the lopsided emphasis on sex trafficking, the existing literature on human trafficking also suffers from an acute case of empirical anemia - the absence of primary data collection based on sound sampling procedures. For instance, after reviewing 207 publications of various types, Farrell et al. (2009) found that nearly all counts or estimates of human trafficking were based on trafficking cases identified in published documents, mainly in U.S. and international news reports; and over 80 percent of the identified sources failed to indicate the sources that led to their estimates. The poor quality and documentation of procedures used to arrive at any estimates create "enormous uncertainty" about the scope of the problem and leave any such estimates open to challenge (Farrell et al. 2009: vi).

A recent ILO publication also pointed out the methodological inadequacies of the annual Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report in estimating global trafficking figures, particularly in dealing with missing values and quality problems in the original data (Kutnick, Belser, and Danailova-Trainor 2007: 8). Even the government agencies in charge of fighting human trafficking found it necessary to explain the noted disparity between the estimated number of victims and the few victims found and assisted each year (U.S. Department of Justice 2005: 9).

The problem of estimating the scope and nature of labor trafficking is widely recognized by both international organizations and the U.S. government. One common feature in current trafficking literature is its heavy reliance on prosecuted cases or secondary sources rather than on

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primary data collection, which underscores the difficulties and challenges inherent in this type of empirical research. The challenges of producing estimates of the scale of human trafficking are well understood (Tyldum and Brunovskis 2005; Godziak and Collett 2005). As a result, ILO (2006) called for a high priority in the development of field and statistical techniques to support actions against forced labor and human trafficking. In its 2005 Global Report, the ILO (2005: 86) stated that the absence of reliable forced labor statistics at the national level prevents the establishment of benchmarks "by which progress can be measured over time." The UNODC has also called for the establishment of a continuing international mechanism to gather data on the true size of the trafficking market and to monitor trends and patterns of trafficking in persons (UNODC 2009). The International Organization for Migration (IOM) has also called for improved data collection and data-based analysis as the basis for guiding public policy (Lazcko and Gozdziak 2005). The United States Government Accountability Office (GAO), after issuing a critical report questioning the methodologies used in the State Department's TIP report, called for the development of reliable and empirically-based indicators to better identify human trafficking activities.

II. CHALLENGES IN TRAFFICKING RESEARCH

The need for and challenges in producing estimates on the scale of human trafficking have been widely discussed (Tyldum and Brunovskis 2005; Gozdziak and Collett 2005; Laczko and Gramegna 2003; De Cock 2007). Among the multitude of conceptual and methodological challenges in human trafficking research, two in particular stand out: (1) definitional problems; and (2) representative sampling.

First, there remains much ambiguity and uncertainty as to what constitutes labor trafficking, or human trafficking in general. Farrell et al. (2008) found that most law enforcement

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agencies do not even recognize the existence of labor trafficking. Definitional ambiguity impedes efforts in operationalizing measures that are needed in data collection. There has been a lack of concerted efforts in translating established legal frameworks into workable measures or survey instruments to assist empirical research. Thus far, there are no standardized or even widely accepted survey instruments inside the U.S. that can be used for data gathering purposes.

Secondly, social scientists typically rely on two sources of data to assess a particular problem: (1) individual cases reported by government agencies or social service organizations, and (2) survey research from which statistical estimates may be derived. Most existing literature on human trafficking reflects the first type of data (ILO 2011). Although much can be learned through case studies about the nature and process of trafficking activities, reported cases are insufficient for generating reliable estimates of the scope of the problem, which ultimately must be used to drive policy discourse and resource allocation.

II.A. The Messy Business of Defining Labor Trafficking

The absence of a common definition has long plagued the development of empirical measures on human trafficking. Some nations and their legal systems do not even recognize the existence of labor trafficking (Savona and Stefanizzi 2007: 2). Without a common conceptual and legal framework, international collaboration is difficult. The lack of shared definitions also prevents the gathering of data which can be used in comparative studies, thus further hampering policy development. Until recently there was little differentiation between human smuggling and human trafficking. The word "trafficking" can mean different things to different organizations and government agencies, resulting in different methods of counting and gauging the extent of the problem (Hughes 2000; Raymond and Hughes 2001). Many countries mix trafficking,

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smuggling, and irregular migration in their official data collection efforts (Laczko and Gramegna 2003). For instance, as late as 2004, the confusion between smuggling and trafficking and the misuse of the two terms caused the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), the lead federal agency on immigration control, to mislabel many cases thus erroneously inflating the total number of trafficking investigations and arrests (U.S. Department of Justice 2006: 12).

The passing of the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons in December 2000, in Palermo, Italy, helped clarify the issue by introducing two essential elements to the definition of human trafficking—the use of either *force* or *fraud* in extracting labor to achieve monetary gains (United Nations 2000). However, the UN convention did not end the definitional debate, because human trafficking in practice often involves multiple stages and individuals, from recruitment to transportation, and from harboring to employment (Laczko and Gramegna 2003). The diverse situations in which players of varied interests enter and exit the process of trafficking make it difficult to tell when smuggling ends and trafficking begins, or when voluntary participation becomes coerced or deceived.

To complicate the matter further, different nations have also developed their own operational definitions. For instance, in the U.S., the legal definition of human trafficking is provided under the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA—Sec. 103.8.). Sex trafficking is defined as the "recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person forced to perform such an act is under the age of eighteen" (TVPA, 2000: Section 103, 8a). Labor trafficking is defined as the "recruitment, harboring of a person for labor services,

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through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of subjugation to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage or slavery" (TVPA, 2000: Section 103, 8b).

The ILO has for years applied its own definition to highlight the labor perspective. The genesis of the ILO definition can be traced back to its Forced Labor Convention in 1930 that defined forced or compulsory labor 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*" (ILO 2011). Two key elements in this definition are: *involuntariness* and *penalty or menace of a penalty*. The ILO also drew a link between forced labor and human trafficking, arguing that the UN Palermo Convention definition complements the ILO definition. However, ILO (2011: 19) acknowledged the varied interpretations of the Palermo Convention developed by governments, international organizations and other stakeholders in their laws, policies and practices.

Although the ILO sees few differences between the two legal frameworks, its efforts in operationalizing data collection instruments recognizes the slippery elements of movement across national borders and the involvement of a third party as implied in the terminology "trafficking" (2011: 19). While the inclusion of such elements may assist law enforcement agencies to separate "trafficked" from "non-trafficked" victims, leading to different policy responses, the ILO has decided not to adopt a position on this issue. Furthermore, the ILO has clarified that forced labor can occur to all workers, irrespective of the employment relationship. In other words, people on contracted jobs or self-employed vendors can also be subjected to forced labor because "recruiters and employers increasingly oblige workers to adopt the legal status of 'self-employed,' thus disguising the underlying employment relationship" (ILO 2011: 13).

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In general, the ILO offers a more precise, albeit narrower, definition of what constitutes labor trafficking than the Palermo protocol. The ILO definition places greater emphasis on victims' subjective assessment of their circumstances, as opposed to the judgment of third parties such as researchers or advocacy groups. In its most recent technical guideline to assist the global estimation of forced labor, ILO (2011) once again sought to clarify the legal and operational definitions of forced labor, and cautioned that national laws often differ from the international definitions (2011: 11). In practice, many researchers apply a range of definitions to their data: some do not explicitly distinguish between labor and sex trafficking, while others include additional provisions or language (Farrell et al. 2010). Researchers such as Bales (2007, 2009) and Kara (2011) see few differences in or the need to differentiate these terms, and opt instead to highlight the common theme that they all share—the control of one person over another and the complete power of the employer to determine work conditions, remuneration, and contract terms. In fact Kara (2011: 67) is against replacing "slavery" with "forced labor," and "slave trade" with "human trafficking," because these terminologies weaken the moral intensity required to mount effective campaigns against these crimes.

II.B. Challenges in Primary Data Collection and Recent Development

Empirical research on human trafficking involving primary data collection faces many challenges, from a lack of technical capacities to low funding priority in many parts of the world (see Laczko and Gramegna 2003; Laczko 2005). Most current estimates are supported by questionable or a complete lack of methodological documentation (see critique in U.S. GAO 2006; Weitzer 2005, 2007; De Cock 2007; Farrell et al. 2010). However, population estimates are vital, and without them policy and government-sponsored counter-measures will be made

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blindfolded.

Although a growing number of counter-trafficking and victim assistance programs are providing some data, a general lack of primary data as well as inconsistencies in measurement have prevented such data from being analyzed or compared in any meaningful way (Laczko and Gramegna 2003). As a result, current estimates on the magnitude and nature of global trafficking activities are not only limited, but may even be misleading (Laczko 2005).

De Cock (2007) pointed out the difficulties in current research and emphasized the importance of establishing trafficking indicators that are consistent; in line with international conventions, national laws, and between various organizations and between countries; and operational and simple. In a recent exhaustive review, Farrell et al. (2010) found considerable deficiencies in the published estimates on methods, data sources, and definitional clarity; so much so that her team of researchers found it difficult to derive any estimates whatsoever on the number of trafficking victims in the United States. Among the major obstacles hindering the estimation of human trafficking in the United States are (1) a lack of systematic information about the existence of victims in areas where human trafficking activities are known to exist and (2) inadequate capacities for identifying and tracking potential victims. Many local law enforcement agencies even doubt the existence of trafficking activities in their communities (Farrell, McDevitt, and Fahy 2008; Newton, Mulcahy, and Martin 2008).

Recognizing the importance of gathering primary data and improving measurement, researchers have made some concerted efforts (Laczko 2005). Examples include UNESCO's Trafficking Statistics Project², the IOM's Counter-Trafficking Module Database³, and the

² Based in Bangkok, the Trafficking Statistics Project is an internet-based database that pools worldwide data on global trafficking activities. Details about this database can be found at <u>http://www.unescobkk.org/culture/cultural-diversity/trafficking-and-hivaids-project/projects/trafficking-statistics-project/</u>.

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Database on Human Trafficking Trends (the Trafficking Database) under the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)⁴. Most notably, ILO (2012) published more updated estimates on the scope of global labor trafficking activities. However these efforts have mostly relied on official counts of trafficking cases. Although important and necessary, victims that come to the attention of authorities or social service organizations only represent the visible fraction of the real problem (Tyldum and Brunovskis 2005).

Moreover, of the limited empirical research on human trafficking, most studies have been qualitative in nature, with researchers spending significant amounts of time in their selected locations developing social contacts and conducting interviews and observations (Gozdziak and Bump 2008). These ethnographic techniques allow researchers to achieve a level of depth and intuitive understanding of the trafficking process that is difficult to accomplish with other research methods. But qualitative methods cannot provide population estimates, and the lack of knowledge of the magnitude of the trafficking problem regionally or internationally remains the weakest link in the current anti-trafficking movement.

De Cock (2007) reviewed several strategies that can help assess the extent of trafficking activities, including national surveys to estimate prevalence, establishment-based surveys to target specific labor sectors, qualitative studies to seek in-depth knowledge of the nature of trafficking victimization, and a national database to gather all cases that come to the attention of police or service organizations. Although rare, there have been some studies which used

³ In 2000, the International Organization for Migration implemented a standardized database, the Counter-Trafficking Module (CTM), that serves as a central depository of primary data collected from around the world on victims of trafficking. Further detail is available at <u>http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/activities/by-</u> theme/regulating-migration/counter-trafficking.

⁴ The database was established under the Global Program against Trafficking in Human Beings (GPAT) in 1999 under the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). This database collects statistics and published reports on trafficking activities issued by NGOs, international organizations, government agencies, as well as news media and academic institutions (UNODC 2006).

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traditional survey methods. The best example was probably a survey conducted by the Gandhi Peace Foundation and National Labor Institute in the late 1970s, which drew a random sample of 1,000 villages from the 10 Indian states where peasants were widely known to be attached to the landowners (Sarma 1981). The study estimated that there were 2.6 million bonded laborers in India. A more recent example was a study conducted in Cambodia, in which researchers used geographic mapping techniques and informant-interviewers to estimate the population of sex trafficking victims in the country (Steinfatt and Baker 2011). The researchers estimated there were roughly 2,000 trafficked women and children in Cambodia, most of whom were in urban areas. However, these studies remain the exception rather than the norm.

III. STUDY DESIGN

If one expects to find labor trafficking activities or slave-like work conditions, one of the most likely places is among unauthorized migrant laborers, whose immigration status puts them at a greater risk of victimization. Traditional survey methods such as telephone interviews or Census-style door-to-door interviews are of little use, due to the lack of a sampling frame. When asking for the details of a worker's potentially traumatizing experiences, the conditions under which they work, and their personal background, trust also becomes an issue. The characteristics of their membership in this group are exactly what keep them hidden, and obviate the development of a sampling frame which is crucial for deriving population estimates. Although much information can be gleaned through the use of convenience sampling, generalizations to the larger population and statistical inference from convenience samples are impossible.

This study uses an innovative sampling method that taps into respondents' own social networks for recruitment purposes. This network-based approach relies on the fact that

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unauthorized migrant laborers know one another as members of the target population, so their ties are reciprocal.

III.A. Looking for Trafficking Victims through Social Networks

Of all the methodological challenges confronting researchers in human trafficking, the most daunting is the hidden nature of the target population (Tyldum and Brunovskis 2005). Since the boundary or size of the target population is unknown, no sampling frame exists to allow traditional survey sampling. However, unless victims are held in total isolation, they will form social networks, some of which extend to the point where access to the target population becomes possible. Network-based referral remains probably the only viable method for reaching labor trafficking victims so long as they maintain some social networks among people like themselves. The best known sampling method using this form of recruitment is snowball sampling, which has long been used by social scientists to find members of hidden populations. The main problem of snowball sampling is that its entry point to the hidden population is either haphazard or convenient (i.e., generated through the researcher's social contacts), thus introducing bias into the recruitment process.

There have been efforts to improve traditional snowball sampling techniques. For instance, Deaux and Callaghan (1985) developed *key informant sampling* which seeks out knowledgeable respondents to report on others' behaviors, rather than self-report. This method can reduce an expert's tendency to provide socially desirable response or downplay his/her own questionable behavior. *Targeted sampling* (Watters and Biernacki 1989) is another method which uses experienced field researchers to map out all areas where a target population may be found and recruit a pre-determined number of subjects at each of a determined number of sites

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on the resulting map. Neither of these two variations is robust enough to produce parametric estimates because the snowball sampling approach with its variations have several inherent problems. First, a sample cannot be randomly drawn and "inferences about individuals must rely mainly on the initial sample, since additional individuals found by tracing chains are never found randomly or even with known biases" (Erickson 1979: 299). Second, those who volunteer to be interviewed have different characteristics from non-volunteers. Therefore both the initial sample and subsequent samples can be affected by the bias of volunteerism (Heckathorn 2002). Third, subjects may be unwilling to recruit others from the hidden population—a process known as "masking," and those who are willing to make referrals will likely recruit their own peers (Heckathorn 2002). Fourth, initial subjects tend to recruit others who are like themselves demographically, introducing a bias called homophily into the sample (Heckathorn 2002). Finally, those with large peer networks (who may be inherently different from those with smaller networks) are likely to dominate the study sample (Heckathorn 2002).

To overcome these limitations, Heckathorn (1997, 2007) developed the *Respondent-Driven Sampling* (RDS) method. This method is based on a mathematical model of the social networks that connect survey respondents and eliminates the biases inherent in previously discussed chain-referral sampling methods. The RDS relies on the Markov property of its structured referral process to achieve diversity and equilibrium (the point at which initial samples no longer mirror later samples) through successive waves of respondent recruitment.⁵ There are several key assumptions in the RDS method: (1) *degree* (i.e., respondents accurately report their degree in the network; (2) *random recruitment* (i.e., respondents recruit at random from their

⁵ The Markov property, named after Russian mathematician Andre Markov, refers to a memoryless process, in which transitions from one stage to the next depend only on the present stage, and not on the sequence of referrals that preceded it. In other words, participants recruited in two to three stages away from the original seed will become independent of the starting point of the referral chain, thus free of bias.

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personal network); (3) *reciprocity* (i.e., network connections are reciprocal); and (4) *convergence* (i.e., because, based on the Markov property, each state has a finite return time, the sample composition becomes independent of the initial seeds in a short number of steps).⁶

This method modifies the traditional snowball sampling in three ways and is thought to allow unbiased estimation of the target population (Volz and Heckerthorn 2008). First, it employs a dual-incentive system whereby subjects are rewarded both for participation and for recruiting others into the study. This approach remunerates respondents not only for the time they spend responding to the survey, but also for each eligible population member they recruit into the survey. To increase the breadth of the social network captured by the sample, subsequent recruitment is limited by a coupon-based quota system, in which an interviewee is only allowed a fixed number of referrals. Second, by using referral coupons, subjects do not have to personally identify referrals to a researcher and the resulting anonymity encourages participation (Heckathorn 1997). Third, since some individuals or groups tend to have more social connections than others, they are more likely to be recruited into a survey. To make the results of an RDS-based survey representative of the whole population (and not of just respondents with large social networks), a systematic weighting scheme is built into the RDS model. The weighting scheme is based on respondents' social network size—that is, based on their probability of being captured by this survey technique—as well as other features of the network which can affect the referral process.

The actual sampling steps are as follows: First, research staff recruit and interview a small number of subjects who serve as sample "seeds." Second, these seeds are offered financial incentives in the form of referral coupons to recruit others into the sample and are rewarded when these recruits complete the interview. Third, the next wave of recruits is offered the

⁶ See Volz and Heckathorn (2008) for a more detailed discussion of these assumptions in the RDS method.

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identical set of incentives for both completing the interview and recruiting additional subjects into the study. Each participant is limited to a predetermined number of referral coupons (e.g., three per study subject) thus limiting biasing the sample towards those with large social networks as well as minimizing potential conflict over the financial incentives associated with highvolume recruiting. Fourth, sampling continues until the targeted community is saturated, or until the desired sample size and "equilibrium" is reached. Equilibrium can be verified empirically, but essentially denotes that the final research subjects recruited no longer have identical characteristics to the initial "seeds."

By confining the recruitment opportunities using this structured process, ensuring diversity is possible and can be empirically verified. Volunteerism is minimized through the use of the dual-incentive system to encourage both participation and recruitment. Such a recruitment procedure also prevents researchers from deliberately seeking out particular subjects. "Masking" is minimized since researchers are not pointed in the direction of group members, but rather, participants are recruited by group members themselves. Homophily is also minimized by limiting recruitment to three subjects per participant, and the principle of Markov chains suggests that equilibrium can be achieved through a relatively small number of waves. Finally, RDS weighting scheme minimizes biases that may be introduced by respondents with larger personal networks.

However, this does not mean that RDS is a fail-proof method. In fact, it is a moderately risky approach for several reasons. First, if not enough waves of data are collected or if waves are too similar to each other and "saturation" is not reached, a much larger sample will be needed and an unbiased result may not be guaranteed (Goel & Slganik 2009). Second, since research subjects are asked to recruit other subjects, there is no way for researchers themselves to

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intensify their efforts or to work harder to make sure the sample is being collected. It is a fairly passive process in which one must wait for recruited subjects to arrive for an interview. However, the use of substantial incentives usually ensures that the referral process will work out. Third, the use of RDS requires a very detailed tracking system which must be continuously monitored and shared among the various recruiters and researchers on a project. RDS is an extremely time-intensive and detail-intensive methodology that must be carefully tracked and updated. This requires some savvy, but there is currently enough of a track record for this methodology that lessons learned have been well documented and can be incorporated into contemporary research efforts.

Despite these potential problems, RDS remains probably the most viable field method to obtain a representative sample of an otherwise "hidden" populations. The core advantage of RDS is the ability to make inferences about the larger population from an initial "convenience sample." In most instances of convenience sampling, one is restricted to making conclusions only about the sample at hand, which is not very useful for trying to gauge the extent of a social problem. For instance, in the case of trying to determine the extent of labor trafficking in a given population, the characteristics of the convenience sample may be highly biased and largely dependent upon the first person contacted, who begins the chain of contacts. Thus, if the initial person (i.e., seed) has a history of trafficking victimization (or lack thereof), it is likely that s/he will refer researchers to other individuals with a similar history. Therefore, convenience samples are almost always biased. RDS allows us to start with a convenience sample that, through a structured process, can ultimately lead to unbiased estimates of the overall target population.

