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Identifying Effective Counter-Trafficking Programs and Practices in the U.S.: Legislative, Legal, and Public Opinion Strategies that Work

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Identifying Effective Counter-Trafficking Programs and Practices in the U.S.:
Legislative, Legal, and Public Opinion Strategies that Work

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Executive Summary

After more than a decade of sustained efforts to combat human trafficking in the United States, it is necessary to step back and examine the effectiveness of key anti-trafficking strategies. Utilizing a multi-method approach, we examine 1) the effectiveness of state-level human trafficking legislation to determine what specific legislative provisions are most effective for obtaining desired outcomes, 2) the characteristics of state prosecutions for human trafficking offenses to determine how state laws are being used to hold offenders accountable, and 3) what the public knows about human trafficking, why the public holds the beliefs that they do, and what the public expects from government anti-trafficking efforts. Together the three parts of the study inform efforts to develop effective counter-trafficking programs and practices for legislators, law enforcement, the courts, anti-trafficking agencies, and the public.

Part I: Evaluating How State Anti-Trafficking Statutes Impact Human Trafficking Arrests & Prosecutions

Purpose: To determine whether state adoption of various anti-trafficking legal provisions increases the identification, arrest, and prosecution of human trafficking suspects.

Methodology: All state human trafficking laws enacted between 2003 and 2012 were classified by statutory provisions grouped into three broad categories: state investment, civil remedies, and criminalization. Models were estimated predicting whether statutory provisions were associated with the arrest and prosecution of human trafficking offenders in each state in the years following enactment. To measure human trafficking arrest and prosecution outcomes we constructed a database of 3,225 human trafficking suspects who were identified in open source information across all states from 2003 to 2012.

Findings:

- Criminalization of human trafficking has been the dominant legislative response. State provisions for human trafficking have expanded over time and more states have legislated on human trafficking through criminalization than through state investment or civil remedies. State human trafficking penalties, however, vary widely across the country.
- Laws that have potential fiscal or bureaucratic impact on the state anti-trafficking efforts increase arrests for human trafficking, with the exception of mandating data collection or reporting about human trafficking, which is negatively related to human trafficking arrests.
- Requiring the National Human Trafficking Hotline number to be posted in public places is the most important provision for increasing the number of human trafficking arrests (though mandating the posting of the national hotline does not predict prosecution). Task forces are the strongest predictors of both state prosecution of human trafficking suspects for any criminal offense type and prosecution of suspects for human trafficking specific offenses.
• Overall, civil provisions are less effective in predicting arrests and prosecutions than state investment measures. However, safe harbor and civil action provisions are two civil remedies that do strongly predict arrest and prosecutions.
• More comprehensive laws increase arrests and prosecutions for human trafficking, but harsher criminal penalties do not. In other words, it is more important that state human trafficking legislation be comprehensive across all categories rather than being extremely harsh in only one category.

Part II: Analysis of Identified State Human Trafficking Cases

Purpose: To date there has not been any comprehensive study of the characteristics, legal process, or disposition of human trafficking offenses adjudicated in state courts. Utilizing a unique source of data on 479 state human trafficking prosecutions, we examine the effect of different legal processes and extra-legal factors in prosecutions of human trafficking cases.

Methodology: Based on data collected from the open-source search process (described above), and a survey of states attorneys general about all known state human trafficking prosecutions, we identified human trafficking suspects who were arrested between 2003 and 2012 and prosecuted under a state human trafficking statute. For each of these suspects, we requested court records from the appropriate local court. All suspect court records were coded to identify information about the nature of the criminal charge, the process of adjudicating the charge, and the case disposition.

Findings:
• There is dramatic unevenness in the utilization of state human trafficking charges across the US. Thirty-nine percent (39%) of identified suspects who were charged with a state human trafficking offense were from California.
• Human trafficking suspects were charged with multiple offenses in addition to the trafficking charge. The most common accompanying charges were: prostitution-related charges (34%), pimping/pandering charges (37%), sexual abuse or rape charges (29%), and kidnapping charges (17%).
• Fifty-three percent (53%) of the suspects charged with a state human trafficking offense had that offense dismissed prior to adjudication, 13% of suspects went to trial on the human trafficking charges, and 35% of suspects plead guilty to a human trafficking charge before trial. Although human trafficking suspects were convicted of human trafficking crimes in only 45% of the studied cases, human trafficking suspects were convicted of any state crime in 72% of the cases.
• State human trafficking cases are lengthy and involve numerous motions and hearing. Cases involving adult victims took longer than cases involving minor victims and were more likely to go to trial. When cases do go to trial defendants face significantly more severe penalties than when cases are adjudicated through a guilty plea. Because few state human trafficking cases go to trial, the legal environment and best prosecution strategies remain uncertain.

Part III: Evaluating Public Opinion on Human Trafficking

Purpose: Perhaps the most important and least understood mechanism in combatting human trafficking is public engagement. Given the intimate relationship between public opinion and public policy, it is vital that we gauge what the public knows, thinks, and feels about human trafficking.
trafficking and uncover the mechanisms that make human trafficking a more salient issue for the general public.

**Methodology:** To measure public opinion on human trafficking we administered a survey experiment to a representative sample of 2,000 Americans in the spring of 2014. The first goal of the survey was to track what the public knows, thinks, and feels about human trafficking. The second goal of the survey was to identify factors that may cause people to change the way they think about and engage with the issue.

**Findings:**

- A strong majority of the public has a solid understanding that human trafficking is a form of slavery (90%), but many hold incorrect beliefs about human trafficking, including that human trafficking victims are almost always female (92%), is another word for smuggling (71%), always requires threats of or actual physical violence (62%), involves mostly illegal immigrants (62%), and requires movement across state or national borders (59%).
- The public is concerned about the issue of human trafficking. Over 80% of the public reports that they have ‘some’ or ‘a lot’ of concern about human trafficking and only 3% of the public reports having no concern. Fifty-one percent (51%) say that human trafficking should be a top or high priority of the US government. White males are the least likely to be concerned about human trafficking and least likely to think it should be a government priority.
- The US public thinks sex trafficking is a more significant problem than labor trafficking, women/girls are more at risk than men/boys, and that human trafficking happens in the U.S. but not in a person’s community.
- When the public is exposed to human trafficking victims that are not typically highlighted in the news (i.e., young males), they are highly concerned about the victimization and want the government to take action.
- Sex-related behaviors affect beliefs about human trafficking. Respondents who consumed pornography within the last year have more knowledge of human trafficking, but they think that it should be less of a government priority. Similarly, respondents visiting a strip club within the last year reported lower levels of concern about human trafficking and thought that human trafficking should be less of a government priority than those respondents not visiting a strip club within the last year.
- The public has not made the connection between how their own attitudes and behaviors can either help or hinder the movement against human trafficking.
Acknowledgements

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The data collected for this report would not have been possible without the cooperation of the many court officials, court administrators, and prosecutors who provided information on human trafficking cases tried in state courts. Their combined efforts allowed us to develop the unique data sources that provide the basis for this report.
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Purpose

Despite the significant attention human trafficking has received from legislative bodies, NGOs, and the media, the problem persists. One reason is simply that there is a clear demand for inexpensive goods and services and for commercial sex. A related reason, however, is that the immediate governmental and non-governmental responses to human trafficking were reactive, based on a perceived urgent need to do something. As scholars have noted elsewhere, criminalization of trafficking perpetrators and the activation of support for trafficking victims through the criminal justice process has been one of the primary responses to concern about human trafficking in the US. After more than a decade of efforts to combat human trafficking through traditional criminal justice mechanisms, it is now critical to assess what legislative, legal, and civic responses have been most effective. This research fills gaps in our understanding by evaluating three strategic anti-trafficking platforms. Specifically, we examine the following three areas.

1) The effectiveness of state-level human trafficking legislation to determine what specific legislative provisions are most effective for obtaining desired outcomes, measured here as the arrest and prosecution of human trafficking perpetrators.

2) State prosecutions for human trafficking offenses to ascertain who is being charged with state human trafficking offenses, the adjudicatory process and disposition of human trafficking cases in state courts, and the legal and extralegal factors that predict a human trafficking suspect being convicted.

3) Public opinion on human trafficking through a nationally representative survey containing embedded experiments. The survey experiment illustrates the current state of public opinion on human trafficking, informs our understanding of why the public holds the beliefs that they do and what they expect from government anti-trafficking efforts, and identifies strategies to effectively bolster public awareness of and interest in human trafficking.

The data contained herein identifies limitations in the current anti-trafficking response and informs the development of effective counter-trafficking programs and practices for legislators, law enforcement, the courts, anti-trafficking agencies, and the public.
Part I: Evaluating How State Anti-Trafficking Statutes Impact Human Trafficking Arrests & Prosecutions

Background

There is a dearth of research on the effectiveness of anti-trafficking policies (Goździak and Bump, 2008), and those studies that do exist focus on the effectiveness of the federal trafficking statute. Because the problem of human trafficking in the US has largely been framed as a crime problem with criminal justice solutions (Farrell and Fahy, 2009), research on the effectiveness of anti-trafficking responses has typically examined criminal justice system outcomes. For example, one study funded by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) examined the effectiveness of the Victims of Trafficking Violence Protection Act (TVPA, 2000) as measured by successful prosecutions (Clawson, Dutch, Lopez, and Tiapula, 2008). The researchers used surveys, interviews, and legal case reviews to determine those variables that facilitate successful federal prosecutions.

Little research has systematically examined state laws on human trafficking using rigorous and robust quantitative methodologies. The Polaris Project state rating system for human trafficking legislation provides a score for each state’s legislation based on a variety of criteria. In addition, they provide individual state reports and resources on state legislative efforts. This work is important because it helps anti-trafficking groups push for tougher legislation, which has implications for law enforcement. However, the rating system is limited in its ability to answer questions about the implementation, enforcement, and effectiveness of human trafficking laws.

The chief reasons as to why we have yet to see research concerning the effectiveness of state-level laws are timing and data availability; human trafficking cases are notoriously lengthy and difficult to prosecute (e.g., Clawson, Dutch, Lopez, and Tiapula, 2008). There was a gap of eight years before the first large-scale effectiveness study of the TVPA was conducted due to the lag between passage of the TVPA and sufficient case closures. Prosecutions under state human trafficking laws have also lagged; Washington was one of the first states to pass legislation in 2003, but state prosecutors did not charge anyone with a human trafficking offense until 2009. Since the first state laws were not passed until 2003 (with the majority of states not criminalizing human trafficking until 2007 and beyond), it was not feasible until recently to conduct a

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2 The criteria are sex trafficking, labor trafficking, asset forfeiture and/or investigative tools, training and/or task force, posting human trafficking hotline, safe harbor, low burden of proof for sex trafficking a minor, victim assistance, access to civil damages, and vacating convictions for sex trafficking victims (Polaris Project 2014).

3 The National Opinion Research Center found that the mere existence of a state trafficking statute has a major impact on local law enforcements’ awareness and training, as well as the levels of implementation and collaboration with federal authorities (Newton, Mulcahy, and Martin 2008).
large-scale state-level effectiveness study. Additionally, information on state human trafficking prosecutions has been scarce and widely dispersed.

Prior to the present research, the principle Investigators developed a comprehensive dataset of all state laws on human trafficking from 2003 to 2008 in an effort to understand what factors lead states to pass comprehensive human trafficking legislation. In this research, the dependent variables of interest were the state laws on human trafficking, and the primary independent variables of interest were the percent of women comprising the legislature and whether neighboring states have criminalized human trafficking (Wittmer and Bouché, 2013; Bouché and Wittmer, 2015).

The present research asks whether and how state laws on human trafficking have impacted arrests and prosecutions of human trafficking cases. Thus, we shift the state legislation variables from being the dependent variables of interest (as in our previous research) to the primary independent variables of interest. Our dependent variables of interest in this analysis are arrests and prosecutions for human trafficking. We seek to examine the effectiveness of state laws on human trafficking in generating human trafficking arrests and prosecutions.

**Design and Methods**

**Independent Variables**

One of the first steps of this project was to classify all state human trafficking laws enacted between 2003 and 2012. The coding scheme to classify state legislative provisions is divided into three broad categories: *criminalization*, *state investment*, and *civil remedies*.

Most states that criminalized human trafficking by 2012 made human trafficking a stand-alone crime with associated criminal penalties. However, some states amended a standing criminal statute (e.g., on crimes such as compelling prostitution or abduction) to include human trafficking. In these cases, we considered amendments to existing crimes “criminalization” of human trafficking, even though the state did not explicitly call it “human trafficking.” Two examples of this are Hawaii and Virginia. In 2011, Hawaii passed HB 141, which created a stand-alone labor trafficking crime; however, they never created a stand-alone sex trafficking crime. Rather, they passed HB 240 in 2011, which amended the crime of “promoting prostitution in the first degree.” We include this as criminalization of sex trafficking despite it not being called “sex trafficking.” Virginia is another such example. Virginia passed HB 1898 in 2011, amending crimes relating to abduction to include language on prostitution and forced labor. Although Virginia did not pass a stand-alone crime called “human trafficking” until 2015, we considered the passage of HB 1898 criminalization of human trafficking.

