

SEX TRAFFICKING OF WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES

INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC TRENDS

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Within the last decade, the trafficking of women and children for sexual exploitation has become a major concern for governments, NGOs and the media. Although, the United States has been less visible as a site of transnational and domestic trafficking in women than other countries in Europe, and countries such as Japan, Canada and Australia, this situation is beginning to change. Recent accounts about sex trafficking in the United States, mainly appearing in national and local media, indicate that trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation is a national problem, and one that is increasing in scope and magnitude. The U.S. government estimates that 50,000 women and children are trafficked each year into the United States, primarily from Latin America, countries of the former Soviet Union and Southeast Asia. However, little systematic research has been done on contemporary trafficking in the United States. This study by the Coalition Against Trafficking Women is the first to research both international and domestic trafficking of women for sexual exploitation in the United States and to include primary research information from interviews with trafficked and prostituted women in the sex industry.

Research Aims and Methods

The aim of this research was to broadly investigate the international and domestic trafficking in women in the United States. The specific goals were to:

- Document known cases and information on sex trafficking in the United States
- Establish a research framework for studying sex trafficking in the United States
- Describe connections between the *supply* of women trafficked from abroad and within the United States to the *demand* created by the sex industries
- Describe local sex industries and their involvement in sex trafficking and prostitution
- Describe linkages between international and domestic trafficking and sex industries
- Describe regional differences in sex trafficking and sex industries in the United States
- Describe the social consequences of sex trafficking in terms of violence, crime, health and other human costs.

The research framework follows the path of trafficked women through their experiences in the sex industry. Interviewees were questioned about women's background before being recruited or trafficked into the sex industry, the methods used to recruit them, whether and how they were moved around while in the sex industry, how they were initiated into the roles and activities they had to carry out, how they were controlled, and how they coped with and resisted the conditions under which they lived. Interviewees were asked about the recruiters, traffickers and pimps and the men who buy women in the sex industry. They were asked about women's health and well being while in sex industry and after getting out. Interviewees were also asked about the operation of the sex industry in their region. Finally, the interviewees were asked for their recommendations for policies on trafficking and prostitution.

Five U.S. regions were selected for regional comparisons in trafficking and operation of the sex industry: Metro San Francisco, Metro New York, Northern Midwest, the Northeast and the Southeast.

These cities have large sex industries that enable comparisons of geographical differences, routes of trafficking, source countries of trafficked women and the operation of the sex industry.

Target sampling was used to gather information from the most informed experts on the topic. One hundred and twenty-eight individuals were interviewed, including international (N=15) and U.S. (N=25) women who had been or are in the sex industry in the United States, law enforcement officials (N=32) who have experience and expertise in sex-industry related cases or immigration, social service workers (N=43) who provide services to women in prostitution or may come in contact with women from the sex industry, and those providing services to immigrant populations, academic researchers and investigative journalists who have studied the sex industry or trafficking of women and/or migrants, and health care workers (N=13) who provide services to women in prostitution or may come in contact with women in the sex industry.

A unique source of data was used to research these topics. Men's writings on their experiences buying women in prostitution were downloaded from the Internet. Qualitative data analysis was used to analyze men's descriptions of the operation of the sex industry and their activities and behavior inside prostitution establishments.

Major Findings

Operation of the Sex Industry

Sex businesses in the five regions we investigated are prolific and diverse. Each region had elements of operation that were both similar and unique. Sex businesses thrive in all areas - urban, suburban and rural, as well as in areas surrounding U.S. military bases. Internationally trafficked women are reported to be present in all of these diverse areas.

Some sex enterprises operate legally or are incorporated as legal. Others operate behind legal front businesses, such as restaurants or nail salons. Yet others are makeshift ventures, operating out of mobile trailers or warehouses that are converted into brothels. Many sex entrepreneurs are constantly changing not only the location, but also the venues and ways of operating the businesses.

Sex businesses are advertised in a variety of ways including in print media such as mainstream English language newspapers and periodicals, non-English community newspapers and periodicals, pornographic magazines, sex guides, the *Yellow Pages*, and billboards. The industry is further advertised through electronic media such as television advertisements and on the internet, mobile advertising such as through billboards on trucks and in informal ways using business cards, flyers, matchbooks and word of mouth.

In the Northeast reported sex businesses include street prostitution, escort services, massage parlors, health clubs, brothels in hotels, rented houses and apartments and legitimate front businesses. In Metro New York, reported sex businesses include street prostitution, strip clubs, go-go bars, peep or fantasy booth shows, massage parlors, after-hours clubs, private apartments, hotels, escort services and makeshift operations in beauty parlors, restaurants and warehouses. The Northern Midwest has high street prostitution activity, saunas, health clubs, strip clubs, escort services, "chicken shacks" (dwellings used for quick prostitution transactions) and brothels in migrant farm worker camps. Metro San Francisco's sex industry includes street prostitution, strip clubs, bars, adult entertainment theatres, pornography emporiums, massage parlors, escort services, private residences and rent-by-the-hour hotels. Sex businesses reported in the Southeast include massage parlors and brothels in urban and suburban areas as well as makeshift brothels in gambling halls, houses and trailers in isolated and rural farm worker camps.

U.S. military bases, especially in the South replicate the sexual rest and recreation (R&R) areas that proliferate near military bases abroad. This infrastructure of sex clubs, brothels and massage parlors has been recreated here, with inordinate numbers of Asian women especially trafficked and exploited in the sex industries surrounding the bases.

Controllers and operators of the sex industry vary. Some sex businesses are family owned and others may be owned or backed by prominent local community members, including judges and lawyers. Others are controlled or financed by organized crime groups. The majority of law enforcement agents reported that 76-100 percent of the sex enterprises in the Northeast, Metro New York, the Southeast, and Metro San Francisco are controlled, financed, or backed by organized crime groups. In some cases, trafficking rings supply women to sex establishments.

Organized crime groups may be highly structured organizations, run by a hierarchy of individuals and groups, with many key players, or decentralized and less organized small groups of individuals who get together for a "business venture" with no central leader. Sex enterprise owners rarely are involved in the daily or frontline operations, and may depend upon many layers of people to run the business.

Background of the Women in the Sex Industry in the United States

Men's writings from the Internet revealed large differences in racial and international proportions of women in prostitution in three regional cities. In New York City, more "Hispanic/Latina" and "Black" women were identified as compared to San Francisco, where "Asians" strongly predominate. In Minneapolis/St. Paul, race was less often mentioned and the proportions of the racial groups are equal. In San Francisco, the most frequently mentioned national groups by geographical area were largely Asian, followed by small numbers of Eastern Europeans and Central Americans. In New York City, the most frequently mentioned national groups by geographical area were South and Central American, followed equally by Asian and Eastern European national identities. In Minneapolis/St. Paul, there were no women identified by nationality. There was no mention in the men's writings of women from African countries.

The international women interviewed in this study were predominantly from the former Soviet Union (13 of 15), and over half of the U.S. women were African American (13 of 25). The majority of international (80%) and U.S. women (83%) interviewed in this study entered the sex industry before the age of 25, many of them as children. Sixty percent of the international women had been in the sex industry before entering the United States. Seventy-three percent of international women had no or very little English language proficiency while in the sex industry in the United States. The majority of international women arrived in the country on tourist visas (53%) and other legal means, while others were trafficked in with the use of fraudulent travel papers.

Recruiters, Traffickers and Pimps

Organized businesses and crime networks, such as escort services, bars, brothels, clubs, "biker gangs" and the mafia, were instrumental in recruiting the international (60%) and U.S. women (40%). U.S. servicemen have also been involved in recruiting Asian women, especially from Korea, Vietnam and Japan into the sex industry in the United States. Often the servicemen marry prostituted women around military bases abroad, bring them to the United States and pressure them into prostitution. A large number of foreign military wives become victims of domestic violence, displaced or homeless, and end up in prostitution around U.S. military bases.

The majority of international (75%) and U.S. (64%) women reported that people who recruited and/or trafficked them were connected to pimps in the sex industry. Recruiters, traffickers and pimps are involved in other criminal activity, such as fraud, extortion, migrant smuggling, theft and money laundering, in addition to trafficking and prostitution. Most trafficking organizations were small, with only one to five people involved, although there were a few large (6-15 people) and very large (50-100 people) networks reported. Husbands and boyfriends acted as pimps for some of the international (20%) and U.S. (28%) women.

Methods of Recruitment

Conditions facilitating recruitment of women include economic desperation and disadvantage, lack of a sustainable income, and poverty--all of which are preyed on by recruiters, traffickers and pimps.

Reported push factors were economic and oppressive conditions in countries of origin. In some families, girls were seen as burdens and liabilities, and lack of family support, or direct family pressure or coercion, precipitated women's entrance into the sex industry. Sometimes, older brothers or uncles acted as conduits for recruitment.

Traffickers and pimps recruited a significant number of international and U.S. women. Recruiters or pimps promised money and the opportunity to make a lot of money to many of the international (73%) and U.S. (33%) women. Some international women were brought into the United States through marriage to U.S. men, especially military personnel.

Some international women answered ads for jobs in the United States or responded to ads placed in "the personals." Several women entered the country independently, arranging for their own legitimate or illegitimate travel documents

Pimps recruit young, vulnerable U.S. women in malls and clubs by befriending and creating emotional and drug or alcohol dependencies to entrap them. Pimps are also adept at preying upon women's vulnerabilities. Coercion and violence are also used.

Methods of Movement

Entry points for trafficked women into the United States are strategic sites along the U.S.-Canadian and Mexican borders and international airports. These entry points for trafficking are fluid, shifting to other locations when there are crackdowns.

Many of the U.S. (62%) and international (29%) women are domestically trafficked inside the United States. These trafficking patterns are diverse with international women transported from the East to the West coast, from the South to the Northeast, and from urban to rural and rural to urban districts. Similarly, U.S. women are domestically trafficked across city, state and even national borders.

Methods of Initiation

Twenty percent of the international and 28 percent of the U.S. women had intimate relationships with the men who pimped them. They and other victims described classic dynamics of battering that evolved into pimping. Emotional and physical coercion were used to break the women's resistance to entering prostitution. Pornography was used as an "educational tool" with many (50%) of the international women. For some, stripping was the entrance point into the sex industry, after which they were constantly pressured into prostitution.

Methods of Control

Methods used to control women in the sex industry included: denying freedom of movement, isolation, controlling money, threats and intimidation, drug and alcohol dependencies, threatened exposure of pornographic films, and physical and sexual violence.

Some women were held captive and some were not free until they paid off accumulated debts. The majority of law enforcement (76%) and social service providers, advocates and researchers (71%) confirmed that a large number of women were not free to leave the sex industry.

Pimps controlled most of the money and many of the international (36%), and U.S. women (76%) had money withheld from them.