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III.B. Sample Size and Power Analysis

Because this study needed to estimate proportions/percentages (point estimates) and confidence intervals (interval estimates) for various dimensions of human trafficking, our sampling design required a rather complex power analysis. Because no prior labor trafficking studies have used this method and few reliable estimates are available, we had to make several assumptions. Based on a review of previous studies on other topics that used RDS as the primary methodology, a standard design effect for such studies was 2 (Salganik 2006). For our purposes, we proposed a desired sample size (*n*) for a standard error (*se*) of .03, using various assumptions regarding the prevalence of the outcome (P_A) and the ultimate design effect (*deff*), as shown in the following formula:

$$n = deff \bullet \frac{P_A(1 - P_A)}{(se(\hat{P}_A))^2}$$

Based on our power analysis, a sample of 555 was needed to achieve a design effect of 2 with a prevalence of .50. In attempt to be more conservative, our original plan proposed a sample of 625 with a design effect of 3 and an overall prevalence of .25. Furthermore, because we estimated standard errors using a bootstrap methodology, our effective sample size was set at 600, which should accurately estimate the prevalence of various components of trafficking activities. This sample size and its associated power analysis were based on both statistical considerations and field logistics. However, as later discussed, our fielding activities were more successful than we had anticipated, and as a result the final sample size was increased to 826 in completed interviews, more than enough to meet and even exceed any of the computed sample sizes.

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III.C. Instrumentation and Domains of Information

III.C.1. The Current State of Trafficking Research Instruments

One persistent obstacle to valid estimates of labor trafficking is a general lack of consistent and uniform measures available for data collection purposes (De Cock 2007). Both ILO and IOM have in various publications claimed to be conducting studies on labor trafficking in different parts of the world. None have published their instruments for others to adopt or replicate. However, several of their publications have listed specific categories or items that suggest the domains of information to be considered and how such instruments should be constructed.

The Handbook on Anti-Trafficking Data Collection in South-Eastern Europe, developed by the International Center for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD 2008), also provides guidelines for constructing "victim-centered" or "trafficker-centered" databases. For instance, the handbook suggests that forms of trafficking include "sexual exploitation, forced labor, begging, delinquency, adoption, removal of organs," and proper values such as "sexual, physical, psychological" for entries into the databases (ICMPD 2008: 176).

The most elaborate attempt to operationalize indicators of human trafficking has been proposed by the ILO (2009).⁷ Using the Delphi method, essentially a consensus-building exercise among selected experts, ILO conducted two surveys in 2008 to establish a list of operational indicators of trafficking victimization. The Delphi panelists were selected from police, government, academic and research entities, NGOs, and international organizations, labor and trade organizations, and judiciaries from 27 EU member states. Specific indicators were developed along six dimensions graded as "strong," "medium" or "weak:" (1) deceptive recruitment, (2) coercive recruitment, (3) recruitment by abuse of vulnerability, (4) exploitative

⁷ An updated technical manuscript on measuring labor trafficking was issued in 2011 by the ILO.

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conditions of work, (5) coercion at destination, and (6) abuse of vulnerability at destination. ILO also determined that, to qualify as a trafficking victim, a combination of the "experiences" or levels of intensity (i.e., strong, medium, or weak) is needed - an exercise similar to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual used by mental health professionals in the U.S. to render a clinical diagnosis.

The document closest to a survey format is the Screening Interview Form in the IOM Handbook on Direct Assistance for Victims of Trafficking (IOM 2007), in which specific items were made available to assist service providers with screening for trafficking victimization among prospective clients. This screening instrument has thus far recorded approximately 20,000 cases over the decade of 2000-2010 (IOM 2007). However, this is an intake form and not directly suited for survey research.

III.C.2. The San Diego Instrument Development

The questionnaire used in this study (see Appendix A), which has been shared with several researchers in the U.S. and Europe, underwent a rigorous vetting process in its development phase. During its initial development, the instrument was reviewed by the main legal office at the U.S. Department of Justice, which provided comments and suggested a closer alignment with the trafficking legislation in the U.S. and the operational indicators contained in the public announcement pamphlets issued by the Federal agencies. Two Federal agencies, the Department of State and the Department of Health and Human Services, publish pamphlets containing operational indicators on human trafficking.⁸ These pamphlets are intended to raise awareness among immigrants and foreign nationals of their basic human rights and forewarn

⁸ The State Department pamphlet can be found at: <u>http://www.travel.state.gov/pdf/Pamphlet-Order.pdf;</u> and the brochure from Department of Health and Human Services is at: http://www.acf.hhs.gov/trafficking/campaign kits/tool kit social/social service brochure.pdf.

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them on various rights violation situations. Based on the pamphlets and comments from the U.S. DOJ legal office, we revised and expanded the questionnaire to include measures of scholarly interests as well as practitioner-relevant indicators contained in the government documents. The revised version was again submitted to the U.S. DOJ Main for review. No further suggestions were made.

The survey questionnaire was intended to capture different trafficking violations (those that qualify under both international and U.S. government definitions of human trafficking), as well as abusive or exploitative labor practices. The basic format was based on the International Self-Report Delinquency (ISRD) questionnaire - a widely tested and adopted format first developed by criminologists from 15 countries in late 1980s (Junger-Tas et al. 1994; Junger-Tas et al. 2010; Junger-Tas 2010). Because the ISRD format has gone through numerous field applications for more than two decades and become a widely-adopted standardized instrument for measuring delinquent and criminal behaviors, this study borrowed its basic structure, which is designed to measure both the prevalence (i.e., the extent of the problem) and the incidence (i.e., the frequency of victimization) of trafficking activities.

Our survey instrument contains both structured and open-ended items. Structured questions aim at capturing common elements for statistical analysis, such as demographics, trafficking and exploitation experiences, as well as respondents' financial situation. Open-ended questions are included in an effort to capture unique individual experiences regarding specific incidents. The survey instrument covers the following domains of information:

• Demographical characteristics: Age, marital status, number of children (if any), education, place of birth, family members in home country and the U.S., length of time in San Diego and the U.S.

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- Work and earnings: measured for the past month, followed by more general history over the past 12 months, and prior to and after arrival in the U.S. Amount of money made in these periods, amount saved, and/or amount remitted to home country.
- Employment activities in San Diego: Emphasis was placed on interactions with employers, wage negotiations, and payment methods.
- Various measures of trafficking victimization and labor exploitation, including: not being paid for work performed, receiving bad checks, being under-paid, being abandoned at work, hazardous work conditions, extended hours without compensation, no breaks, verbal/physical abuses or threats of abuses, confiscation of documents, and restriction of freedom of movement.
- Migration decision: Under what circumstances the subject came to know his/her recruiter and trafficker, the characteristics of the recruiter, terms and conditions between the subject and the recruiter, and types of arrangements for embarking on the journey. Although we assume most subjects wanted to come to the U.S., it is unclear whether at the time of making the decision to migrate they had any idea of the abuse and exploitation that they might have to face when crossing the border.
- Transportation stage: Description of the trip, including way stations, stopovers or layovers, length of time, and conditions of travel.

III.C.3.Trafficking Violations and Abusive Practices

Because of the overlapping nature of trafficking violations and labor exploitation, this research team took the approach of constructing a wide range of items to capture different levels of human rights violations and unfair treatments of undocumented migrants. Furthermore, two

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time periods were considered with regard to where these violations or abuses took place: (1) during illegal migration, or (2) at the workplace inside the U.S.

Two broad, although sometimes overlapping, categories of measures were constructed in the survey instrument—*trafficking violations* and *abusive practices*. To reduce possible definitional confusion or for the sake of conceptual clarity, a conservative (or narrow) interpretation of what constitutes "trafficking" was adopted in this study. To qualify for *trafficking violations*, the nature of the victimization must include actual/threatened infringement of freedom of movement (e.g., holding a migrant hostage in order to extort ransom during transportation) or actual/threatened violation of one's physical integrity (e.g., physical or sexual assaults). Everything else was grouped under the category of *abusive practices*. Most of these measures are in line with the U.S. government's interpretation of what constitutes labor trafficking, since they are taken directly from the two pamphlets issued by the Federal agencies primarily responsible for current anti-trafficking programs.

Measures of *abusive practices* include any grossly unfair treatment or exploitative practices perpetrated by either a smuggler during transportation or an employer at a workplace, such as forbidding someone from leaving the traveling group during transportation or hazardous work environment without protective gears. Although somewhat subjective, *abusive practices* as measured in this study also included practices that were clearly fraudulent and deceptive, definitional elements present in all international and U.S. legal frameworks. We opted to exclude fraudulent and deceptive practices from the category of *trafficking violations* because we wanted to obtain a set of "clean" measures by focusing on "force" and "coercion". Examples of such fraudulent practices include migrants who were promised to get paid for a certain job but were

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abandoned at the workplace after the work was completed, or were instructed to lie about their employer's identity or their own identity at workplace.

The exact layout of these measurement categories can be found in Appendix B. Although far from perfect, these measures represent the first attempt in the U.S. research community to produce a standard instrument for primary data collection in labor trafficking research. For future data collection or analysis, researchers may consider different ways to configure these categories of measures and decide how to count different violations. For instance, an even stricter or narrower definition may be adopted to count only direct and actual violations of physical integrity or freedom of movement; or a wider definition may be used to include elements of fraud and deception. Many more studies are needed to replicate and improve these measures so that uniform data and comparable estimates can be produced to guide policy discussion and resource allocation in anti-trafficking campaigns.

It should be noted that because the data gathering procedure was self-report (i.e., face-toface interview) in this study, we relied on the subjective evaluation of the participant's own experience. Because of concerns for human subject protection, we made no attempt to either verify their stories among their peers and relatives, or to interview their employers or smugglers. Furthermore, a single incident of violation or abuse would qualify for victimization. We used this counting method because in no other research on crime is repeated exposure required to define victimization.

III.C.4.Pilot Testing and Instrument Refinement

Following its development, the questionnaire went through two additional stages of refinement. First, after its translation into Spanish, staff at the Center for Social Advocacy, the

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community partner of this study, reviewed the questionnaire and compared it with the English version to detect any deviations in the intended meanings. The Spanish translation was adapted for use with Mexican migrants, which included culturally and linguistically-sensitive probes for respondent's idiomatic expressions of labor and travel experiences. The Spanish version was also back-translated into English to ensure fidelity. An item-by-item review of the translation was made by the bilingual project staff, paying special attention to cultural and linguistic adaptations appropriate for the subject population. Following the translation, mock interviews were conducted in Spanish to test the length and flow of the questions. Adjustments and rewording were made based on these efforts.

Second, two focus groups were conducted with unauthorized migrant laborers (six in total) recruited from the project area using the instrument. These focus groups were immediately followed by a debriefing, in which the migrant laborers were asked to comment on the structure, flow, and wording of the questions. Further refinement was made before the instrument was put into field use.

III.D. San Diego as a Major Destination and Transit for Unauthorized Migrant Workers

With a population of more than 3 million, San Diego County is different in several aspects from other major immigrant-receiving urban centers like Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, and New York. It sits on the busiest border crossing with Mexico. More than half of its 200 square miles are designated as rural areas. Having lost much of its traditional manufacturing base since the 1980s, San Diego's economy has expanded in agriculture, construction, and many service sectors that are labor intensive and highly dependent on migrant laborers (Cornelius 1998). San Diego's agricultural and horticultural industry alone generates more than \$1.5 billion

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in crops and flowers annually (California Farm Bureau Federation 2007). No one knows how large the unauthorized immigrant labor force is in San Diego County, but few doubt the heavy dependence of the local economy on these migrant laborers. In a survey of 112 employers in San Diego County conducted in the mid-1990s, Cornelius (1998) found that immigrant workers made up 92 percent of the workforce in agriculture and food processing. One out of five firms in the study reported that more than 90 percent of its local workforce consisted of immigrants, and one out of ten admitted that they had a 100-percent foreign-born labor force (Cornelius 1998).

It should be noted that although there are many other ethnic/racial groups in San Diego who are also unauthorized to be in the U.S. and who work in the underground economy, this study is primarily concerned with Spanish-speaking immigrants from Latin America. For decades, San Diego was used as a corridor for Mexican migrants heading to Los Angeles and other cities to the north and the east (Cornelius 1998). In the past two decades, San Diego County has become an important destination or lengthy layover site for migrant laborers, particularly after much tighter border enforcement was imposed by Operation Gatekeeper in October 1994. Since the 1990's, San Diego has also attracted an increasing number of indigenous people (e.g., Zapotecos and Mixtecos) from Mexico's southwestern-central highland states (Oaxaca, Guerrero, and Puebla). By staying close to the border area, unauthorized migrants can reenter the U.S. faster if they are deported. It is well known in this region that, when detained by border patrol or immigration officials, most unauthorized migrants claim to be residents of Mexicali, Tijuana or some other border towns so they are less likely to be repatriated deep into the interior of Mexico and thus can make it back into the U.S. more quickly.

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III.E. Fielding Activities

III.E.1. Partnering with a Community Agency

The Center for Social Advocacy, a 37-year old civil rights and community service agency located in San Diego County, was a partner in this study. Few community agencies have trusted access to the target population sought by this study. CSA outreach workers have been working actively on human trafficking issues for more than five years and have trained thousands of social service providers, law enforcement officers, and other members of the community on these issues. CSA outreach workers provide hygienic packets and human rights materials to thousands of migrant laborers in San Diego each year.

This study relied on CSA staff to help develop initial seeds and to provide assistance in gaining continued trust from the unauthorized immigrant community in order to allow the referral chain to evolve during the fielding period. This was particularly important during the initial seed development because unauthorized migrant laborers working in different sectors (e.g., agriculture, construction, and landscaping) tend to live and seek employment in different locations in the community. Furthermore, certain sites such as farms, construction sites, or makeshift camps in canyons were not suitable places for interviewing activities. CSA outreach workers arranged alternative environments that were private and safe for both the interviewers and the respondents. CSA staffers were accompanied by university-based research assistants in all interviewing activities.

Although it is not difficult to recruit bilingual research assistants for field activities, outreach skills and experience working with unauthorized migrants are difficult to develop and replicate in a short period of time. Therefore, forming a partnership with an existing community agency became an obvious choice. More importantly, CSA outreach workers in this study were

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once indigenous migrant laborers themselves, and have a deep understanding of the languages and cultural nuances of the target population.

Such collaboration may raise concerns that the researchers will become "less objective" or that the community agency may be self-serving (see Gozdziak 2008). To minimize possible advocacy bias, intensive training workshops were held and instructions on how to conduct the interviews were provided. All interviewers were instructed not to deviate from the structured questions. Furthermore, interviewers were always sent out in pairs (one from CSA and one university research assistant with native fluency in Spanish). Although an expensive field method, such pairing improved both the fidelity of field protocols and the data quality. Traveling in pairs also increased the safety of fielding activities.

III.E.2. Staff Training and Supervision

All project interviewers received intensive training in interviewing techniques, field protocols, and human subject protection procedures. Project interviewers were trained and prepared for paired interviews with community outreach workers from the Center for Social Advocacy. Training workshops involved close reading of the interview instrument so that all interviewers understood the patterns and structures of the questions, and mock interviews until all were comfortable with the flow of the instrument. Weekly staff meetings were held for debriefing purposes during the first six months. Later these meetings were changed to bi-weekly. All interviewers were asked to set aside ample time for reviewing and cleaning up the questionnaire right after the interview.

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III.E.3. Human Subject Protection Issues

We were keenly aware of the sensitive nature of field activities, particularly in a border county where Immigration and Customs Enforcement patrols and checkpoints are commonplace. Detailed field procedures were discussed with our community partner and all project associates were trained to safeguard the welfare of human subjects. Our study design and field protocols were reviewed and approved by the full committee of the university's Institutional Review Board (IRB). A Privacy Certificate was obtained from the funding agency for the protection of study subjects. Extra efforts were made to inform prospective subjects about this study and obtain their consent to ensure that no one, under any circumstances would be deceived or coerced into talking to the interviewers. To protect subjects' confidentiality, only verbal consent was sought. Working in pairs allowed interviewers to monitor each other to ensure that proper field protocols were followed.

III.E.4. Data Collection

Because the climate in San Diego lacks seasonality and agriculture and other migrantconcentrated businesses are year-round, the study did not face the challenge of seasonal fluctuations during recruitment. The RDS sampling began with an initial set of "seeds" recruited the target population through a combination of recruiting strangers at day labor sites and existing community contacts within the social networks of CSA outreach workers. To be eligible for participation in this study, one had to be unauthorized in the U.S. and be working (or worked within) the past 3 months. These "seeds" were given an incentive for the completing the interview, and then given three uniquely numbered dollar-bill sized coupons to pass on to other eligible members within their social networks. The project contact information and the value of

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the coupon were printed on the coupon. These same incentives (an incentive for completing the interview and an incentive for each additional recruit) were offered to each subsequent wave of respondents, with the same restriction of three referral coupons per person.

Table 1 summarizes our RDS fielding activities. There were 16 interview sites spread about the county. The number of interviews completed per week at the sites varied both between sites and over time, as it was up to respondents to choose the interview location. All interviews were conducted with at least two interviewers present. During busy weeks, two pairs of interviewers were typically on site. This study used a total of seven bilingual interviewers who conducted 826 valid interviews. Each subject was paid \$30 for participating in the interview, and given three referral coupons worth \$10 each.

Table 1 about here

The entire fielding period lasted 77 weeks, during which 16 weeks had zero activity due to a lack of referrals and another 15 weeks had fewer than five interviews per week, as shown in Figure 1. Although the team of dedicated interviewers was able to reach and exceed the originally planned sample size, the data collection period was protracted and many nervous weeks went by with few referrals materializing for interviews. During this unproductive period, project interviewers were obliged to wait for referrals to call in to schedule appointments.

Figure 1

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Other than the seeds, all subsequent referrals must call the project phone number to schedule interviews with their coupon numbers. The coordinator then asked a brief set of questions to "pre-screen" for ineligible respondents. Then the coordinator and prospective respondent agreed on an interview site and time, and the interview was scheduled. At the time of the interview, each coupon was checked against the roster and recorded both on the instrument and on a master roster. Typically, an interview began with a naturalistic conversation to inquire about the respondent's migration history and family back in Mexico. During this warm-up phase, the interviewers were careful to screen out ineligible candidates who attempted to participate for the money. However, it should be noted that although the staff was skilled at assessing eligibility, we ultimately relied on the participants' honesty when disclosing their immigrant status and employment situation.

We initially developed nine seeds in the Vista area of northern San Diego, an area known for its many farm businesses. Figure 2 describes how the interviews were distributed across the county. As the circles in Figure 2 suggests, the vast majority of the respondents came from the most densely populated areas in San Diego County. There were only a few sporadic interviews in the interior regions of the county where there were many Indian reservations.

Figure 2 about here

We also noticed early in the fielding activities that few respondents in northern San Diego knew people in the southern part of the county. Once the total number of interviews approached 300, a decision was made to develop additional seeds in the southern part of the County. As a result of this decision, nine additional seeds were developed in South County and

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referrals began to come in from this area. The same pattern of referrals was also found true in South County: few were making referrals in the north. Although all respondents met the eligibility criteria, we wondered if the unauthorized immigrant population mirrored the regular population divide in San Diego County where people generally refer themselves as living in North County or South County. There seems to be an invisible divide that separates undocumented migrant populations between these two regions. Figure 3 presents a visual image of how the unauthorized immigrant networks clustered around two main regions in the county.

Figure 3 about here

IV. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

IV.A. Analytical Approach

RDS uses information collected during the sampling process to quantify features of the social network connecting respondents, and then uses these features to make inferences about population composition (Salganik and Heckathorn 2004). Each respondent's personal network size is measured in the survey, and the recruitment patterns that link respondents to one another are tracked. For instance, the RDS analysis tracks if a respondent makes referrals only to others with similar trafficking experiences or if women are more likely to recruit other women. This information allows us to produce estimates that adjust for each individual's probability of being recruited into the sample and the non-random patterning of social networks.⁹ We did not detect strong network clustering on critical dimensions such as industry, occupation, employer, and most importantly, workplace violations themselves.

⁹ See Heckathorn (2007) for a description of the RDS estimator used for our analysis.

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Our goal was to estimate the prevalence (proportion/percentage) of key indicators relating to labor trafficking, coercion, and deceptive employment practices. Beyond generating a simple point estimate, we also generated a confidence interval that estimates the true population parameter, or the prevalence of a given trafficking indicator in the overall population. Several analytical steps were involved in this process. First, we created sample weights that were a function of the wave of interview (a respondent's "wave number" in terms of how many chains down the line) as well as the personal network size of each respondent. This weighting procedure is discussed briefly above and in detail elsewhere (Salganik and Heckathorn 2004). Second, after weighting the data, we generate a simple point estimate (proportion/percentage) for each of our key labor trafficking indicators. Third, we generated standard errors using conventional boot-strapping techniques in which a sampling distribution for our point estimate was simulated through repeated sampling of our survey sample. This sampling distribution was used to estimate a standard error, one which is usually slightly larger than a conventional standard error typically based on the assumption of a normal distribution and probability sampling. Finally, the point estimate of the sample proportion and the standard error of the estimate were used to create a confidence interval at conventional levels (e.g., 95% CI). These confidence intervals are used to make inferential statements about the true rate of human trafficking in the overall population of labor migrants in San Diego.