Beyond simply determining whether or not a state criminalized human trafficking, we examined the minimum and maximum sentences that the crime of human trafficking carries within each state, coding the criminal penalties separately for sex trafficking of a
minor, sex trafficking of an adult, labor trafficking of a minor, and labor trafficking of an adult. We do this because some states have different sentencing guidelines for labor trafficking versus sex trafficking, and others have steeper penalties for sex or labor trafficking if the victim is a minor versus an adult. State penalties vary widely across the country. In some states the minimum penalty for any type of human trafficking is 20 years, while other states’ maximum penalties range from five to ten years.

The state investment category is inclusive of six sub-categories: victim assistance, task force, training, reporting, hotline posting, and increased investigative tools for law enforcement. In short, state investment laws are those that have potential fiscal or bureaucratic impact on the state. We posit that laws that invest state resources in human trafficking will lead to increased prosecutions and convictions. First, laws requiring human or financial capital signal to other stakeholders in the state—including law enforcement and prosecutors—that the issue is a priority. In addition, many of these aspects of state investment raise the profile or awareness of the issue, most notably through training, the production of reports, or the posting of the hotline. Farrell, McDevitt and Fahy (2010) found that among the greatest barriers to identifying and investigating human trafficking cases is the lack of training of law enforcement and other first responders. Therefore, as law enforcement and prosecutors have greater knowledge, understanding, and awareness of the issue through these various legislatively mandated state investments, there should be a corresponding response in their efforts to combat it.

Victim assistance, the first sub-category of state investment, is whether the state has allocated funds towards victim shelters, counseling, and recovery activities. Task force includes those state laws that require a task force be formed, usually under the auspices of the Attorney General and which usually includes a cross-section of representatives from all relevant areas of government, law enforcement, and the community. Many of these task forces are engaged in activities such as producing reports on the nature and prevalence of human trafficking in their state, developing training programs for law enforcement and other stakeholders, and/or identifying protocols and shelters for assisting victims. In many cases, those states with task forces also have mandated reports on human trafficking since reporting is often considered a primary responsibility of task forces. However, states such as Delaware, Indiana, and Nebraska mandated a state report be prepared on the prevalence of human trafficking without creating a task force. Reports may be mandated on the prevalence or nature of human trafficking in the state, or provide information on the agencies working on the issue in the state. Training includes provisions in the state law requiring law enforcement (and potentially other first responders) to be trained on the issue of human trafficking. Lack of training of law enforcement and other first responders of human trafficking is a major barrier to identifying and investigating cases of human trafficking, which makes mandated training an important state investment in human trafficking. Hotline posting is a state law requiring posting the national human trafficking hotline number in various
establishments. Some states require that the number be posted in specific public spaces, while other states simply encourage private establishments to post the number. The final category for state investment includes investigatory tools for law enforcement. This primarily includes enhanced investigation techniques that law enforcement can use in their investigations of human trafficking cases, such as the ability to wiretap.

The third broad category in which states can legislate on human trafficking is in the area of civil remedies, which itself is inclusive of seven sub-categories: vacating prior convictions of victims, low burden of proof for trafficking a minor, safe harbor, restitution for victims, asset forfeiture, civil action, and affirmative defense. We posit that civil remedies in the law will increase the number of human trafficking prosecutions and convictions in a state for a variety of reasons. First, these various provisions of civil remedies support the prosecutions of human trafficking cases by allowing for a more comprehensive response, signaling that the state not only prioritizes prosecuting the criminals, but also remedying the harm to victims. Second, some of the sub-provisions of civil remedies—including restitution, vacating prior convictions of the victims, safe harbor, and affirmative defense—potentially make it easier for prosecutors to gain the cooperation of the victims in the prosecutorial process, thereby producing stronger evidence. Third, prosecutors are more likely to prosecute a case when their perceived likelihood of a success is high, and some of these civil remedies provisions, including low burden of proof for trafficking a minor, increase the odds of success.

The first sub-provision for civil remedies is **vacating prior convictions of the victim**. This means that victims in human trafficking cases have the ability to file motions to get prior criminal convictions expunged or otherwise removed from their criminal record. **Low burden of proof for trafficking a minor** simply means that the prosecutor’s burden to prove the trafficker committed the act and had criminal intent is lower if the victim is a minor, thereby making it easier to obtain convictions in cases of trafficking a minor. Usually this means that proving force, fraud, or coercion is unnecessary if the victim is a minor. **Safe harbor** is defined here as state laws that provide immunity to minor victims of human trafficking for certain offenses they were forced to commit while being trafficked. A **restitution** provision means that traffickers could be required to pay a determined sum of money to their victims. **Asset forfeiture** is the confiscation of assets by the state that are either proceeds of a crime or instrumentalities of crime. **Civil action** is a legal action to compel a civil remedy, such as the ability to seek compensatory and/or punitive damages. Finally, an **affirmative defense** provision allows a victim of human trafficking an affirmative defense for any crime he or she committed as a direct result of the trafficking without regard to whether anyone was prosecuted or convicted for trafficking. In other words, victims are able to defend their own criminal actions as having taken place as a result of being trafficked, and can therefore argue they should not be held liable for those criminal actions.
Dependent Variables

Our dependent variables of interest in this study are arrests and prosecutions of human trafficking cases. To measure arrest and prosecution of human trafficking offenders, we developed a database of 3,225 human trafficking suspects identified in each US state from 2003 to 2012. There were several stages to the development of this database, including designing a detailed and structured search protocol for several different open-source news archival search engines, conducting inter-rater reliability tests utilizing the search protocol, and performing searches and entering data in a standardized way for suspects for every state.4

The first dependent variable is arrests. Here we examined the total number of arrests for human trafficking-related crimes by either state or federal law enforcement agencies per state per year. The second dependent variable is total prosecutions, defined as prosecutions for any crime related to human trafficking by either state or federal law enforcement agencies. Specifically, although many states passed stand-alone criminalization laws on human trafficking, prosecutors may opt to prosecute a human trafficking case as pimping, pandering, compelling prostitution, or any number of other related crimes, rather than as human trafficking. The reasons for this include the reticence of prosecutors to use a new and untested statute, the potential to obtain a steeper penalty under a different crime, or lack of familiarity with the new crime. Thus, although a case may classify as human trafficking, it may not be prosecuted as such. The third dependent variable is state prosecutions for any crime related to a human trafficking offense. Here, we subtracted any case that was prosecuted at the federal level within a state to examine only those prosecuted by state law enforcement agencies. The fourth dependent variable is total human trafficking prosecutions. This variable is the total defendants charged specifically with human trafficking by either federal or state prosecutors. Finally, we omit the federal human trafficking cases to generate the final dependent variable, which is state human trafficking prosecutions. These are those defendants charged specifically under the state human trafficking statute and prosecuted at the state level.

Data Analysis

In order to conduct our analyses, we combined the legislation and suspect data into a single dataset wherein each observation was one state in one year. The dependent variables are continuous and measure the numbers of arrests and prosecutions in every state from 2003 to 2012. The independent variables are the legislative provisions in the categories of state investment, civil remedies, and criminalization that each state had from 2003 to 2012. They take on a value of 0 if the state did not adopt that policy, a value of 1 in the year the policy was adopted, and they maintain the value of 1 for all subsequent years (under the validated assumption that the state did not drop the policy after it was adopted). We also developed a “comprehensiveness” variable for the state

4 The protocol for searching open-source materials is available upon request.
investment category by summing all of the provisions of state investment. This variable ranges from 0 (no state investment) to 6 (total investment). Likewise, we summed the provisions of civil remedies to derive a variable that measures the comprehensiveness of a state’s civil provisions, which ranges from 0 (no civil remedy provisions) to 7 (total civil remedy). Finally, we created a variable that measures the average criminal sentence across all types of human trafficking (sex/labor, adult/minor).

We uploaded the state legislation and suspect dataset to Stata 13 to perform our analyses. First, we ran a series of cross-tabulations and descriptive statistics to analyze patterns in state legislation, arrests, and prosecutions for human trafficking cases. We then ran a series of cross-sectional time-series multivariate regression analyses to assess the effectiveness of various legislative provisions in predicting arrests and prosecutions. All of the models measure the impact of various legislative provisions on the dependent variables described above.

**Findings**

First, we find that state provisions for human trafficking have expanded over time. More states have legislated on human trafficking through *criminalization* than by legislating in state investment or civil remedies. By 2012, all but one state (Wyoming) criminalized human trafficking through creation of a stand-alone human trafficking crime or by integrating human trafficking into existing criminal offenses (see Figure 1.1).

![Figure 1.1: Number of states criminalizing human trafficking by year](image)

State criminal penalties vary widely as to the felony sentence a conviction carries (see Table 1.1 for minimum/maximum sentences for each state). On average, the harshest penalties are associated with sex trafficking a minor, while the weakest come with labor trafficking an adult (see Figure 1.2).
Table 1.1: Minimum/Maximum State Criminal Penalties for Human Trafficking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Min/Max Sex Minor</th>
<th>Min/Max Sex Adult</th>
<th>Min/Max Labor Minor</th>
<th>Min/Max Labor Adult</th>
<th>Total arrests</th>
<th>Total state arrests</th>
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Figure 1.2: Average state human trafficking penalties by year for sex/labor trafficking of adults/minors

State investment is the second most common legislative action on human trafficking, and between 2003 and 2012 many states improved their human trafficking laws to increase the level of state investment in anti-trafficking measures. By 2012, just over half the states had made provisions in their law to assist victims (see Figure 1.3), but this is the only category of state investment in which a majority of states invested. In fact, by 2012, there were still 12 states that did not make any state investment in human trafficking, and only three states had made state investments in all six categories (Minnesota, Ohio, and Texas) (see Table 1.2).
Figure 1.3: Number of states by year with policies that invest in human trafficking

![Graph showing the number of states by year with policies that invest in human trafficking.]

Table 1.2: State investment in human trafficking by year

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### Civil remedies

Civil remedies is the third legislative category. By 2012, over half of the states did not require force, fraud, or coercion for sex trafficking of a minor, thereby allowing for a lower burden of proof for trafficking a minor. Almost half the states allow for restitution and asset forfeiture in human trafficking cases (see Figure 1.4).

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Figure 1.4: Number of states by year with civil remedies for human trafficking offenses

All the other civil remedy sub-categories are less common, especially safe harbor (11 states by 2012) and vacating prior convictions of trafficking victims (8 states by 2012).

As of 2012, six states had yet to allow for any civil remedies for human trafficking offenses, and no state had legislated in every civil remedies sub-category (see Table 1.3).

Across all 50 states from 2003 to 2012, we identified 3,225 suspects who had been arrested by either federal or state law enforcement officials for activity relating to human trafficking. There is a strong upward trend in the number of arrests for human trafficking (see Figure 1.5). Arrests for sex trafficking (Figure 1.6) have steadily increased over time and far outnumber arrests for labor trafficking (Figure 1.7).

---

5 States define safe harbor differently, but here safe harbor is recognized as any statute that recognizes sexually exploited children under the age of 18 as crime victims in need of services. These laws may grant immunity from prosecution or divert children out of the criminal justice system.

6 There were 112 suspects arrested in cases involving both sex and labor trafficking. For purposes of illustration cases that involved both sex and labor trafficking were combined in the labor trafficking calculations. Trafficking type is missing in 374 arrests.
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<td>Vacate prior convictions</td>
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<td>Restitution</td>
<td>Asset Forfeiture</td>
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</table>

Figure 1.5: Total arrests by year by federal and state law enforcement agencies
Figure 1.6: Total arrests for **sex trafficking** by year by federal and state law enforcement agencies

![Graph showing total arrests for sex trafficking by year](chart)

Figure 1.7: Total arrests for **labor trafficking** by year by federal and state law enforcement agencies

![Graph showing total arrests for labor trafficking by year](chart)

The total number of human trafficking suspects who were **prosecuted for any type of crime** associated with the human trafficking incident by either state or federal law enforcement agencies between 2003 and 2012 has increased (see Figure 1.8). After initial passage of the TVPA trafficking suspects were primarily prosecuted federally; however, in the years following the passage of state human trafficking laws, more human trafficking suspects have been prosecuted for a variety of offenses at the state level. By
2012, identified human trafficking suspects were more likely to be prosecuted for state offenses (n=312) than federal offenses (n=245).