Violence was an intrinsic part of the prostitution and sexual exploitation used to control and intimidate the women. Eighty-six percent of U.S. women, and 53 percent of the international women reported being physically abused by pimps and traffickers. One half of the U.S. women, and 1/3 of the international women described frequent, sometimes daily assaults. Eighty-eight percent of U.S. women and 50 percent of international women reported psychological abuse. Ninety percent of the U.S. women and 47 percent of international women reported verbal threats. Seventy percent of U.S. women and 40 percent of international women reported being sexually assaulted in prostitution at the hands of the pimps and traffickers. As evidenced from the context of interviews with women, the research team believes that these findings represent underreporting of the actual violence perpetrated, especially against international women by pimps and buyers. There may be many reasons for this underreporting including normalization or non-naming of the violence in their lives.

Women were isolated, confined and guarded to prevent them from leaving. Thirty-five percent of international women, and 64 percent of U.S. women were held in isolation and under guard in brothels or compounds.

Men Who Buy Women for Prostitution

Many of the brothels housing international women catered to buyers in specific immigrant or migrant worker communities. Some brothels had selective entrance for men from their own ethnicity, nationality or race.

Buyers came from all ages (15-90) and socio-economic classes. The majority of men were married.

The majority of international (82%) and U.S. (58%) women said that men expected them to comply with all their requests. Men, in their writings, confirm this. Almost half of the international and U.S. women (47% each) reported that men expected sex without condoms. Fifty percent of the international women, and 73 percent of U.S. women reported that men would pay more for sex without a condom. A significant portion of the international (29%) and U.S. (45%) women said that men became abusive if women tried to insist that they use condoms.

Buyers subjected women to physical violence (international women--28%, U.S. women--86%), sexual assault (international women--36%, U.S. women--80%) and other forms threats and violence.

Health of Women

Although a number of studies in the medical and social science literature investigate the rates of HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) of certain populations of women in prostitution, there has been no focus on the larger health consequences to women who have been trafficked and

prostituted. International and U.S. women suffered severe health consequences from the injuries caused by violence and diseases contracted while in the sex industry. Many women sustained injuries, such as broken bones, bruises, and cuts requiring stitches. Almost half of the U.S. women (47%) reported head injuries. Thirty-six percent of the international woman and 53 percent of the U.S. women reported mouth and teeth injuries. Fifty-six percent of the U.S. women required emergency room treatment for injuries and illnesses sustained while in the sex industry.

Most of the women contracted sexually transmitted infections while in the sex industry.

Many of the women suffered emotionally from their experiences in the sex industry. Eighty percent of international and U.S. women felt depressed. Many of the international (50%) and U.S. (41%) women felt hopeless. Almost 1/3 of the international and 64 percent of the U.S. women experienced anger and rage. Sixty-four percent of U.S. women said they had suicidal thoughts and 63 percent said they had tried to hurt or kill themselves.

Methods of Coping and Resistance

Although women were severely victimized while in the sex industry, they were not simply victims. They found many ways to cope, resist and survive the exploitation and violence. The vast majority of international (87%) and U.S. (92%) women used drugs or alcohol to cope while they were in the sex industry. Half of the women began using drugs and alcohol after they entered the sex industry to numb themselves to the trauma of unwanted sex.

Many women (international women—50%, U.S. women—43%) tried, sometimes multiple times, to leave the sex industry. Twenty-seven percent of the international women and 52 percent of the U.S. women said economic necessity, drug dependencies and pimps who beat, kidnapped, and/or threatened them or their children prevented them from leaving.

Interviewees' Viewpoints

Interviewees were asked their opinions on topics that are often debated, such as legalization of prostitution. Fifty percent of the international women said that prostitution should not be legalized or recognized as a form of work. The same number said they could not recommend prostitution to any other women. Sixty-seven percent of the U.S. women said prostitution should not be legalized or recognized as a form of work. Ninety four percent said they could not recommend prostitution to other women.

When asked if women enter the sex industry voluntarily, most respondents in all groups reported that choice could only be talked about in the context of other options. Most emphasized that women who were trafficked and prostituted had few other options. Many spoke about prostitution as a final option.

Recommendations for Change

The national anti-trafficking plan of the United States recommends prevention, protection for victims and prosecution of traffickers. Our recommendations are based on the connections between prevention, protection and prosecution.

A Human Rights Definition of Trafficking

Human rights legislation against trafficking must apply to both international and U.S. women, otherwise there is a risk of stereotyping trafficking as an immigration problem, and depriving all

women of recourse, remedy and redress. The definition of trafficking used to analyze data from this project was a draft international definition of trafficking from the draft *Pro tocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime.*

'Trafficking in persons' shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring, or receipt of persons, by the threat or use of force, by abduction, fraud, deception [inducement] coercion or the abuse of power, or by the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation [irrespective of the consent of the person]; exploitation shall include, at a minimum, [the exploitation of prostitution or other forms of sexual exploitation], forced labour of services, slavery or practices similar to slavery [or servitude].

In this definition, exploitation, rather than coercion, is the operative concept. This definition has now been finalized, and the final version is included in the next section.

Research, legislation and enforcement strategies would benefit from a common definition of trafficking that is broad and inclusive enough to represent the reality of what happens to all women who are trafficked for purposes of sexual exploitation—across borders and within countries, into or in a country, with or without their consent, and through force, fraud, deception, or abuse of the vulnerability of a victim.

Trafficking cannot be separated from prostitution. Anti-trafficking policies and programs must address organized prostitution and domestic trafficking.

Education and Public Awareness

Creative resources need to be developed for raising public awareness about sex trafficking in both sending and receiving countries. Within sending countries, people must be made aware of the risks of trafficking. Education and public awareness campaigns about trafficking should utilize the media in immigrant communities in the United States.

Legal information should be disseminated to social service providers and advocates for immigrants and abused women, in an easy-to-understand style. Guidebooks or other information should include specific contact information for federal agencies and departments that investigate trafficking and prosecute traffickers.

Strict Penalties and Consistent, Uniform Law Enforcement

Penalties must fit the crime. Sentencing guidelines should reflect the seriousness of the crime.

Evidentiary standards need to change. Currently, prosecution of traffickers depends on testimony from victim witnesses. Videotapes or wiretaps should be allowed as evidence. Police officers should be able to serve as complainants.

Civil statutes to combat the promotion and spread of sex industries also can be used in addition to criminal prosecutions. Local ordinances that clamp down, for example, on local sex venues, should also be employed.

Jurisdictional differences within states need to be harmonized, since pimps and owners of establishments are quick to capitalize on these differences.

The Women

Trafficked women should not be treated as criminal illegal immigrants, but as victims of violence and human rights abuses.

Women in the process of emigrating to and arriving in the United States should be made cognizant of their civil and legal rights when in this country.

Trafficking victims are in a legal no-woman's land. The new "T" visa would give trafficked women residency status in the United States. This visa has been proposed for undocumented persons who have been victims of severe abuse in the United States, and who can provide material information to a crime.

The Traffickers

The burden of proof needs to be shifted to the traffickers. Legislation must not allow traffickers to use the consent of the victim as a defense against trafficking.

Sex trafficking cases, like prostitution cases, are not given priority. Police must receive the resources to investigate and prosecute trafficking kingpins ~ the people at the top.

Military authorities must work in concert with other government agencies, to investigate the role of U.S. military men in trafficking women into and in the United States.

The Buyers

Laws and law enforcement must address the demand side of the sex industry. It must be made more difficult for buyers to purchase women for commercial sex. Laws against buying women must be strengthened.

Specific legal measures recommended included car forfeitures/confiscations of men arrested for soliciting, publication of buyers' names in the newspapers, and more "johns schools" where first offender buyers are "educated" about the harm of prostitution to the women, the neighborhood and themselves.

Enforceable policies are needed within U.S. military contexts that enjoin U.S. military from engaging in commercial sexual exploitation at home and abroad.

Community Involvement

Community involvement is essential to prevention, prosecution and protection. Media, law enforcement and social service providers must be sensitive to the complexities of community participation in anti-trafficking campaigns, especially within immigrant communities.

Communities should not bear the resource burden alone. There should be a joint effort of government, women's and community groups to act quickly on behalf of trafficking victims and to provide long-term assistance.

Government should work with a variety of community-based groups to design and implement victim services and support networks in various regions of the country.

Coordination and Collaboration

Immigration and law enforcement agencies worldwide should coordinate efforts. A computerized database to share information would be helpful, not only at the international level, but at the local level as well.

There should be some way of tracking U.S. men who travel to the same or different countries, and return to the United States with serial foreign fiancées or wives.

More coordination and cooperation is needed between local police officers and federal law enforcement agencies and prosecutors.

Law enforcement, immigration and social service providers should collaborate and cooperate in prevention of trafficking, protection of victims, and prosecution of traffickers.

NGOs working on trafficking issues in the United States should work closely with NGOs abroad. NGOs in the women's countries should help ensure that repatriated women do not end up back in the hands of recruiters and traffickers, and that they receive assistance.

Culturally Appropriate Legal Strategies and Social Services

The criminal justice system must be made more immigrant-friendly. Many social service providers reported that the current system hampers victims from coming forward who fear deportation.

Trafficked victims should be eligible for welfare and government funding without penalty to their future immigration status.

Legal advocacy entities, receiving funds from the Legal Services Funds Corporation, should be allowed to represent trafficked victims in court.

More resources and services are needed for women in the sex industry, especially those who have been trafficked - e.g., witness protection programs, health care, housing, shelter, counseling, legal services, English-language education, job training and financial assistance.

Law enforcement officials need investigators and consultants—cultural advisors—who are familiar with the cultural environments of both victims and traffickers.

More funding from the Violence Against Women Act should be made available for research, education, training and services for trafficking victims. The Crime Victims Fund should also be used to support services and shelters for trafficked women. When assets are seized from traffickers, they should be used for victim support.

INTRODUCTION

Trafficking in women is often presented as a problem in countries outside the United States. The United States has been less visible as a site for transnational and domestic trafficking in women because, for one reason, research on sex trafficking in the United States has been limited. In contrast, considerable attention has been focused on sex trafficking in Europe, Canada, Japan, Australia and other industrialized nations. Statistical data on trafficking, numbers of women trafficked into the country and estimates advanced by governmental and non-governmental groups (NGOs) are difficult to verify. Incidents of trafficking are often reported in isolation from one another. The who, what and why of trafficking into the United States has not been evident.

This situation is beginning to change. Destination countries, such as the United States, are now working together with source countries, to draft regional action plans such as the Asian Regional Initiative Against Trafficking (ARIAT, 2000). The Clinton administration from 1998-2000 initiated an anti-trafficking strategy (Presidential Directive, March 11, 1998) that brought together governmental agencies such as the Departments of State and Justice to coordinate efforts against trafficking. Significant progress was made in implementing a national anti-trafficking action plan that is based on practical strategies involving prevention of trafficking, prosecution of traffickers and protection of victims (ARIAT, Country Plan of the United States, 2000). In March 2000, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) released a much awaited report outlining *International Trafficking in Women to the United States: A Contemporary Manifestation of Slavery and Organized Crime* (Richard, 1999).