IV.A.1. RDS Estimates

For the current study, RDSAT software was used to generate the estimates (<u>http://www.respondentdrivensampling.org/</u>). RDS estimates were calculated based by taking into account multiple pieces of information gathered from the structured referral process: the

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recruiter and his/her characteristics, the recruited and their characteristics. This information was used to quantify and account for sample bias due to non-random network structure. Furthermore, all respondents were asked to report the size of their network, thus the inclusion probability of an individual can be calculated in proportion to the number of people in the target population he or she is connected to, termed his or her degree (Volz and Heckathorn 2008). The following tables present the RDS estimates of the proportions of victims in the target population, together with the upper and lower margins at 95% confidence intervals in brackets. The sample proportions are also included.

IV.A.2. Homophily Tests

Homophily scores were generated for all variables in the data to assess the possible biases of the network-based referral process and the robustness of the sample estimates. Homophily here refers to the tendency of a respondent to recruit from his or her own group to recruit others like themselves, a problem of the traditional network-based sampling procedure. Homophily scores are a proxy of equilibrium in a simulated Markov chain model to verify if recruited subjects have become independent of the seed (i.e., the starting point of the referral chain), or that all members of a network have equal probability of being recruited (Salganik and Heckathorn, 2004).

Homophily scores vary between -1 (completely heterophilous—recruiting someone completely opposite of oneself) and +1 (completely homophilous—recruiting someone identical to themselves). Homophily scores in either direction that are greater than .30 would require closer interpretation for a lack of diversity. Further, the RDS weighting scheme is inverse to the network size of all waves prior to the final wave, that is, downward weights are assigned to those

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with larger social networks. Ultimately, all of the weighting used to minimize the biases in the initial seeds as well as the bias associated with favoring those with larger network sizes would be absorbed into the design effect. In short, RDS ensures that an unbiased sample is achieved through equilibrium of the Markov Chains of respondents. The RDS weighting schemes are discussed in detail elsewhere (Heckathorn 1997; 2002; Salganik and Heckathorn 2004) and have been used with success in various research settings (Malekinejad et al. 2008).

Each variable and its values in the questionnaire were examined to obtain their homophily scores. A total of 366 specific values based on 119 variables in the questionnaire were examined, and only 9 values were found to exceed .30, which suggests possible homophily problems. All high homophily scores had reasonable explanations, such as respondents who lived in canyons recruited mostly others living in canyons (.485); and agricultural laborers were more likely to recruit other farmworkers (.551).¹⁰ Overall, we believe the structured referral process worked out very well in this study.

IV.B. Demographic Profiles

Table 2 presents the RDS estimates of the demographic profiles of the target population, with upper and lower ranges at 95% confidence intervals in brackets, as well as the sample proportions. The following discussion will only describe RDS estimates, as they are adjusted for potential bias and are considered superior to sample statistics.

Table 2 about here

¹⁰ Detailed homophily scores for all variables are available upon request.

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Based on the data we collected, we estimate that the unauthorized Spanish-speaking workforce in San Diego County consists of 52% male and 48% female, as shown in Table 2. The average age for this population is about 33.48 (with a low of 32.77 and high of 34.21). About 45% of the population is 30 years of age or younger. As expected, the overall education attainment is low in this population. More than 20% have no formal education, and close to two thirds have reached junior high or less. Only 12% or so have a high school diploma.

Because our fielding activities primarily targeted Spanish-speaking populations, it was not surprising that 98% of our respondents were Mexican. Of the remaining 2%, one subject was Sudanese and one subject refused to identify his country of origin (although he spoke Spanish). As will be discussed later in the design limitations, we suspect that our study may have oversampled Mexicans due to the fact that unauthorized immigrants tend to have close-knit and insulated networks that favor in-group referrals. On the other hand, we made no attempt to influence the referral process or suggest to whom an interviewee should give out his/her three recruitment coupons. Mexicans are clearly the largest Spanish-speaking ethnic group in San Diego County and there are no known neighborhoods or communities in San Diego that are dominated by other Latin American immigrants. It is therefore not surprising that our referral chain did not encounter pockets of other Latin Americans. Additional empirical data are needed to gain precise estimates of the proportion of Mexicans among unauthorized Spanish-speaking immigrants in San Diego County. Based on the spread of our fielding activities and extent (or reach) of networks, we are at least confident that our sample had an accurate representation of unauthorized Mexican immigrants in San Diego County.

Among the target population, more than half (52%) were either married or lived with a partner; 40% of them were single; and 7% are widowed, divorced or separated. Most of these

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unauthorized immigrants had at least one child (about 70%), and 17% of them have four or more children.

As expected, the primary language spoken at home for this population was Spanish (93%). Of the remaining 7% of respondents, the primary languages spoken at home included Mixteco, Zapoteco, and Hahuatl. In general, English language skills among this population were low. One in five respondents spoke no word of English, 27% could manage a few simple words, and another 23% could speak simple sentences in English. A sizeable group, 29%, claimed that their English is proficient or even fluent. This is not surprising, judging from the length of time the respondents had lived in San Diego. About one third of study subjects have lived in San Diego for 11 years or longer.

With regard to living arrangements, the majority of respondents (68%) rent their own apartments, trailers, or houses, and another 21% rent living space from their friends or families. A small but noticeable number of these unauthorized immigrants (about 6%) are either homeless or live in canyons.

These migrant laborers find jobs in a wide range of fields, mostly in low-skilled sectors. The top two usual occupations were agriculture (22%) and janitorial/cleaning jobs (22%), followed by food processing (17%), and construction (12%).

IV.B.1. Within-County Comparison

As shown in our referral chain and discussed earlier, our North County referrals were unable to penetrate the geographical barriers to reach South County. In fact San Diego County seems to have two distinct unauthorized immigrant communities, one in the north and one in the south. Most agricultural businesses are located in North County, while the south is dominated by

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service industries such as janitorial/cleaning and food processing. As a result, although all respondents share the same eligibility criteria for inclusion in the study, there are a few noticeable differences that are likely tied to the formation of the immigrant community and the nature of available jobs. As shown in Table 3, there are more males (58%) in North County than females (42%), whereas the reverse is true in South County (46% males vs. 54% females). The educational attainment is also lower in the north (with no formal schooling at 29% and only elementary school education at 41%) than in the south (with no formal schooling at 17% and elementary school education at 28%).

Table 3 about here

The English language skills were also much lower among unauthorized migrant laborers in North County where two thirds spoke either no English or only a few words. In contrast, two thirds of the respondents in South County could manage simple sentences or are proficient in English. Unauthorized immigrants in South County also have lived in San Diego longer than their northern counterparts. We estimate that 47% of the population have lived in San Diego for 11 or more years, compared to 28% among the North County population.

The most striking differences between the two networks of unauthorized immigrants are their occupations. Based on our collected data, we estimate that 46% of the unauthorized immigrants in North County find work in agriculture, compared to only 5% in South County. On the other hand, 57% of the unauthorized immigrants from South County are in service industries such as janitorial services or food processing, compared to 14% in North County. There are also

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more construction workers in the South (16%) than the North (6%). In general there is more of a variety of low-wage jobs in the south than the north.

IV.C. Prevalence of Trafficking Victimization and Exploitative Practices

The central task of this study was to produce estimates on the scale of trafficking violations and abusive labor practices among unauthorized Spanish-speaking immigrant workers. Table 4 presents an overview of the main findings on these key outcome measures. Composite measures were created to summarize detailed trafficking violations and abusive practices either by smugglers during transportation or by employers at workplace. Both RDS estimates and observed sample statistics are included in Table 4.

Table 4 about here

Four broad categories of composite outcomes are detailed here to summarize the victimization experiences of unauthorized workers in San Diego County's underground labor market:

 <u>Any violation</u>, which combines all measures of trafficking violations and abusive transportation or labor practices. Respondents may have been victims of either human trafficking or abusive transportation/labor practices, or both. The majority (58%) of the unauthorized immigrant population currently in the work force have experienced at least one type of trafficking violation or abusive practices. This summary index is further broken down into two sub-index measures:

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- a. Trafficking violation, which combines all victimization experiences that can meet the official interpretation of human trafficking, namely, any threatened or actual deprivation of physical/communicative freedom. As discussed earlier, activities involving fraud and deceptions were excluded from the trafficking violations in the current analysis. Based on the data we collected, we estimate that about 31% of the unauthorized migrant laborers in San Diego County have been victims of human trafficking.
- b. Abusive practice, which combines any experiences of abuse or gross exploitation but may not meet the official definition of human trafficking. We estimate that about 55% of the unauthorized immigrant population in San Diego County have been abused either during transportation to San Diego or at a work place in the U.S.

Figure 4 below presents a quick visual summary of our estimated extent of victimization by these main measurement categories among authorized Spanish-speaking immigrant workers in San Diego County. The percentages are RDS estimates that are adjusted to correct potential biases that might be in the observed sample proportions.

Figure 4 about here

 Smuggler violation, which combines all abuses and trafficking violations while being smuggled into the U.S. or into San Diego. These abuses are perpetrated by smugglers (or human smugglers). We estimate that among those who traveled with a smuggler to enter the U.S., only 6% had experienced a trafficking violation, while 20% endured abusive

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practices. About 23% of the unauthorized migrant workers who hired smugglers to help them enter the U.S. were victimized when both categories are combined (i.e., any violation or abuse). Figure 5 below presents a visual summary of the extent of victimization among unauthorized laborers who hired smugglers to cross into the U.S. These percentages are RDS-adjusted estimates of the proportion of the unauthorized working population who are victims in the hand of their smugglers during migration.

Figure 5

- 3. <u>Employer violation</u>, which combines all trafficking violations and abusive labor practices. Based on the data we collected, we estimate that about 52% of the unauthorized immigrant workers in San Diego have been victims of either trafficking violations or abusive labor practices. This index is further broken down into two subcategories:
 - a. Trafficking violation, which combines all victimization experiences that meet the official interpretation of human trafficking, namely, any threatened or actual deprivation of physical/communicative freedom. Based on our collected data, we estimate that about 28% of the unauthorized Spanish-speaking immigrants in San Diego are victims of trafficking violations at work place.
 - b. Abusive labor practice, which combines any experience of abuse or gross exploitation at the work place that do not meet the level of the official trafficking definition. We estimate that about 49% of the unauthorized immigrant workforce in San Diego County has been victims of abusive labor practices.

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Figure 6 below presents a visual summary of the victimization experiences among unauthorized migrant workers in San Diego. Again, the percentages reflect RDS estimates of the proportion of the unauthorized labor force who are victims of trafficking violations or abusive labor practices.

Figure 6 about here

- 4. <u>Type of violation at workplace</u>, which groups various trafficking violations and abusive practices into four broad sub-categories:
 - a. Threat to physical integrity, which measures actual or threatened violation of one's physical integrity. Based on our data, we estimate that about 15% the unauthorized Spanish-speaking immigrant workers in San Diego have been victims of these trafficking violations.
 - **Restriction or deprivation**, which measures different forms of physical deprivation or restriction. We estimate that about 22% of the unauthorized Spanish-speaking immigrant workers in San Diego County have been victims of physical restriction or deprivation of some kind.
 - c. Deception/lies, which combines measures of deceptive practices or fraudulent claims perpetrated by employers. We estimate that 28% of the unauthorized Spanish-speaking immigrant workers in San Diego County have been subjected to such abusive labor practices.
 - d. **Abusive practice**, which combines any less serious but abusive or exploitative labor practices perpetrated by employers. We estimate that 45% of the

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unauthorized Spanish-speaking immigrant workers in San Diego County have experienced some form of abusive labor practices.

Figure 7 provides a visual summary of these different types of violations and abuses perpetrated by employers. The percentages are RDS-adjusted estimates of the population parameters. Observed sample proportions can be found in Table 4.

Figure 7 about here

IV.C.1. Within-County Comparison

When comparing data gathered from North County to those of South County, we again find a few marked differences, as shown in Table 5. In general, unauthorized immigrant laborers in South County experienced greater numbers of trafficking violations and employment-related abuses (65%) than their northern counterparts (50%). With the exception of smugglerperpetrated violations, respondents in South County reported higher rates of trafficking victimization and abusive labor practices in all other indexed categories.

Table 5 about here

Based on the collected data, we estimate that 62% of unauthorized Spanish-speaking immigrant workers in South County have been victims of trafficking violations and/or abusive labor practices at workplace, compared to 39% in North County. For trafficking-only violations, about 37% of the South County unauthorized immigrant workers have been victims, compared to

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17% in North County. For abusive labor practices, the victimization rate in South County is 60%, compared to 36% in the north.

There are also marked differences when we examine the different types of employer violations. The victimization rate for *threat to physical integrity is* 19% in the south and 9% in the north. The victimization rate for *restriction/deprivation* is 29% in the south and 12% in the north. The victimization rate for *deception/lies* is 38% in the south and 16 in the north. For *other abusive labor practices*, the rate of victimization is 56% in the south and 31% in the north.

Further analysis of the data is needed to tease out the differences in trafficking victimization rates between the northern and southern parts of the county. We have noticed that migrant laborers in agricultural businesses have the lowest rate of trafficking victimization and abusive labor practices among all other major occupations in San Diego, while those employed in janitorial services and landscaping have the highest rates. The likelihood of trafficking victimization and abusive labor practices vary across different occupations. Much more nuanced analysis and more research are needed to understand how different employment environments may impact the likelihood of trafficking victimization.

IV.C.2. Smuggler Violations and Within-County Comparison

Because of San Diego's proximity to Mexico, many unauthorized migrant laborers often develop their own routes to cross into the U.S. either through California or along other southern states. Not all unauthorized immigrants from Latin America use smuggler services. Based on our collected data, we estimate that about 85% of unauthorized immigrant laborers hire smugglers to help them enter the U.S., as shown in Table 6. There are again some regional differences inside San Diego County. Unauthorized workers in South County are less likely to use smugglers (78%)

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than their northern counterparts (94%). This difference reflects perhaps the higher number of uneducated farm laborers in North County. There appears to be a greater need among unauthorized workers in northern San Diego to hire smugglers when crossing into the U.S.

Table 6 about here

As shown in Table 6, about 23% of those who traveled with smugglers were victims of some form of abuse perpetrated by their smugglers. Among those who traveled with smugglers, we estimate that unauthorized workers in North County are slightly more likely to be victims of trafficking violations or other abusive practices (25%) than their southern counterparts (21%) during transportation. Overall, as shown in Table 4 earlier, we estimate that unauthorized workers are more likely to encounter trafficking violations and abusive practices at workplace (52%) than during migration (23%).

IV.C.3. Trafficking Violation and Abusive Practices at the Work Place, by Occupation

For the purposes of straightforward statistical presentation, this study examined six industries where unauthorized Spanish-speaking immigrants most likely find jobs (i.e., agriculture, construction, landscaping, janitorial and cleaning services, food processing, and manufacturing) and collapsed the rest into the "other" category. We find that construction, food processing, and janitor/cleaning are the top three business sectors that are rife with trafficking violations and abusive labor practices. Figure 8 below presents a visual summary of how our estimates of trafficking and abusive labor practices vary across these different occupations. The

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percentages shown are the RDS estimates on the proportion of victimization rates among the target population. The observed sample proportions can be found in Table 7.

Figure 8 about here

As shown in Table 7, respondents working in construction experienced the highest rate of both trafficking violations (35%) and abusive labor practices (63%). Among respondents working in janitorial and cleaning businesses, 36% reported trafficking violations and 59% reported abusive labor practices. Landscaping businesses were not far behind, with about 27% of respondents in this group reporting trafficking violations and 60% reporting abusive labor practices.

In comparison, agriculture, which is mostly in northern San Diego, had the fewest incidents of trafficking violations and abusive labor practices. Based on the data collected, we estimate that the rate of trafficking violations among unauthorized laborers in agriculture is 16%, and the rate of abusive labor practices is about 27%.

Table 7 about here

IV.C.4. Type of Trafficking Violations and Abusive Practices at the Workplace

We also looked at the type of violations and abuses at workplaces across different industries and found some interesting patterns. We grouped the various trafficking violations and gross exploitative labor practices into four broad categories: (1) threat to physical integrity,

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which mostly measures actual or threatened assault to one's physical body (such as being locked at the workplace or unwanted sexual advances), (2) restriction and deprivation, which primarily refers to restrictions imposed by employers on unauthorized workers' physical or communicative freedom (such as not being allowed to leave the workplace after hours or to communicate freely with families or friends); (3) deception and lies, which include false statements or fraudulent representation either made by an employer or that unauthorized workers are asked to make (such as unexpected work conditions and being asked by an employer to lie about one's identity); and (4) abusive labor practices, which intend to capture all other less serious but grossly exploitative labor practices (such as wage theft and workplace abandonment). Detailed measures and how they are grouped can be found in Appendix B. Table 8 presents how these four groups of trafficking violations and abusive labor practices are distributed across different industries.

Table 8 about here

Threats to physical integrity. Food processing leads the pack with a reported victimization rate of about 20% among the unauthorized workforce, followed by construction with a reputed rate of 17%, and janitorial services with a reported rate of 17%. Ten percent of respondents in agriculture reported victimization, as did 6% of respondents working in manufacturing.

Restriction/deprivation. Twenty-seven percent of respondents working in janitorial/cleaning services and construction reported restriction/deprivation trafficking violations, as did 24% of those working in landscaping. Agriculture had the lowest rate of victimization for measures of restriction and deprivation, at 12%.

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Deception and lies. Janitorial and cleaning workers reported the highest rate of victimization, at 43%, followed by respondents working in construction (37%). The lowest rate of victimization was reported by respondents working in agriculture at 11%.

Abusive labor practices appear to be rather common in several business sectors. This category had consistently higher rates of victimization across all occupations measured in this study. This is not surprising because this category measures mostly labor law compliance problems that are often found in low-wage and unregulated sectors of the labor market. As shown in Table 8, the victimization rates among these abuses are often twice as high as those found in other trafficking violations.

At least three specific industries (construction, landscaping, and janitorial services), as well as the "other" category, had victimization rates well above 50%. Construction and landscaping had the highest rates, and we estimate the rate of victimization in these sectors could be as high as 70% (upper estimates at 95% confidence intervals). Agriculture again had the lowest reported rate of victimization at 25%.

IV.C.5. Estimates on Specific Trafficking Violations and Abusive Practices

To encourage comparative analysis from other researchers who have produced their own estimates or will be collecting their own primary data, the following table (i.e., Table 9) lists estimates on all specific trafficking violation and abusive practice measures, together with their upper and lower limits at 95% confidence intervals. The goal of this detailed table is to enable other researchers who may have the same or similar measures of labor trafficking to make a reasonable comparison. This is particularly true if primary data are gathered using the RDS

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method or even probability-based sampling strategies where population parameters can be estimated.

Additionally, researchers may also combine these measures into different configurations to form their own index variables. We have proposed four main types of violation or abuses as presented above; but more nuanced analysis can be achieved through different indexing methods. For instance, as shown in Table 9, more serious violations, such as physical or sexual assault at the workplace are less frequent than less serious violations such as threats of deportation. On the other hand, abusive labor practices such as denied payment or bad checks are far more common than most other types of violations.

Table 9 about here

Because we have found regional barriers in our referral process between the north and south county, the table includes both the RDS estimates based on the total sample as well as two sub-samples (i.e., the North and South counties), together with their effective sample sizes. Based on our fielding activities and data analysis, we suspect that there may be two large unauthorized workforces in San Diego County, one in the north mostly dominated by agricultural migrant laborers and one in the south comprised of workers various service industries. The fact that both networks were largely independent of each other and that our structured referrals failed to connect the two areas points to the importance of developing original seeds in different locations of the county, as we did in this study.

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IV.C.6. Trafficking and Abusive Incidents within Past 12 Months

In addition to our estimate of the prevalence of trafficking violations and abusive practices among undocumented migrant workers in San Diego County, we have also examined the recency of these incidents. As a follow-up question, we asked the respondents who answered yes to any of the trafficking or abuse items if the incident took place within the past 12 months. Based on our observed sample proportions, we estimate that close to half (49.4%) of these victims have experienced trafficking violations within the past 12 months; and 53% experienced abusive practices perpetrated either by smugglers or employers, as shown in Table 10.