**Figure 1.8: Human trafficking suspect prosecution for any crime by federal and state law enforcement agencies**

![Human trafficking suspect prosecution graph]

*Prosecution for human trafficking specific offenses* by either state or federal law enforcement agencies has increased steadily over time (see Figure 1.9). Importantly, with the passage of state anti-trafficking laws and the bolstering of those laws over time, the number of state human trafficking prosecutions has risen sharply. By 2012, more identified human trafficking suspects were prosecuted for human trafficking specific offense at the state-level (n=190) than at the federal-level (n=137).
Finally, in modeling the impact of state legislative provisions on arrests and prosecutions, we find that every aspect of state investment has a positive and significant impact on increasing arrests for human trafficking in the state, with the exception of reporting, which has a negative and significant relationship. As illustrated in Table 1.4, the most important provisions to increase human trafficking arrests are requiring the National Human Trafficking Hotline number to be posted in public places. Task forces are the strongest predictors of state prosecution of human trafficking suspects for any offense type (Model 3) and prosecution for human trafficking specific offenses (Models 4 and 5). Posting the hotline number is not a significant predictor of state human trafficking prosecutions (Model 5).
### Table 1.4: Impact of State Investment on Law Enforcement Outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model 1: Total arrests</th>
<th>Model 2: Total prosecutions (any)</th>
<th>Model 3: State prosecutions (any)</th>
<th>Model 4: Total human trafficking prosecutions</th>
<th>Model 5: State human trafficking prosecutions</th>
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<td>Victim Assistance</td>
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<td>(1.66)</td>
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<td>(0.96)</td>
<td>(0.61)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>(1.94)</td>
<td>(0.90)</td>
<td>(1.12)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training</td>
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<td>(2.09)</td>
<td>(0.96)</td>
<td>(1.20)</td>
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<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.29</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Overall, the various civil provisions are not as effective in predicting arrests and prosecutions (Table 1.5). Two civil remedies that do strongly predict arrest and prosecutions, however, are safe harbor and civil action provisions. We also find a significantly higher number of arrests and prosecutions for human trafficking in those states with more comprehensive state investment in human trafficking (Table 1.6). Interestingly, the comprehensiveness of the civil remedy provisions in a state human trafficking law significantly impacts state human trafficking prosecutions, but not arrests or total prosecutions at any level for any crime related to human trafficking. Finally, the severity of the criminal penalty is *not significant* in any of the models, indicating that the harshness of the criminal penalty has no impact on the numbers of arrests and prosecutions for human trafficking.
Table 1.5: Impact of Civil Remedies on Law Enforcement Outcomes

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model 1: Total arrests</th>
<th>Model 2: Total prosecutions (any)</th>
<th>Model 3: State prosecutions (any)</th>
<th>Model 4: Total human trafficking prosecutions</th>
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<tr>
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<td>(8.40)</td>
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<td>(3.01)</td>
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*p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Table 1.6: Impact of Comprehensive State Laws and Harsh Criminal Penalties on Law Enforcement Outcomes

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model 1: Total arrests</th>
<th>Model 2: Total prosecutions (any)</th>
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*p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01
Implications for Criminal Justice Policy and Practice

The results of Part I of this project yield several criminal justice policy implications. First, it is important to note that any state investment in human trafficking (except reporting) is important in generating human trafficking arrests and prosecutions. Posting the hotline significantly predicts arrests, but does not predict state human trafficking prosecutions. This suggests that when human trafficking arrests are reactive in nature—based on a tip from the hotline—the arrest does not necessarily produce the requisite evidence that leads to a prosecution. On the other hand, allowing for enhanced investigative tools, such as wiretapping, for law enforcement encourages a more proactive approach to investigating these cases, thereby leading to stronger evidence for prosecution.

The evidence on civil remedies suggests that the two most important legislative provisions that produce arrests and prosecutions are safe harbor and civil action. By providing immunity to minor victims of human trafficking for offenses they were forced to commit while being trafficked, safe harbor makes prosecuting cases of minor victims less difficult. Minors may be more likely to cooperate in an investigation and prosecution given the safe harbor guarantees. Civil action provisions appear to have the same impact. Specifically, victims may be more apt to cooperate with law enforcement if the law allows them to seek compensatory or punitive damages.

Finally, this research suggests that more comprehensive laws do increase arrests and prosecutions for human trafficking; however, harsher criminal penalties do not. In other words, it is more important that state human trafficking legislation be comprehensive across the categories rather than extremely harsh in only one category. Although it may be tempting to assume that harsh penalties will either signal the importance or the issue to law enforcement and/or deter criminal activity, it is actually the support structure around the criminalization of the act that induces law enforcement action. Legislators must consider those provisions of the law that provide the necessary legal support to those investigating and prosecuting human trafficking cases. The research suggests that in the absence of strong state investment, safe harbor, and civil action provisions, a state’s human trafficking enforcement will be lacking.

7 There are two potential reasons reporting is negatively associated with arrests and prosecutions. First, it could be illustrative of those states that were reluctant to criminalize human trafficking until they had more information about the prevalence and problem in their state. Also, mandated reporting requirements may take time and resources away from identifying, investigating and prosecuting human trafficking offenders.
Part II: Analysis of Identified State Human Trafficking Cases

Background

There are numerous legal, institutional and individual challenges to identifying, investigating, and prosecuting new human trafficking crimes (Farrell, McDevitt and Fahy, 2010; Farrell, Owens and McDevitt, 2014; Reid, 2014). Previous research confirms that prosecutorial assessment about whether to bring a criminal charge is largely influenced by legal factors predicting the likelihood of conviction, such as the severity of the offense and the strength of the evidence (Albonetti, 1987; Jacoby et al., 1976; Miller, 1969; Schmidt and Steury, 1989). The evidence necessary to support a conviction is difficult to obtain in human trafficking cases. Victim witnesses are often reticent about cooperating with government authorities out of fear of being perceived as criminals or fear of retaliation against them or their families. Other victims suffer from severe trauma and psychologically complex loyalties to the trafficker(s) that impede their ability to provide testimony. Additionally, in the case of new crimes, a prosecutor is less able to assess legal factors, such as the type of evidence necessary to secure convictions. In these cases, legally irrelevant factors such as the race, class, and gender of suspects and victims may have a stronger impact on prosecutorial charging decisions (Spears and Spohn, 1997; Spohn, Gruhl, and Welch, 1987; Frohman, 1991).

Although many believe the number of state human trafficking cases is small, to date there has not been any comprehensive study of the characteristics, legal process or disposition of these cases nationally. Here we examine the effect of different legal processes and extra-legal factors in state prosecutions of human trafficking cases to inform effective prosecution strategies.

Design and Methods

Based on data collected from the open-source search process (described above), and a survey of states attorneys general about all known state human trafficking prosecutions, we identified 616 suspects who were potentially prosecuted under a state human trafficking statute. For each of these suspects, we requested court records from the appropriate local court. We secured the records for 479 (77%) of identified suspects.

We developed a detailed coding protocol to guide the extraction of information from the state court records. Research assistants

8 The survey was reviewed by the National Association of Attorneys General’s board and was distributed to each of the 50 Attorneys General (AG) with a letter of support from NAAG leadership in early October 2013. We secured responses from 90% of the AG offices nationally. A majority of the AGs reported that they have not prosecuted cases of human trafficking. Those agencies that had prosecuted cases provided detailed information about the prosecution and its outcome. The survey instrument can be found in Appendix 2a.

9 Of the 3,225 human trafficking suspects identified through the open-source search process, 589 were identified as being charged with a state human trafficking offense (18%). Of the suspects arrested for sex trafficking, 20% were charged with a state human trafficking offense. Of the suspects arrested for labor trafficking only 8% were charged with a state human trafficking offense.

10 When court dockets were returned indicating that a suspect previously believed to be charged with a human trafficking offense was in fact not charged with such offenses, the information about that suspect was corrected in the open-source database and those dockets were not coded.
were trained to code the court records and all coding was reviewed by a principal investigator. Information from these records was used to describe the characteristics of state human trafficking cases and determine evidentiary factors that predict conviction.

**Data Analysis**

We calculated frequencies to determine: 1) the distribution of different types of human trafficking charges (general human trafficking, sex trafficking of an adult, sex trafficking of a minor or labor trafficking); 2) demographics of human trafficking suspects; 3) the types of additional charges for those charged with human trafficking; and 4) dispositions for each charge. Dispositions for human trafficking and non-human trafficking offenses were also aggregated to compare overall dispositions. Data were cross-tabulated to determine variation in disposition by type of human trafficking charge. Mean sentences were calculated for human trafficking suspects by type of human trafficking charge.

To determine whether legal or extra-legal factors predict convictions for human trafficking suspects, we conducted logistic regression with human trafficking conviction as the dependent variable in one model and any conviction as the dependent variable in another model, with the type of human trafficking, suspect gender, suspect age and case duration as independent variables.

**Findings**

Table 2.1 provides the number of suspects in each state charged with at least one human trafficking offense. There is dramatic unevenness in the utilization of state human trafficking charges even among those states with identified human trafficking prosecutions. Although nearly all states had statutes that criminalized human trafficking at the time of study, we were only able to confirm and secure the court records of state human trafficking charges being levied against suspects in 32 states. Thirty-nine percent (39%) of identified suspects who were charged with a state human trafficking offense were charged in California, and another 9% were in Texas.11

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11 We were not able to secure court records for all suspects identified through the suspect search process. This process was not consistent across states. For example, we were able to secure a large number of human trafficking suspects identified in California but a much lower number in New York. As a result, although 35% of the human trafficking cases where we could secure the court record were from California, 29% of the overall identified human trafficking cases from the suspect search database were from California. The variation between identified suspects and identified and coded court records is explained by the failure of some states to adequately computerize and make available court records for identified suspects.
Half of the suspects charged with a state human trafficking offense were charged under a general human trafficking statute that includes both labor and commercial sex services. Fourteen percent (14%) of suspects were charged under a statute specific to sex trafficking of an adult, 33% under a statute specific to sex trafficking of a minor, and only 2% under a statute specific to labor trafficking (Figure 2.1).
Approximately 21% of the suspects charged were female, 79% were male and the average age was 32. There was little variation in the demographics of suspects across type of state human trafficking charges, with the exception of those suspects who were charged with sex trafficking of an adult being slightly older than other suspects. Information on defendant counsel was only available in 42% of the cases. For those suspects where counsel information could be found, 67% of the suspects were represented by public defenders.

### Table 2.2: Demographics of suspects by types of trafficking charge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Trafficking</th>
<th>Total N</th>
<th>Male %</th>
<th>Female %</th>
<th>Average Age *</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General human trafficking</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex trafficking adults</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex trafficking minors</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor trafficking</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Age information was available for only 334 of the suspect court records

Table 2.3 illustrates that suspects charged with state human trafficking offenses were commonly charged with other state crimes. On average, human trafficking suspects were charged with five state offenses (including human trafficking offenses). The most common accompanying charges were: prostitution-related charges (34%), pimping/pandering charges (37%), sexual abuse or rape charges (29%), and kidnapping charges (17%).
Table 2.3: Other types of charges for those also charged with human trafficking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charge</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pimping</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Abuse</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidnapping</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False Imprisonment</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Abuse</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compelling Prostitution</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conspiracy</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Enterprise</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption of Minor</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involuntary servitude</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug possession/distribution</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compelling a Minor into Sexual Performance</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: n=479 of those suspects charged with human trafficking.
More than one charge can be checked per suspect.

Detailed information on court motions and hearings was available in 50% of the studied cases. For those cases, there were an average of 4 motions and 6 hearings per human trafficking case. On average it took 257 days for a state human trafficking case to progress from initial charge to adjudication. As a point of comparison, the median time from charge to adjudication for felony defendants nationally is 111 days (Reaves, 2013). Adult sex trafficking cases took longer to reach disposition compared to minor sex trafficking cases.

As previous research with smaller samples suggests, few suspects are ultimately convicted of a human trafficking charge, though they may be convicted of other related state charges (Farrell, Owens, and McDevitt, 2014). In this national study, 53% of the suspects we identified who were originally charged with a state human trafficking offense had that offense dismissed prior to adjudication (See Table 2.4), 13% of suspects went to trial on the human trafficking charges, and 35% of suspects plead guilty to a human trafficking charge before trial. Although human trafficking suspects were convicted of human trafficking crimes in only 45% of the studied cases, human trafficking suspects were convicted of any state crime in 72% of the cases.
Table 2.4: Dispositions for human trafficking charges (N=400)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dismiss/nolle prosequi</th>
<th>Not Guilty (trial)</th>
<th>Guilty Plea</th>
<th>Guilty (trial)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General human trafficking</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>100% (224)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex trafficking adults</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>100% (51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex trafficking minors</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>100% (150)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor trafficking</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>100% (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>100% (409)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: n=409 human trafficking suspect charges had final disposition information

Rates of conviction for human trafficking offenses vary across place and by the characteristics of offenders. For example, those suspects represented by public counsel were more likely to be convicted of a human trafficking offense (47%) compared to those suspects represented by private counsel (34%). A series of logistic regression models were estimated to predict the factors that were associated with conviction for human trafficking suspects. Human trafficking suspects were more likely to be convicted of trafficking offenses and also convicted of any type of state offense when they were charged with sex trafficking crimes compared to general human trafficking or labor trafficking offenses (see Table 2.5). Gender and age of defendants were not significantly related to conviction. Cases that were longer in duration from initial charge to disposition were more likely to end in a conviction.
Table 2.5: Estimating human trafficking conviction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th></th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human Trafficking Charge</td>
<td></td>
<td>Any Charge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B (SE)</td>
<td>OR</td>
<td>B (SE)</td>
<td>OR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Adult</td>
<td>1.27***</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>1.82***</td>
<td>6.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.71)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.76)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Minor</td>
<td>0.71**</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>1.29**</td>
<td>3.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.34)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.51)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor</td>
<td>-1.14</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>-0.53</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.10)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.94)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>-0.31</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>0.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.32)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.39)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration</td>
<td>0.00*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.00*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-0.43</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.51)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.63)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>236</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudo R²</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: General Human Trafficking is the reference category. Entries are logistic regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses and odds ratios (OR) reported. * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

On average, human trafficking offenders who were convicted for any state crime (inclusive of human trafficking charges) were sentenced to 99 months in state prison, though the sentence lengths varied greatly depending on the type of charge. Table 2.6 provides the average lengths of prison sentences for suspects who were convicted of at least one human trafficking crime. Suspects convicted of at least one human trafficking charge on average were sentenced to 115 months in prison. Offenders for all types of human trafficking faced lengthier sentences when their cases went to trial as opposed to adjudication through plea. For example, on average, suspects charged with general human trafficking charges faced sentences of 65 months if convicted following a guilty plea and 215 months if convicted following a trial.