A great deal remains to be done, however, even in the area of basic research. Cases of trafficking in the United States are mainly reported in newspaper accounts. Although a number of studies have been undertaken by the International Organization of Migration (IOM) to interview trafficked women in other industrialized countries such as Italy, and in developing countries such as Cambodia (International Organization of Migration, 1996; 1998 respectively), it appears that no one has been able to interview even small numbers of women who have been trafficked into the United States. Law enforcement and immigration officials, and some social service providers, have interviewed individual women when they have been arrested in brothel and massage parlor raids. However, there are no research studies on the experiences of victims of trafficking in the United States.

Background

Although there is some historical literature on trafficking and prostitution in the context of the United States, the intention of this study was to lay the groundwork for the contemporary problem of international trafficking in the United States. Prior to 1990, the small body of literature that does exist relates mostly to interstate trafficking and the Mann Act, with one important exception being Kathleen Barry's groundbreaking work *Female Sexual Slavery* (1979). However, even Barry's work does not develop the context of trafficking in the United States. In the contemporary context from 1990-2000, there is some academic and professional literature on legal aspects of trafficking (Demleitner, 1994; Toepfer & Wells, 1994; and Raghu, 1998); as well as literature on the policy debates over definitions of trafficking (Wijers, 1997; Raymond, 1995; 1999); and the nature of prostitution vs. "sex work" (Hoffman, 1998; Delacoste & Alexander, 1987); but little research on trafficking in the United States. There is some literature on the smuggling of undocumented

immigrants by organized crime and gangs (Chin, 1999; Kwong, 1987; 1997), but the primary focus in this work has been trafficking for labor, not trafficking into the sex industry.

Factors Promoting Sex Trafficking

Many factors are implicated in the rise of sex trafficking worldwide, including in the United States. Among the more influential are:

- Gender-based social and economic inequality in all areas of the globe (United Nations, 1995), assuring a supply of women, especially from developing and new independent states (NIS) in Eastern Europe.
- Male demand for the sex of prostitution and related sexual entertainment (Barry, 1995; Thanh-Dam Truong, 1990; Bishop and Robinson, 1998: 67)
- Macro-economic policies, promoted by international lending organizations that mandate "structural adjustments" in many developing regions of the world, pushing certain countries (e.g. the Philippines) to export women for labor, making them vulnerable to trafficking; or to develop economies based on tourism (e.g. Thailand), including sex tourism (Daguno, 1998; Bishop and Robinson, 1998)
- Expansion of transnational sex industries and increasingly sophisticated predatory recruitment techniques and networks (Kaihla, 1991; Gutner and Corben, 1996; Vatikiotis, 1995)
- Globalization of capital and information technology (Santos, 1999; Hughes, 1999)
- Armed conflict, military occupation and concentration of military and militia bases in various parts of the world (Sturdevant and Stoltzfus, 1992; Moon, 1997)

The sex trade has become a development strategy and source of income with profits in some countries amounting to 14 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) (Tunsarawuth, 1996). Reportedly, profits from sex trafficking and sex industries rival and surpass those from international drug trafficking. However, the penalties for human trafficking are far less punitive in most countries than the penalties for drug trafficking (Budapest Group, 1999:10). The same crime groups that traffic in drugs and weapons are often the same gangs that traffic in human beings. Globalization of the world's economy and information means globalization of the sex industry.

Cases of Sex Trafficking in the United States

The U.S. government estimates that 50,000 women and children are trafficked each year into the United States (ARIAT, *Country Plan of the United States*, 1999), primarily from Latin America, Russia, the New Independent States, and Southeast Asia. The International Organization of Migration (IOM) attempted to estimate numbers of trafficked women in Europe for the European Union and concluded that accurate numbers were not possible (IOM, 1998).

Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has discovered over 250 brothels in 26 different cities that likely involve trafficking (Richard, 1999: 3). INS uses reports that are often a combination of field reports and newspaper accounts. Newspaper reports have been a primary source of information about sex trafficking in the United States, with national and local newspapers reporting occurrences of trafficking in various parts of the country; nationalities of the women trafficked; places where the women have been moved to and from; and often, cross-border entry into the United States (Appendix I).

Sex trafficking is often a highly mobile enterprise, both internationally and domestically. Women are moved from country to country, state to state, and city to city. International sex trafficking has been documented in over 20 states: Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Arizona, Colorado, Texas, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas.

Georgia

One case that is particularly illustrative of the patterns of sex trafficking in the United States, and the ways in which women are moved quickly from place to place, occurred in Atlanta, Georgia in March 1998. Original reports indicated that FBI agents raided a house in Atlanta in which they found eight girls, ages 15 and 16, being held in prison-like conditions (United States v. Yong Hui McCready, et al, 1999). This brothel turned out to be only one in a nationwide network that operated in 14 states. Later reports indicated that there were 500-1000 trafficked women between the ages of 13 and 25, many of them minors, who passed through Atlanta. The average time they spent in the city was two weeks, because male buyers ("customers") demanded sex with different women (United States v. Ninh Vinh Luong, et al, 1999), and also because owners wanted to avoid detection by the police.

The sex enterprises operated in houses, apartments and townhouses with barbed wire fencing often enclosing the houses and land. Authorities in Atlanta said that the trafficked women were all Asian, from China, Thailand, Korea, Malaysia, Hong Kong and Vietnam. Asian smugglers, known as "snakeheads," illegally brought the women into the United States, requiring payment of up to \$40,000 (United States v. Meng Feng Wang, et al, 1999). Hundreds of sex acts later, some of the women were able to purchase their freedom but, as undocumented immigrants, had nowhere to go (McDonald, 1999).

Thirteen people were indicted in the Atlanta case and charged with importation of illegal immigrants for prostitution. Six of the 13 were arrested. Authorities received information from male buyers, who were videotaped going in and out of the brothels, and who have now become federal witnesses (McDonald, 1999).

Florida and South Carolina

Another case receiving wide media attention involved the Cadena family from Veracruz, Mexico, who trafficked at least 20 Mexican women—one as young as 14—into the United States for purposes of prostitution. The women, lured with promises of economic opportunities, were transported through Texas and then kept in trailers transformed into mobile brothels located near migrant workers' camps in Florida and South Carolina. The women lived in brutal conditions. Prosecutors said that many were compelled to have sex with 130 men per week, beaten, raped, and forced to undergo abortions. They were told that they would be released after paying off debts of around \$3,000 for having been smuggled into the country (Wilson, 1998).

Victims were granted temporary legal status. Justice Department officials worked with social service agencies in South Florida to find the women shelter and employment. Six members of the Cadena family were indicted along with 10 accused associates. In the spring of 1999, the ringleader, Rogerio Cadena, pleaded guilty to conspiring to violate the women's civil rights and was sentenced to 15 years in prison and ordered to pay \$1 million in restitution to the women. Six were sentenced to 6 *Vi/Qaxs* in prison with nine others remaining at large (Summary, U.S. Department of Justice, Criminal Section, Civil Rights Division, 1999).

The Sex Industry

Commercial sex in the United States today is available through strip shows, go-go bars, pornographic magazines and videos, phone sex lines, the Internet, massage parlors, escort services, and sex tours.

The sex industry operates in connection with many legitimate businesses. The connections between the sex and Internet industries shows how the sex industry is able to adapt from its more stereotypical, seedy, back streets image into a modern, diversified enterprise. University of Rhode Island professor, Donna Hughes, states, "The pimps and buyers on the Internet are funding the development and expansion of the commercial Internet"(Hughes, 1999: 52).

The Budapest Group, consisting of representatives from 40 governments and 10 interagency organizations in Europe, found that organized traffickers and smugglers often expand their illegal activities into legitimate businesses such as travel agencies, language schools, vocational institutes and shipping companies. "As a consequence, *modus operandi* between legal and illegal activities are becoming more difficult to distinguish" (The Budapest Group, 1999: 20). This legitimate status wins traffickers and profiteers respectability and power, and it also provides a vehicle for laundering money from other illegal activities.

In like manner, sex industries have been very adept at becoming an integrated and accepted part of society. One of the ways that the sex industry is fighting for legitimacy is in its global campaign to have prostitution legalized as sex work. The legal brothels in Melbourne, Australia, the capital of legalized prostitution, make over \$360 million per year at the same time that they act as a magnet for the illegal trafficking industry which also flourishes (Sullivan and Jeffreys, 2001).

Legalization and regulation have been promoted as the answer to the abuse, health problems and violence in the sex industry. It has been argued that legalization or decriminalization of the entire industry will decrease the illegal sector and help stem the tide of sex trafficking (Kempadoo & Doezema, 1998). There is evidence that contradicts this claim. The consequences of legalization in Australia, and a similar legally-sanctioned explosion of the sex industry in the Netherlands, has increased trafficking into both countries. Eighty percent of women in prostitution in the Netherlands have been trafficked into the country (The Budapest Group, 1999:11).

Source Countries and Regions

International women are trafficked into the sex industry in the United States from many different countries and regions. International and U.S. women are also domestically trafficked across city and state lines in the United States.

Russia

It was the trafficking in Russian and eastern bloc women that focused the attention of the U.S. government on sex trafficking into the United States. In the spring of 1996, police raided a massage parlor in Bethesda, Maryland. There they found several Russian women, most of whom were undocumented (Pope, 1997, p. 39). Most had responded to an ad in a St. Petersburg newspaper for economic opportunities abroad, working as au pairs or waitresses. After coming to the United States, all had been pressed into prostitution. The Russian traffickers travel regularly from the United States to Russia to recruit new women for the American sex clubs, escort services, massage parlors and brothels.

Economic conditions in Russia, and the ways in which traffickers prey on poor women affected by the economic collapse in the country, form the background for the rise in Russian trafficking. One

quarter of the Russian population now lives below poverty level, and it has been estimated that women account for two-thirds of those unemployed - among them many former doctors, professors, scientists, and engineers. In a country where 98 percent of the women are literate, many women are driven by the economy, the collapse of Russian social services, market-based sex discrimination, and sexual harassment on the job to leave their country to seek jobs abroad (Human Rights Watch, 1995: 307-29). Many of these women ultimately end up in the traffickers' networks.

In the early 1990s, Russian women began appearing in large numbers of New Jersey clubs. They were initially advertised with signs saying: "The Russians Are Coming!" (Plachy & Ridgeway, 1996: 188). Many trafficked Russian women live in the Brighton Beach area of New York that has the largest Russian community in the nation. Increasing numbers of Russian women are also in the escort services of New York City (Pope, 1997). Women from this community are driven each day to New Jersey which has the highest number of strip clubs of any state, totaling over 200.