Table 10 about here

IV.D. Risk Profiles

We conducted preliminary examinations into how individual characteristics may differentially expose these unauthorized immigrant workers to the risk of trafficking victimization. By running logit models, we explored the different configurations of variables that may affect the odds ratios of being victimized either by smugglers during transportation or by employers at the workplace. In particular, two conceptual models are proposed here to guide our analysis: (1) level of acculturation, and (2) financial pressure.

First, we posit that greater understanding of the culture of the host country and mastery of the English language will reduce one's trafficking victimization. As shown in Table 11, we include education, English ability, the number of times respondent crossed into the U.S., number of times respondent was able to negotiate pay with prospective employers, and years in San Diego. We include the five composites as the dependent variables: any violation, trafficking

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violation, abusive practice, smuggler violation, and employer violation. Because the data in this study were gathered through Respondent-Driven Sampling, the model does not meet the standard regression requirement that respondents be drawn randomly and independent of one another. To adjust for any correlation between the recruiter's and recruit's value (due to bias from the referral process), we included an adjustment variable: each respondent's recruiter's value for the outcome variable. Our statistical model seems to have a good fit. However, the overall variances explained by the models, as indicated by the pseydo- R^2 , are rather modest, with values all below .10. The only variable that shows rather consistently significant effect is the "simple sentences" category under English language ability. Unauthorized immigrant workers who can only speak "simple sentences" are at much greater risk of being victimized than any other level of language skills, in contrast with those who speak no English or those who are fluent. Perhaps these migrant laborers are more likely to expand their job search thus entering greater number of risky situations but their language skills are not good enough to screen for unscrupulous employers.

Being in North County San Diego reduces one's chances of being victimized by employers, which we believe is primarily related to working in agriculture, the largest industry that hires unauthorized workers in the region. The largest number of unauthorized workers who speak no English or only a few words are also found in North County and in agriculture.

Table 11 about here

Secondly, we hypothesize that greater financial pressure increases unauthorized immigrant workers' susceptibility to unscrupulous smugglers and employers, and results in

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higher rates of being victimized. For this analysis, we include gender, marital status, number of children, and whether one sends money home regularly as the exogenous variables. The same five dependents are again included in the models. Again, as in the earlier analysis, because these models do not meet the standard regression requirement that respondents be drawn randomly and independent of one another, we included each respondent's recruiter's value for the outcome variable to adjust for any correlation between the recruiter's and recruit's value.

As shown in Table 12, although our statistical models fit well, the overall variances explained again seem rather small, as shown in the pseydo- R^2 values. As with the models presented above, few variables appear to affect the risk of victimization by smugglers. Being in North County San Diego significantly reduces one's chances of being victimized by employers, which we believe is mostly related to being in agriculture, the largest industry that hires unauthorized workers in North County. Because we have little information about the characteristics of the employers, we cannot adequately account for the low victimization rates in agriculture compared to other business sectors. Additional research is needed to explore why agriculture has consistently lower rates of trafficking violations and abusive labor practices than other business sectors.

Table 12 about here

At this stage, our statistical analysis is mostly limited to descriptive estimates of the population parameters. We are only beginning to apply inferential statistical models. We will continue to examine the relationships between different industries and the characteristics of

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individual workers to better understand the likelihood of victimization among different groups of unauthorized workers.

V. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This study demonstrates that the RDS method can be successfully applied to studying labor trafficking activities in well-defined geographical regions with known concentrations of unauthorized immigrant populations. Labor trafficking victimization, as operationalized in this study, was found to be rampant among unauthorized Spanish-speaking immigrant workers in San Diego County. Based on our data, we estimate that more than 30% of our target populations are victims of labor trafficking, and 55% are victims of abusive labor practices or gross exploitations. Moreover, when we looked into the timeframe of the reported incidents, about half of all trafficking violations or abusive labor practices were encountered within the past 12 months. In other words, these incidents are not isolated incidents, but common and frequent occurrences.

Trafficking violations and abuses at the workplace or during transportation varied in nature. In general, violations and abuses inflicted by smugglers during transportation were far less frequent than those perpetrated by employers at the workplace. Only 6% of respondents who traveled with smugglers reported trafficking violations during transportation, compared to about 28% of respondents who reported experiencing violations at the workplace. Even when all violations and abuses are lumped together, the rate of victimization during transportation was only 23%. In comparison, the combined rate of trafficking violations and abusive labor practices perpetrated by employers at the workplace was 52%. As expected, threats to physical integrity, such as actual or threatened violence, were far less frequent than other serious offenses (see Table 4).

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Occupational differences in the rate of trafficking violation and labor abuses were also noted. Unauthorized migrant laborers working in agriculture reported the lowest rate of victimization. Workers in construction and janitorial services reported the highest number of trafficking violations and labor abuses. It is unclear as to why agriculture has the lowest level of victimization. Based on our conversations with laborers working in the farms in North County, we suspect that the insulated and close-knit network of migrant farmworkers may inadvertently serve as a protective factor. Those who seek agricultural work in northern San Diego typically are mostly farmers themselves from the interior of Mexico, mostly from the state of Oaxaca. Much of the knowledge about the nature of the farm work and pay rate has been well established in the farmworker community. Furthermore, there is little competition in San Diego County for farm jobs, which attract mostly poorly educated migrants who speak little or no English. In other words, familiarity with farm work and a relatively limited labor pool in a close-knit farmworker community make it difficult for farm owners to abuse their work crews.

In comparison, there is more diversity in other service-oriented industries. The differences in pay and employment conditions may also vary tremendously from business to business. The fragmented labor market and the diversity in the job requirements make it easy for unscrupulous employers to take advantage of unauthorized workers. Data gathered in this study, which focused on the experiences of migrant laborers, are inadequate to answer these employer-based questions. Needless to say, much more data are needed to explain the observed variations in trafficking violations across different occupations.

V.A. Estimate of Unauthorized Population and Trafficking Victimization

Assuming that the RDS sample here represents the unauthorized population from Latin

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America (or at least from Mexico) in San Diego County, the next logical step is to estimate the size of the unauthorized immigrant population in this area so that the victimization rate can be applied to estimate the number of victims. Recall that the RDS method does not estimate the size of a hidden population, unlike the capture-recapture sampling method. Furthermore, since there are no representative national data on labor trafficking, one might infer the size of the victim population based on what we learned in San Diego County. Although one may argue on the ground of ecological fallacy that a local sample cannot be generalized to the national level, we argue that the San Diego data provide empirical evidence that labor trafficking and abusive labor practices may indeed be common in areas where there are large numbers of unauthorized immigrants in the unregulated workforce. At the minimum, findings in this study can serve as a reference for empirical studies elsewhere in the nation. If the same or similar rates of victimization are found elsewhere in the U.S., the number of labor trafficking victims may indeed be staggering.

According to the statistics published by the Pew Hispanic Center, there are about 11.2 million unauthorized immigrants in the U.S., of which about 8 million (or about 71%) are in the work force (Passel and Cohn, 2011).¹¹ Mexicans comprise the largest group of the nation's unauthorized immigrant population, accounting for about 58% (or 6.5 million in total and about 4.6 million in the workforce); immigrants from other nations in Latin America account for another 23% (or 2.6 million in total and 1.9 million in the work force). Passel and Cohn (2011)

¹¹ The most cited estimates of unauthorized immigrant populations in the U.S. are produced by two entities—the Pew Hispanic Center (PHC) and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). The most frequently used data sources for estimating unauthorized immigrant population are the American Community Survey, used by DHS, and the Current Population Survey, used by PHC. However, because neither data source directly gathers data on the respondents' legal status but whether they were foreign-born, the estimates are indirect, by subtracting the legal residents from the counts of all foreign-born in the CPS or ACS. The remaining, or residual, foreign-born becomes the basis for the estimates of unauthorized immigrants. Although different in how they determine the legal status of the respondents, both estimates are close to each other (see Passel & Cohn 2011; and Hoefer, Rytina, & Bryan Baker, 2012).

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further estimate that California has nearly a quarter of the unauthorized immigrant population in the nation or 2,550,000 (or 6.8% of the state's total population).

County-level estimates of unauthorized immigrant population are difficult to find. None of the national studies provide county-level details. Furthermore, San Diego does not figure in the top 10 metropolitan areas with the largest numbers of unauthorized immigrants so few demographers have attempted to estimate the ethnic composition among its undocumented populations.¹² However, we located two publications that provided somewhat different estimates on the size of the unauthorized population in San Diego County. Using data derived primarily from the March Supplement to the Current Population Survey (CPS) for 2000–2004, Census 2000, and earlier decennial censuses, Fortuny, Capps and Passel (2007) estimated the unauthorized population in San Diego in 2003-2004 to be 100,260, or about 3.5% of the total San Diego County population (2,889,000 at the time); 66% of them were Mexican.

Using the residual method used by demographers at the Pew Hispanic Center and the Department of Homeland Security to estimate unauthorized immigrants at the national and state level, Hill and Johnson (2011) attempted to produce county level estimates by including additional administrative data (i.e., tax return data based on Individual Tax Identification Number (ITIN)), which is believed to be used mostly by unauthorized immigrant workers in the U.S.¹³ According to Hill and Johnson (2011), the ITIN data, released by the IRS based on zip codes, provide greater precision for estimating unauthorized immigrants in the workforce. Using 2008 data, Hill and Johnson (2011) estimated that there were 2,876,000 unauthorized immigrants

¹² The ten metropolitan areas with largest unauthorized immigrants are Los Angeles, New York, Dallas, Chicago, Houston, Phoenix, Washington, D.C., Atlanta, Orange, and Riverside–San Bernardino (Fortuny, Capps, & Passel, 2007).

¹³ Since 1996, the IRS devised the Individual Tax Identification Number (ITIN) for federal tax filing purposes for the large number of unauthorized immigrants in the workforce in the U.S. ITIN does not confer any benefits or credits that legal residents and U.S. citizens enjoy with their Social Security Numbers (Hill and Johnson 2011).

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in California, or 7.8% of state's total population of 36,756,000 (based on 2008 ACS estimate). According to Hill and Johnson (2011), the estimated total unauthorized population in San Diego County was 198,000, or 6.6% of the total population, nearly double the size of the earlier estimate.

Although the methodology used by Hill and Johnson (2011) appears to have greater precision, they did not have the data to estimate the ethnic composition of the unauthorized population at the county level. To derive the total number of unauthorized Mexican population in San Diego or California, we returned to the most recent estimates provided by the Pew Hispanic Center study, which indicated that between 81% and 95% of unauthorized immigrants in California are Mexicans (Passel and Cohn 2011). We applied the midpoint of the two percentages (i.e., 88%) to derive the total number of unauthorized Mexicans in San Diego County. Since not all unauthorized Mexicans are working, we need to adjust for the share of unauthorized Mexicans in the labor market. According to the Pew Hispanic Center study, 8 of the 11.2 million unauthorized immigrants in the U.S. or 71.43% are in the workforce. We then apply this proportion to the estimated unauthorized Mexicans in California and then San Diego County to arrive at the number of unauthorized Mexicans in the workforce. The final step is to apply the trafficking victimization rate to the number of unauthorized immigrants in the workforce to arrive at the estimate of the total trafficking victims in San Diego County, as shown in Table 13.

Table 13 about here

In sum, we used 198,000, the number provided by Hill and Johnson (2011) as the base

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number of unauthorized immigrants in San Diego County. Then we used the 88% (the midpoint of two estimates provided by Passel and Cohn, 2011) to derive an estimate of the number of unauthorized Mexicans in San Diego County (i.e., 174,240). Then we applied the percentage of 71.4% that Passel and Cohn claimed to be the national rate of unauthorized immigrations in the workforce, to derive the estimate of the unauthorized Mexicans who are in the labor market (i.e., 124,460) in San Diego County. Finally, we multiplied this number by our estimated rate of trafficking victimization in San Diego County. With a victimization rate of 30.9%, we estimate that currently there are 38,458 victims of labor trafficking violations in San Diego County. This number does not include those whose experiences only involved abuses or exploitations that do not meet the definition of human trafficking.

Since we do not have national-level RDS data, both the victimization rate and national estimates of labor trafficking victims are impossible to derive. However, if we were to hypothesize similar victimization rates, the high prevalence of labor trafficking found in San Diego would imply that there may be as many as 2,472,000 trafficking victims just among unauthorized Mexicans in the U.S., and 495,293 of these would be in California.

It is clear that regardless of how one counts unauthorized workers in the U.S. or in San Diego County, the number of trafficking victims may be staggering. Even if one adopts the narrowest definition of human trafficking (i.e., counting only direct and actual violations to physical integrity), the number of trafficking victims is still large enough to warrant serious policy debate. This is because the population base of undocumented immigrants in the U.S. is so large. Any small percentage, once applied to such a large population, will produce many victims. Obviously these findings require additional empirical verification because of their serious implications for policy making and law enforcement initiatives.

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V.B. Alternative Interpretations and Counter Explanations

Considering the high level of labor trafficking activities in San Diego County, it is perhaps prudent to offer some alternative interpretations.

First, the instrument may have been too sensitive, thus detecting more violations than actually occurred. In other words there may have been too many false positives. Additional studies are needed to validate and improve the instrument, as this was the first attempt at operationalizing labor trafficking activities along the official definitions. Methods such as parallel forms or test-retest could be used to improve the validity and reliability of the instrument.

It is our belief that the instrument achieved face validity, as it was reviewed by academic researchers (those who were involved in the design of the instrument and study), members of a community advocacy group, and legal professionals at the U.S. Department of Justice. Moreover, positive signs of internal validity are confirmed by the fact that the detected violations varied along a predictable pattern. As shown in Figure 6, the more severe the violation, the lower the rate of occurrence. Conversely, less serious offenses (i.e., the abusive labor practices) occurred far more frequently. Additional analysis will be undertaken to further evaluate the internal validity of the instrument.

Second, San Diego may be an anomaly. Because San Diego is a border county, local employers may be particularly accustomed to the predicament of unauthorized migrants and be familiar with ways to exploit their vulnerable situation. Although research to support the uneven geographical distribution of exploitative labor practices could not be located, it is generally assumed that living in a border region makes one particularly aware of immigration politics and

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the vulnerable status of unauthorized workers.

Finally, recent changes in immigration practices have made it difficult for unauthorized immigrant workers to move across the border, as well as within the U.S., thus subjecting them to greater risk of being abused. Except for seven respondents, all subjects interviewed in this study have lived in San Diego for at least one year. The average length of time that our subjects had lived in San Diego County was slightly more than 11 years, suggesting that these migrants were stuck in this region. According to our conversations with the respondents, increased security along the border regions in the years since the 9/11 events have made it difficult for undocumented migrants to travel. With few opportunities to move about in search of jobs, these unauthorized laborers are left with few choices but to take whatever jobs are available, hence increasing their risk of exposure to trafficking violations or other forms of exploitation.

On the other hand, recent research also suggests that the findings from this study may not be unusual after all. Unfair labor practices have long been documented, even by government agencies. For instance, the U.S. Department of Labor found that rates of compliance with the Fair Labor Standards Act differed substantially by industry: 22 percent of garment manufacturers in Los Angeles were in compliance as were 33 percent of day care providers in the Gulf Coast, 40 percent of poultry processing plants, 53 percent of full service restaurants in Tampa, 64 percent of auto repair shops in Richmond, and 70 percent of nursing homes (U.S. Department of Labor 2001).

Studies by researchers in industrial relations also suggest that labor law violations such as wages, work conditions and housing are indeed widespread (Kerwin and McCabe 2011). In a recent study on housing conditions of migrant farmworkers in North Carolina, a group of researchers interviewed 553 participants and inspected 183 of 226 known labor camps in their

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study area (Arcury et al., 2012). The study found housing violations to be common in North Carolina migrant farmworker camps, and every camp was found to have more than one violation of housing regulations, with the range in the number of violations being from 4 to 22 (Arcury et al., 2012: 200). The problems existed in practically all areas of the living quarters including sleeping rooms, kitchens, and bathrooms.

In a recent large-scale RDS survey of workers in Chicago, Los Angeles and New York City, Bernhardt, Spiller, and Theodore (2012) found widespread labor law violations in the lowwage job market, suggesting that noncompliance is a common strategy for profit maximization at the bottom of the U.S. labor market. For instance, with regard to minimum wage, the study found that all respondents were at risk of a minimum wage violation, and 25.7 percent of them actually experienced such a violation. On overtime violation (i.e., working more than 40 hours a week and being paid less than one-and-a-half times the regular rate of pay for the overtime hours), 24.1 percent of respondents were at risk for an overtime violation; of these, 75.6 percent actually experienced such a violation. Other frequently experienced violations included uncompensated work performed "off-the-clock," and paystub violations (no documentation on earnings and deductions).

The authors found that even with other demographic controls in place, the immigration status of the respondents was a significant predictor of labor law violations, and a lack of authorization to work in the U.S. was the main determinant. The authors argue that the weak penalty and enforcement regime in the U.S. are mainly to blame for the high overall rate of noncompliance. Although Bernhardt, Spiller, and Theodore (2012) were not measuring trafficking violations specifically, there is enough overlapping evidence to suggest that abusive

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labor practices, some of which rise up to the level of labor trafficking, are common and widespread.

V.C. Challenges and Implications for Policy Making and Law Enforcement Practice

V.C.1. The Many Challenges Confronting Counter-Trafficking Efforts

As found in this study, labor trafficking and gross exploitation of unauthorized immigrant workers are both common and egregious in San Diego. There are no easy solutions to such rampant trafficking violations and gross exploitation of unauthorized workers. The victims' legal status appears to be the most important factor in determining their risk exposure, as few other variables seem to explain much of their victimization experiences. However, their illegal immigration status also confounds counter-trafficking efforts. Because of their legal status, undocumented workers are mostly quiet about these abuses (Brennan 2010). Few, if any, ever report these abuses because they would rather take their chances with employers than with the authorities. Immigration raids at workplaces conducted by Federal agents and the recent passage of state laws empowering local police to act on immigration matters only drive unauthorized workers further underground, thus making them even more vulnerable to trafficking violation and abuse at the workplace.

Unlike sex trafficking that often involves unsavory establishments and characters such as strip clubs and pimps, labor trafficking is perpetrated by business operators, homeowners, and farm owners who are mostly ordinary members of the community. Their otherwise ordinary presence in the community makes it difficult to provoke moral outrage. To complicate the matter further, the most likely victims of forced labor are "illegal" in the country and often regarded by law enforcement as criminals rather than victims ensnared in an illicit trade. The branding of

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"illegal" immigrants makes it difficult to invoke sympathy from legislative bodies as well as the public in general. Standard economic theory suggests that business owners will only comply with labor regulations if the detection of violations is high and penalties are costly (Becker 1968). Business owners weigh the consequences of noncompliance should they be caught and fined by government audits (Ashenfelter and Smith 1979). Unfortunately, for most employers and smugglers, penalties for trafficking violations and labor abuses remain remote and unlikely.

While the lack of representative data and accurate measures continues to be a significant barrier to researchers on human trafficking issues, researchers looking at labor regulations have found growing evidence that the systematic violation of employment and labor laws is common in a number of low-wage industries (Bernhardt et al. 2009; Theodore et al. 2012; Weil 2011). Examples of violations include disregarding minimum wage and overtime laws, requiring employees to work without pay before or after their shifts, retaliating against workers filing complaints or trying to organize, maintaining unsafe workplaces, and skirting workers' compensation obligations.

One may suggest that any effective measures would require an adjustment to their legal status so that they can come out of the underground economy or openly seek assistance from law enforcement and social service agencies. As long as they keep quiet about the abuses and fear authorities, their plight will receive little notice or redress. However, major immigration reforms are unlikely in the current political climate, nor will the more than 11 million unauthorized immigrants disappear in the foreseeable future. Meanwhile, ample opportunities avail themselves to unscrupulous employers who circumvent labor laws and exploit the vulnerable to the fullest. It is doubtful that fundamental changes will take place to drastically improve the plight of these unauthorized immigrant workers.

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However, this does not mean law enforcement and regulatory agencies cannot mount effective counter measures at the tactical level. Measures should be devised to reduce the most egregious forms of trafficking violations. However, the planning and implementation of these measures require a clear priority in resource allocation and sustained attention oriented toward long-term outcomes.