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12 Court records did not generally distinguish time sentenced for specific offenses. As a result, the final sentence is inclusive of penalties for all convicted offenses.
Table 2.6: Average total sentence in months for those convicted of human trafficking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Plea</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Conviction at Trial</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General human trafficking</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex trafficking adults</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex trafficking minors</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor trafficking</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: n=159 human trafficking convictions where sentencing information was available. Sentence length is inclusive of penalties for all charges when human trafficking suspect is convicted of a state human trafficking crime.

Implications for Criminal Justice Policy and Practice

Charging suspects with state human trafficking offenses is not consistent across the country. Although many states have utilized their human trafficking law at least once, only a few states are developing expertise in charging offenders. State human trafficking laws are overwhelmingly used for sex trafficking, suggesting more work is needed to encourage state prosecutors to utilize human trafficking laws in a wider range of cases, including labor trafficking. When human trafficking charges are filed, they appear to be used as leverage for defendants to plead guilty on accompanying charges. State human trafficking cases are lengthy and involve numerous motions and hearings. Cases involving adult victims (both sex and labor) took longer than cases involving minor victims and were more likely to go to trial. When cases do go to trial defendants face significantly more severe penalties than when cases are adjudicated through a guilty plea. Because few state human trafficking cases go to trial the legal environment around human trafficking remains uncertain. The number of state human trafficking convictions is likely to remain low until more state human trafficking charges are pursued through trial and a legal culture develops that supports upholding these convictions.13

13 Although we had hoped to develop recommendations about evidentiary strategies that could improve outcomes of human trafficking cases, the limited data from court records did not provide enough detail about the type of evidence available to prosecutors or how that evidence is used. Data obtained directly from prosecutor case files would be necessary to answer more specific question about evidentiary strength and legal strategy in state human trafficking cases. The data from this project, which catalogue nearly all known state human trafficking cases between 2003 and 2012, could help guide such research.
Part III: Evaluating Public Opinion on Human Trafficking

Background

Perhaps the most important and least understood mechanism to combat human trafficking is public engagement on the issue. First, it is the public that generates the demand for both commercial sex and certain goods and services that makes trafficking in human beings among the most profitable enterprises in the world. Increased public awareness and engagement could have a large impact on reducing demand and driving traffickers out of business.

Second, the public impacts the passage of sound, comprehensive legislation; the greater weight that the public places on an issue, the more likely that issue is to be prioritized by legislators, law enforcement, and policy stakeholders (Dahl, 1989; Page, 1994; Page and Shapiro, 1983; Stimpson, MacKuen, and Erikson, 1995). As Paul Burnstein (2003, 29) explains, “most social scientists who study public opinion and public policy in democratic countries agree that (1) public opinion influences public policy; (2) the more salient an issue is to the public, the stronger the relationship is likely to be…”

The creation and implementation of anti-trafficking legislation is no exception. Indeed, two different studies found that anti-trafficking legislation and implementation in the U.S. reflect public opinion related to prostitution, gender, and sex (Peters, 2011; Picarelli and Jonsson, 2008). Another study that surveyed over 166 law enforcement officers, prosecutors, and victim services providers across 12 counties found that among the biggest challenges to investigating and prosecuting trafficking cases is the lack of prioritization among elected and government officials because of a perceived lack of public interest and awareness (Farrell, et al., 2012). Finally, through interviews with policy stakeholders (legislative sponsors, legislative aides, interest group members, etc.) in six states, two authors of this project have discovered that public opinion oftentimes drives a policymaker’s human trafficking agenda (Wittmer and Bouché, 2010). Since lawmakers are responsive to their constituencies because of re-election concerns, increased public engagement on human trafficking influences whether and how legislators prioritize the issue. Given this intimate relationship between public opinion and public policy, it is vital that we gauge what the public knows about, thinks about, and feels about human trafficking and uncover the mechanisms that make human trafficking a more salient issue for the general public.

Design and Methods

To measure public opinion on human trafficking we designed a survey experiment that was administered to a representative sample of 2,000 Americans in the spring of 2014.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{14} We contracted with GfK Knowledge Networks to administer the survey. GfK Knowledge Networks offers the only probability-based online survey research in the United States. They use address-based sampling to reach difficult-to-survey populations such as those having only cell-phones, African Americans, and young adults. Persons in selected households are invited to participate in the KnowledgePanel, which is a probability-based panel designed to be statistically representative of the U.S. population. GfK provides laptop computers and Internet service.
first goal of the survey was to track what the public knows, thinks, and feels about human trafficking. To do this, we included questions pertaining to factual knowledge about human trafficking, perceptions of prevalence of human trafficking, beliefs about the types of people that are at risk of becoming victims of human trafficking, concern for human trafficking, and opinions about how much of a government priority human trafficking should be. We also included standard socio-demographic questions, deviant behavior questions, and political ideology and partisanship questions (see Appendix 3a for survey instrument).

The second goal of the survey was to identify factors that may cause people to change the way they think about and engage with the issue. The idea of issue framing presents an important starting point for tackling this objective. From a most basic perspective, framing is the way in which a political issue or social experience is constructed by the media, pundits, politicians, and policy advocates; frames help the public conceptualize and categorize an issue (Iyengar, 1991; Nelson and Kinder 1996). As scholars have clearly demonstrated, the way an issue is framed has a significant impact on public interest, understanding, and support of an issue (e.g: Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley, 1997). As a vast, convoluted, and often-misunderstood subject, human trafficking can be framed in a multitude of ways (Farrell and Fahy, 2009). Thinking about such types of framing may give us a glimpse into what the public may think about the issue, and why the public holds the beliefs that they do. Thus, we embedded experiments in the survey instrument. The first experiment was a 2x2x2 between-subjects factorial design wherein we manipulated the age (minor/adult), citizenship (U.S./foreign), and gender (males/females) of hypothetical victims in a newspaper article. After reading the article, respondents reported their levels of concern, likelihood to get involved, and expectations for government response.

The second experiment randomly assigned one of ten possible Public Service Announcements (PSAs) to respondents. The first two PSA were fact-based, designed only to transmit information. The next three PSAs were emotional, and clearly were designed to elicit an affective response. The sixth and seventh PSAs were identical to one another, except the sixth included a direct call to action at the end while the call was removed in the seventh. Finally, the last three PSAs test what type of message strategy is most effective in targeting demand – guilt, fear, or humor. After watching their randomly assigned video, respondents were asked to report how likely they would be to do a number of activities, from calling a hotline to having a conversation about human trafficking.

Data Analysis & Findings

There is wide variation in knowledge about human trafficking. A strong majority of the public holds incorrect beliefs about human trafficking, including that human trafficking victims are almost always female (92%), is another word for smuggling (71%), always requires threats of or actual physical violence (62%), involves mostly illegal immigrants (62%), and requires movement across state or national borders (59%). Conversely, the public has a solid connection to any participant who does not already have Internet capabilities. GfK has been endorsed by the American Association of Public Opinion Research.
understanding that human trafficking is a form of slavery (90%), that pimping a minor is sex trafficking (78%), and that people can be trafficked even if they knowingly entered the U.S. illegally (79%) or knowingly entered into prostitution (73%). On average, respondents answered only half (52%) of the factual questions correctly, which is important because auxiliary analyses reveal that correct knowledge about human trafficking leads to: 1) increased concern for human trafficking and prostitution in the U.S.; 2) the belief that it should be a higher government priority; and 3) a more accurate understanding of prevalence and vulnerability among certain subgroups (including women and girls).\(^{15}\)

While the public thinks that human trafficking happens in the U.S., they are less willing to say that it happens in their own community. When asked about how common sex trafficking is, 73% of the public reports that it is widespread or occasional in the U.S.; however, that number drops to 54% when asked about their state, and 20% when asked about their local community (see Table 3.1). Similar patterns appear with labor trafficking, with figures of 69%, 50%, and 20%, respectively. Interestingly, when comparing perceptions about labor trafficking and sex trafficking, people believe that sex trafficking is more common than labor trafficking in the U.S. and in their state.\(^{16}\)

**Table 3.1: How common is human trafficking?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Widespread</th>
<th>Occasional</th>
<th>Rare</th>
<th>Non-Existent</th>
<th>Unsure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex Trafficking in the United States</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>&gt;1%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Trafficking in your state</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Trafficking in your local community</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Trafficking in the United States</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>&gt;1%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Trafficking in your state</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Trafficking in your local community</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The public also differentiates between sex trafficking and labor trafficking when it comes to victims. The public thinks that adult/teen women and girls are at a higher risk for sex trafficking than labor trafficking, and that adult/teen men are at a higher risk for labor trafficking than sex trafficking (there is little difference for boys).\(^{17}\) However, the public thinks that adult women, teen women, and girls are at much higher risk for both sex trafficking and labor

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\(^{15}\) Correct responses were scaled so that a person answering none of the questions correctly would score a 0 and a person answering all of the questions correctly would score a 1. The mean for this scale was 0.52, with a .20 standard deviation. Furthermore, in the auxiliary analyses, we control for gender, partisan affiliation, ideology, race, age, and education.

\(^{16}\) In auxiliary analyses, the regional controls (Northeast, South, Midwest, West) do not seem to be significantly related to perceptions of prevalence.

\(^{17}\) Respondents were given a list of subgroups and then asked how much each of the groups is at risk of becoming a victim of sex trafficking and labor trafficking, with 1 being the lowest risk and 10 being the highest risk.
trafficking than are their male counterparts (see Figure 3.1). Finally, the public thinks that illegal immigrants are at much higher risk than US citizens for both labor and sex trafficking.

**Figure 3.1: Who is at risk of becoming a victim of human trafficking?**

![Chart showing risk levels for various groups](image)

Note: Risk is on a scale from 0-10, with higher numbers indicating increased risk.

The public is concerned about the issue of human trafficking. Over 80% of the public reports that they have ‘some’ or ‘a lot’ of concern about human trafficking and only 3% of the public reports having no concern. Respondents report similar levels of concern for human trafficking worldwide, in the United States, and in their state. The public reports much lower levels of concern about prostitution; only 45% of the public reports ‘some’ or ‘a lot’ of concern about prostitution in the U.S., indicating a cognitive disconnect between prostitution and sex trafficking.

When asked about how the U.S. government should prioritize anti-trafficking policies and programs, 8% say that it should be a top priority, almost half (48%) said that is should be a high priority, with another 36% saying it should be a moderate priority. Of the types of programs in which the government could invest, the highest levels of support were for human trafficking training for law enforcement (63% reporting it should be a ‘highest’ or ‘important’ priority), counseling for victims (60%), and legal services for victims (50%). Of lower government priority were housing services for victims (42%), job training for victims (42%), and immigration services for undocumented immigrants who have been trafficked (40%). The public differentiates between different types of anti-trafficking programs and deems law enforcement the most vital.
We also predicted how socio-demographic and behavioral variables affect what respondents know, think, and feel about human trafficking (see Table 3.2). Compared to men, women are more concerned about human trafficking and think that human trafficking should be a higher government priority. Similar, albeit less pronounced, patterns appear for partisan identification, age, and race; Democrats, older Americans, and racial minorities are more concerned about human trafficking and think that human trafficking should be a higher government priority.

The dependent variables are representative of the variables discussed above. Specifically, we include knowledge (which is the percentage of correct answers a respondent gave to the nine factual knowledge questions), how concerned they are about human trafficking in the United States (from 1 for no concern to 4 for a lot of concern), and how much of a government priority anti-trafficking policies and programs should be (from 1 for not a priority to 5 for top priority). To measure the impact of socio-demographic variables, we used gender (0 for men, 1 for women), party identification (1 for strong Republican – 7 for strong Democrat), race (0 for non-white, 1 for white), education (1 for less than high school – 4 for bachelor’s or higher), and age (1 for 18-24 to 7 for 75+) as independent variables. We also include three regional variables – Northeast, South, and Midwest. The excluded, baseline variable is West. We also supplemented these socio-demographic variables with pertinent behavioral variables. Specifically, we included variables indicating whether the respondent watched pornography or frequented a strip club within the last year (0 if they did and 1 if they did not). Finally, we included a variable for whether the respondent reported ever purchasing sex (1 if they did and 0 if they did not).
In terms of behavioral variables, sex-related behaviors affect beliefs about human trafficking. Respondents who consumed pornography within the last year have more knowledge of human trafficking, but they think that it should be less of a government priority. Similarly, respondents visiting a strip club within the last year reported lower levels of concern about human trafficking and thought that human trafficking should be less of a government priority than those respondents not visiting a strip club within the last year.

The results from the first experiment, which manipulated the gender, age, and nationality of victims, suggest that the public is most moved by minor victims overall (see Figures 3.2 & 3.3, Table 3.3); however, respondents have the most concern and want the most government

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19 In auxiliary OLS analyses, those respondents who watched pornography within the last year also reported that sex trafficking was less common in the U.S. than those respondents who did not watch pornography.
involvement for *male American minors* than for any other subgroup. Additionally, the public’s response to reading an article about human trafficking invokes concern and a desire for government to do something more than it compels them to *personally* want to do something, indicating either passivity or perceived helplessness.