Asia

Reports indicate that Korean, Vietnamese, Thai, Hong Kong, Malaysian, Filipino, Indian, Bangladeshi, and Chinese women are trafficked into the United States. A highly publicized case of trafficking from Asia occurred in 1994, referred to as the Bowery St. brothel case. A routine inspection by city housing authorities revealed 30 Thai women in a Chinatown brothel. Later, that number was estimated at 50. When the police and INS raided the brothel, they found barred windows, armed guards and squalid conditions (Goldberg, 1995).

Thousands of other Asian women, many from mainland China, have also been trafficked into prostitution through organized smuggling networks of Asian gangs. The network is extensive and may be connected with an interstate chain of massage parlors and brothels crisscrossing the country from California to Rhode Island with women rotated from city to city in order for traffickers to escape detection (Goldberg, 1995, p. 2).

Canada—United States

Women are trafficked into the United States across the Canadian border. Some have been trafficked through Native American sovereign territory (U.S. Immigration & Naturalization Service News Release, 1998). Traffickers take advantage of the 28,000 acres (U.S. and Canadian sides of the border) in the St. Regis Mohawk Territory (Akwesasne), off limits to both Canadian and U.S. border patrols. It has been estimated that 1300 persons are smuggled yearly through Akwesasne territory into the United States from the Middle East, Europe and Asia (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service News Release, 1998).

In 1999, 50 young Korean women were trafficked across the Canadian border into northern New York, the discovery being the result of a joint operation between Canadian and U.S. law enforcement officials. In this case, the Asian trafficker forced the women to have sex with him as part of their passage, and took photographs of himself having sex with the women (O'Brien, 1999: B-1). Border patrol officials say that the trafficking of undocumented persons, especially from China and Korea, has expanded along the northern U.S. border in recent years.

Earlier in September 1997, Canadian Combined Forces Special Enforcement Unit (CFSEU) made raids on brothels in Toronto and Vancouver. Tipped off by U.S. INS, they discovered that Asian women were being sold into the sex industry in these cities, as well as in the United States. The women were usually trafficked into Canada with false passports and visitors' visas for which the women had to pay heavily (Hawaleshka, 1997:24).

On the same day in September that raids were conducted in the Canadian cities, a woman suspected of running a San Jose brothel linked to the ring in Canada was arrested on charges of

pimping and pandering. Five other women from Malaysia and Thailand found in the house were also arrested, two charged with violating the terms of their visitors' visas and one deported for failing to appear at an earlier immigration hearing (Pimentel & Wallace, 1997). At the same time, U.S. police raided a home in Midway City in Orange County, California, arresting six people, among them one whom police described as a "middle-level organized crime leader." The ring covertly ferried Asian women into the Los Angeles area, and operated as many as six houses of prostitution. Most of the trafficked women were in their late teens or early 20s and were shuttled between cities, states and countries (Boucher and Carney, 1997).

Within the past few years, there have been reports of Canadian strip clubs who advertise for dancers and "entertainers" from abroad. Various newspaper articles have reported that bar owners, especially in eastern Canada, are recruiting exotic dancers from other countries to fill an alleged shortage of Canadian women. Foreign women have to prove to Canadian immigration authorities that they have been "professional strippers" in their countries of origin before they can apply for a work visa. In 1998, Canada had 500 immigration applications from women who were employed in foreign strip clubs (Bradley, 1998).

Some reports cite this practice as adding to the increased trafficking and sexual exploitation of women in North America. Evidence reveals that there is a connection between those women imported into Canada for stripping and those subsequently trafficked into prostitution. "A Toronto talent agent was charged after a Romanian stripper was forced to work as a prostitute in a network of city strip bars.. She was forced to lap dance and do intimate sex... Police have warned...foreign hookers (sic) are being sent to work here under the guise of strippers" (Godfrey, 1998).

A special Canadian task force has charged more than 150 people with promoting women into prostitution in seven of the 42 licensed strip clubs in Toronto, and at other towns and cities in Canada (Freed & Millar, 1999). The alleged "stripping shortage" in Canada indicates the ease with which the sex industry can segue from stripping into prostitution - bringing women legally into the country for dancing in the strip clubs and then trafficking them into prostitution shortly after entry - constantly pushing the envelope of sexual exploitation.

United States

In July 1999, 15 Americans were arrested on charges of running a prostitution ring out of Minneapolis, Minnesota. The FBI released a 44-count indictment charging many members of the Evans family with forcing teenage girls into prostitution, maintaining control over them with repeated rapes, beatings and death threats. According to the FBI, the ring has been operating for 17 years, getting progressively larger, with operations in 24 states and two Canadian provinces (Rosario, 1999, 1A).

Earlier in 1998, Troy Footman, an American, was convicted of 18 charges related to the running of an interstate trafficking operation that sexually exploited 25 girls. Preying on teenage runaways in the United States, the Lowell Massachusetts pimp and trafficker transported and prostituted the girls from Boston, New Jersey and Delaware all along the Eastern seaboard (U.S. Department of Justice Press Release, 1998).

Methods and Means of Trafficking

International traffickers use tourist, training and educational visas and work permits to gain entrance for women into the United States and then keep women in the country beyond the stipulated expiration date of the visa. Russian traffickers featured in a video and report produced by the Global Survival Network explained that the best entry strategy was a three-month educational visa for

women on the pretense that they are being invited for training (Caldwell et al, 1997: 25). Traffickers also make use of fraudulent documents. In all these instances, trafficking is exploited migration, taking advantage of the fact that more and more women desire and are often compelled to migrate across borders, as well as within their countries, especially for economic reasons.

Smuggling networks are another way in which women are trafficked into the United States. For example, Chinese "snakeheads" traffic persons for a high fee, for both labor and sexual exploitation, indenturing them in debt bondage that may last many years. Kinship networks, both in China and in the United States, are used to keep those trafficked in line so that debts are repaid. Indebted and undocumented Chinese are also recruited as enforcers in sweatshops and brothels, and may prey on others to repay their own debts to the smugglers (Kwong, 1997, p. 98).

The Chinese smuggling networks are extensive and appear to be organized crime networks "depending on hundreds of individuals, including snaketails in Fuzhou, corrupt officials in China, fishermen-smugglers on China's coast, Taiwanese fishing and freight fleet owners, Malaysian shipping crews, safe house operators dotting the globe, and underworld 'facilitators' along the smuggling routes from Bangkok, Central America, Mexico, and Texas to New York" (Kwong, 1997: 82-83). Parts of the operation are subcontracted, such as U.S.-Mexico border crossings that are handled by Mexican operatives, and almost all their major safe houses in Central America are staffed by Taiwanese.

The most developed but most circuitous of the Chinese smuggling routes lead to the United States, beginning in Fuzhou and, most frequently, ending in New York. Originally, undocumented Chinese immigrants were ferried on small fishing boats out of Fuzhou where they were later picked up by Taiwanese seaworthy vessels. After crossing the Pacific, they landed in the coastal areas of either Mexico or other parts of Central America and were smuggled across the Texas or California border with Mexico before flying to New York. There are infinite variations on this sea/land route (Kwong, 1997: 74-77)

Thousands of Fujianese are also smuggled over the Canadian-U.S. border through Akwesasne Territory into the United States (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization News Release, 1998).

Trafficking Patterns

Sex trafficking has become a massive transnational industry, especially in the last 20 years, but in many cases traffickers and pimps are small-scale operators. For example, although the Asian smuggling and trafficking networks are international, large-scale, and sophisticated, the Mexican traffickers, such as the Cadena family, appear to be smaller-scale and nowhere near as sophisticated and organized. The Russian Mafiya, according to Europol, "is truly organized crime on a major scale" (Caldwell, et al., 1997: 31). The American traffickers operating domestically appear to be one-man or family operations, nonetheless running multi-state trafficking enterprises and sometimes grossing millions of dollars.

Women are moved into the United States often through other transit countries or across neighboring borders. The women are smuggled by car, bus, boat and plane. Many are deceived into thinking they will work as domestics, waitresses, dancers, and models. Those who know that they will engage in stripping, escort services, or prostitution often have no idea of the conditions that await them. Once here, women are held in apartments, bars and makeshift brothels where they service multiple men per day. Many are raped, beaten and confined under the worst of conditions.

In all cases, the economic pattern in trafficking is that of poor women to richer men, or poorer women to not-as-poor men. The flow of women trafficked is generally south to north. However, after

the breakup of the Soviet Union, Russian and former eastern bloc women were trafficked into the brothels of Thailand. The most frequent destinations for transnationally trafficked women are Europe, North America, Japan, Australia and the Gulf States. Domestic trafficking and prostitution in the United States involves high numbers of African American and other U.S. minority women, as well as economically marginalized white women (Nelson, 1993).

The conditions of trafficking range from force or coercion to deception, abuse of power, or abuse of a victim's vulnerability. Women are usually recruited, often deceived, into thinking they will be working someplace else, or forced into sexual slavery. Others are sold outright and moved around from place to place. In the United States, many domestically trafficked victims are teenage runaways who have been victims of past sexual abuse, and recruited by pimps in the bus stations and streets of urban centers.

Sex industry networks are commonly assumed to operate in big cities. However, they also operate in smaller cities, towns and suburbs. The trafficking networks and sex trade are very mobile, not only in moving women from place to place, but in setting up clubs, massage parlors, escort services and brothels in out-of-the-way and out-of-the-ordinary locations, e.g., in rural trailers.

Defining the Problem

Until the signing of the *UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and its supplementary Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children*, there was no agreement about the exclusiveness or inclusiveness of the term, sex trafficking. The classic picture of international sex trafficking involved a woman who was recruited in her home country, deceived or forced into the sex industry in the United States, and transported across borders by small or large-scale trafficking networks or gangs. When she arrived in a sex club or makeshift place of prostitution, the trafficked woman was made to service multiple buyers to repay her huge debt burden, and often moved around from state to state. Initially or eventually, she became undocumented.

Classic pictures become stereotypes, however, and can often function to straitjacket the reality of what happens to women in the trafficking process, causing us to miss or ignore large numbers of women who are exploited. There are less classic--but prevalent—patterns of trafficking, with which this study is also concerned, that necessitate the broadening of legislation, policing, and prosecution efforts in order to protect all victims of trafficking and sexual exploitation. In its definition of trafficking, the new UN Protocol On Trafficking recognizes that not only force or coercion, but abuse of the vulnerability of victims, are conditions that promote trafficking. Governments are encouraged to harmonize national and regional legislation to accord with the new UN Protocol's definition of trafficking.

Military Prostitution, GI Marriages, and Subsequent Trafficking

Numbers of Korean women have entered the United States on fiancée visas, or as "brides" of U.S. servicemen. Between the early 1950s and the early 1990s, over 100,000 Korean women immigrated to the United States as wives of U.S. servicemen (Moon, 1997: 175). A significant number of these women were in prostitution in Korea. Many of these women, known as *kitjich 'on* (military camptown prostitutes), were subsequently abused and separated from their GI fiancés or husbands. An estimated eighty percent of Korean-GI marriages result in divorce (Moon, 1997: 35).