V.C.2. Penalty and Legal Deterrence

Few labor trafficking cases are brought to the attention of the authorities. However, relentless and high profile prosecutions are needed to reaffirm the government's determination to stop trafficking violations and project deterrence far and wide in the business community, particularly in the unregulated labor market. The U.S. Federal government is stepping up its efforts to prosecute labor trafficking cases. In March 2007, the U.S. Department of Justice established a Human Trafficking Prosecution Unit within the Civil Rights Division and heightened its effort to investigate and prosecute trafficking and slavery cases. In the first five years after the enactment of the TVPA, the Civil Rights Division at U.S. Department of Justice charged 92 cases; and over the next five years, the number increased to 199 (U.S. Department of Justice, 2010). By 2008, more labor trafficking cases were prosecuted in the Federal courts than sex trafficking cases (Clawson et al. 2008).

Many states have also passed laws to establish commissions and task forces, and to mandate law enforcement training and the provision of victims' services. Several states, such as California and Maryland, have already revised and expanded their anti-trafficking laws to make it easier for authorities to seize property from convicted traffickers. However, legislative efforts to increase the cost of doing business have largely focused on sex trafficking. Since prostitution

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is illegal in most states in the United States, legislative changes to increase fines or lower the threshold for property seizure can be achieved with relative ease. This is not the case for labor trafficking. In a case review study, Clawson et al. (2008) found that the legal response against labor trafficking at the state level was rather anemic, with the majority of prosecutors having never prosecuted any labor trafficking cases or even recognizing it as a problem. Much more leadership is needed from federal law enforcement agencies whose investigations and prosecutions often set the standard and example for state judiciaries to consider or emulate. Clawson et al. (2008) argued that the lack of prosecution of human trafficking cases is not due to a lack of legal framework, but to a lack of training as well as a lack of guidance in the interpretation and execution of existing laws. Federal prosecutors in the study, however, were generally more familiar with the TVPA and found it helpful in implementing the key elements of the anti-trafficking effort: prevention, protection, and prosecution. However, many challenges remain, the most common of which is the lack of buy-in and dedicated law enforcement to investigate human trafficking cases, and an unwillingness of law enforcement agencies to recognize human trafficking offenses as crimes (Clawson et al. 2008; Farrell et al. 2009).

V.C.3. Training and Collaboration for Law Enforcement and Social Service Agencies.

As Farrell et al. (2010) found, the majority of police agencies in many parts of the country do not even recognize labor trafficking activities as a law enforcement issue. Therefore, training on investigation and prosecutorial guidance are key activities for sensitizing and preparing local law enforcement personnel to the various aspects of labor trafficking. More importantly, investigation and prosecution efforts require close collaboration with community-based organizations that have much closer interactions with unauthorized immigration populations. Because of the recent changes in laws in a few states, local police agencies are

increasingly been viewed, in the eyes of unauthorized immigrants, as an extension of the Federal immigration agency. Therefore distrust and apprehension of local police run deep in immigrant communities, legal or illegal.

While the rights-based agendas of community-based agencies are not always in congruence with the needs of law enforcement agencies, it is important to recognize the indispensable role that these community advocates can play in raising awareness and creating a social environment that is hostile to trafficking violations and gross exploitation. Without the bridge provided by the community advocacy groups, law enforcement agencies, federal or local, will have a difficult time reaching out to the immigrant community. Therefore, high profile prosecutions of trafficking violations under the TVPA are needed to produce and maintain a deterrence effect among unscrupulous employers.

V.C.4. Public Awareness Campaigns

Perhaps one of the most effective ways to reduce labor trafficking are awareness campaigns including the dissemination of flyers and billboards, particularly in areas where there are large numbers of immigrant populations. Anti-trafficking messages, including information about high profile prosecutions of trafficking cases, and available social services such as venues for reporting trafficking violations and shelters need to be publicized through community outreach efforts by community advocacy groups. Billboard spaces, commercial airwaves (particularly in Spanish and other languages), and public health brochures are some of the effective vehicles for the dissemination of anti-trafficking messages. Day labor centers, major throughways, community churches, public health clinics and other places where there are high concentrations of immigrants are venues where such information campaigns can be launched.

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The idea is not to catch traffickers per se, but to create a social environment that is hostile to trafficking activities and makes potential victims aware of available services and resources. Because unauthorized workers in vulnerable situations are hard to find and assist, the same RDS recruitment method can be applied to reach these pockets of potential victims so they can be educated about the basic labor laws and how to better protect themselves.

In this context, advocates in the anti-sex trafficking movement have done an excellent job through their many publicity venues. The recent passing of Proposition 35 in California, which significantly increases penalty for sex traffickers, is such an example.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the much more serious and rampant problem of labor trafficking continues to struggle for attention from policy makers and the public in general.

V.D. Design Limitations

We should caution that our findings are not without limitations. First of all, the RDS method is still nascent in its application in criminal justice research. Although proponents believe it to be a rigorous system of chain-referral sampling that allows statistical inference on hard-to-reach populations (Volz and Heckerthorn 2008), there are dissenting or at least cautionary voices in the methodology community that question the touted accuracy of RDS-based estimation. Critics of the method argue that existing literature understates the degree of dependence on underlying assumptions, which are often unrealistic, and tenuous (Gile and Handcock 2010; Heimer 2005). Some of the identified problems with this method include: substantial bias introduced by the convenience sample of seeds and preferential referral behavior by respondents

¹⁴ Proposition 35 received a landslide victory with 81.1% approval rate and bipartisan support in the 2012 Election. Under this law, convicted traffickers face prison sentences up to 15 years or life when children are involved; fines are increased up to \$1.5 million; the definition of sex trafficking is expanded to include distribution of child pornography; convicted traffickers are required to register as sex offenders, and police officers are required to undergo training. Labor trafficking was not mentioned anywhere in this legislation.

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(Gile and Handcock 2010), inflated variance in estimation due to multiple referral at each stage (Goel and Slganik 2009), strong in-group recruitment tendencies among certain ethnic groups (Daniulaityte et al. 2012); and estimation sensitive to RDS assumptions (Frost et al. 2006).

Secondly, from the perspective of field applications, some labor trafficking victims are more isolated than others, thus undermining the structured referral process and limiting its reach in the target population. For instance, it would be difficult to start a referral chain among domestic workers and house servants brought to the U.S. by foreign diplomats. The RDS strategy would not be effective in reaching workers enslaved and hidden in private quarters where interactions with the outside world are not permitted, such as the story of Shyima, an Egyptian girl rescued from an Orange County home in California where she spent eight years in domestic servitude (Callimachi 2009).

Finally, our proposed parameters of the "hidden population" are limited to the confines of a county. Due to our primary goal—to overcome the biases in traditional snowball referral techniques in order to derive valid statistical estimates of the nature and scope of labor trafficking—we chose to focus on the precise execution of the structured referral procedures. The labor intensive nature of this study limited our primary field activities to within San Diego County, and labor trafficking activities in San Diego may not be representative of those across the nation. It would be financially prohibitive and logistically impractical to conduct a similar survey in a larger geographical area. Only through a series of similar surveys in regions with known concentrations of unauthorized laborers can we gradually arrive at a more precise knowledge of the extent and nature of labor trafficking activities at the state or national level.

The geographical constraint inherent in the personal network-based sampling strategy is also reflected in the fact that there seem to be two subpopulations among the undocumented

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Mexican immigrants in San Diego. Some characteristics suggest that this network-based sampling process is constrained by the ethnic boundaries of these social circles - that is, unauthorized Mexicans typically do not socialize with unauthorized immigrants of other ethnic groups. As a result, our original seeds, who were all Mexican laborers, did not lead to greater recruitment among non-Mexicans. It may also be the case that these work sites where undocumented laborers congregated were dominated by Mexicans. As shown in Figure 2, subjects were only able to recruit others in nearby and similar geographical areas.

As a result, we suspect that our study may have oversampled Mexicans due to the fact that unauthorized immigrants tend to have close-knit and insulated networks that favor in-group referrals. On the other hand, we made no attempt to interfere with the recruitment process. Other than the two basic eligibility criteria, we provided no instructions on who interviewees should give out their referral coupons. As shown in Table 14, the resulting sample consists of almost all Mexicans. It suggests the referral process rarely left the circles of unauthorized Mexican immigrants. By design, RDS sampling takes advantage of respondents' connectedness and it just so happened that most respondents in our sample chose to socialize with other unauthorized migrants from the same country.

Table 14 about here

It is logical to assume that because San Diego borders with Mexico, the vast majority of unauthorized immigrants would be Mexican. Until external data can be obtained to compare against our RDS estimates, we must assume that our sample approximates the target population parameters. On the other hand, the high percentage of Mexicans among the unauthorized work

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force in San Diego County that we found may not be far from the true figures. In other words, our estimate of 98% of the unauthorized immigrant population being Mexican is not far from other reputable estimates. Three authoritative sources on population estimates provide evidence in support of the representativeness of our sample obtained through the RDS method.

First, based on 2006-2010 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-Year estimates, conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau, Hispanics are the second largest race/ethnic group in San Diego County, accounting for 31.1% of the total population. Close to 90% (89.65% to be exact) of those identifying themselves as Hispanic or Latino in the most recent American Community Survey are Mexicans (843,391 out of 940,777).¹⁵ Second, figures from the 2010 Census indicate that of the 991,348 counted individuals who identified themselves as Hispanic or Latino 869,868 are Mexicans (or 87.75%) also closely matched the ACS estimate.¹⁶ Although close, both the ACS and Census figures are somewhat lower than our estimates. This is to be expected. Because close to 40% of our target population have unconventional housing arrangements (i.e., either renting or living rent-free with friends and families, living in canyons or homeless), conventional Census methods may not have captured these individuals in the official count. Therefore, it is not surprising that surveys conducted by the Census Bureau may have undercounted unauthorized immigrants. Third, based on Pew Hispanic Center's latest estimates, Mexicans make up anywhere from 81% to 95% of the unauthorized immigrants in California (Passel and Cohn 2011: 30).

Still, one must recognize that the social networks of vulnerable populations are often limited, particularly among unauthorized migrant farmworkers. Because migrant farmworkers

 ¹⁵ The ACS demographic breakdowns for San Diego County can be found at the U.S. Census Bureau website: http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_10_5YR_DP05.
 ¹⁶ The 2010 Census demographics for San Diego County can be found at the U.S. Census Bureau website: http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_10_5YR_DP05.

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are often recruited from their home towns to work at specific farms, their social networks are often restricted to a few labor camps. When these networks are limited to pockets of small geographical areas, greater knowledge of the sampling locations is needed and multiple seeds must be "planted" to increase the representativeness of the resulting sample. Despite these limitations, the RDS method has been successfully applied in a growing number of empirical studies on hard-to-reach populations (Abdul-Quader et al. 2006; Heckathorn 1997, 2002; Robinson et al. 2006). Its adoption in criminal justice research is a recent development. Ric Curtis and his team at John Jay College of Criminal Justice also successfully applied the method in their study of commercially exploited children in New York City (Curtis et al. 2008).

Labor trafficking ultimately is exploitation, although as discussed earlier, the word "trafficking" implies movement. Fundamentally, trafficking occurs if employers take in and subject workers (illegal immigrants or otherwise) to grossly unfair work conditions or employment conditions. This study attempts to raise awareness for and interest in increased empirical research on labor trafficking. Because of the resources required for primary data collection, it remains unclear to what extent researchers may apply RDS or other methods. However, without reliable information about the scope of the problem, those seeking to influence policy makers must resort to sensational claims and moral appeals, which sooner or later will create a credibility problem.

The lack of empirical data is hampering meaningful policy discourse and the development of effective counter measures. Methods to obtain valid and reliable estimates of this inherently hidden problem are critical for planning and assessing national and international anti-trafficking initiatives (Clawson, Layne, and Small 2006: 2). We believe RDS is one such viable method that, if used by more researchers on a wider scale across the country, could generate a

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more accurate picture of the prevalence and incidence of labor trafficking violations as well as other abusive labor practices. Together with researchers from other places in the country and the world, we should and can produce an empirical foundation for meaningful policy discourse and the development of effective counter efforts.

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VII. TABLES

| Table 1. Summary of Survey Fielding | |
|--|---|
| Fielding period | 06/07/2010-11/27/2011 (77 weeks) |
| Number of sites | 16 |
| Number of interviewers, translators and researchers on staff | 7 bilingual interviewers |
| Monetary incentive for being surveyed | \$30 for the interview; \$10 for each subsequent referral (maximum 3) |
| Number of seeds | 18 |
| Number coupons given to each respondent | 3 |
| Number of valid surveys completed | 826 |

| Variable | Estimate (95% CI) | Sample Proportion |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| Gender | | |
| Male | 0.52 (0.47, 0.575) | 0.51 |
| Female | 0.48 (0.425, 0.53) | 0.49 |
| Age | | |
| 16-25 | 0.31 (0.263, 0.36) | 0.263 |
| 26-35 | 0.32 (0.275, 0.366) | 0.344 |
| 36-45 | 0.229 (0.189, 0.268) | 0.267 |
| 46-66 | 0.142 (0.108, 0.178) | 0.126 |
| Highest Grade Completed | | |
| None | 0.224 (0.18, 0.266) | 0.198 |
| Elementary School (6th grade) | 0.339 (0.294, 0.386) | 0.314 |
| Junior high (9th grade) | 0.286 (0.241, 0.329) | 0.309 |
| HS/GED (12th grade) | 0.124 (0.097, 0.157) | 0.146 |
| More than HS | 0.028 (0.015, 0.045) | 0.033 |
| Country of Origin | | |
| Mexico | 0.98 (0.966, 0.99) | 0.975 |
| Other Country | 0.02 (0.01, 0.034) | 0.025 |
| Language at Home | | |
| Spanish | 0.929 (0.895, 0.954) | 0.946 |
| Other Language | 0.071 (0.046, 0.105) | 0.054 |
| English Ability | | |
| No English | 0.203 (0.166, 0.251) | 0.154 |
| A few words | 0.274 (0.231, 0.311) | 0.278 |
| Simple Sentences | 0.232 (0.192, 0.272) | 0.243 |
| Proficient/Fluent | 0.29 (0.244, 0.338) | 0.324 |
| Marital Status | | |
| Single | 0.404 (0.353, 0.449) | 0.327 |
| Married | 0.298 (0.258, 0.345) | 0.366 |
| Live with partner | 0.225 (0.187, 0.266) | 0.24 |
| Divorced/Widowed/Separated | 0.073 (0.048, 0.101) | 0.068 |
| Number of Children | | |
| 0 | 0.294 (0.244, 0.339) | 0.231 |
| 1 | 0.153 (0.121, 0.188) | 0.167 |
| 2 | 0.203 (0.165, 0.243) | 0.2 |
| 3 | 0.179 (0.149, 0.218) | 0.212 |
| 4 | 0.109 (0.077, 0.138) | 0.122 |
| 5 | 0.028 (0.015, 0.046) | 0.036 |
| 6+ | 0.035 (0.018, 0.053) | 0.030 |

Table 2. Demographics (N=826)

| Variable | Estimate (95% CI) | Sample Proportion |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| Years in San Diego | | |
| 0 - 5 | 0.287 (0.239, 0.336) | 0.215 |
| 6 – 10 | 0.331 (0.285, 0.377) | 0.326 |
| 11 – 15 | 0.156 (0.124, 0.189) | 0.196 |
| 16 - 20 | 0.141 (0.108, 0.179) | 0.153 |
| 21 – 25 | 0.062 (0.04, 0.09) | 0.086 |
| 26+ | 0.022 (0.01, 0.035) | 0.024 |
| Living Arrangement | | |
| Own house/apartment/trailer | 0.022 (0.009, 0.037) | 0.024 |
| Rental house/apartment/trailer | 0.68 (0.647, 0.744) | 0.745 |
| Rent from family/friends | 0.209 (0.159, 0.234) | 0.158 |
| Free from family/friends | 0.033 (0.014, 0.047) | 0.027 |
| Canyons | 0.029 (0.01, 0.059) | 0.024 |
| Other/Homeless | 0.027 (0.013, 0.044) | 0.022 |
| Usual Occupation | | |
| Agriculture | 0.221 (0.155, 0.28) | 0.167 |
| Construction | 0.115 (0.083, 0.146) | 0.124 |
| Landscaping | 0.07 (0.047, 0.102) | 0.064 |
| Painting | 0.016 (0.007, 0.027) | 0.021 |
| Janitor/Cleaning | 0.218 (0.172, 0.264) | 0.223 |
| Food Processing | 0.171 (0.135, 0.213) | 0.212 |
| Carpentry/Plumbing/Electrical | 0.004 (0.001, 0.008) | 0.008 |
| Child care/Elderly care | 0.03 (0.014, 0.048) | 0.028 |
| Manufacturing | 0.076 (0.051, 0.109) | 0.076 |
| Store cashier/stock/etc. | 0.025 (0.012, 0.043) | 0.022 |
| Other | 0.054 (0.035, 0.077) | 0.055 |

Table 2. Demographics (N=826) (Cont.)

| | Overall | South County | North County | Overall | South | North |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| ** • • • • | Estimate (95% CI) | Estimate (95% CI) | Estimate (95% CI) | Sample | Sample | Sample |
| Variable | (N=826) | (n=497)* | (n=328) | Proportion | Proportion | Proportion |
| Gender | | | | | | |
| Male | 0.52 (0.469, 0.574) | 0.465 (0.393, 0.545) | 0.582 (0.516, 0.668) | 0.51 | 0.473 | 0.564 |
| Female | 0.48 (0.426, 0.531) | 0.535 (0.451, 0.605) | 0.418 (0.331, 0.486) | 0.49 | 0.527 | 0.436 |
| Age | | | | | | |
| 16-25 | 0.31 (0.263, 0.36) | 0.241 (0.185, 0.305) | 0.383 (0.3, 0.465) | 0.263 | 0.234 | 0.308 |
| 26-35 | 0.32 (0.275, 0.366) | 0.281 (0.218, 0.348) | 0.367 (0.303, 0.438) | 0.344 | 0.294 | 0.418 |
| 36-45 | 0.229 (0.189, 0.268) | 0.277 (0.22, 0.333) | 0.176 (0.122, 0.237) | 0.267 | 0.31 | 0.201 |
| 46-66 | 0.142 (0.108, 0.178) | 0.201 (0.14, 0.261) | 0.073 (0.04, 0.113) | 0.126 | 0.161 | 0.073 |
| Highest Grade Completed | | | | | | |
| None | 0.224 (0.179, 0.267) | 0.169 (0.118, 0.223) | 0.289 (0.212, 0.36) | 0.198 | 0.147 | 0.278 |
| Elementary School (6th grade) | 0.338 (0.292, 0.386) | 0.277 (0.219, 0.341) | 0.414 (0.343, 0.493) | 0.314 | 0.258 | 0.398 |
| Junior high (9th grade) | 0.286 (0.241, 0.329) | 0.345 (0.274, 0.403) | 0.214 (0.155, 0.277) | 0.309 | 0.356 | 0.238 |
| HS/GED or more | 0.152 (0.123, 0.189) | 0.209 (0.166, 0.269) | 0.084 (0.049, 0.124) | 0.179 | 0.239 | 0.086 |
| Country of Origin | | | | | | |
| Mexico | 0.98 (0.966, 0.99) | 0.968 (0.944, 0.989) | 0.993 (0.981, 1.0) | 0.975 | 0.968 | 0.985 |
| Other Country | 0.02 (0.01, 0.034) | 0.032 (0.012, 0.056) | 0.007 (0.0, 0.019) | 0.025 | 0.032 | 0.015 |
| Language at Home | | | | | | |
| Spanish | 0.929 (0.895, 0.955) | 0.972 (0.947, 0.99) | 0.88 (0.808, 0.924) | 0.946 | 0.974 | 0.902 |
| Other Language | 0.071 (0.045, 0.105) | 0.028 (0.011, 0.053) | 0.12 (0.077, 0.191) | 0.054 | 0.026 | 0.098 |
| English Ability | | | | | | |
| No English | 0.203 (0.166, 0.251) | 0.091 (0.055, 0.136) | 0.339 (0.282, 0.42) | 0.154 | 0.085 | 0.256 |
| A few words | 0.274 (0.231, 0.312) | 0.225 (0.168, 0.287) | 0.335 (0.271, 0.385) | 0.278 | 0.221 | 0.366 |
| Simple Sentences | 0.232 (0.192, 0.272) | 0.272 (0.21, 0.334) | 0.186 (0.133, 0.241) | 0.243 | 0.262 | 0.213 |
| Proficient/Fluent | 0.29 (0.244, 0.338) | 0.412 (0.336, 0.485) | 0.14 (0.095, 0.185) | 0.324 | 0.433 | 0.162 |
| Marital Status | | | | | | |
| Single | 0.404 (0.352, 0.45) | 0.414 (0.343, 0.482) | 0.387 (0.311, 0.459) | 0.327 | 0.346 | 0.296 |
| Married | 0.299 (0.259, 0.346) | 0.299 (0.244, 0.366) | 0.3 (0.237, 0.373) | 0.366 | 0.372 | 0.357 |
| Other | 0.297 (0.256, 0.341) | 0.286 (0.224, 0.347) | 0.313 (0.245, 0.38) | 0.308 | 0.282 | 0.348 |

Table 3. Demographics by North/South County

Note: *One subject interviewed in South County declined to reveal his residential location.