**Figure 3.2: Means of concerned, involved, and government expectations for each problem frame**

![Graph showing means of concerned, involved, and government expectations for each problem frame.](image)

Note: Figure represents the means of the conditions for each dependent variable. Responses for the dependent variables were on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5).

---

20 Factor analysis confirmed that questions about how whether the government should increase penalties to traffickers, increase resources for victims, and increase resources for prevention of trafficking load together, so they were combined in a single scale measuring government response.
Figure 3.3: Means of concerned, involved, and government expectations by minor victim compared to adult victim frames

Note: Figure represents the means of the conditions for each dependent variable. Responses for the dependent variables were on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). * p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p > 0.01

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Concerned Mean (SD)</th>
<th>Involved Mean (SD)</th>
<th>Government Mean (SD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minor female</td>
<td>4.30 (0.73)</td>
<td>3.17 (0.95)</td>
<td>4.32 (0.65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor male</td>
<td>4.35 (0.74)</td>
<td>3.12 (0.93)</td>
<td>4.36 (0.66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult female</td>
<td>4.03 (0.83)</td>
<td>2.78 (0.97)</td>
<td>4.17 (0.69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult male</td>
<td>4.09 (0.79)</td>
<td>2.87 (0.91)</td>
<td>4.19 (0.70)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Responses for the dependent variables were on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5).

In the second experiment, after respondents were randomly assigned one of ten PSAs, they were asked how likely they would be to call a hotline about a suspicious situation or have a conversation about human trafficking (among others). Twenty-five main findings emerge from the PSA experiment (see Figure 3.4).

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PSAs represented different trafficking frames. Two PSAs from the Not for Sale campaign presented basic facts about trafficking, three PSAs presented information about human trafficking utilizing emotional tools (Department of Homeland Security & UN GIFT), two PSAs contrasted action compared to non-action messages (Department of Homeland Security), one PSA presented information about the demand for commercial sexual utilizing humor (Real Men) and a second utilized a message of guilt (MTV Against Our Will) and fear (Dear John Campaign).
First, no clear response pattern emerges between the emotional and fact-based ads; thus, we cannot conclude that one type is more effective than the other. Second, the PSA with an explicit call-to-action is clearly more effective than that without. The 10-second call-to-action increased call hotline by 12% and have conversation by 6%. Third, when guilt, fear, and humor are pitted against each other in addressing sex buyers, humor is least effective. Fourth, PSA’s featuring celebrities are not as effective overall in igniting a response from viewers. Finally, across all PSAs, respondents report a higher likelihood of calling the trafficking hotline than having a conversation with a friend of family member.

**Implications for Criminal Justice Policy and Practice**

Three main implications emerge. First, there is a need to educate the public about a wider array of human trafficking experiences. Currently, the public thinks sex trafficking is a more significant problem than labor trafficking, women/girls are more at risk than men/boys, and that human trafficking happens in the U.S. but not in a person’s community. Yet, when the public is exposed to victims that are not typically highlighted in the news (i.e., young males), they are highly concerned. Second, there is a specific need for public awareness campaigns directed toward reticent groups, which includes males, whites, Republicans, those that consume pornography, and those that visit strip clubs. While white males are the least likely to be concerned about human trafficking and to think it should be a government priority, this demographic makes up the vast majority of elected officials and law enforcement officers in the
United States, and the public views it as their job to combat it. Third, the public has not made the connection between how their own attitudes and behaviors can either help or hinder the movement against human trafficking. Thus, more work needs to be done to educate the public about the importance of individual-level choice and engagement in generating social change. Our PSA findings may help inform such work.
References


Appendix 1A: News Search Protocol
Appendix 1a: Protocol for Media Search for Cases

The purpose of this protocol is to standardize the way we collect and record information of case data from media. If everyone manages their data in the same way, it will enable project members to easily code, evaluate, and retrieve relevant data.

A. CASE SEARCHES

1) Lexis Nexis
   - At LexisNexis homepage, click on Search by Content Type.
     - Click on All News.
   - Under Search text box, click on Advanced Options.
     - Do not set a date. (** Note this means you will be getting cases through the date you conduct the search)
     - Under Source Type, check All News (English).
     - Under By Location, click on state of interest.
     - Click Apply
   - Type “human trafficking” (without quotes) into the search bar. Click grey Search button.
   - Within the search results, on the left hand side, where Result Groups are listed, click on Geography (+). Click on State of Interest, USA. (Ex: Oregon, USA)
   - To save a search result:
     - Click on floppy disk icon on right side of page (“Download Documents”)
     - For “Format,” indicate PDF or DOC (whichever you prefer)
     - Click red DOWNLOAD button
     - When “Ready to Download” page comes up, right-click on the name of the document (blue-text) to save (or, if you would like to open the document, left-click on the blue text)
     - Save document in the respective search folder as the unique case id (see below) with initials
       - Ex: FL1MD
       - Ex: FL1_S3MD (if article is only about this suspect)

2) Access World News Database
   - In the first text box type “human trafficking” or “sex trafficking” or “labor trafficking” (include the quotes). The box on the left should read “all text”
   - In the second text box type arrest* or convict* or investigat* The left boxes should read “and” and “all text”
   - In the third text box type After 12/31/2002 The left boxes should read “and” and “date”
   - Sort by should read “best matches first”
   - Under Source Types, select all boxes but “blogs” and “video”
   - Under Locations, expand North America → expand United States → select only the state of interest
   - Click Search
   - Click blue hyperlink on the bottom of each article to copy article hyperlink
     - However, if Access World News is being accessed through a proxy (like one through a university, for example), the link will not work for others
To save file as a PDF, click print article on the right hand side of the article. A new window will open. Click print again, from the new window. Select PDF on the bottom of the pop-up window and select Save as PDF.

3) **Google News Search**

Note: If you are logged into Google or your gmail account during the Google searches, it will tailor your searches based on your previous history. Make sure that you are logged out from Google during the Google News Search.

Advanced Search

3 separate searches:

**Human trafficking:**
1) All these words: Florida (or other state of research)
2) This exact phrase: “human trafficking”
3) At least one of these words: arrest* convict* investigat*
4) Occurring: select “anywhere in the article”
5) Date added to Google News: select ‘specified dates’ and type in 12/31/2002 to today’s date
6) Location: state of research

**Sex trafficking:**
1) All these words: Florida (or other state of research)
2) This exact phrase: “sex trafficking”
3) At least one of these words: arrest* convict* investigat*
4) Occurring: select “anywhere in the article”
5) Date added to Google News: select ‘specified dates’ and type in 12/31/2002 to today’s date
6) Location: state of research

**Labor trafficking:**
1) All these words: Florida (or other state of research)
2) This exact phrase: “labor trafficking”
3) At least one of these words: arrest* convict* investigat*
4) Occurring: select “anywhere in the article”
5) Date added to Google News: select ‘specified dates’ and type in 12/31/2002 to today’s date
6) Location: state of research

**B. SUSPECT SEARCHES**

1) Google (general search engine):
Note: If you are logged into Google or your gmail account during the Google searches, it will tailor your searches based on your previous history. Make sure that you are logged out from Google during the Google Suspect Search.

- Enter suspect name (including middle if available) and name of state in search engine.
  - Examples: Pria Gunn Florida; Demond Levail Osley Florida
- If name is potentially a common name, then add word “trafficking” in addition to name and state.

2) Access World News

- In the first text box type suspect name in quotes (“Joe Bob”). The box on the left should read “all text”
- Under ‘Locations’, expand North America → expand United States → select only the state of interest

C. MISSING INFORMATION

- If after going through the entire protocol, information about cases is still missing, leave those cells of the spreadsheet blank.
Case Data Collection Instrument Spreadsheet

General Input Notes for Spreadsheet

- **Names**
  - Names should all be inputted as first-name last-name.

- **Dates**
  - Dates should all be inputted as 2-digit month/2-digit day/4-digit year.

- **Multiple Sources**
  - If an additional source provides information, place this outlet/source/author in the same suspect row, numbering the sources (see example). Thus across the row, 1) _____ in each row corresponds to the same source and 2) _____ corresponds to the same source.

Case Data Collection Instrument Spreadsheet (input for columns is left to right)

- **Unique ID**
  - Each suspect receives a unique id number for their case. If a single case has multiple suspects, there should be one row for each suspect and a unique id number for each suspect.
    - The only time a suspect should have more than one row in a spreadsheet is if they are involved in more than one case/incident.
  - ID protocol: State abbreviation Case number _ S Suspect number
    - Example:
      - CA1_S1
      - CA1_S2
      - CA2_S1

- **Date**
  - Input the date that this case is added to the database.

- **State of incident**
  - Write out the state where the incident occurred

- **City of incident**
  - Write out the city where the incident occurred

- **Type of trafficking**
  - Indicate if the case is for sex or labor trafficking

- **Subtype/Venue**
  - If the incident includes prostitution, brothel, children sex trafficking, pornography, and/or entertainment indicate that column with a “x”. If the case involves smuggling, indicate that column with a “x”. If the case involves labor trafficking, indicate the subtype column (agriculture, hotels, domestic, etc.) with a “x”. If the case involves the internet or a website like craigslist or backpage.com
as a venue, indicate that column with a “x”. Put notes about the internet involvement in the “Other Subtype/Venue; Notes” column.
  o If the case includes a subtype that is not listed in the column, indicate this subtype/venue in the notes column. Examples include: massage parlor, nail/hair salon, retail stores.

  • **Victim(s) Name**
    o Input victim name if available. As the unit of analysis is cases, there may be multiple victims in the same row. Indicate if there are multiple victims.

  • **Victim minor or adult**
    o State if victim is a minor or adult.

  • **Victim US or foreign born**
    o State if victim is US or foreign born (immigrant).

  • **Suspect Name**
    o Input the suspect name. There should be one suspect (and thus one name) per row. For example, if a newspaper article discusses a trafficking ring, make a separate row and unique id for each of the suspects that are involved.

  • **Suspect Minor or Adult**
    o Indicate if the suspect is a minor or adult.

  • **Suspect US or foreign born**
    o Indicate if the suspect is US or foreign born (immigrant).

  • **Description of incident**
    o Narrative about how victim was recruited, exploited, and escaped if applicable.

  • **Suspect Arrested**
    o Yes/No indication for suspect being arrested.

  • **Date of Arrest**
    o If arrested, type the date of arrest.

  • **City of Arrest**
    o Indicate the city where the arrest took place (and the state if it is different than the state being searched). This may be different than the city of incident.

  • **Description of arrest including arrest charge**
    o Narrative of description of arrest including the charges at arrest.

  • **Arresting agency**
    o State the agency that made the arrest. List all, state and federal.
• **Suspect Prosecuted**
  o Yes/No indication for if suspect was prosecuted.

• **Description of prosecution including charges**
  o List prosecution charges (these may be different than arrest charges or charges convicted of if applicable).

• **Prosecuting Agency**
  o State if the prosecution agency is federal or state.
  o If the prosecution agency is the state, indicate the county in the following column.
  o If the prosecution agency is federal, indicate the district in the next column.

• **Suspect Convicted**
  o Yes/No for if suspect was convicted or not.
  o State what counts the suspect was convicted of. Include if the defendant pleaded.

• **Date of Conviction**
  o Provide the date of conviction if applicable.

• **Description of Sentence**
  o Input the sentence received if applicable.

• **Names of prosecutors**
  o Input the names of prosecutors for the case.

• **Outlet where information found**
  o List the outlet where information was found. Examples: Internet search, LexisNexis.
  o If you are doing Lexis Nexis searches, try to avoid state news service and use the search terms indicated.
  o If you have multiple sources, separate outlets with a semicolon and number them, see example.

• **Date of publication**
  o Input the date of the publication/media source. If you have multiple sources, separate with a semicolon and number them.

• **Civil Case**
  o If a criminal case INCLUDES a civil case as part of the same incident then check the box for the “Civil” column. Include the name of the plaintiff attorney or law firm, if it is available, in the notes section. This means the suspect will only have ONE row with both criminal and civil case information for that trafficking incident.
  o If a case is ONLY a civil case, then check the box for the “Civil” column. In the notes, include the name of the plaintiff attorney or law firm if it is available.
Given that it is a civil case, there SHOULD NOT be information regarding prosecuting agency/county or district/names of prosecutors. ONLY include the attorney information, if available, in the notes section.

- **Notes**
  - Any notable information regarding the case. Indicate here if the source is from a press release. Place here if there is any gang affiliation or important previous criminal history noted for the suspect. If there are multiple sources for the row and the notes correspond to one of the sources, number it.

- **Source and author**
  - List the source of the media outlet and the author if available. If you have multiple sources, separate with semicolon and number them.

- **URL**
  - Place the total URL here. If there is more than one source for the row, separate with a semicolon and number.