After the boyfriends/husbands abused and/or divorced them, many Korean women reverted to prostitution, often around U.S. military bases in this country. This is not surprising since the lives of

women in prostitution near the Korean military camps had been tied to the U.S. military in various ways. These women, who have broken engagements and marriages to American servicemen and face bleak job prospects in this country, have also been drawn into the massage parlor brothels in Queens, Nassau County and Long Island (Carvajal, 1995:29).

Many of these women were drawn into the prostitution industry within a short time of living in the United States. A large number of the former Korean fiancées and brides are now on the sex trafficking circuits in this country, in the company of other Asian women who were trafficked directly from Vietnam and China into massage parlor brothels. Many of the former Korean fiancées and brides are moved from place to place within the United States, and like their more classically trafficked counterparts, arrested in raids, bailed out, and moved again.

Mail Order Bride Industries and Marriage Marketing

Mail order bride industries, or marriage marketing, can be viewed as a form of marriage trafficking in which women are marketed as products, and transported across borders for purposes of a commercial sexual transaction, a transaction that often involves fraud, deception and inducement. A 1999 report prepared for Congress on international marriage and matchmaking organizations stated that although not all mail-order brides are trafficked, shifts in public policy "reflect the need to protect people from the exploitation and violence that results from all forms of trafficking," including marriage trafficking ("International Matchmaking Organizations," 1999).

Sometimes, individuals bring women into the United States, promising marriage but in actuality, for purposes of sexual exploitation. For example, U.S. servicemen have been paid by traffickers to marry women in Korea and bring them to the United States for use in the massage parlors and brothels here (Moon, 1997: 35). In these cases, marriage trafficking is combined with sex trafficking, with the latter dependent on the former.

Definitions of Trafficking

Much of the literature, and key international forums, are concerned with a current international debate about how to define trafficking. U.S. trafficking legislation—passed in October 2000—includes a two-tiered definition of trafficking that distinguish between aggravated or "severe" trafficking, and trafficking that does not involve force, or in which force cannot be proven (International Trafficking Act of 2000). In general, the international literature and debate over the definition of trafficking has focused on whether coercion is a necessary element of the definition, or whether trafficking can occur with or without the consent of the victim (Ad Hoc Committee... 2000).

Although it is not within the province of this report to detail and enter into this debate, it is key to this project to state which definition of trafficking was used and why. For this study, the June 2000 definition of trafficking from the draft *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime* was used.

'Trafficking in persons' shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by the threat or use of force, by abduction, fraud, deception [inducement], coercion or the abuse of power, or by the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation [irrespective of the consent of the person]; exploitation shall include, at a minimum, [the exploitation of prostitution or other forms of sexual exploitation], forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery [or servitude].

In this definition, exploitation, rather than coercion, is the operative concept. This definition gives protection to all who are trafficked, drawing no distinctions between those who can prove they were forced and those who cannot. Finally, it offers no loophole for traffickers to use the alleged consent of the victim in their own defense.

Now that the UN definition of trafficking has been finalized in the new trafficking Protocol, it is included here. It incorporates all the elements of trafficking that were applicable to this study.

For the purpose of this Protocol:

(a) 'Trafficking in persons' shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, or abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments of benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;

(b) The consent of the victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used.

Trafficking and Prostitution

There has been a recent trend to separate international sex trafficking from domestic sex trafficking or prostitution (Wijers, 1997; Skrobanek et al, 1997). The 1949 *United Nations Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others* recognized the inconsistency of isolating the international problem of sex trafficking from the various forms of commercialized sex within nation-States.

Trafficking for sexual exploitation is, for the most part, trafficking for prostitution. Domestic trafficking is, for the most part, trafficking for prostitution. Additionally, traffickers rely on local and existing sex industries, whether women are trafficked domestically or internationally.

Separating international trafficking from domestic trafficking and prostitution can also create the impression that trafficking is an immigration crime rather than a human rights violation. Traffickers and victims of trafficking can be both U.S. citizens and residents, or foreign nationals. Currently, the focus of Federal law enforcement and U.S. legislation appears to be on international trafficking, traffickers and trafficked women. One hundred forty NGOs who participated in the deliberations over the new *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children* affirmed that making only international trafficking actionable can unintentionally contribute to a xenophobic climate. It should not be assumed that immigrants, whether legal or illegal, are perpetrators or victims of trafficking. The research framework for this project makes no separation between international trafficking and domestic trafficking and prostitution.

RESEARCH AIMS AND METHODS

When this research was proposed, the trafficking of women into the United States for the purpose of sexual exploitation was an area that had received little research attention. The trafficking in women had never been systematically studied in the United States. Since then, in November 1999, Amy O'Neill Richard completed a groundbreaking *report International Trafficking in Women to the United States: A Contemporary Manifestation of Slavery and Organized Crime* for the Center for the Study of Intelligence.

This study by the Coalition Against Trafficking Women is the first to research both contemporary international and domestic trafficking of women for sexual exploitation in the United States and to include primary research information from interviews with trafficked and prostituted women in the sex industry.

Research Aims

The aim of this research was to broadly investigate the international and domestic trafficking in women in the United States. The specific goals were to:

- Document known cases and information on sex trafficking in the United States
- Establish a research framework for studying sex trafficking in the United States
- Describe connections between the *supply* of women trafficked from abroad and within the United States to the *demand* created by the sex industries.
- Describe local sex industries and their involvement in sex trafficking and prostitution
- Describe linkages between international and domestic trafficking and sex industries
- Describe regional differences in sex trafficking and sex industries in the United States
- Describe the social consequences of sex trafficking in terms of violence, crime, health and other human costs.

Research Methods

Literature and Case Review

The documentation of known cases and information on sex trafficking in the United States was undertaken as a literature and case review based on academic and professional journals, media and non-governmental organizations' reports, local police and Federal crime reports.

Research Framework

Since contemporary trafficking in women in the U.S. had not been systematically studied, the research team had to determine how to approach and study this complex and multi-faceted phenomenon. A research framework was developed to follow the path of trafficked women from their hometown, through their experiences in the sex industry, to their present place in life. Interviewees were questioned about women's background before being recruited or trafficked into the sex industry, about the methods used to recruit them, whether and how they were moved around while in the sex industry, how they were initiated into the roles and activities they had to carry out, how they were

controlled while in the sex industry, how they coped with and resisted the conditions under which they lived. Interviewees were asked for their recommendations for policies on trafficking and prostitution.

Since the women interviewed most likely had daily contact with other women in prostitution, they were asked for their observations and knowledge about other women (possibly trafficked women) in the sex industry. Women were asked about their experiences with recruiters, traffickers and pimps and the men who buy them in the sex industry. They were asked about their health and well being while in sex industry and after getting out.

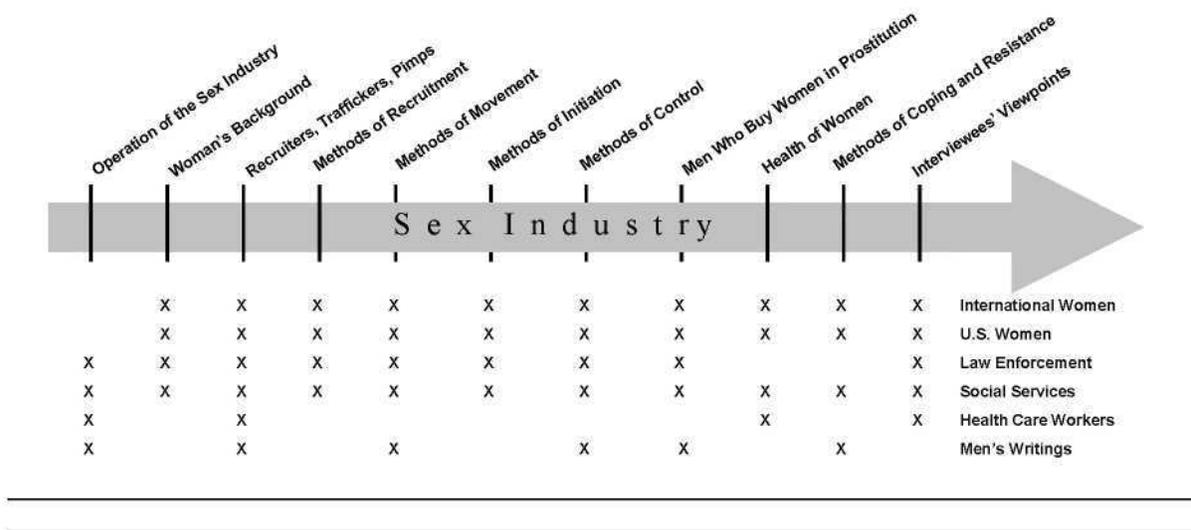
Interviewees were also asked about the operation of the sex industry in their city or region. They were asked about who the traffickers were and how they operated. They were asked how the sex industry was organized in that area.

This research strategy enabled us to gather information on various aspects of trafficking in women and the sex industry from multiple sources and points of view.

The questionnaire used in this study was constructed and organized by topics related to the path trafficked women may follow and the operation of the sex industry in which they are exploited. Questionnaires for each group of interviewees were constructed according to the topics on which this group would most likely have knowledge or experience. (For topics and groups interviewed see Figure 1)

Figure 1

Research Framework with Topics, Interviewees and Other Data Source



The questionnaire was composed of open and closed-ended questions on each topic. Analysis of responses includes descriptive summaries of open-ended questions and descriptive statistics for closed-ended questions.

U.S. Regional Differences in Trafficking

In the original proposal for this research project, three regional U.S. cities—San Francisco, Minneapolis/St. Paul, and New York were selected for regional comparisons in trafficking and operation of the sex industry. Each of these large urban areas attracts a variety of immigrants. These cities have large sex industries that enable comparisons of geographical differences, routes of trafficking, source countries of trafficked women and the operation of the sex industry.

As the project progressed these regions expanded—San Francisco became Metro San Francisco, New York City became Metro New York, and Minneapolis/St. Paul became the Northern Midwest—and two other regions were added—the Northeast and the Southeast.

Regional and International Partners

In order to assist the project in contacting women in or formerly in the sex industry in the United States, three U.S. regional partners and one international partner were included in the research project. The three U.S. partners were SAGE in San Francisco, Breaking Free in Minneapolis/St. Paul and Center for Battered Women's Legal Services at Sanctuary for Families in New York City. SAGE provides services for women and girls who are victims of violence and sexual exploitation. All SAGE staff members are female survivors of sexual exploitation. Breaking Free provides advocacy services and educational support groups for women in the sex industry. This organization especially serves populations of women of color and administers programs designed by African American women. The Center for Battered Women's Legal Services provides services and programs to victims of domestic violence in New York City. Additionally, PROMISE in San Francisco assisted in providing contacts and in locating victims of domestic trafficking and prostitution.