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| | Overall | South County | North County | Overall | South | North |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | Estimate (95% CI) | Estimate (95% CI) | Estimate (95% CI) | Sample | Sample | Sample |
| <u>Variable</u> | (N=826) | (n=497)* | (n=328) | Proportion | Proportion | Proportion |
| Number of Children | | | | | | |
| 0 | 0.295 (0.245, 0.341) | 0.274 (0.207, 0.335) | 0.318 (0.238, 0.389) | 0.231 | 0.217 | 0.25 |
| 1 | 0.156 (0.124, 0.191) | 0.116 (0.079, 0.16) | 0.21 (0.147, 0.256) | 0.167 | 0.151 | 0.192 |
| 2 | 0.201 (0.165, 0.242) | 0.196 (0.143, 0.252) | 0.209 (0.159, 0.282) | 0.2 | 0.189 | 0.216 |
| 3 | 0.175 (0.145, 0.214) | 0.198 (0.153, 0.256) | 0.143 (0.097, 0.196) | 0.212 | 0.241 | 0.16 |
| 4+ | 0.173 (0.133, 0.209) | 0.217 (0.152, 0.278) | 0.119 (0.079, 0.175) | 0.19 | 0.201 | 0.174 |
| Years in San Diego | | | | | | |
| 0 - 5 | 0.285 (0.239, 0.335) | 0.228 (0.169, 0.306) | 0.357 (0.298, 0.435) | 0.215 | 0.181 | 0.265 |
| 6-10 | 0.328 (0.281, 0.373) | 0.305 (0.227, 0.371) | 0.358 (0.289, 0.414) | 0.326 | 0.296 | 0.372 |
| 11 – 15 | 0.157 (0.125, 0.191) | 0.156 (0.108, 0.207) | 0.157 (0.108, 0.206) | 0.196 | 0.213 | 0.171 |
| 16+ | 0.231 (0.185, 0.279) | 0.311 (0.233, 0.395) | 0.127 (0.087, 0.179) | 0.263 | 0.31 | 0.192 |
| Living Arrangement | | | | | | |
| Rental house/ | | | | | | |
| apartment/trailer | | 0.715 (0.658, 0.791) | 0.65 (0.578, 0.728) | 0.745 | 0.779 | 0.697 |
| Rent from family/friends | 0.205 (0.157, 0.232) | 0.188 (0.123, 0.232) | 0.223 (0.162, 0.275) | 0.158 | 0.135 | 0.193 |
| Own place, Free from | | | | | | |
| family/friends, Canyons, | 0 110 (0 070 0 1 17) | 0.007 (0.050, 0.140) | | 0.007 | 0.007 | 0.11 |
| Other | 0.113 (0.078, 0.147) | 0.097 (0.058, 0.143) | 0.127 (0.068, 0.2) | 0.097 | 0.087 | 0.11 |
| Usual Occupation | 0.000 (0.1.55, 0.000) | 0.040 (0.014.0.170) | 0.461 (0.001, 0.500) | 0.1.57 | 0.00 | 0.20 |
| Agriculture | | 0.049 (0.014, 0.173) | 0.461 (0.381, 0.528) | 0.167 | 0.02 | 0.39 |
| Construction | | 0.157 (0.089, 0.217) | 0.059 (0.034, 0.083) | 0.124 | 0.15 | 0.08 |
| Landscaping | 0.073 (0.049, 0.105) | 0.053 (0.016, 0.102) | 0.096 (0.067, 0.144) | 0.064 | 0.04 | 0.10 |
| Janitor/Cleaning | 0.214 (0.169, 0.261) | 0.331 (0.235, 0.408) | 0.068 (0.038, 0.096) | 0.223 | 0.32 | 0.07 |
| Food Processing | 0.168 (0.135, 0.213) | 0.241 (0.16, 0.317) | 0.075 (0.048, 0.111) | 0.212 | 0.30 | 0.09 |
| Manufacturing | 0.075 (0.05, 0.107) | 0.023 (0.001, 0.054) | 0.143 (0.103, 0.2) | 0.076 | 0.02 | 0.17 |
| Other | 0.127 (0.096, 0.156) | 0.146 (0.082, 0.205) | 0.097 (0.061, 0.125) | 0.133 | 0.15 | 0.11 |

Table 3. Demographics by North/South County (Cont.)

| Summary Variable | Estimate (95% CI) | Sample Proportion |
|------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| Any Violation | 0.581 (0.533, 0.629) | 0.649 |
| Trafficking Violation | 0.309 (0.264, 0.354) | 0.379 |
| Abusive Practice | 0.549 (0.502, 0.598) | 0.619 |
| Coyote Violation* | 0.228 (0.187, 0.274) | 0.247 |
| Trafficking* | 0.059 (0.038, 0.082) | 0.062 |
| Abusive Practice* | 0.203 (0.164, 0.246) | 0.235 |
| Employer Violation | 0.517 (0.465, 0.569) | 0.598 |
| Trafficking | 0.276 (0.234, 0.321) | 0.358 |
| Abusive Practice | 0.493 (0.444, 0.544) | 0.568 |
| Employer Violation Type | | |
| Threat to Physical Integrity | 0.146 (0.116, 0.18) | 0.197 |
| Restriction/Deprivation | 0.217 (0.179, 0.256) | 0.272 |
| Deception/Lies | 0.282 (0.238, 0.323) | 0.338 |
| Abusive Practices | 0.447 (0.398, 0.497) | 0.528 |

Table 4. Trafficking Violation and Abusive Practice Summary (N=826)

*Among respondents who traveled with a coyote

| 1000000000000000000000000000000000000 | Table 5. | Violations | by County | Area (| (N=826) |
|---------------------------------------|----------|------------|-----------|--------|---------|
|---------------------------------------|----------|------------|-----------|--------|---------|

| | South County | North County | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Estimate (95% CI) | Estimate (95% CI) | South County | North County |
| Variable | (n=497)* | (n=328) | Sample Proportion | Sample Proportion |
| Any Violation | 0.651 (0.581, 0.718) | 0.496 (0.428, 0.568) | 0.7 | 0.573 |
| Trafficking Violations | 0.385 (0.313, 0.452) | 0.218 (0.165, 0.279) | 0.453 | 0.268 |
| Abusive Practices | 0.623 (0.553, 0.691) | 0.457 (0.392, 0.529) | 0.678 | 0.53 |
| Coyote Violation* | 0.206 (0.144, 0.273) | 0.249 (0.19, 0.314) | 0.238 | 0.258 |
| Trafficking* | 0.044 (0.018, 0.075) | 0.071 (0.038, 0.108) | 0.055 | 0.071 |
| Abusive Practice* | 0.183 (0.127, 0.247) | 0.221 (0.164, 0.283) | 0.228 | 0.245 |
| Employer Violation | 0.621 (0.549, 0.691) | 0.39 (0.322, 0.462) | 0.668 | 0.494 |
| Trafficking | 0.366 (0.297, 0.431) | 0.17 (0.122, 0.225) | 0.441 | 0.235 |
| Abusive Practice | 0.6 (0.53, 0.669) | 0.362 (0.298, 0.432) | 0.648 | 0.448 |
| Employer Violation Type | | | | |
| Threat to Physical Integrity | 0.193 (0.14, 0.247) | 0.092 (0.06, 0.134) | 0.241 | 0.131 |
| Restriction/Deprivation | 0.294 (0.232, 0.355) | 0.123 (0.079, 0.172) | 0.35 | 0.155 |
| Deception/Lies | 0.382 (0.313, 0.449) | 0.163 (0.115, 0.213) | 0.416 | 0.22 |
| Abusive Practices | 0.555 (0.483, 0.626) | 0.313 (0.253, 0.382) | 0.612 | 0.402 |

*One subject interviewed in South County declined to reveal his residential location.

Table 6. Violations During Migration

| Variable | Overall | South County Estimate (95% CI) (n=497)* | North County Estimate (95% CI) (n=328) | Overall Sample Proportion | South County Sample Proportion | North County Sample Proportion |
|---|----------------------|--|--|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| % of population who traveled with coyotes | 0.849 (0.813, 0.887) | 0.777 (0.713, 0.843) | 0.938 (0.906, 0.97) | 0.839 | 0.769 | 0.945 |
| Violations among entire population | 0.194 (0.159, 0.234) | 0.16 (0.112, 0.214) | 0.234 (0.177, 0.297) | 0.207 | 0.183 | 0.244 |
| Violations among population who traveled with coyotes *One subject interviewed i | | 0.206 (0.144, 0.273) ed to reveal his residen | 0.249 (0.19, 0.314) tial location. | 0.247 | 0.238 | 0.258 |

| | Any Violation by | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| Value | Employer | Trafficking Violation | Abusive Labor Practice |
| Agriculture | 0.285 (0.2, 0.403) | 0.163 (0.091, 0.269) | 0.274 (0.184, 0.388) |
| Construction | 0.651 (0.513, 0.783) | 0.349 (0.237, 0.492) | 0.625 (0.489, 0.759) |
| Landscaping | 0.59 (0.377, 0.776) | 0.265 (0.131, 0.434) | 0.602 (0.4, 0.767) |
| Janitor/Cleaning | 0.639 (0.545, 0.745) | 0.356 (0.27, 0.46) | 0.593 (0.497, 0.699) |
| Food Processing | 0.539 (0.432, 0.652) | 0.318 (0.223, 0.404) | 0.51 (0.4, 0.617) |
| Manufacturing | 0.397 (0.22, 0.544) | 0.276 (0.156, 0.437) | 0.376 (0.213, 0.546) |
| Other | 0.601 (0.446, 0.695) | 0.228 (0.128, 0.329) | 0.614 (0.485, 0.729) |
| *Due to space limita | ation, only RDS Estimate | s are presented, with upp | er and lower ranges at 95% |

| Table 7. | Violation | at Work | Place b | v Occupa | tion* |
|------------|-------------|-------------|----------|----------|-------|
| 1 4010 / 1 | , 101411011 | at it offic | I Idee 0 | j occupa | |

*Due to space limitation, only RDS Estimates are presented, with upper and lower ranges at 95% CI.

| | Threats to Physical | | | Abusive/Exploitative |
|------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Value | Integrity | Restriction/Deprivation | Deception/Lie | Practice |
| Agriculture | 0.095 (0.037, 0.188) | 0.123 (0.053, 0.219) | 0.111 (0.046, 0.193) | 0.25 (0.161, 0.363) |
| Construction | 0.174 (0.097, 0.263) | 0.268 (0.168, 0.375) | 0.37 (0.249, 0.5) | 0.565 (0.442, 0.708) |
| Landscaping | 0.156 (0.064, 0.306) | 0.243 (0.096, 0.392) | 0.195 (0.09, 0.332) | 0.561 (0.367, 0.737) |
| Janitor/Cleaning | 0.171 (0.105, 0.255) | 0.273 (0.193, 0.368) | 0.431 (0.332, 0.531) | 0.551 (0.462, 0.659) |
| Food Processing | 0.198 (0.122, 0.28) | 0.237 (0.159, 0.315) | 0.264 (0.173, 0.343) | 0.486 (0.376, 0.594) |
| Manufacturing | 0.062 (0.014, 0.132) | 0.228 (0.111, 0.396) | 0.264 (0.114, 0.436) | 0.307 (0.176, 0.461) |
| Other | 0.135 (0.063, 0.243) | 0.207 (0.107, 0.309) | 0.345 (0.212, 0.448) | 0.526 (0.389, 0.649) |

Table 8. Violation Type at Work Place by Occupation*

*Due to space limitation, only RDS Estimates are presented, with upper and lower ranges at 95% CI.

| | Sa | mple Siz | ze* | | Population Estimate | | Samp | ole Propo | ortion |
|-------------------------------|---------|----------|--------|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------|-----------|--------|
| | | South | North | | | | | South | North |
| Coyote Violations | Overall | County | County | Overall | South County | North County | Overall | County | County |
| Forbid to leave group | 693 | 382 | 310 | 0.087 (0.061, 0.118) | 0.078 (0.04, 0.125) | 0.095 (0.057, 0.14) | 0.098 | 0.097 | 0.1 |
| Withhold ID | 693 | 382 | 310 | 0.014 (0.004, 0.027) | $0.014\ (0.001,\ 0.034)$ | $0.013\;(0.001,0.032)$ | 0.017 | 0.018 | 0.016 |
| Forbid family contact | 693 | 382 | 310 | 0.075 (0.052, 0.102) | 0.081 (0.044, 0.139) | 0.069 (0.043, 0.1) | 0.104 | 0.105 | 0.103 |
| Forbid other contact | 693 | 382 | 310 | 0.056 (0.035, 0.081) | 0.041 (0.013, 0.077) | 0.071 (0.039, 0.11) | 0.055 | 0.045 | 0.068 |
| Assault | 693 | 382 | 310 | 0.022 (0.012, 0.036) | | $0.013\;(0.005,0.025)$ | 0.043 | 0.047 | 0.039 |
| Threat of assault | 693 | 382 | 310 | | 0.052 (0.023, 0.089) | | 0.068 | 0.063 | 0.074 |
| Held hostage | 693 | 382 | 310 | 0.045 (0.027, 0.067) | 0.031 (0.011, 0.058) | 0.058 (0.028, 0.092) | 0.046 | 0.039 | 0.055 |
| Pay more than agreed | 693 | 382 | 310 | 0.077 (0.053, 0.105) | 0.081 (0.039, 0.13) | 0.073 (0.044, 0.108) | 0.095 | 0.089 | 0.103 |
| Employer Violations | | | | | | | | | |
| Threat to Physical Integrity: | | | | | | | | | |
| Physical abuse | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.027 (0.015, 0.042) | 0.037 (0.015, 0.063) | 0.015 (0.005, 0.03) | 0.039 | 0.05 | 0.021 |
| Sexual abuse | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.007 (0.002, 0.014) | 0.007 (0.0, 0.017) | 0.008 (0.0, 0.018) | 0.012 | 0.012 | 0.012 |
| Threats of physical abuse | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.027 (0.014, 0.047) | 0.035 (0.013, 0.074) | $0.018\ (0.003,\ 0.038)$ | 0.028 | 0.034 | 0.018 |
| Threats of sexual abuse | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.019 (0.01, 0.032) | 0.033 (0.015, 0.057) | 0.004 (0.0, 0.009) | 0.036 | 0.054 | 0.009 |
| Locked up | 826 | 497 | 328 | | 0.017 (0.002, 0.038) | | 0.018 | 0.02 | 0.015 |
| Threats of harm(other) | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.01 (0.002, 0.02) | 0.016 (0.003, 0.037) | 0.005 (0.0, 0.016) | 0.012 | 0.016 | 0.006 |
| Threats of harm to family | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.01 (0.001, 0.022) | 0.019 (0.003, 0.049) | 0.002 (0.0, 0.005) | 0.007 | 0.01 | 0.003 |
| Threats to deport | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.056 (0.036, 0.078) | 0.075 (0.041, 0.114) | $0.034\ (0.014,\ 0.057)$ | 0.075 | 0.093 | 0.049 |
| Threats to arrest | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.019 (0.008, 0.033) | 0.023 (0.007, 0.044) | 0.014 (0.0, 0.035) | 0.025 | 0.034 | 0.012 |
| Threats to turn you in | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.069 (0.048, 0.092) | 0.081 (0.049, 0.119) | 0.055 (0.028, 0.085) | 0.103 | 0.121 | 0.076 |
| Assaulted if you leave | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.011 (0.002, 0.021) | Cell too small | Cell too small | 0.008 | 0.006 | 0.012 |
| Threatened if you leave | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.029 (0.014, 0.046) | 0.026 (0.007, 0.051) | 0.032 (0.009, 0.059) | 0.033 | 0.034 | 0.03 |

| Table 9. Detailed Estimates for Each Violation Measure | Table 9. | Detailed | Estimates | for Eac | h Violation | Measure |
|--|----------|----------|-----------|---------|-------------|---------|
|--|----------|----------|-----------|---------|-------------|---------|

*Coyote violations only for respondents who used a coyote.

| | Sa | mple Siz | ze* | | Population Estimate | | Samp | ole Propo | ortion |
|--|---------|----------|--------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------|-----------|--------|
| | | South | North | | | | | South | North |
| Employer Violations | Overall | County | County | Overall | South County | North County | Overall | County | County |
| Restriction and Deprivation | | | | | | | | | |
| Forbid to leave workplace | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.079 (0.053, 0.104) | 0.094 (0.057, 0.135) | $0.057\ (0.021,\ 0.088)$ | 0.097 | 0.115 | 0.07 |
| Restrict movement after work | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.016 (0.006, 0.028) | 0.018 (0.002, 0.039) | 0.015 (0.004, 0.026) | 0.025 | 0.016 | 0.04 |
| Withhold ID | 826 | 497 | 328 | | 0.013 (0.002, 0.035) | | 0.007 | 0.01 | 0.003 |
| Inadequate food/sleep | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.16 (0.128, 0.196) | 0.223 (0.169, 0.279) | $0.084\ (0.048,\ 0.125)$ | 0.213 | 0.282 | 0.11 |
| Restrict communication with family | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.016 (0.006, 0.025) | 0.021 (0.005, 0.038) | 0.009 (0.001, 0.02) | 0.028 | 0.032 | 0.021 |
| Restrict communication with co-workers Restrict communication with | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.04 (0.022, 0.059) | 0.058 (0.027, 0.092) | 0.021 (0.003, 0.052) | 0.044 | 0.056 | 0.024 |
| others outside work | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.02 (0.01, 0.032) | 0.026 (0.009, 0.048) | 0.011 (0.002, 0.022) | 0.03 | 0.032 | 0.027 |
| Deception and Lies | | | | | | | | | |
| Different work than Promised Cannot contact family without | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.218 (0.181, 0.259) | 0.319 (0.254, 0.387) | 0.101 (0.068, 0.141) | 0.279 | 0.362 | 0.152 |
| permission | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.022 (0.009, 0.036) | 0.028 (0.006, 0.055) | 0.014 (0.002, 0.03) | 0.027 | 0.03 | 0.021 |
| Cannot go anywhere without | | | | | | | | | |
| permission | 826 | 497 | 328 | | 0.062 (0.029, 0.098) | | 0.061 | 0.064 | 0.055 |
| No believes if you seek help | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.08 (0.058, 0.106) | (, , , | 0.056 (0.027, 0.088) | 0.099 | 0.119 | 0.07 |
| Asked to lie about yourself | 826 | 497 | 328 | | 0.053 (0.023, 0.086) | | 0.042 | 0.054 | 0.024 |
| Asked to lie for employer Abusive labor practices | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.023 (0.011, 0.038) | 0.031 (0.009, 0.057) | 0.014 (0.003, 0.029) | 0.028 | 0.036 | 0.015 |
| Denied pay | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0 248 (0 207 0 292) | 0.344 (0.279, 0.412) | 0 134 (0 089 0 185) | 0.32 | 0.408 | 0.186 |
| Less pay than promised | 826 | 497 | 328 | | 0.301 (0.238, 0.367) | | 0.287 | 0.342 | 0.204 |
| Received bad check | 826 | 497 | 328 | | 0.126 (0.08, 0.179) | , | 0.128 | 0.141 | 0.11 |
| Employer disappeared | 826 | 497 | 328 | | 0.117 (0.075, 0.163) | | 0.119 | 0.147 | 0.076 |
| Hazardous environments | | | | | · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · | × ,, | | | |
| without protection | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.171 (0.137, 0.206) | 0.206 (0.153, 0.264) | 0.128 (0.086, 0.176) | 0.198 | 0.229 | 0.149 |
| Other abusive experiences | 826 | 497 | 328 | 0.14 (0.108, 0.174) | 0.198 (0.14, 0.254) | 0.073 (0.042, 0.108) | 0.165 | 0.199 | 0.113 |

Table 9. Detailed Estimates for Each Violation Measure (Cont.)