**RULES FOR CASE SEARCHES**

1. If a case touches a state at all, even if it was not prosecuted in that state, you should include it in that state’s spreadsheet. It is ok for a case to appear in more than one state’s spreadsheet if that case touched more than one state.
Appendix 2A: Attorney General Survey
State Attorneys General

A Communication from the Chief Legal Officers of the Following States:

Georgia * Indiana * Kansas * Massachusetts
Michigan * Washington

September 11, 2013

Dear Attorneys General,

As the co-chairs and members of the National Association of Attorneys’ Generals (NAAG) committee on human trafficking, we write today to encourage you to participate in the National Survey of State Responses to Human Trafficking. This survey is supported by NAAG leadership and is funded by the U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice. Researchers at Colorado College, Texas Christian University and Northeastern University are the primary investigators of this survey, which is part of a larger project that aims to understand the effectiveness of state anti-trafficking efforts.

The results of this survey will provide important information for legislators, law enforcement and prosecutors about how new state human trafficking laws are being used and changes that are needed to make these laws most effective. While there has been excellent work at the state-level lobbying for and keeping track of state legislative efforts, we do not yet understand what legal tools and strategies are most effective in bringing traffickers to justice. Some legislative provisions may ease the task for prosecuting human trafficking cases while others may create impediments to successful prosecution. You and your fellow Attorneys Generals across the nation are being asked to weigh in on how your agency has responded to human trafficking. NAAG leadership and the researchers are interested in understanding the types of human trafficking cases that your agencies have taken on and the challenges you have faced in prosecuting traffickers under state human trafficking laws.

In addition to informing research, the results of this survey will be made available to NAAG leadership and its members. We believe the results will help guide our efforts to educate and train state and local prosecutors about human trafficking and make needed legal reforms to improve the effectiveness of state anti-trafficking laws. Please help us in supporting the success of this project by completing the attached survey.

If you have any questions about NAAG’s participation in the survey please feel free to contact Judy McKee at (202) 326- 6044 or jmckee@naag.org.
Sincerely,

Greg Zoeller  
Indiana Attorney General

Samuel Olens  
Georgia Attorney General

Martha Coakley  
Massachusetts Attorney General

Robert Ferguson  
Washington Attorney General

Derek Schmidt  
Kansas Attorney General

Bill Schuette  
Michigan Attorney General

This document is a research report submitted to the U.S. Department of Justice. This report has not been published by the Department. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.
ATTORNEYS GENERAL’S SURVEY ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING PROSECUTIONS

We invite you to take part in a research project. This study is sponsored by the United States Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice and is supported by the National Association of Attorneys General. Although data is routinely reported on the number of federal human trafficking prosecutions, we lack detailed information about how state prosecutors are utilizing new human trafficking laws. Gathering complete information from all state attorneys is important to fully understand the prosecution of human trafficking in the U.S.

INSTRUCTIONS

1. This questionnaire should be completed by the chief prosecutor of your office or the person with the most experience prosecuting human trafficking cases.

2. If your office has not prosecuted at least one human trafficking case using either state human trafficking charges or other charges you may skip to section B of the survey. If your office has prosecuted at least one human trafficking case using either state human trafficking charges or other charges please complete the entire survey.

3. Some of the questions ask you to provide exact counts. If you are unable to provide exact counts please provide your best estimate and indicate that your response is an estimate.

4. Your participation in this study is voluntary. You do not have to participate and you can refuse to answer any question. Even if you begin the study, you may stop at any time.

5. There are no identifiable risks for your participation in this study. Any information you provide about your agency’s work will be kept confidential. Federal law prohibits us from disclosing any information that could identify any person or agency involved in a case or who responds to this survey. Also, information that could link a specific agency with any data gathered will be accessible only to the researchers, all of whom have signed non-disclosure agreements, as required by federal law.

6. Please complete and return the survey questionnaires by October 21, 2013. You may complete and return the survey questionnaires in one of four ways.
   a) Completing and submitting an online version of the questionnaire found at: https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/attorney_generals_survey
   b) Faxing the completed questionnaires to the attention of Dr. Amy Farrell at 617-373-8980.
   c) Mailing the completed questionnaires using the enclosed self-addressed, stamped envelope
   d) Scanning and emailing the survey to am.farrell@neu.edu.

7. If you have any questions about the project or specific survey questions, please contact Dr. Amy Farrell (am.farrell@neu.edu, 617-373-7439) at Northeastern University. If you have any questions about your rights in this research, you may contact Amanda Udis-Kessler, Director, Human Subject Research Protection, Colorado College (719-227-8177). You may call anonymously if you wish.
Section A: Information about the Prosecution of Human Trafficking Cases

This section includes questions about general case information for human trafficking and human trafficking-related cases handled by you or your office since the passage of your state human trafficking law. For the purposes of this survey, a case is defined as a set of charges against a single defendant with a judgment of conviction, acquittal, or dismissal with or without prejudice, entered by the court.

A1. Does your state have a statute that criminalizes sex trafficking of adults?\(^1\)

- Don’t know
- No
- Yes

If yes, please provide the following information (approximate numbers will suffice if statistics are not available):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of victims identified under the sex trafficking statute (regardless of whether or not cases were prosecuted)?</th>
<th>Number of cases prosecuted under the sex trafficking statute?</th>
<th>Number of defendants prosecuted under the sex trafficking statute?</th>
<th>Number of convictions obtained under the sex trafficking statute?</th>
<th>Where available please provide defendants’ names and dates charges filed (attach another sheet if needed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2004</td>
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<tr>
<td>2012</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Includes laws such as those that criminalize the recruitment, harboring, transport, receiving, providing, obtaining, purchasing, isolating, maintaining or enticing individuals for the purposes of commercial sexual activity or using coercion, fraud, force or deception to compel an adult to engage in commercial sex acts.

Attorney General’s Survey on Human Trafficking Prosecutions
A2. Does your state have a statute that criminalizes sex trafficking of minors?²

- Don’t know
- No
- Yes

If yes, please provide the following information (approximate numbers will suffice if statistics are not available):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>For each of the following years…</th>
<th>Number of minor victims identified under the sex trafficking statute (whether or not the cases were prosecuted)?</th>
<th>Number of cases prosecuted under this trafficking statute involving minors?</th>
<th>Number of defendants prosecuted under this trafficking statute involving minors?</th>
<th>Number of convictions obtained under this trafficking statute involving minors?</th>
<th>Where available please provide defendants’ names and dates charges filed (attach another sheet if needed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
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² Includes laws such as those that criminalize the enticement of a child under the age of 18 years to engage in a commercial sex act or providing a minor to another person for the purposes of engaging the minor in commercial sexual services.
A3. Does your state have a statute that creates the crime of labor trafficking or trafficking in persons in which a person is compelled through force, fraud, or coercion into providing labor services?\(^3\)

- Don’t know
- No
- Yes

If yes, please provide the following information (approximate numbers will suffice if statistics are not available):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of victims identified under the labor trafficking statute (whether or not the cases were prosecuted)?</th>
<th>Number of cases prosecuted under the labor trafficking statute?</th>
<th>Number of defendants prosecuted under the labor trafficking statute?</th>
<th>Number of convictions obtained under the labor trafficking statute?</th>
<th>Where available please provide defendants’ names and dates charges filed (attach another sheet if needed)</th>
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<td>2008</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2010</td>
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<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^3\) Includes laws such as those that criminalize the recruitment, harboring, transport, receiving, providing, obtaining, purchasing, isolating, maintaining or enticing individuals for the purposes forced labor or uses coercion, deception, fraud or force or compel the individual to provide labor or services or requires an individual to provide labor or services payment or satisfaction of a real or purported debt if the reasonable value of the labor or services is not applied to the liquidation of the debt or the length of the labor or services is not limited and the nature of the labor and services is not defined.
A4. Are labor trafficking cases routinely referred to federal law enforcement or prosecutors?
   ○ No
   ○ Yes

A5. Does your state have a statute that discourages the prosecution of minors for prostitution offenses or
   creates diversion opportunities for minors involved in prostitution into social services?
   ○ No
   ○ Yes

If yes, please answer the following:
   a. Since passage of the law, how many minors have been referred to child protection or a
      victim service programs in lieu of prosecution as a result of this statute?
      ___________ minors

   b. Since passage of the law, how many minors have been charged with prostitution offenses (as
      the seller)?
      ___________ minors

   c. What types of services are available for prostituted minors in your state?
      ______________________________________________________________________
      ______________________________________________________________________

   d. What benefits has your state experienced implementing safe harbor or other similar
      provisions that shield minors involved in prostitution from prosecution?
      ______________________________________________________________________
      ______________________________________________________________________

   e. What challenges has your state experienced implementing safe harbor or other similar
      provisions that shield minors involved in prostitution from prosecution?
      ______________________________________________________________________
      ______________________________________________________________________

A6. Does your agency have a policy to treat minors involved in commercial sex as victims of human
    trafficking regardless of whether or not your state has safe harbor legislation?
   ○ No
   ○ Yes

A7. In your opinion, what is the most appropriate criminal justice system response for minors involved in
    commercial sex?
    ______________________________________________________________________
    ______________________________________________________________________

---

Attorney General’s Survey on Human Trafficking Prosecutions

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This document is a research report submitted to the U.S. Department of Justice. This report has not been published by the Department. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.
We realize that there are many factors that determine the length of time a case takes. Please do your best to report an average time for the following questions.

A8. On average, how long have cases charged with sex trafficking taken to reach a negotiated disposition?
   ○ Less than 3 months
   ○ 3-6 months
   ○ 7-12 months
   ○ 13-18 months
   ○ More than 18 months
   ○ Unknown
   ○ Not applicable

A9. On average, how long have cases charged with labor trafficking taken to reach a negotiated disposition?
   ○ Less than 3 months
   ○ 3-6 months
   ○ 7-12 months
   ○ 13-18 months
   ○ More than 18 months
   ○ Unknown
   ○ Not applicable

A10. On average, how long have cases charged with sex trafficking taken to reach disposition by trial?
    ○ Less than 3 months
    ○ 3-6 months
    ○ 7-12 months
    ○ 13-18 months
    ○ More than 18 months
    ○ Unknown
    ○ Not applicable

A11. On average, how long have cases charged with labor trafficking taken to reach disposition by trial?
     ○ Less than 3 months
     ○ 3-6 months
     ○ 7-12 months
     ○ 13-18 months
     ○ More than 18 months
     ○ Unknown
     ○ Not applicable
**A12. Please rate how problematic (if at all) the following factors are to the prosecution of sex trafficking cases?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Very Major problem</th>
<th>Major problem</th>
<th>Minor problem</th>
<th>Not at all a problem</th>
<th>Unsure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Ineffective state sex trafficking laws</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Lack of recognition of the crime by local law enforcement</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Lack of training of local law enforcement on sex trafficking investigative practices</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Lack of resources within your office to focus on sex trafficking</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Lack of training for prosecution of sex trafficking cases</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Lack of experience prosecuting sex trafficking cases</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Lack of awareness/understanding about sex trafficking in the community and on juries</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Lack of awareness/understanding about sex trafficking from judges</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Evidentiary challenges</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. Lack of victim cooperation</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. Lack of housing for victims</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. Lack of social support services for victims</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Lack of civil legal services for victims</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. Perception that sex trafficking is a federal, not a state/local issue</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comments for the questions above:

______________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________
### A13.

Please rate how problematic (if at all) the following factors are to the prosecution of labor trafficking cases?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Very Major problem</th>
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<tr>
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<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
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<td>b. Lack of recognition of the crime by local law enforcement</td>
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<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
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<td>c. Lack of training of local law enforcement on labor trafficking investigative practices</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
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<td>d. Lack of resources within your office to focus on labor trafficking</td>
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<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
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<td>○</td>
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<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Lack of awareness/understanding about labor trafficking in the community and on juries</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
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</tr>
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<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
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<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comments for the questions above:

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
Section B: Background Information about State Legislation and Attorney General Agency

B1. Does your state have a statute that creates, establishes, or encourages a task force, commission or advisory committee dedicated to addressing human trafficking?

- No
- Yes

If yes, please provide the following information:

a. How often did/does the task force, commission or advisory committee meet?
   
   __________ times per year task force, commission or advisory committee met

b. Approximately how many people were on the task force and from what sectors?
   
   __________________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________________

c. What were the major issues or challenges to addressing human trafficking in your state identified by the task force, commission or advisory committee?
   
   __________________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________________
   _____________________________________________________________

B2. Does your state have a formal process for sharing information or referrals about human trafficking incidents or victims between law enforcement, other governmental agencies and non-governmental agencies?

- No
- Yes

If yes, please describe how information is shared and what agencies have access to this information.

_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________

If yes, is there a database or data sharing system that helps facilitate referrals or information sharing?

- No
- Yes

If yes, please describe the data system and how it operates.

_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________

B3. What unit with your agency handles prosecution of human trafficking offenses?

_________________________________________________________________________________

B4. Have any prosecutors in your agency received specialized training on how to prosecute human trafficking cases?

- No
- Yes

If yes, please list the training.