Locating women in the sex industry, especially victims of trafficking, who are free to move about and answer detailed questions about their experiences, was difficult. Given these circumstances, an international partner was engaged to assist in locating women who had left the United States. Researchers from the Institute of Sociology at the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, Russia, who work in the areas of drug trafficking, Russian organized crime, and child and adult prostitution, were able to locate and interview a number of Russian women who had been sexually exploited and trafficked in the United States.

Interviewees

To gather information on sex trafficking and the sex industry in the United States as effectively and efficiently as possible, target sampling was used, in which individuals with knowledge (or likely to have knowledge) on trafficking and the sex industry were interviewed. The goal was to gather information from the most informed experts on the topic, not do a broad survey of knowledge and attitudes.

The groups of individuals interviewed were international and U.S. women who had been or were in the sex industry in the United States; law enforcement officials who have experience and expertise in sex-industry related cases or immigration; social service workers who provide services to women in prostitution or may come in contact with women from the sex industry, and those providing services to immigrant populations; academic researchers and investigative journalists who have studied the sex industry or trafficking of women and/or migrants; and health care workers who provide services to women in prostitution or may come in contact with women in the sex industry.

Overall, 128 individuals were interviewed in 112 interviews (11 interviews included multiple respondents).

International and U.S. Women Interviewees

The sex industry operates largely illegally or semi-legally in the United States and has historically been controlled by organized crime groups or gangs. Women used in the sex industry are often tightly controlled by pimps and traffickers, making it difficult to interview them under circumstances in which they are free from threats or constraints. These factors create challenges in obtaining information about the sex industry and interviewing women in the sex industry, especially those who are trafficked. It was difficult to identify women who were trafficked or previously in the sex industry. The researchers made the decision not to attempt to contact women in sex industry settings, but only interview women in safe settings outside the sex industry where the women would be free to talk openly without fear of retaliation. All international women who were identified and were free to come to a safe setting were interviewed.

Forty women with experience in the sex industry in the United States were interviewed: 15 who entered the U.S. as adults, referred to in this study as "international women," and 25 citizens/legal resident women, referred to as "U.S. women."

Although all 40 of the women with experience in the sex industry were sexually exploited, all of them may not have been trafficked. To determine if a woman was trafficked, the woman's experiences were compared to a definition of trafficking. As explained in the prior section, a version-in-progress of the international definition from the *draft Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime* was used:

'Trafficking in persons' shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by the threat or use of force, by abduction, fraud, deception [inducement], coercion or the abuse of power, or by the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation [irrespective of the consent of the person]; exploitation shall include, at a minimum, [the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation], forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, the removal of organs for illicit purposes [or servitude].¹

Using this definition, it was determined that eight of the 15 international women were trafficked into the United States: seven of them for prostitution and one for marriage. The remaining seven were recruited into prostitution after coming to the United States, six of them within a very short time.

Twenty-two of the 25 U.S. women had been or are in prostitution in the United States; three women were dancers in the sex industry.

Although there has been increasing attention paid to international trafficking of women, it has been noted, including by some of those interviewed for this study, that many women who are recruited and used in the sex industry within national boundaries suffer the same treatment and circumstances as those transported across national borders. Using the definition above, which does not stipulate that national borders must be crossed to meet the definition of trafficking, the term "domestic trafficking" was adopted for use in this study. When the experiences of the 15 U.S. women were compared to the definition of trafficking, 11 women met the criteria of domestic trafficking. Six of the U.S. women were trafficked across state lines, two were trafficked within one state, and one

¹ Ad Hoc Committee on the Elaboration of a Convention against Transnational Crime, Revised draft *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children*, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, A/AC.254/L.211/Add.2, 13 June 2000.

within another country (Canada). Also, two of the U.S. women met the criteria of international trafficking; they were trafficked out of the United States to Mexico and Canada.

Law Enforcement Official Interviewees

Thirty-two law enforcement officials, including Federal and District prosecutors, a city attorney, victim witness advocates, police officers and detectives, vice enforcement agents, organized crime and gang investigators, a drug control intelligence specialist, U.S. Border Patrol Officers, INS Investigators and consulate officials, were interviewed in 25 interviews (5 interviews included multiple respondents).

Of the 32 law enforcement officials interviewed, 10 were women, 13 spoke at least one of the following languages: Cantonese, Fucanese, Hindi, Malay, Punjabi, Russian, Ukrainian and Spanish. Eleven of these 13 worked with non-English speaking immigrant populations in their jurisdictions, or in investigating ethnic-specific crime.

Fourteen of the 32 law enforcement officials interviewed had direct involvement with past, ongoing or suspected cases of international and domestic trafficking. Five agents were responsible for past or pending investigations and/or prosecutions of 20 cases of international trafficking involving women trafficked from China, India, Korea, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam, Estonia, Russia, and the Ukraine. Another five agents recall working on other cases that they suspect may have involved women trafficked from abroad, including from Southeast Asia, Korea, Mexico, Central and South America.

Social Service Providers, Community Advocates and Researcher Interviewees

Forty-three social service providers, community advocates and researchers, including academic researchers, filmmakers, investigative journalists, and professionals and specialists at immigrant advocacy organizations, agencies and programs for women in prostitution, rape crisis centers, domestic violence shelters, anti-violence task forces, and legal advocacy centers, were interviewed in 36 interviews (5 interviews included multiple respondents).

Forty-four social service or human service providers, advocates and researchers from 35 different agencies or organizations were interviewed in 36 interview sessions. Ten of the agencies provided direct services to women in prostitution. Of those interviewees, 36 were women, 22 spoke at least one of the following languages: Cantonese, Farsi, Hindi, Korean, Malay Punjabi, Russian, Spanish, Tagalog, Tamil, Ukrainian and Vietnamese. Seventeen of these people worked with new immigrants and/or non-English-speaking immigrant populations. Thirty eight of the interviewees had direct involvement with mail-order-brides, internationally trafficked women, battered immigrant women, abandoned military brides, immigrant women in prostitution, U.S. women in prostitution and victims of labor trafficking. The interviewees had direct contact with women from Bangladesh, Brazil, China, Greece, India, Korea, Mexico, Philippines, Russia, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Vietnam.

Health Care Worker Interviews

Thirteen health care providers, including outreach workers to women in prostitution, HIV educators, clinicians in health clinics whose clients included women in prostitution, prostitutes' rights advocates, a doctor and nurses, were interviewed (one interview included multiple respondents). Of the 13 health care workers, 11 were women, five spoke at least one of the following languages: Spanish, Tagalog and Vietnamese. None of the health care workers had direct involvement with known trafficking cases, although five said they possibly worked with domestically trafficked women and three said they possibly worked with internationally trafficked women.

Content Analysis of Men's Writings on the Internet

A unique source of data was used to add another perspective on the research topics addressed in this study. Men's writings on their experiences buying women in prostitution were located on the Internet. The writings were originally posted to the newsgroup *alt.sex.prostitution*, and later compiled into a web site known as *The World Sex Guide*, located at <http://www.worldsexguide.com>. In these writings men describe details of the operation of the sex industry and their activities and behavior inside prostitution establishments. Their writings provide information on topics such as the countries of origin of international women in the sex industry and movement of women in the sex industry in the United States. The men reveal their attitudes and treatment of women, including degradation and violence.

A set of 298 men's writings was downloaded from the Internet—152 from San Francisco, 24 from Minneapolis/St. Paul and 122 from New York City. A content analysis of the men's writings was done with the qualitative analysis software Atlas/ti 4.1.

Findings from these writings are incorporated in the results and analysis of the topics where appropriate.

OPERATION OF THE SEX INDUSTRY

Sex industries in various regions of the United States facilitate international and domestic trafficking and sexual exploitation of women by capitalizing on both supply and demand. This section characterizes sex industries in the Northeast, Metro New York, the Southeast, the Northern Midwest, and Metro San Francisco ~ areas selected for geographical, racial and ethnic diversity. Information about the operation of the local sex industry was obtained primarily from interviews with law enforcement agents and social service providers, advocates and researchers.

Sex businesses in the regions investigated are prolific and diverse. They differ in operation, structure and management. Some sex enterprises operate legally, such as strip clubs, with various forms of illegal prostitution activity offered to men. Others are incorporated as legal health clubs, saunas, beauty salons and massage parlors but, in reality, are prostitution venues. Yet others are makeshift and clandestine prostitution enterprises, operating out of private residences, mobile trailers or warehouses.

Some sex industry establishments are highly visible, permanent legal businesses, with illegal operations on the side, while others are clandestine and illegal enterprises that move women from place to place within the same or different regions of the country. What these latter operations have in common is high mobility.

The majority of law enforcement agents reported that organized crime groups control 76-100 percent of the sex enterprises in the Northeast, Metro New York, the Southeast, and Metro San Francisco. However the term, organized crime, was used loosely. Some officials used the term to describe a highly structured organization, run by a hierarchy of individuals and groups, with many key players. Others, in applying the term to Russian trafficking networks, stated that "organized crime" usually means a small group of men who get together for a "business venture" with no central leader. In these cases, organized crime groups are fairly decentralized and disorganized with hundreds of groups in the United States. Other law enforcement officials emphasized that the gang structure had replaced traditional organized crime groups in running Asian sex industries.

The Northeast

The sex industry in areas such as Boston and Rhode Island range from street prostitution, escort services, and massage parlors, to rented houses and apartments used as brothels. Legitimate businesses such as restaurants and bars are sometimes fronts for brothels, with backrooms and cordoned-off sections used for prostitution. Over the past several years, there has been an influx of Asian women from all over the country into Boston's Chinatown and South End. One law enforcement official observed that many Korean women are in massage parlors in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. He also reported that Thai organized crime rings control a notable number of prostitution venues populated by Thai women in Boston, Cambridge and New Hampshire.

Many of the sex businesses in this area are transient and mobile. If investigated or raided by authorities, they relocate to different jurisdictions to avoid detection or repeat prosecution. Illegal prostitution establishments operate under layers of deception so that it is often difficult to determine who are the owners and operators. Agents conducting investigations of sex establishments in the Northeast region have discovered that some of the out-of-state prostitution enterprises have the same

pager or cell phone numbers as those in Massachusetts. Thus they are able to connect these establishments to each other.

In the Northeast, Asian-run sex businesses are generally advertised through word of mouth. Buyers often gain access through referrals or acquaintances who vouch for them. Chinese community newspapers also run advertisements marketing sex enterprises. Other sex venues open to all men candidly advertise in the Yellow Pages and in "alternative" newspapers such as the *Boston Phoenix*.

One law enforcement official noted that the owners of sex enterprises rarely are involved in the daily or frontline operations, and depend upon many layers of people. Some massage parlor brothels are managed and operated by Korean women. In one case, a Korean family operated a brothel in Rhode Island. Often these businesses may be financed or backed by organized crime groups. These establishments may pay protection money to organized crime groups. In some cases, trafficking rings supply women to the establishment.