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| | | i | | Overall | South | North |
|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | | | | Sample | County | County |
| Variable | Overall | South County | North County | Proportion | Proportion | Proportion |
| Any Violation | | | | | | |
| >1 year ago | 0.451 (0.39, 0.511) | 0.383 (0.3, 0.463) | 0.559 (0.449, 0.655) | 0.44 | 0.39 | 0.53 |
| Past 12 months | 0.549 (0.488, 0.611) | 0.617 (0.537, 0.701) | 0.441 (0.343, 0.549) | 0.56 | 0.61 | 0.47 |
| Trafficking Violation | | | | | | |
| >1 year ago | 0.506 (0.425, 0.583) | 0.465 (0.362, 0.566) | 0.589 (0.424, 0.718) | 0.50 | 0.47 | 0.57 |
| Past 12 months | 0.494 (0.416, 0.575) | 0.535 (0.433, 0.637) | 0.411 (0.28, 0.577) | 0.50 | 0.53 | 0.43 |
| Abusive Practices | | | | | | |
| >1 year ago | 0.469 (0.405, 0.53) | 0.401 (0.316, 0.481) | 0.58 (0.474, 0.679) | 0.45 | 0.40 | 0.55 |
| Past 12 months | 0.531 (0.47, 0.594) | 0.599 (0.517, 0.684) | 0.42 (0.321, 0.526) | 0.55 | 0.60 | 0.45 |

Table 10. Trafficking and Abuse Incidents within Past 12 Months (among Victims Only)

| Variable | Variable Value | Any Violation | Trafficking | Abuse | Coyote | Employer |
|---|---------------------------|------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| Occupation | Not Agriculture | | ¥ | | | • |
| - | Agriculture | 0.482** | 0.842 | 0.442** | 0.719 | 0.398** |
| Education | None | 1.345 | 0.765 | 1.572 | 1.072 | 1.163 |
| | Elementary (<=6th grade) | | | | | |
| | Junior High (<=9th grade) | 0.873 | 0.976 | 0.754 | 0.849 | 0.713 |
| | HS or More | 1.923* | 1.387 | 2.101* | 0.728 | 1.695 |
| English Ability | No English | 1.039 | 0.953 | 1.044 | 0.598 | 1.188 |
| | A Few Words | | | | | |
| | Simple Sentences | 2.098** | 1.917* | 2.281** | 1.167 | 2.525** |
| | Proficient/Fluent | 1.201 | 1.277 | 1.241 | 1.118 | 1.461 |
| # Times cross into US | | 1 | 0.997 | 1 | 1.106 | 1 |
| # Times negotiate pay | | | | | | |
| (of last 10) | | 1.061 | 1.023 | 1.021 | 1.03 | 1.029 |
| Years in San Diego | | 1.034 | 1.033* | 1.034 | 0.982 | 1.038* |
| Recruiter Any Viol. | No | | | | | |
| | Yes | 1.064 | | | | |
| | Seed | 3.879 | | | | |
| Recruiter Trafficking | | | | | | |
| Viol. | No | | | | | |
| | Yes | | 1.548* | | | |
| | Seed | | 2.612 | | | |
| Recruiter Abuse | No | | | | | |
| | Yes | | | 0.947 | | |
| | Seed | | | 4.444 | | |
| Recruiter Coyote Viol. | No | | | | | |
| | Yes | | | | 1.238 | |
| | Seed/Exempt | | | | 0.975 | |
| Recruiter Employment Viol. | No | | | | | |
| v 101. | Yes | | | | | 1.544* |
| | Seed | | | | | 6.922* |
| O | Seeu | 0 770 | 0.004*** | 0 722 | 0.205** | |
| Constant | | 0.778 | 0.224*** | 0.733 | 0.325** | 0.472* |
| Log-Likelihood | | -516.624 | | | 3 -361.87 | |
| AIC | | 1059.24 | | 9 1064.66 | | |
| BIC | | 1120.46 | | 1 1125.88 | | |
| N | | 820 | | | | |
| $\frac{\text{Pseudo-R2}}{\text{Notes: * } p < 0.05: ** } p$ | 0.01 *** 0.001 | 0.06 | 8 0.052 | 2 0.07 | 6 0.0 | 3 0.101 |

Table 11. Logit Models for Risk of Violations -Acculturation

Notes: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001.

| Variable | Variable Value | Any Violation | Trafficking | Abuse | Covote | Employer |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------|----------|----------|------------|
| Occupation | Not Agriculture | | | , | | 0 |
| o o o parion | Agriculture | 0.359*** | 0.547* | 0.355*** | 0.67 | 0.313*** |
| Gender | Male | | | | | |
| | Female | 0.678 | 0.846 | 0.724 | 0.836 | 0.768 |
| Marital Status | Single | 0.879 | 1.071 | 0.786 | 1.023 | 0.853 |
| | Married | | | | | |
| | Other | 1.062 | 1.466 | 0.876 | 1.358 | 1.051 |
| Number of children | | 1.065 | 1.044 | 1.073 | 0.976 | 1.044 |
| Send money home | No | | | | | |
| | Yes | 0.899 | 0.81 | 0.913 | 1.125 | 0.85 |
| Recruiter Any Viol. | No | | | | | |
| | Yes | 1.065 | | | | |
| | Seed | 2.618 | | | | |
| Recruiter Trafficking Viol. | No | | | | | |
| | Yes | | 1.608* | | | |
| | Seed | | 2.285 | | | |
| Recruiter Non-Trafficking | | | | | | |
| Viol. | No | | | | | |
| | Yes | | | 0.969 | | |
| <u> </u> | Seed | | | 2.838 | <u>-</u> | |
| Recruiter Transportation Viol. | No | | | | | |
| v 101. | Yes | | | | 1.29 | |
| | Seed/Exempt | | | | 0.988 | |
| Recruiter Employment Vio | ····· | | | | 0.700 | |
| | Yes | | | | | 1.554* |
| | Seed | | | | | 4.548 |
| Constant | 2000 | 2.023* | 0.412** | 1.956* | 0.299*** | ••••• |
| Log-Likelihood | | -535.17 | | | | 5 -534.472 |
| AIC | | 1088.34 | | | | 9 1086.943 |
| BIC | | 1130.7 | | | | 5 1129.371 |
| N | | 82 | | | | |
| Pseudo-R2 | | 0.04 | | | | |

| Table 12. Logit | Models for Risk of | Violations - Fina | ancial Pressure |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| | | | |

Notes: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

| | U.S. | California | San Diego |
|--|------------|------------|-----------|
| Estimated Unauthorized Immigrants | 11,200,000 | 2,550,000 | 198,000 |
| Share of Total Population | 3.7% | 6.8% | 6.6% |
| Unauthorized Immigrants Who Are Mexicans | 6,500,000 | 2,244,000 | 174,240 |
| Share of Total Unauthorized Population | 58% | 88% | 88% |
| Total Unauthorized Immigrants in Workforce | 8,000,000 | 1,602,889 | 124,460 |
| Share of Unauthorized Population | 71.4% | 71.4% | 71.4% |
| Labor Trafficking Victimization Rate** | | | 30.9% |
| Number of Labor Trafficking Victims** | 2,472,000 | 495,293 | 38,458 |

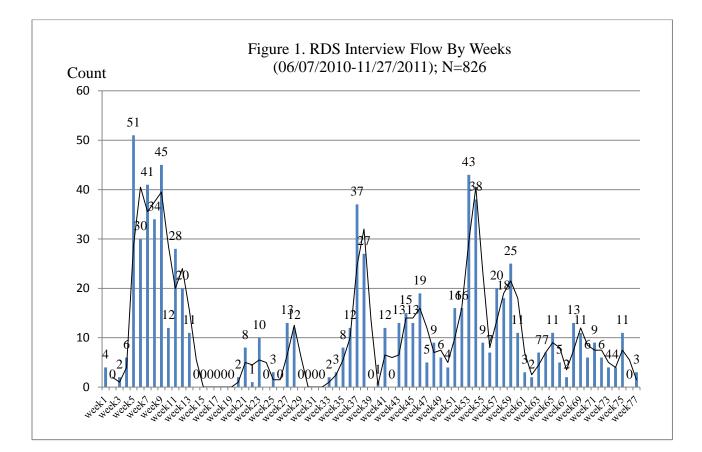
Table 13. Estimates of Unauthorized Mexicans and Labor Trafficking Victims (2010)*

Notes:* Population estimates are extracted from Passel & Cohn 2011; Hill & Johnson 2011. ** Trafficking victimization rate and calculation are based on findings from the present study.

| | Frequency | Percent |
|-------------|-----------|---------|
| Argentina | 1 | 0.1 |
| Colombia | 1 | 0.1 |
| El Salvador | 5 | 0.6 |
| Guatemala | 7 | 0.8 |
| Honduras | 5 | 0.6 |
| Mexico | 804 | 97.5 |
| Nicaragua | 1 | 0.1 |
| Sudan | 1 | 0.1 |
| Total | 825 | 100 |

Table 14. Respondents by Country of Origin

VIII. FIGURES



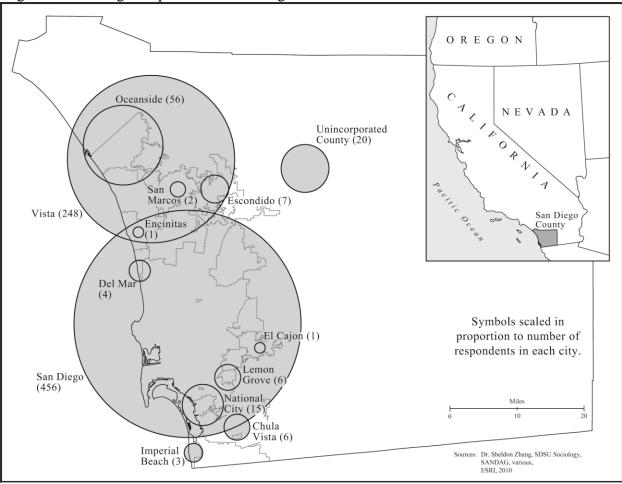
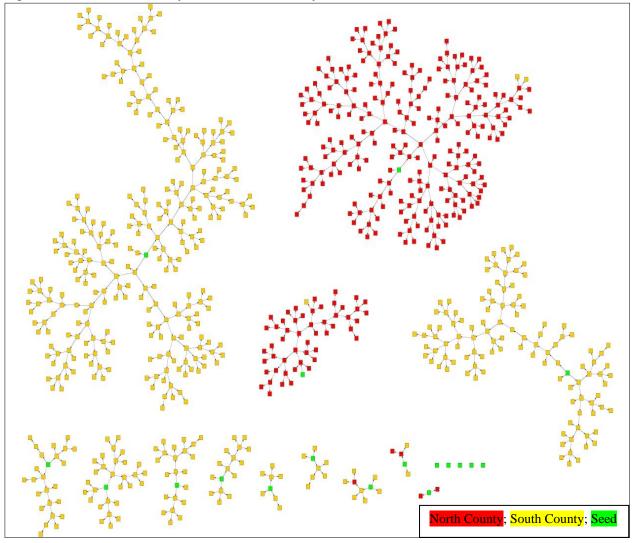
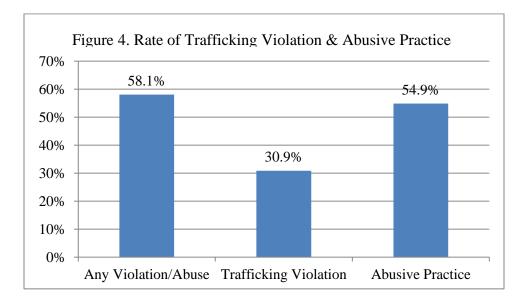


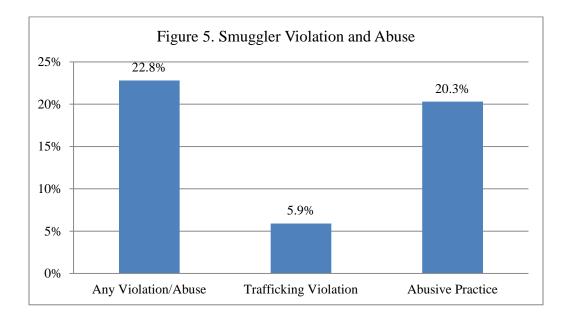
Figure 2. San Diego Map and RDS Fielding Activities

Figure 3. Referral Chains by South/North County

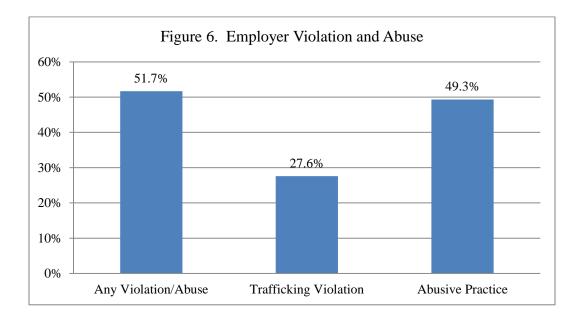




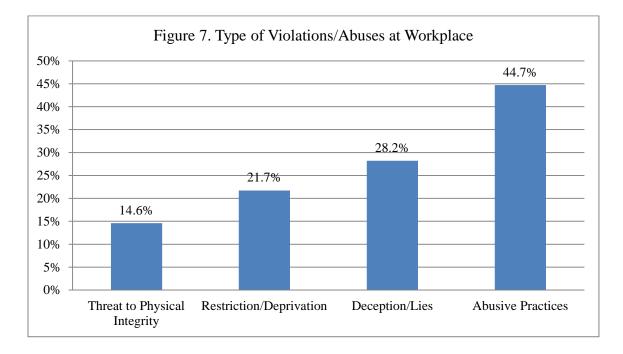
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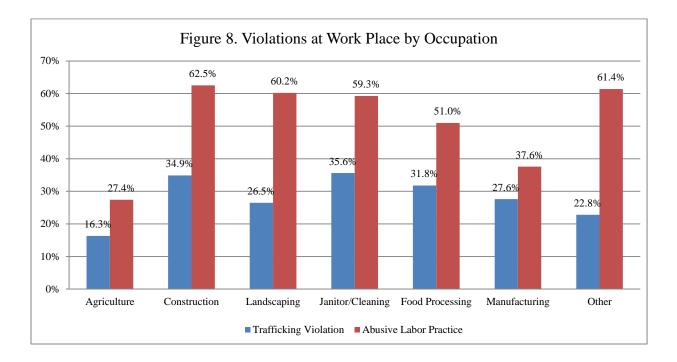
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APPENDIX A: SAN DIEGO COUNTY LABOR TRAFFICKING SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

San Diego Labor Trafficking Survey Questionnaire

1. Participant Voucher No.: (Interviewer: Double Check Entry)

2. Date of interview: _____(mm/dd/yy)

- 3. Interview location:
- 4. RA Initials: _____

INSTRUCTION TO INTERVIEWER: (Follow IRB procedures to explain this study and confidentiality protection procedures. Obtain definitive verbal consent prior to interview.) **READ**: I will ask you many questions that are sensitive and private. I want to remind you that the interview is completely anonymous and that any information you share with me cannot be traced back to you. You can refuse to answer any question that you do not want to answer. If you do not want to answer a question, just tell me and we will move to the next question.

I. Demographics:

| 5. Gender: (1) Male; (2) Female | | | |
|--|--|------------------------|------------------------------|
| 6. How old are you? | | Y | 'rs Old |
| 7. Can you tell me a little about your school? Did you go to school?) (0) No School; Years 7a. If subject has certificate of an (0) No certificate (1) Elementary school (6th grade) (2) Junior High (9th grade) (3) High School or GED (12th grade) | of formal education y kind, describe (4) Technical educati (5) College (6) Graduate degree | | uld you go in |
| 8. Where were you born? | Country; | State; | Township |
| 9. Where did you spend most of your | ·life? | | Country State Township |
| 10. What is the language you speak a (1) Spanish; (2) Mixteco; (3) Zap | · • | | _ |
| 11. Do you know English? | | | |
| (1) No English(2) Only a few words | (4) Proficient (can discuss w(5) Fluent139 | ork/pay with employer) | |

| (3) | Can make sim | ple sentences | | | | |
|----------|------------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------------------|----------|
| 12. WI | hat is your mar | ital status? | | | | |
| | • | (3) Divorced | (5) Lives | with partner | (7) Other (specify)_ | |
| | - | (4) Widowed | (6) Sepa | - | | |
| (2) | Wallied | (1) 11100100 | (0) 50pu | lutou | | |
| 13. Do | you have any | children? 0) No; | If "y | es", how many? | ("0" for none) | |
| 14. Ho | w many of the | m are under the age of | 16? | _(enter "0" for 1 | none) | |
| 15. Ho | w long have yo | ou lived in the United | States incl | uding your time | in San Diego? | (months) |
| 16. Di | d you come to | the United States befor | re? (if not | ne, enter "1") | | _(times) |
| | | gest time you ever live | | | | (months) |
| (If firs | t time in the U. | S., enter same value as | s earlier q | uestion) | | |
| 18. WI | ho are the peop | le you are living with | now? | | | |
| | | | | aintances | (7) Other (specify) | |
| | • | (4) Co-workers | | | | |
| . , | here do you liv | . , | (0) | - | | |
| | • | e/apartment/trailer | 5 | Migrant labor c | amns | |
| | | /apartment/trailer | | In the canyons | amps | |
| | Family/friend | | | - | loned building/car | |
| | • | s I do NOT pay rent | | | ecify) | |
| ч. | r uning/menu | 5 I to I to I puy lont | 0. | Stiller place (sp | | |

20. What is name of the area you live (town name, name of the canyon, etc.--for mapping recruitment location purposes)?

21. How many friends, relatives, or anyone you know by name do you have in San Diego who are undocumented? _____ (enter number of people)

22. What is your relationship with the person who gave you the coupon? 1. Relative; 2. Friend; 3. Acquaintance; 4. Stranger; 5. Partner; 6. Other (specify)

23. How long have you know this person? _____ (months)

- 24. How did you cross into the U.S.?
 - 24a. Through border checkpoint with legal papers

 - 24b. Illegal crossing on foot ______ how many days (enter "0" if not walking)

 24c. Illegal crossing hidden in compartments ______ (enter descriptive words for vehicles)
 - 24d. With someone else's papers or fake documents ______

24e. Other (specify)

II. Trafficking/Exploitation Screening Questions:

READ: In this section, I will ask if any of the following incidents ever happened to you when you were working for American employers. Remember that all your answers are confidential and no one can trace our data back to you.