_________________________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________________________
B5. Does your office have written policies in place regarding the prosecution of a sex trafficking case?
- No
- Yes
If yes, please indicate which of the following are contained in your policy:
- Specific unit or specialized prosecutor assigned
- No-drop prosecution policy regardless of victim participation
- Prosecution of case according to the most serious offense
- Speedy trial/human trafficking-specific timeline for prosecution
- Victim witness specialist/coordinator assigned to every human trafficking case
- Victim compensation requested
- Assistance with civil litigation on behalf of victim
- Referral of case for federal prosecution
- Other, please specify: ________________________

B6. Does your office have written policies in place regarding the prosecution of a labor trafficking case?
- No
- Yes
If yes, please indicate which of the following are contained in your policy:
- Specific unit or specialized prosecutor assigned
- No-drop prosecution policy regardless of victim participation
- Prosecution of case according to the most serious offense
- Speedy trial/human trafficking-specific timeline for prosecution
- Victim witness specialist/coordinator assigned to every human trafficking case
- Victim compensation requested
- Assistance with civil litigation on behalf of victim
- Referral of case for federal prosecution
- Other, please specify: ________________________

We welcome any additional comments that you have about the prosecution of human trafficking cases. Please provide that feedback below.
________________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________________________

Thank you for completing this survey. We appreciate your time and value your input about the prosecution of human trafficking.

Attorney General’s Survey on Human Trafficking Prosecutions
Appendix 3A: Public Opinion Survey
We would like to invite you to take part in a research survey about politics in the United States. Your opinion will help us to better understand how the public thinks about important issues. Please remember that there are no correct answers to most of these questions – we are just trying to find out what you think.

Your participation will require approximately thirty minutes and is completed online at your computer. You will be paid according to your agreement with GfK Knowledge Networks.

It is very important to note that all of your responses are anonymous and that there are special protections to ensure your privacy. The Federal Certificate of Confidentiality makes it illegal for anyone to see or find out what your answers are in this study. No one except our research staff will ever see the data from this survey, and even then there will be no names connected with the answers. Your answers can never be seen by police, your loved ones, or anyone else. They are strictly confidential.

This strict confidentiality is particularly important because there will be a few sensitive questions throughout the survey. If at any point you are uncomfortable with these questions you can skip them or stop taking the survey. If you choose to skip questions or stop taking the survey your relationship with Knowledge Networks will be not be affected.

If you have any questions about whether you have been treated in an illegal or unethical way, contact the Colorado College Institutional Research Board chair, Amanda Udis-Kessler at 719-227-8177 or audiskessler@coloradocollege.edu. Please feel free to print a copy of this consent page to keep for your records.

Thank you again for helping us to understand more about how the American public thinks about politics. Your opinion is very valuable.

Clicking the “Next” button below indicates that you are 18 years old and that you consent to participate in this survey.
First we are going to ask you a few general questions about politics.

Some people seem to follow what’s going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there’s an election going on or not. Others aren’t that interested.

Q1a. How often would you say you follow what’s going on in government and public affairs on a local level? [adapted from ANES*]
   - Never
   - Rarely
   - Sometimes
   - Often
   - Very Often

Q1b. How often would you say you follow what’s going on in government and public affairs on a national level? [ANES]
   - Never
   - Rarely
   - Sometimes
   - Often
   - Very Often

Q1c. How often would you say you follow what’s going on in government and public affairs on an international level? [adapted from ANES]
   - Never
   - Rarely
   - Sometimes
   - Often
   - Very Often

Q2. In an average week, how many days do you:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>None</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1. watch news on tv
3. read a national newspaper, either in print or online?
4. read a state level and/or local newspaper, either in print or online?
5. listen to news on the radio?
Q6. How much of the time do you think you can trust the federal government to do what is right? [ANES]
   a. Just about always
   b. Most of the time
   c. Only some of the time
   d. Almost never

Q7. We would like you to read a few statements about public life. Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of them. [ANES]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither Agree nor Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public officials don’t care much what people like me think.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can’t really understand what is going on.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People like me don’t have any say about what the government does.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I consider myself well qualified to participate in politics.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q11. We find that people differ in how much faith and confidence they have in various levels of government in this country. In your case, do you have more faith and confidence in the national government, the government of your state, or in your local government? [ANES]
   a. National Government
   b. State Government
   c. Local Government
   d. Don’t Know

Q9. Have you ever done the following activities?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Volunteered on a political campaign</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Made a monetary contribution to a political campaign</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked informally in the community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contacted a government official</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended a protest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Joined or paid dues to a political interest group  □  □
Attended a city council or school board meeting  □  □
Voted in an election  □  □

[DISPLAY]
Remember, at the beginning of the study we described how all of your responses are anonymous and confidential.

On the next page you are going to read about some things that people do. First indicate whether you have ever in your life done any of these things. Then you will be asked how many times you have done the thing during the past twelve months. Please give your best estimate or guess.

[GRID, SP]
[RANDOMIZE, BUT ANCHOR 9 (BEEN GIVEN A TICKET…) FIRST]
Q10a. Have you ever…?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

9. Been given a ticket for a driving offense
1. Stolen something from a store
2. Entered or broke into a building to steal something
3. Watched pornography
4. Visited a strip club
5. Been paid by someone for having sex with them
6. Given false information on a job application
7. Knowingly bought or sold stolen good
8. Paid for sex

[PLEASE SHOW Q10A_1 – 10B_9 ON THE SAME SCREEN, IN THE ORDER PRESENTED IN Q10A]

[SP]
[IF Q10A_1 = 1]
Q10a_1. How many times within the LAST TWELVE MONTHS have you stolen something from a store?
   □  None
   □  1-2 times
   □  3-4 times
   □  5 or more times

[SP]
[IF Q10A_2 = 1]
Q10a_2. How many times within the LAST TWELVE MONTHS have you entered or broke into a building to steal something?
   □  None
   □  1-2 times
   □  3-4 times
   □  5 or more times

[SP]
[IF Q10A_3 = 1]
Q10b_3. How many times within the LAST TWELVE MONTHS have you watched pornography?
   ○ None
   ○ 1-2 times
   ○ 3-4 times
   ○ 5 or more times

[SP]
[IF Q10A_4 = 1]
Q10b_4. How many times within the LAST TWELVE MONTHS have you visited a strip club?
   ○ None
   ○ 1-2 times
   ○ 3-4 times
   ○ 5 or more times

[SP]
[IF Q10A_5 = 1]
Q10b_5. How many times within the LAST TWELVE MONTHS have you been paid by someone for having sexual relations with them?
   ○ None
   ○ 1-2 times
   ○ 3-4 times
   ○ 5 or more times

[SP]
[IF Q10A_6 = 1]
Q10b_6. How many times within the LAST TWELVE MONTHS have you given false information on a job application?
   ○ None
   ○ 1-2 times
   ○ 3-4 times
   ○ 5 or more times

[SP]
[IF Q10A_7 = 1]
Q10b_7. How many times within the LAST TWELVE MONTHS have you knowingly bought or sold stolen goods?
   ○ None
   ○ 1-2 times
   ○ 3-4 times
   ○ 5 or more times

[SP]
[IF Q10A_8 = 1]
Q10b_8. How many times within the LAST TWELVE MONTHS have you paid for sex?
   ○ None
   ○ 1-2 times
   ○ 3-4 times
   ○ 5 or more times
[SP]

[IF Q10A_9 = 1]

Q10b_9. How many times within the LAST TWELVE MONTHS have you been given a ticket for a driven offense?

- None
- 1-2 times
- 3-4 times
- 5 or more times

[SP]

Q14. How much concern do you feel about prostitution in the United States?

- A lot of concern
- Some concern
- Little concern
- No concern

[GRID, SP]

[RANDOMIZE, ANCHOR “OTHER”]

Q15. In your opinion, [If xnij2 = 1: people who are prostituted If xnij2 = 2: prostitutes are] are…

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither Agree nor Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taken advantage of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partially to blame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[SP]

Q17. What do you think is the most appropriate penalty to give an adult who has been paid to have sex?

- No punishment
- A fine
- Counseling
- Community service
- A short prison sentence (less than a year)
- A long prison sentence (more than a year)
- Other [textbox]

[SP]

Q18. What do you think is the most appropriate penalty to give a minor (under the age of 18) who has been paid to have sex?

- No punishment
Q19. What do you think is the most appropriate penalty to give people who purchase sex?

- No punishment
- A fine
- Counseling
- Community service
- Anti-prostitution education program
- The publication of their name through local media
- A short prison sentence (less than a year)
- A long prison sentence (more than a year)
- Other [textbox]

Now you are going to be asked a few questions about corporate and consumer behavior.

Q20. When you make purchasing decisions, how important are each of the following? [Edelman]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Not At All Important</th>
<th>Somewhat Important</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>That the company has ethical business practices</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That the company works to protect and improve the environment</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That the company creates programs that positively impact the local community in which the company operates</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That the company treats employees well</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That the company ensures that its suppliers treat their employees fairly</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q21. Some clothing producers make their employees work long hours and pay them below the minimum wage. Would you be willing to pay more for clothing that you knew was made under ethical and safe working conditions? [Adapted from Hertel 2009]

- Yes
- No
[SHOW Q24A-Q24C ON SAME PAGE]

[SP]
Q24a. Companies face many difficult decisions. Among those difficult decisions is deciding who to hire and how much to pay them. Please tell us how acceptable you find each of the following statements:

Companies paying workers less than the minimum wage if those workers are in the United States without proper authorization or immigration status.
- Always acceptable
- Sometimes acceptable
- Rarely acceptable
- Never acceptable

[SP]
Q24b. Companies paying workers less than the minimum wage if those workers are on a Visa in the United States.
- Always acceptable
- Sometimes acceptable
- Rarely acceptable
- Never acceptable

[SP]
Q24c. Companies paying workers less than the minimum wage if those workers are minors.
- Always acceptable
- Sometimes acceptable
- Rarely acceptable
- Never acceptable

And now we are going to ask you a few questions about immigration in the United States.

[SP]
Q22. Should the number of people who are allowed to legally move to the United States to live and work be increased, decreased, or kept the same as it is now? [ANES]
- Increased a lot
- Increased a moderate amount
- Increased a little
- Kept the same
- Decreased a little
- Decreased a moderate amount
- Decreased a lot
- Don’t know

[GRID, SP]
Q23. You are now going to read some statements and I would like to get your reaction to them. After you read each statement, please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree. [General Social Survey]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Irish, Italians, Jews, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Today’s immigrants should do the same without any special favors</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal immigrants to America who are not citizens should have the same rights as American citizens</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Below are some questions to gauge your knowledge of politics. Some of the questions below are open-ended. Many people do not know the answer to these, so you should not worry if you don’t know all, or many of the answers. [ANES]

**[DISPLAY]**

Q27. Do you happen to know what job or political office is now held by Joe Biden?

**[SP]**

Q28. Whose responsibility is it to determine if a law is constitutional or not? Is it the president, the Congress, or the Supreme Court?
   a. President
   b. Congress
   c. Supreme Court

**[SMALL TEXTBOX]**

Q29. How much of a majority is required for Congress to override a presidential veto?

**[SMALL TEXTBOX]**

Q30. Which political party has the most members in the U.S. House of Representatives?

**[SMALL TEXTBOX]**

Q31. Which political party, Republican or Democrat, is more conservative on a national level?

**FOR THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS PLEASE GIVE US YOUR BEST GUESS.**
Q25. Please tell us how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statement: slavery exists in the United States:

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don’t Know

Q26a. For the following activities, please tell us how often you think that they occur in the UNITED STATES with 1 being not often at all to 5 being very often.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Not often at all (1)</th>
<th>Somewhat Often (3)</th>
<th>Very often (5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People being forced to work for little or no pay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People being forced to work to pay off a debt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People being forced to engage in prostitution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q26b. For the following activities, please tell us how often you think that they occur in OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD with 1 being not often at all to 5 being very often.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Not often at all (1)</th>
<th>Somewhat Often (3)</th>
<th>Very often (5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People being forced to work for little or no pay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People being forced to work to pay off a debt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People being forced to engage in prostitution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
31. We are now going to ask you some questions about human trafficking.

How closely would you say you have followed the discussion about human trafficking in the United States?

Extremely closely ............................................... 1
Very closely ....................................................... 2
Moderately closely ............................................ 3
Slightly closely ................................................. 4
Not closely at all .............................................. 5

[TEXTBOX]
Q32. In your own words, please describe what you understand *human trafficking* to be:

[GRID, SP]
[RANDOMIZE]
Q35. For each of the following statements about human trafficking in the United States, I would like you to tell me whether it is true, false, or you don’t know. It is fine if you do not know the correct answer to these. [Many drawn from Polaris Project]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>True</th>
<th>False</th>
<th>Don’t Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human trafficking requires movement across state or national borders.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human trafficking always requires threats of or actual physical harm.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human trafficking involves mostly illegal immigrants.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The vast majority of human trafficking victims are females.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human trafficking is a form of slavery.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human trafficking is another word for smuggling.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pimping a minor is sex trafficking.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You can’t be trafficked if you knowingly entered the U.S. illegally.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You can’t be trafficked if you knowingly entered into prostitution.</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SECTION II, PART B: PERCEPTIONS ABOUT HUMAN TRAFFICKING

This document is a research report submitted to the U.S. Department of Justice. This report has not been published by the Department. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.
We would now like to provide you with a short definition of human trafficking. Please read this carefully.

As defined under U.S. federal law, human trafficking is:

The recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for any of the following purposes:

1) Labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion.

2) A commercial sex act, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion.

3) A commercial sex act, regardless of whether any form of coercion is involved, if the person is under the age of 18.

It is important to note that these definitions do not require that a trafficking victim be physically transmitted from one location to another, only that their services be extracted by force, fraud, or coercion (unless the victim is a minor, in which case force, fraud, or coercion is not necessary).