Law enforcement officials reported that traffickers and pimps come from all walks of life and may maintain other legitimate businesses. In one case in the Northeast area, the brothel owner also owned a construction company.

Metro New York

Manhattan and the Boroughs

The proliferation of sex industries in Manhattan and surrounding boroughs of Brooklyn, Bronx and Queens ranged from street prostitution to strip clubs, peep or fantasy booth shows, massage parlors, bars, private apartments and escort services. The escort services do in calls and out calls. "In calls" operate as brothels with men coming, often by appointment, to a specific location. "Out calls" operate as answering and appointment services, with women meeting men in prearranged locations. Law enforcement officials in Manhattan were unable to accurately estimate the large numbers of sex businesses that exist in their jurisdictions.

One Manhattan precinct's vice unit reported receiving about 325 prostitution complaints last year alone from disgruntled residents and business owners about prostitution-related activity. These complaints included male sexual solicitation of female residents, and disruption of neighborhoods and businesses caused by the high volume of buyers coming and going in the area. The investigators reported that this figure represented merely a fraction of the vice crime in their jurisdiction, and was related mostly to street and clandestine prostitution activity. The number of escort service listings in the *Yellow Pages* for Manhattan is second only to listings of attorneys. Some investigators estimated more than 100 sex establishments in Brooklyn.

Although the Giuliani administration has attempted to close down sex industries in the 42nd St. and Times Square area, mob-controlled and established sex businesses remain that cater to both locals and tourists. Out-call escort enterprises are particularly active in this district, and hotels are used extensively as sexual meeting places. In midtown and the Upper East Side of Manhattan, in-call, high-priced prostitution occurs in upscale apartment buildings and luxury penthouses. The sex industry also thrives in some of the established and newer ethnic enclaves, such as Chinatown, a part of midtown Manhattan called Koreatown, in Queens, in Russian neighborhoods of Brooklyn, and in parts of the Bronx.

Less visible sex venues are common in the garment district where third or fourth floor warehouses have been converted into makeshift brothels. These low-priced indoor places are often

Mexican-run brothels, many containing trafficked Mexican, or other Central and South American women, and catering to workers from the commercial and garment districts. Locations of other Mexican or Latino-run brothels are reported to be in midtown Manhattan, the Upper West Side along the West Side highway, and the Upper East Side. Some Mexican-run businesses are located in apartments or basements with sparse furnishings, such as a lamp and a mattress on the floor. One law enforcement agent reported that he was aware of about a dozen Mexican-run sex establishments in his jurisdiction.

In Chinatown, located in the lower part of Manhattan, prostitution and gambling dens are often synonymous. There are also commercial flats and buildings, which house small import/export business or beauty parlors, and that are converted into prostitution venues by installing makeshift walls to create small rooms or stalls.

Korean-run prostitution establishments include massage parlors, restaurants, bars, salons and after-hours clubs. An after-hours club acts as a restaurant or lounge during work hours and, in the later part of the day, back rooms, basements or upper floors are cordoned off and reserved for prostitution.

Sex establishments run by Russians or Eastern Europeans operate as bars, lounges and massage parlors that generally house both Russian and U.S. women. Many are located on the Upper East Side and Manhattan South. According to law enforcement officials, there are 20 known Eastern European-run establishments located in Brooklyn, and Brighton Beach boasts a number of massage parlors. One law enforcement agent reported that, in order to avoid detection, the Russians and Eastern European sex businesses do not operate from centralized locations and are highly mobile. The owners usually rent a number of apartments, and direct buyers who call their advertised telephone number to one of the many residential locations around the city. The owners may rent loft space, invest a few thousand dollars to make repairs and furnish it, and use the place for about 6-12 months before moving on.

Queens is densely populated with new immigrant Asian, Central and South American communities. Law enforcement officials reported the existence of brothels in various commercial and residential locations in Elmhurst, Jackson Heights and Flushing. The establishments operate as informal houses of prostitution as well as massage parlors and spas.

Modes of advertising used by sex businesses in these areas varied. Mainstream businesses are generally advertised openly, and some provocatively, in English-language print media, sex guides, yellow pages and leafleting. Some law enforcement officials stated that the ethnic-run establishments were not advertised as blatantly or as widespread as the mainstream operations. Many of the ethnic-run businesses only advertise in ethnic language or community newspapers, rather than in English-language newspapers or publications.

Many new immigrant sex enterprises also require word of mouth or personal recommendations for buyers to gain entry. Some establishments hire people to hand out discreet business cards or matchbooks, with addresses and directions printed on them, to potential customers on the street. Other officials noted that out-call escort phone numbers appear in mainstream newspapers, such as the *New York Post*, and periodicals, such as *New York Magazine*.

Some local level law enforcement officials in New York City had a difficult time pinpointing who controlled the sex businesses, citing lack of resources and jurisdiction to be able to investigate higher up the chain of command. Other local investigators cite independent male or female entrepreneurs, or families running small-scale sex industry operations. Some reported that women are visibly positioned as front persons or managers of sex businesses, although it was not clear if they were madams or had ownership of the business as well. Others reported that many of the Korean

businesses in Koreatown were run by Korean-based organized crime groups who use youth gangs in their late teens to early twenties as enforcers. Although the gangs are U.S. based, the majority of the members are in the United States illegally. Some are here on a visa or green card. Russian and Albanian organized crime groups are also involved in prostitution of international women in the New York area.

Some law enforcement agents reported that pimps and sex enterprise owners existed within each and every ethnic community in the area. Yet others described complex networks of domestic and multinational crime rings. One Russian woman interviewed described a core of 10 men involved in trafficking her both internationally and domestically, including "four Russians, one Arab, one Serbian, two Blacks, one from Malaysia, and one German." A law enforcement official characterized the traffickers who orchestrated a Bowery prostitution ring, uncovered in 1994, as follows:

The trafficking network that we managed to uncover was controlled by two Thai nationals - ... one Laotian man, one Korean woman, one Chinese madam and one local Caucasian New York man... who was the security guard to the brothel. I'm not certain who owned the network of brothels. There was also the involvement of another Thai man ... who was never apprehended. Also the use of a German man who helped with the immigration sponsorship papers for the women - through a dummy cruise line corporation, known as Bavarian Thai Travel.

New Jersey

The sex industry in the neighboring state, New Jersey, is also large, concentrated in big cities and the suburbs. High-density sex industry locations include Newark, Jersey City, East Brunswick, Red Bank and Rockaway Township. One police official reported that New Jersey has more go-go bars (strip clubs) than any other state in the country, with over 300 in the urban areas; approximately 200-300 massage parlors or health clubs; and thousands of residences and other discreet front locations that house prostitution venues. He also observed that even remotely located establishments were filled with Russian and Ukrainian women, 80 percent of whom he estimates are trafficked. There are a significant number of Brazilian women in these establishments as well.

Strip clubs, also known as go-go and juice bars, as well as massage parlors or health clubs, are the major prostitution venues in New Jersey. In some cases hair and nail salons were used as front businesses for brothels. Escort services and street prostitution are also prolific.

Most sex establishments neither advertise nor display neon signs to draw attention to what they offer. Some establishments appear to be therapeutic facilities or health clubs. Those that do advertise publish mostly in the print media and on the Internet. Catalogues use language such as "European massage," which really means prostitution. One officer pointed out that Russian and Eastern European women he spoke with in the New Jersey strip clubs had been featured in various mail order bride catalogues, or bore striking resemblance to pictures of women in mainstream pornographic magazines. He was uncertain whether they knew their pictures appeared in these publications.

Ownership of sex establishments in New Jersey varied. According to law enforcement and social service providers, some venues are owned by prominent, local community members, including judges and lawyers. Others are owned by Russian businessmen, many of whom are also considered members of the "mafiya," or Russian organized criminal networks. U.S.-based sex industry operators affiliate with "employment agencies" in Russia and Ukraine.

Northern Midwest - Minnesota

Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota have high street prostitution activity, and large numbers of saunas, strip clubs, escort services and dwellings used for quick prostitution activity called "chicken shacks." There are an estimated 100 - 200 escort services advertised in the area. Law enforcement and social service agents report that Minneapolis has even more strip clubs than the larger city of Chicago.

A large number of establishments are boldly clustered in an area of the city known as the Warehouse District. There are 10 exotic dance clubs in Minneapolis, five that have liquor licenses and the regulation that women have to wear g-strings and cannot appear completely nude. The other five are juice bars that remain open 24 hours and have no restrictions. In the juice bars, men under 21 may enter, and the women are completely nude. A lot of underage girls are recruited to dance in these clubs. There are three exotic dance clubs still open in St. Paul. According to law enforcement officials, many underage girls are recruited to dance in these clubs. They also state that the ratio of business owners to establishments is 2:5.

In 1996, there were about 12-15 saunas in Minneapolis. As of 1999, four remain open after stringent crackdowns by law enforcement. As in most cities, saunas operate as sites of prostitution. The typical set-up consists of an office and lounge space, plus a few rooms with mirrored walls. Four or five women sit in the lounge, and a manager at the desk assigns women to the buyers, or the buyers make their choice of women.

Law enforcement officials reported that it is generally Caucasian men, ranging in age from 30-50, who patronize the saunas and the strip clubs. In the "juice bars," the age of men is much younger.

Another area in Minnesota reported to have significant prostitution activity is Rochester, where the Mayo Clinic, a large medical center, is located. According to law enforcement officials, the constant influx of men frequenting this city for medical treatment, and as visitors, creates demand.

Less is known about international trafficking of women in prostitution in the Twin Cities, or in the larger Minnesota area, than about local women in prostitution industries. Police investigators reported that Russian women have recently been moved into some of the strip clubs in Minnesota. There are a handful of Korean-run massage parlors and saunas. Vietnamese, Hmong and Spanish-speaking sex industries remain more underground, and the prostitution takes place in private residences. One social service provider reported that an HIV outreach worker noted that Mexican women were prostituted in migrant farm worker camps in rural southwestern Minnesota, in towns such as Wilmar.

Sex businesses are widely and openly advertised in the Twin Cities in the *Yellow Pages*, sex guides such as *Forum*, and newspapers like the *City Pages* and *Star Tribune*. Even the government center in Minneapolis contains free publications advertising the sex industry—a type of imprimatur. Ads for the sex industry in newspapers are concentrated in the sports section. Television channels broadcast ads for strip clubs, while the sports channel carries ads for legal prostitution venues that often provide prostitution as well. Driving through the heart of downtown Minneapolis in 1999, the project coordinator was greeted by a monumental billboard promoting a 4 story "live adult entertainment center," located in the Warehouse District of Minneapolis. Billboards are displayed on major streets and highways, and even mobile billboards are driven around in pick-up trucks to promote sex businesses.