Transportation: Smugglers, and people who work with smugglers, may use threats or other intimidating acts (against you, your family members or anyone you care) to make you feel too afraid to try to leave. At any stage during your trip to the U.S. or San Diego area, has any of the following happened to you?

| 010. Forbidding you from leaving the traveling group, or restricting where you | Yes | No |
|---|-----|----|
| could go? | 1 | 2 |
| 020. Withholding your identification documents (including passport, visa, and birth | Yes | No |
| certificate) not for safekeeping or travel convenience, but for control purposes? | 1 | 2 |
| 030. Forbidding or restricting you from communicating freely with family? | Yes | No |
| | 1 | 2 |
| 040. Forbidding or restricting you from communicating freely with other travelers? | Yes | No |
| | 1 | 2 |
| 050. Assaulted/fined when you failed to obey the smuggler's rules? | Yes | No |
| | 1 | 2 |
| 060. Threatened to be assaulted/fined when you failed to obey the smuggler's | | |
| rules? | Yes | No |
| | 1 | 2 |
| 070. Held hostage at or prevented from leaving a safe house before or after you | | |
| crossed into the U.S. while the smugglers were demanding ransom from your | Yes | No |
| family? | 1 | 2 |
| 080. You/your family were required to pay more smuggling fee than originally | | |
| agreed or bad things would happen to you or your family (e.g., be abandoned | Yes | No |
| halfway, be turned over to U.S. border patrol, or family members would be hurt)? | 1 | 2 |

Threats and Fear:

Employers, and people who help employers, may use threats and other intimidating acts to make you feel too afraid to try to leave; or when you tried to leave, to complain, to report, or to seek help for your situation. Have *any of the following incidents happened to you?*

| 090. Physical abuse (including beating, kicking, slapping, etc.)? | Yes | No |
|--|-----|----|
| | 1 | 2 |
| 100. Sexual abuse (including repeated unwanted groping, touching, exposing | | |
| himself, deliberate display of pornographic materials, repeated solicitation of sexual | Yes | No |
| favors, etc.)? | 1 | 2 |
| 110. Threats of physical abuse (including beating, kicking, slapping, etc.)? | Yes | No |
| | 1 | 2 |
| 120. Threats of sexual abuse? | Yes | No |
| | 1 | 2 |
| 130. Locked up (including physically restrained)? | Yes | No |
| | 1 | 2 |
| 140. Threats of harm to you in any other form? | Yes | No |

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| | 1 | 2 |
|---|---|---|
| 150. Threats of harm to your family in any form? | Yes | No |
| | 1 | 2 |
| 160. Threats to get you deported? | Yes | No |
| | 1 | 2 |
| 170. Threats to get you arrested? | Yes | No |
| | 1 | 2 |
| 180. Threats to turn you over to police or immigration officials? | Yes | No |
| | 1 | 2 |
| 190. Has your employer, or someone working with your employer, ever harmed | | |
| physically you in any form when you tried to leave, complain, report, or seek help | Yes | No |
| for your situation? | 1 | 2 |
| 200. Has your employer or someone working with your employer, ever threatened | | |
| you in any manner when you tried to leave, complain, report, or seek help for your | Yes | No |
| situation? | 1 | 2 |
| Rules and Controls: Employers, and people who help them, may use rules and con | trols to | make |
| Rules and Controls : Employers and people who help them may use rules and con | trals to | maki |
| it harder for you to leave, complain about mistreatment, or seek help. Have any of the | | |
| incidents ever happened to you? | ne jono | wing |
| inclaents ever happened to you? | | |
| 210. Forbidding you from leaving the workplace? | Yes | No |
| 210. I ofoldaning you from fouring the workplace. | 1 | 2 |
| 220. Restricting where you can go during non-working hours? | - | |
| 2/U Restricting where you can go diffing non-working nonis? | Yes | |
| 220. Restricting where you can go during non-working nours? | Yes 1 | No |
| | 1 | No 2 |
| 230. Taking away your identification papers (such as passport, visa, birth | 1 Yes | No 2 No |
| 230. Taking away your identification papers (such as passport, visa, birth certification, or other identification documents), not for safekeeping but for control | 1 | No 2 |
| 230. Taking away your identification papers (such as passport, visa, birth certification, or other identification documents), not for safekeeping but for control purposes? | 1 Yes 1 | No 2 No 2 |
| 230. Taking away your identification papers (such as passport, visa, birth certification, or other identification documents), not for safekeeping but for control purposes? | 1 Yes 1 Yes | No 2 No 2 |
| 230. Taking away your identification papers (such as passport, visa, birth certification, or other identification documents), not for safekeeping but for control purposes? 240. Not allowing you to have adequate food or sleep? | 1 Yes 1 Yes 1 | No 2 No 2 No 2 |
| 230. Taking away your identification papers (such as passport, visa, birth certification, or other identification documents), not for safekeeping but for control purposes? 240. Not allowing you to have adequate food or sleep? | 1Yes1Yes1Yes | No 2 No 2 No 2 No |
| 230. Taking away your identification papers (such as passport, visa, birth certification, or other identification documents), not for safekeeping but for control purposes? 240. Not allowing you to have adequate food or sleep? 250. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with family? | 1Yes1Yes1Yes1 | No 2 No 2 No 2 No 2 |
| 230. Taking away your identification papers (such as passport, visa, birth certification, or other identification documents), not for safekeeping but for control purposes? 240. Not allowing you to have adequate food or sleep? 250. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with family? | 1 Yes 1 | No 2 No 2 No 2 No 2 |
| 230. Taking away your identification papers (such as passport, visa, birth certification, or other identification documents), not for safekeeping but for control purposes? 240. Not allowing you to have adequate food or sleep? 250. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with family? 260. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with other workers? | 1 Yes 1 | No 2 No 2 No 2 No 2 No 2 No |
| 230. Taking away your identification papers (such as passport, visa, birth certification, or other identification documents), not for safekeeping but for control purposes? 240. Not allowing you to have adequate food or sleep? 250. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with family? 260. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with other workers? 270. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with others outside | 1 Yes 1 Yes | No 2 No 2 No 2 No 2 No 2 No |
| 230. Taking away your identification papers (such as passport, visa, birth certification, or other identification documents), not for safekeeping but for control purposes? 240. Not allowing you to have adequate food or sleep? 250. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with family? 260. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with other workers? 270. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with others outside | 1 Yes 1 | No 2 No 2 No 2 No 2 No 2 No |
| 230. Taking away your identification papers (such as passport, visa, birth certification, or other identification documents), not for safekeeping but for control purposes? 240. Not allowing you to have adequate food or sleep? 250. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with family? 260. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with other workers? 270. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with other workers? | 1 Yes 1 | No 2 |
| 230. Taking away your identification papers (such as passport, visa, birth certification, or other identification documents), not for safekeeping but for control purposes? 240. Not allowing you to have adequate food or sleep? 250. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with family? 260. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with other workers? 270. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with other soutside the workplace? Deception and Lies: <i>Employers, and people who help them, may also use deception</i> | 1 Yes 1 | No 2 |
| 230. Taking away your identification papers (such as passport, visa, birth certification, or other identification documents), not for safekeeping but for control purposes? 240. Not allowing you to have adequate food or sleep? 250. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with family? 260. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with other workers? 270. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with other soutside the workplace? Deception and Lies: <i>Employers, and people who help them, may also use deceptio Have any of the following incidents ever happened to you?</i> | 1Yes1Yes1Yes1Yes1n and li | No 2 2 2 2 < |
| 230. Taking away your identification papers (such as passport, visa, birth certification, or other identification documents), not for safekeeping but for control purposes? 240. Not allowing you to have adequate food or sleep? 250. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with family? 260. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with other workers? 270. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with others outside | 1 Yes 1 | No 2 |

| 290. Telling you that you cannot contact your family without permission? | Yes | No |
|--|-----|----|
| | 1 | 2 |
| 300. Telling you that you cannot go anywhere without permission? | Yes | No |
| | 1 | 2 |
| 310. Telling you that you will not be believed if you try to seek help from U.S. | Yes | No |

| authorities? | 1 | 2 |
|--|-----|----|
| 320. Instructing you to lie about your identity? | Yes | No |
| | 1 | 2 |
| 330. Instructing you to lie about the identity of your employer? | Yes | No |
| | 1 | 2 |

Exploitative labor practices: *Employers, and people who help them, may take advantage of you because of your legal status, your skill/education, or your language barriers. Have any of the following incidents ever happened to you?*

| 340. Denied pay for work you performed in San Diego or anywhere in the U.S.? | Yes | No |
|--|-----|----|
| | 1 | 2 |
| 350. Received less pay than what you have been promised? | Yes | No |
| | 1 | 2 |
| 360. Received a bad check? | Yes | No |
| | 1 | 2 |
| 370. Employer disappeared before paying you? | Yes | No |
| | 1 | 2 |
| 380. Told to work in hazardous environments (with unknown chemicals) without | Yes | No |
| proper protection? | 1 | 2 |
| 390. Any other work experience you consider grossly abusive or exploitative? | Yes | No |
| | 1 | 2 |

(If "yes" to anyone of the above items...) **READ:** You have indicated that ... Now I would like to ask you some details about the incidents.

Specific Questions on Trafficking Activities (use one page for each "YES" item):

| You mentioned(Insert answered incident —change serial numbering accordingly). 011. When was the last time this incident happened to you? Months ago (Help recall by providing anchoring calendar events) |
|---|
| 011a.Where did it happen? (Record Township, state, country) |
| 012. How many times did it happen in the past 12 months? Times |
| 013. Speaking about the last time, what happened? (Probe for details of incident, location, time, record on separate pages) |
| 014. Were you alone or with others? (0) alone (2) with (approx. number) others 015. Did you tell anyone about this incident other than me (i.e., Interviewer)? (1) No () yes → (2) family/relatives (6) community advocacy groups (3) Friends (7) police/government officials (4) Fellow laborers (8) other (specify): 016. Because of this experience, how much money would you say you had lost (in damage or lost wages) in this last incident? Dollars (use "999" for "don't know" or no way to calculate such as emotional distress; use "777" "not applicable") 017. Are you taking any precautions to prevent it from happening again? (1) Yes (2) No → |
| 018. Of all the migrant laborers you know, what is the percentage do you know that had the same experience? (1) none; (2) some; (3) half; (4) most; (5) all Percent (if not sure, use the base of "10" to help calculate) III. Migration 25. What was your primary job back in your home country, before you came to the U.S.? (1) Agriculture (2) Construction (3) Street vendors (4) Salaried job (specify) (5) Other (specify) |
| 26. When did you arrive in San Diego for the first time?/ (help with calendar anchoring) mm yy |

27. Why did you decide to come to San Diego?

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- 1. Family
- 2. Friend/Acquaintance
- 3. Proximity to the border
- 4. Parents' decision

- 5. Better job opportunities
- 6. More opportunities to succeed
- 7. Liked San Diego Better
- 8. Other (specify)___

28. Do you want to settle in San Diego for a while, or do you plan to move to other places?

- (1) Yes, relatively permanent.
- (2) Plan to move on. (Probe for places to move to and when)_____

29. Can you tell me the primary reason you came to the U.S.?

- (1) Better employment opportunities
 - (To make more money)
- (2) Join family who are already here
- (3) Both join family and better employment opportunities
- (4) Run away from somebody

(5) To go to school

- (6) Parents' decision
- (7) Spouses decision
- (8) Improve quality of life
- (9) Other (explain)

30. Tell me the single incident/person that made you decided to leave.

- (1) Economic reasons (6) Reunite with family
- (2) Own decision
- (3) Family obligations
- (4) Brought by parents
- (5) Death in the family

- (7) Travel to US
- (8) Stories about a better life
- (9) Friends
- (10) Other (explain) _____
- 31. Who was most responsible for helping (not convincing) you leave your hometown?
 - (1) A family member/relative in the hometown
 - (2) A friend in hometown
 - (3) A family member/relative in the U.S.
 - (4) A friend in the U.S.
 - (5) A smuggler (smuggler) who approached you (code "smuggler" even if a friend)
 - (6) Oneself
 - (7) Other (explain)

INTERVIEWER READ: Now I am going to ask you about your experience with smugglers.

INTERVIEWER: IF SUBJECT DID NOT USE SMUGGLER, SKIP TO QUESTION #38.

32. If you used a smuggler to cross into the U.S. this last time, are you still in touch with him/her? (1) Yes_; (2) No_; (3) No smuggler used

Please enter the following codes below if:

999- The person didn't recall or didn't want to answer the question

777- The person was too young to know this information (was brought by someone else) **888-** The person did not use a smuggler

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33. If you used a smuggler to cross into the U.S. this last time, please describe what services you used specifically? _____(Total)

33a. food/shelter \$ (enter "0" if not used)

 33b. lodging \$_____(enter "0" if not used)

 33c. transportation \$_____(enter "0" if not used)

 33d. illegal border crossing \$_____(enter "0" if not used)

33e. border crossing with legal papers \$ (enter "0" if not used)

33f. other (specify) \$ (enter "0" if not used)

34. If you used a smuggler, what was the most important service to you?

(Enter above item number), and 34a. \$ _____ (Enter above dollar amount)

35. If you or your family members want to cross into the U.S. right now, how many smugglers do you know who can help you cross? _____Smugglers (enter "0" for none).

36. How many times were you caught and deported before you succeeded in crossing in the U.S. this last trip? Times (enter "0" if succeeded in first attempt)

37. How many people were in your travel group this last trip?

37a ____ (Minimum at any time)

37b (Maximum at any time)

INTERVIEWER: IF MEXICAN, SKIP TO QUESTION #41

38. for non-Mexican: Tell me how you managed to get through Mexico (or other countries) to get to the U.S. _____ (probe for details...)

39. for non-Mexican: How long did it take you to get through Mexico (or other transit countries)? _____months

40. for non-Mexican: How much did you pay the smugglers to get through the transit country? \$____

40a. Total spent on the journey \$

40b. Amount spent in transit countries (aside from smuggler fees) \$_____

INTERVIEWER: IF NO SMUGGLER USED, SKIP TO OUESTION #44

41. When did you pay the smugglers who smuggled you into the U.S.?

- (0) Did not pay (due to unusual circumstances)
- (1) Promptly (either at the beginning or after the service was provided)
- (2) Through a payment plan
- (3) Work in the smuggler specific farm/restaurant, etc.

42. Do you still owe the smugglers money?

No (enter "0")

Yes _____ (enter amount outstanding)

43. How long will it take you to make enough money to pay off your smuggling fees? Months (enter "0" for owing no money)

VI: Work in the U.S.

44. What were the jobs you have done since you arrived in San Diego? (check all that apply)

- a. Agriculture (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years
- b. Construction (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years
- c. Landscaping (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years
- d. Painting (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years
- e. Janitor/Cleaning (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years
- f. Food processing (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years
- g. Carpentry (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years
- h. Plumbing (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years
- i. Electrical (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years
- j. Childcare/Elderly care (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years
- k. Manufacturing (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years
- 1. Store (Cashier, stock, etc.) (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years
- m. Other_____ (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years

45. What are the top three jobs (occupations) that you get the most in San Diego (Rank top three)?

- a. _____ Agriculture (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years
- b. _____ Construction (How long did you do this job? ______ months/years
- c. _____ Landscaping (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years
- d. _____ Painting (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years
- e. _____ Janitor/Cleaning (How long did you do this job? ______ months/years
- f. _____ Food processing (How long did you do this job? ______ months/years
- g. _____ Carpentry (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years
- h.
 Plumbing (How long did you do this job?
 months/years

 i.
 Electrical (How long did you do this job?
 months/years
- j. _____ Childcare/Elderly care (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years
- k. _____ Manufacturing (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years
- 1. _____ Store (Cashier, stock, etc.) (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years m. _____ Other_____ (How long did you do this job? _____ months/years

46. How do you find work?

- (1) Friends
- (2) Other migrant laborers you know
- (3) At day labor sites

- (4) Employment Agency
- (5) Goes out to look
- (6) Help wanted (newspaper, internet, etc.)

(7) Employer References

(8) Other (specify)

47. Out of the last 10 jobs, how many were you able to negotiate pay beforehand? _____times

- 48. Who are the people that hire you mostly?
 - (1) Business owners
 - (2) Private home owners
 - (3) Private individuals
 - (4) Managers, supervisors, etc.
 - (5) Other (specify)

49. Who are the people that hire you the mostly?

- (1) White
- (2) Latino
- (3) Asian
- (4) African American
- (5) Middle Eastern
- (6) Other _____

(777) Doesn't know(888) Didn't work (not applicable)

- 50. Did you ever feel you were forced to do work that you did not want to do? (0) never ______ times out of the last 10 jobs (999) Didn't answer.
- 51. How many days in a week do you typically find work? _____days

("888"=N/A, not working now)

How much do you earn?

51(a) \$ _____ per week 51(b) \$ _____ per hour

(998) Didn't add the question—earlier version of the questionnaire.

(997) R gets paid per job/task, can't convert into weekly or hourly rate.

52. Out of every \$100 you make,

- (1) How much would you send home? _____dollars
- (2) How much would you spend on your own? _____dollars
- (3) How much would you spend on other things (such as paying off smugglers) _____ dollars
- 53. Whom do you mostly send the money to?
 - (0) Does not send money
 - (1) Parents
 - (2) Spouse
 - (3) Children
 - (4) Relatives
 - (5) Friends
 - (6) Other (specify)_____

54. About how much money have you sent home last six months? _____dollars

55. Do you plan to bring other members of your family to the U.S.?

(0) No; Yes_____ number of people subject is arranging

56. How many times have you gone back to visit you family in the last 12 months? _____ Times

57. How many times have you been caught and deported by *la migra?* _____ Times

58. Which of the following service have you obtained from friends or relatives since you arrived in San Diego (check all that apply)?

- 1. Finding a job
- 2. Housing
- 3. Transportation
- 4. Food/Clothing
- 5. Obtain a document (social security, driver's license)
- 6. Medical/Dental service
- 7. Educational services
- 8. Substance abuse treatment
- 9. Legal assistance
- 10. Childcare
- 11. English classes

- 59. Which of the following services would you like to obtain?
 - 1. Finding a job
 - 2. Housing
 - 3. Transportation
 - 4. Food/Clothing
 - 5. Obtain a document (social security, driver's license)
- 6. Medical/Dental service
- 7. Educational services
- 8. Substance abuse treatment
- 9. Legal assistance
- 10. Childcare
- 11. English classes

READ: This is the end of the survey. Thank you very much for taking the time to participate. We appreciate your time and effort. Here are three coupons, each worth \$10.00. Here is how it works. (Interviewer: Explain the referral process).

Referral Coupon Numbers Given to Subject:

Envelope # _____

Coupon #1_____

Coupon #2_____

Coupon #3_____

VII. Interviewer's Observations:

Overall, in your opinion, how honest was respondent to the questions?

- 1 . . . Very honest
- 2 Honest
- 3 Somewhat honest
- 4 . . . Not very honest
- 5 . . . Not honest at all
- 8 . . . Not sure

INTERVIEWER'S OBSERVATIONS: (description of interview settings, any interruptions or interferences by others, subject's attitudes, responsiveness, sincerity, concern regarding sensitive/personal information, cooperativeness, etc.)

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APPENDIX B: SPECIFIC TRAFFICKING AND ABUSE MEASURES

Specific Trafficking Violation and Abusive Practice Measures

Definition:

Trafficking Violation: any infringement (direct or threatened) of physical integrity or freedom of movement/communication;

Abusive Labor Practices (or Non-Trafficking Violation): unfair or exploitative practices by smugglers during transportation or by employers at work place.

Color Scheme:

- (1) Trafficking violation during Transportation
- (2) Abusive Practice during Transportation
- (3) Trafficking Violation at Work Place
- (4) Abusive Practice at Work Place

Subcategories under Employment:

- 1. Trafficking Violations:
 - a. Threat to physical integrity
 - b. Restriction and deprivation
- 2. Abusive Labor Practices
 - a. Deceptions and lies
 - b. Unfair and exploitative labor practices

Specific Measurement Items:

Smuggler Violations:

010. Forbidding you from leaving the traveling group, or restricting where you *could* go?

020. Withholding your identification documents (including passport, visa, and birth certificate) not for safekeeping or travel convenience, but for control purposes?

030. Forbidding or restricting you from communicating freely with family?

040. Forbidding or restricting you from communicating freely with other travelers?

050. Assaulted/fined when you failed to obey the smuggler's rules?

060. Threatened to be assaulted/fined when you failed to obey the smuggler's rules?

070. Held hostage at or prevented from leaving a safe house before or after you crossed into the U.S. while the smugglers were demanding ransom from your family?

080. You/your family were required to pay more smuggling fee than originally agreed or bad things would happen to you or your family (e.g., be abandoned halfway, be turned over to U.S. border patrol, or family members would be hurt)?

Employer Violations:

Threat to Physical Integrity

090. Physical abuse (including beating, kicking, slapping, etc.)? 100. Sexual abuse? 110. Threats of physical abuse (including beating, kicking, slapping, etc.)?

120. Threats of sexual abuse?

130. Locked up (including physically restrained)?

140. Threats of harm to you in any other form?

150. Threats of harm to your family in any form?

160. Threats to get you deported?

170. Threats to get you arrested?

180. Threats to turn you over to police or immigration officials?

190. Has your employer, or someone working with your employer, ever harmed you physically in any form when you tried to leave, complain, report, or seek help for your situation?

200. Has your employer or someone working with your employer, ever threatened you in any manner when you tried to leave, complain, report, or seek help for your situation?

Restriction and Deprivation

210. Forbidding you from leaving the workplace?

220. Restricting where you can go during non-working hours?

230. Taking away your identification papers (such as passport, visa, birth certification, or other identification documents), not for safekeeping but for control purposes?

240. Not allowing you to have adequate food or sleep?

250. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with family?

260. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with other workers?

270. Preventing or restricting you from communicating freely with others outside the workplace?

Deception and Lies

280. Conditions (such as pay or work environment) turned out to be very different from those that were originally promised to you?

290. Telling you that you cannot contact your family without permission?

300. Telling you that you cannot go anywhere without permission?

310. Telling you that you will not be believed if you try to seek help from U.S. authorities?

320. Instructing you to lie about your identity?

330. Instructing you to lie about the identity of your employer?

Abusive labor practices

340. Denied pay for work you performed in San Diego or anywhere in the U.S.?

350. Received less pay than what you had been promised?

360. Received a bad check?

370. Employer disappeared before paying you?

380. Told to work in hazardous environments (with unknown chemicals) without proper protection?

390. Any other work experience you consider grossly abusive or exploitative?