Q10_3. Have you ever worked in a job where you were not free to leave due to force, fraud, or coercion?

Yes ................................ ................................ .... 1
No ............................................................................ 2

Q37. How common is sex trafficking in the UNITED STATES?

Widespread ................................ ....................... 1
Occasional ................................ ........................ 2
Rare ................................ ................................ .. 3
Non-Existent ................................ ...................... 4
Unsure ................................ .............................. 5

Q38. How common is labor trafficking in the UNITED STATES?

Widespread ................................ ....................... 1
Occasional ................................ ........................ 2
Rare ................................ ................................ .. 3
Non-Existent ................................ ...................... 4
Unsure ................................ .............................. 5

Q39. How common is sex trafficking in your [state from look up table]?

Widespread ................................ ....................... 1
Occasional ................................ ........................ 2
Rare ................................ ................................ .. 3
Non-Existent ................................ ...................... 4
Unsure ................................ .............................. 5
Q40. How common is labor trafficking in your [state from look up table]?

- Widespread .................................................. 1
- Occasional .................................................... 2
- Rare ............................................................. 3
- Non-Existent.................................................. 4
- Unsure ......................................................... 5

Q41. How common is sex trafficking in your LOCAL COMMUNITY?

- Widespread .................................................. 1
- Occasional .................................................... 2
- Rare ............................................................. 3
- Non-Existent.................................................. 4
- Unsure ......................................................... 5

Q42. How common is labor trafficking in your LOCAL COMMUNITY?

- Widespread .................................................. 1
- Occasional .................................................... 2
- Rare ............................................................. 3
- Non-Existent.................................................. 4
- Unsure ......................................................... 5

Check. To help us make sure our program is working properly, please select the number five below.

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7

Q43. We are now going to ask you about LABOR trafficking in the United States.
How much do you think each of the following groups is at risk of becoming victims of labor trafficking in the United States? On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means there is no risk that a person will be a victim of trafficking and 10 means that there is extreme risk that a person will be trafficked, what do you think the risk of trafficking is for:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lowest Risk</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Highest Risk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Adult Women
2. Adolescent Women
3. Girls
4. Adult Men
5. Adolescent Men
6. Boys
7. Illegal Immigrants
8. U.S. Citizens

[GRID, SP]
Q44. We are now going to ask you about SEX trafficking in the United States.
How much do you think each of the following groups is at risk of becoming victims of sex trafficking in the United States? On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means there is no risk that a person will be a victim of trafficking and 10 means that there is extreme risk that a person will be trafficked, what do you think the risk of trafficking is for:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lowest Risk</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>Highest Risk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1. Adult Women
2. Adolescent Women
3. Girls
4. Adult Men
5. Adolescent Men
6. Boys
7. Illegal Immigrants
8. U.S. Citizens

SECTION II, PART C: EXPOSURE TO HUMAN TRAFFICKING

[MP]
Q45. Where have you heard of human trafficking? Please check all that apply.
- Never heard of human trafficking
- Television news programs
- Advertisements/Commercials on television
- The Internet
- Movies
- Documentary
- Newspapers
- Billboards
- The Radio
- Public Event/Workshop
- Church or religious gathering
- Friends and Family
- School
- Personal Experience
- Community Leaders
- Political Speeches
SECTION II, PART D: INTEREST IN HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Q46. We are now going to ask you how concerned you feel about human trafficking. First, we are going to ask you about your general level of concern about human trafficking.

How much concern do you feel about trafficking in human beings? [Eurobarometer Survey]

- A lot of concern
- Some concern
- Little concern
- No concern

Q47. Now we would like you to tell us about how much concern you feel about human trafficking worldwide, in the United States, and in your state.

How much concern do you feel about trafficking in human beings worldwide?

- A lot of concern
- Some concern
- Little concern
- No concern

Q48. How much concern do you feel about trafficking in human beings in the United States?

- A lot of concern
- Some concern
- Little concern
- No concern

Q49. How much concern do you feel about trafficking in human beings in [state from look up table]?

- A lot of concern
- Some concern
- Little concern
- No concern

SECTION III: HUMAN TRAFFICKING AS A PUBLIC POLICY/BUSINESS ISSUE

SECTION III, PART A: PERCEIVED IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING
Q52. There are many issues facing our country today, and choices have to be made about how to prioritize them. How would you say that the U.S. government should prioritize anti-trafficking policies and programs?

- It should be the top priority
- It should be a high priority
- It should be a moderate priority
- It should be a low priority
- It should not be a priority at all

Q54. The U.S. government has a finite number of resources, and therefore needs to make tough decisions about which programs to fund. For the following programs, please tell us what level of a priority it should be, even if that means cutting other programs and services.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Highest Priority</th>
<th>Important Priority</th>
<th>Average Priority</th>
<th>Low Priority</th>
<th>Not A Priority</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Legal services for victims of human trafficking</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing services for victims of human trafficking</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counseling services for victims of human trafficking</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care for victims of human trafficking</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job training for victims of human trafficking</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human trafficking training for law enforcement</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-trafficking education programs in schools</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-trafficking public awareness programs</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration services for undocumented immigrants who have been trafficked</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SECTION III, PART B: COMBATTING HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Q55. In your opinion, how active should each of the following institutions be in fighting human trafficking?

[Adapted from Buckley, Russian survey]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Very Active</th>
<th>Somewhat Active</th>
<th>Not Active</th>
<th>Don’t Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Federal Government</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
[GRID, SP]

Q57. When a person is convicted of human trafficking, there are many punishment options. Below is a list of just a few of them. For each punishment option, please tell us how strongly you agree or disagree that it should be used for persons convicted of trafficking [If \( x_{nij3} = 1 \): the purpose of labor If \( x_{nij3} = 2 \): for the purpose of sex].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Punishment Option</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither Agree nor Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traffickers should be required to go to counseling classes.</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffickers should be required to pay victims monetary compensation.</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffickers should be required to forfeit their assets.</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffickers should serve time in prison.</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[IF Q57A = 1-2 (AGREE STRONGLY – AGREE)]

Q57A. How long of a prison sentence should they serve?
- A long prison sentence (10 years or more)
- A moderate prison sentence (1-9 years)
- A short prison sentence (Less than 1 year)

Check 2. To help us make sure our program is working properly, please select the number three below.
Q59. We would now like your opinion about what *causes* human trafficking. For each of the factors listed below, please tell us whether you think that it is a likely cause or an unlikely cause of human trafficking.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Very Likely</th>
<th>Somewhat Likely</th>
<th>Not at all Likely</th>
<th>Don’t Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pornography</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender discrimination in society</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial discrimination in society</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demand for cheap goods and services</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materialism</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rise of transnational crime</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic necessity</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reckless behavior by the victims</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak laws/law enforcement</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We would now like you to read about a recent incident involving human trafficking.
SECTION IV, PART B: AGE & GENDER & NATIONALITY

Experimental Manipulation (Keeping sex trafficking as the constant):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Minor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Foreign/US]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[Foreign/US]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Adult</td>
<td></td>
<td>Male Adults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Foreign/US]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[Foreign/US]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IF XREPORT2 = 1, SHOW “FEMALE.MINOR.FOREIGN” IF XREPORT2 = 2, SHOW “FEMALE.MINOR.US”
IF XREPORT2 = 3, SHOW “MALE.MINOR.FOREIGN”
IF XREPORT2 = 4, SHOW “MALE.MINOR.US”
IF XREPORT2 = 5, SHOW “FEMALE.ADULT.FOREIGN”
IF XREPORT2 = 6, SHOW “FEMALE.ADULT.US”
IF XREPORT2 = 7, SHOW “MALE.ADULT.FOREIGN”
IF XREPORT2 = 8, SHOW “MALE.ADULT.US”

Post-Experiment Questions:

[GRID, SP]
63. After reading this article, we are interested in hearing how you feel. I feel…

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree Strongly</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither Agree nor Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree Strongly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Sad</td>
<td>b. Frustrated</td>
<td>c. Outraged</td>
<td>d. Helpless</td>
<td>e. Indifferent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| f. Concerned   | g. Surprised    | h. Like I want to get involved  | i. Like this issue affects people around me | j. Other [textbox]_________________

[GRID, SP]
Q68b. After reading this article, how strongly do you agree or disagree that the government should...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither Agree nor Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. increase the punishment of human traffickers</td>
<td>2. provide resources to victims of human trafficking</td>
<td>3. provide resources to prevent human trafficking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q68c. In your opinion, the people being trafficked in this situation are...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neither Agree nor Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. being taken advantage of</td>
<td>b. partially to blame</td>
<td>c. naïve</td>
<td>d. deserving of social services</td>
<td>e. a typical victim of human trafficking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SECTION IV, PART C: PSAS

For this section we will show PSAs to determine which type is the most effective.

Experimental Manipulations:

Fact PSA:
if xpsa = 1, show: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=snfZdSsYTB4 (Free the slaves) (Not_for_Sale_Human_Trafficking_statistics)
if xpsa = 2, show: http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=bHT8qLRb-Ws (Not for sale) (Top_10_Facts_about_the_S_Word)

Emotional PSAS
if xpsa = 3, show: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N0thiE6Yj3E (ICE) (Human_Trafficking_PSA)
if xpsa = 5, show: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3-EYIY287LI (Emma Thompson)

Action vs. Non-Action
if xpsa = 6, show: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qvT-Us792Hg (Demi & Ashton full video) (Human_Trafficking_PSA_featuring_Ashton_Kutcher_DemiMoore)
if xpsa = 7, show: http://splicd.com/qvT-Us792Hg/0/52 (Demi & Ashton cut before ending) – This video should cut off at 0:52

Demand – Guilt vs. Fear vs. Humor
if xpsa = 8, show:  http://www.againstourwill.org/videos/hotel-room  (Guilt)
if xpsa = 9, show:  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vK6snO0d0  (Fear II)  (Dear_John_Campaign-EnglishTV2-60)
if xpsa = 10, show:  http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S7nsB7TFWl  (Humor)(Real_Men_Know_How_To_Make_A_Meal)

[SP]
Video Check. Were you able to view and hear the ad?

| Yes | ................................ ................................ ........ 1 |
| No  | ................................ ................................ ........ 2 |

Post-Experiment Questions:

**[GRID, SP] [RANDOMIZE]**

Q71. Based on what you saw in this public service announcement, please tell us how likely you would be on a scale from 1-5 to do the following things:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all likely</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Very Likely 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Call the National Trafficking Hotline about a suspicious situation</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call the police about a situation that you thought might be trafficking</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop purchasing products that were made using unfair labor practices</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have a conversation about human trafficking</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seek out more information about human trafficking. For example, look up more information online or watch a documentary</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vote for an elected official who pledged to get serious about stopping human trafficking</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pay more for products made in a socially responsible way</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donate money to an anti-trafficking organization</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q72. How much concern do you feel about trafficking in human beings? [Eurobarometer Survey]

- A lot of concern
- Some concern
- Little concern
- No concern

SECTION V: ADDITIONAL POLITICAL INDICATORS & DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

We are now going to ask you a few questions about yourself, as well as about media & politics in General.

Q74. How much of the time do you think you can trust the media to report the news fairly? [ANES]

- Just about always
- Most of the time
- Only some of the time
- Almost never

Q75. Some people feel that the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on his/their own. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6.) Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? [ANES]

- 1 – Government see to jobs and good standard of living
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 – Government let each person get ahead on his own
- Haven’t much thought about it

Q76. Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry and government. Others feel that a women's place is in the home. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you thought much about this?

- 1 – Women and men should have an equal role
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 – Women’s place is in the home
- Haven’t much thought about it
[IF PPGENDER = 2]

Q77. Do you think what happens with women in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?
   ○ Yes
   ○ No

[IF Q77 = 1]

Q78. How much do you think what happens with women in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?
   ○ A lot
   ○ Some
   ○ Not very much at all

Q79. I am going to ask you to choose which statement comes closer to your own opinion. You might agree to some extent with both, but we want to know which one is closer to your views.
   ○ 1 – We need strong government to handle today’s complex economic problems
   ○ 2 – The free market can handle these problems without government

Q81. Do you have a U.S. passport?
   ○ Yes
   ○ No

Q87. Are you, or have you ever been, a member of the military?
   ○ Yes, I am currently a member of the military
   ○ Yes, I am former member of the military
   ○ No

Q87a. How long have you served/did you serve? ________ years

Q88. How many hours (not including work activities) do you spend on the Internet each day?
   ○ None
   ○ Less than 1
   ○ 1-2
   ○ 3-5
   ○ More than 5

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Q89. Did you vote in the 2012 Presidential Election?
   ○ Yes
   ○ No

[DISPLAY]
Thank you for taking the time to take this survey. It was designed to understand what the American public thinks about human trafficking. Furthermore, within the body of the survey there were several experiments. These experiments were designed to track how such things as the gender of the victim impact public opinion on human trafficking. The newspaper articles that you read was completely hypothetical.

If you have any questions about whether you have been treated in an illegal or unethical way, contact the Colorado College Institutional Research Board chair, Amanda Udis-Kessler at 719-227-8177 or audiskessler@coloradocollege.edu. Please feel free to print a copy of this consent page to keep for your records.

Again, thank you for your participation. Your opinion is very valuable.