Law enforcement officials report that the Italian mafia controls a number of the sex establishments in the Twin Cities. They also report that the Vietnamese brothels are under the control

of Chinese or Vietnamese organized crime groups. Social service providers reported that some crew bosses in migrant farm worker camps are known to pressure and pimp seasonal, Mexican women farm workers into prostitution. Minneapolis was also the home of a large domestic trafficking ring. In this case, three generations of Minnesotan family members were involved in the trafficking of mostly young girls across the United States.

Southeast

Atlanta, Georgia

In 1998, a large trafficking operation involving East and Southeast Asians was uncovered in Atlanta, Georgia. The publicized Asian-owned sex establishments were primarily located in urban and suburban areas with large populations of new immigrant communities. At the time, six establishments were being investigated, one of which had been in existence for almost five years. Sex venues ranged from massage parlors to more inconspicuous locations in residential areas or apartment complexes. Most of the Asian-run brothels also ran gambling operations and slot machines in the facilities. Some of these establishments were located in easily accessible locations right off the highway.

Advertising for these sex venues was primarily through the Chinese language newspapers, by word of mouth or personal recommendation. One of the brothel owners also ran a restaurant. He would solicit buyers in the restaurant, and provide transportation back and forth from the restaurant to the brothel.

The establishments investigated in Atlanta were controlled by individuals linked with organized crime groups. Individuals managing each brothel worked independently of each other, but maintained connections. Certain agreed-upon "regulations" existed among the management of different establishments. Fucanese women, for instance, were only made available to Fucanese buyers in Fucanese-run establishments, and not at any other ethnic Chinese or Korean-run establishment. The Korean-run establishments, however, in addition to selling Korean women for prostitution, also offered Thai women and others.

Women in the sex venues of Atlanta were trafficked from abroad, as well as from other parts of the United States, such as California. Law enforcement officials reported, however, that the Thai and Vietnamese owners of these brothels maintained that they had no direct connection to international traffickers in Thailand or Vietnam, but rather with other brothel owners, local traffickers, and organized crime agents across the United States.

Florida

Prostitution and sex industries are usually considered features of urban environments, but the survey of trafficking cases in this study demonstrates the existence of rural prostitution establishments. One well-publicized 1996 Florida trafficking case depicted only a small snapshot of the prostitution industry in rural Florida. Known as the Cadena case, seventeen members and associates of the Cadena family engaged in trafficking and prostitution until they were indicted and prosecuted.

In this case, women and girls from Mexico were trafficked for prostitution to isolated rural Florida locations around farmworker camps in Avon Park, Fort Myers, Fort Peters, Lake Worth, Ocoee, Ocoee, Zolfo Springs and also in neighboring South Carolina. Sex venues were set up in rented private residences and trailers that were converted into makeshift brothels easily accessible to

the migrant farm worker population. The women were also prostituted in bars in the area. They were advertised by word of mouth.

Military Prostitution

Social service providers, advocates and researchers working around the military bases report that sex businesses thrive around military areas in the Southeast. Military personnel create enormous demand for the industry and, according to some accounts, facilitate the proliferation of sex businesses around the bases. Some servicemen are reported to be involved in direct trafficking of women from Korea, Vietnam and Okinawa, Japan.

The rise in numbers of sex establishments around military bases has been linked to the period during the Vietnam war. At this time, Fayetteville, North Carolina, with the largest military base in the United States, became known as "Fayettenam." The red light district of the town came to resemble the prostitution areas for the U.S. military on R & R (rest and recreation) leave in Saigon. Street prostitution is also common in military towns.

In Fayetteville and Greensboro, both within close proximity to Fort Bragg, there are numerous American-owned strip clubs and escort services. There are 12 Asian-run massage parlors and health spas operating in Greensboro; and in Fayetteville, up to 13 Asian-run massage parlors, in addition to other numerous Asian bars and sex businesses.

Women in the massage parlors are predominantly Korean, but others are Thai, Vietnamese and Chinese. On rare occasions there is a Spanish-speaking woman. It is reported that the women are rotated out of the establishment about every two months. These establishments are advertised in the *Yellow Pages* and a magazine called *ESP*. Mainstream sex businesses are also advertised on billboards.

One advocate estimated at least 20 sex businesses in a rural town near Jacksonville, North Carolina, which has a population of 150,000 including a large U.S. marine base. The town is filled with sex venues including bars with Asian women only, strip clubs, trailers which house makeshift businesses called private dances, escort services and body painting.

One advocate reported that trafficking in women for prostitution is directly facilitated by service men who marry prostituted women around military bases abroad, bring them back to the United States, and turn them into prostitution. There are reports from social service providers that military spouses directly prostitute women in establishments near the base. Other international military wives become victims of domestic violence and ultimately become displaced or homeless. Having no English language and work skills, ability to access resources, and not understanding their legal rights, they are lured by the want ads in the Korean newspapers advertising for work in the massage parlors.

A researcher in this region reported that two or three well-connected individuals control the massage parlor circuit there, and that these establishments work in conjunction with each other. There are also reports that the sex enterprises operate with the complicity and even endorsement of the town government. The massage parlors appear to be well organized and financed, as evidenced by their ability to secure consistent and successful legal representation.

Metro San Francisco

San Francisco's sex industry has a long-established history. San Francisco has been the site of longstanding trafficking of Asian women into Chinatown for sexual exploitation and domestic labor, going back to the mid-1800s. The Donaldina Cameron House still stands today as a testimony to the many women and girls who passed through its doors fleeing domestic servitude and prostitution and

seeking refuge from what was then known as "the yellow slave trade." Today, the city's sex industry is part of the reputation of this liberal city. Street prostitution, strip clubs, pornography emporiums, massage parlors and escort services are mainstays of the city's attractions.

One law enforcement agent recalls that as recently as 1997, there were up to 300 prostitutes on the street on any given night. The numbers of street prostitutes have since decreased, but parts of the industry still thrive indoors. The Tenderloin, Polk, and South of Market and Broadway in North Beach abound with adult entertainment clubs, strip bars, topless dancing clubs ~ a combination of dancing and prostitution ~ pornographic movie houses and rent-by-the hour hotels.

Of the 70 licensed massage parlors in the city, about 30 are suspected of being prostitution operations. The massage parlors are located in the Tenderloin, branching out towards Telegraph and Pacific Heights in the downtown area. Many are located on the edge of Chinatown. They also exist in the East Bay and the Mission District. Many of these enterprises have existed for several years, with management changing hands, but locations remaining the same.

Outside of San Francisco, law enforcement officials reported brothels and massage parlors in Fremont, San Jose, Oakland, San Mateo, Hayward and surrounding residential areas. The massage parlor brothels contain primarily Vietnamese, Thai and Korean women, and smaller numbers of U.S. white women. Silicon Valley was also mentioned as another site of sex industries.

The sex industry is advertised in print media, sex magazines, the *Yellow Pages* and the Internet. Some sex establishments promote their businesses with neon signs and billboards. More discreet sex enterprises, particularly Asian-run, are publicized by word of mouth. "Card rooms" and casinos often are places from which buyers are recruited.

Law enforcement agents reported that control of the Asian-run sex businesses involves a combination of individuals and organized crime groups. Massage parlor owners themselves may not be involved in organized crime, but often their illegal operations receive protection from organized crime minions. A recent official investigation revealed that five families control 30 massage parlor brothels with ties to Vietnamese and Taiwanese organized crime. In recent years, investigations also revealed that a prominent Taiwanese-American film director was facilitating a sex trafficking operation from Taiwan, in collaboration with a Taiwan-based travel and tour agency.

The Italian mafia reportedly controls some mainstream clubs. Others are controlled by national sex club moguls who own well-known strip clubs in various cities across the United States.

Indicators of Trafficking

Law enforcement officials and social service providers report diverse indicators of trafficking. Agents cited Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) reports, which are a combination of both INS field reports and newspaper articles, that serve as a clearinghouse of trafficking incidents. Interviews conducted by law enforcement officials with sexually exploited women are another source of knowledge about trafficking. One law enforcement official in New Jersey reported:

There was a woman that I interviewed not long ago at a bar in East Brunswick from Ukraine. I asked her "How did you get here?" She said "On a work visa ". "What city are you from?" She said "Kiev. " "How long have you been here?" She said, "About two years". "Do you like doing this?" She said "No, but I have to send money home to my family". "Are you married?" "Yes, my husband is in Ukraine ". Does he know you 're doing this? She said, "Yes - he's the one who told me to come here to work". I'm finding that this is increasingly the case with a lot of these women. Their husbands are forcing the women into doing this, because it's big money... I found out she had come to the US from Canada where she was also in prostitution. She had been a doctor in Ukraine - but likely unemployed. Had gone to an agency in Ukraine

for overseas employment. They promised her a job as a domestic... and she took up the offer eventually, having no idea what she was destined for.

Other indications are found during raids of sex enterprises. Police have discovered airline tickets to and from various locations in the United States, uncovering trafficking networks that crisscross the country. A policeman in the Northeast, shortly after the much-publicized Atlanta brothel raids, reported that during a bust of a massage parlor in his area, airline tickets to Atlanta had been discovered in the suitcases of women in the massage parlor brothel.

Some law enforcement investigators utilized information from investigations in other cities. For example, a law enforcement official in Minneapolis reported that vice police in Florida noted the proliferation of cars with Minnesota license plates of pimps "doing business" in Florida, thus establishing that Minnesota women are domestically trafficked to places such as Tampa, as well as to other cities in Florida.

Law enforcement agents in San Francisco reported that it wasn't difficult to recognize what was happening when you were at the Bay Bridge at 4:00 in the morning and watched all the pimps driving back from the clubs and brothels in San Francisco to their houses in the East Bay - "6 girls in the car with one guy..."

In 1999, a well-known Indian businessman was arrested in Berkeley for sexually exploiting young Indian girls. Under investigation for other human trafficking violations, he pleaded guilty and was convicted in March 2001 of bringing young girls from India into the United States for purposes of sexual exploitation. Commenting on the much-publicized Berkeley case, one respondent described the trail of clues that prompted an investigation of this case - a combination of culturally implausible circumstances in which young Indian girls were living alone, and alleged "family members" from a high class Indian background were performing manual labor.

Sometimes, family members of women phone the police; sometimes neighbors or neighborhood organizations complain about neighborhood prostitution or suspected brothels. In debriefing suspects involved in other crimes, police also learn about trafficking incidents. Women, who were formerly in prostitution, are excellent sources of information. If a suspect owns lots of property and cars, for example, but has no job, this is also an indicator of possible sex industry involvement. Anonymous tips also come into the police stations. A social service provider reported that general suspicion was aroused when one man was known to have had three prior annulments of marriage with women from other countries.

BACKGROUND OF WOMEN IN THE SEX INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES

To combat trafficking and sexual exploitation, it is essential to know who the women are, where they come from and, for the international women, how they get to the United States. To understand the operation of the sex industry, it is important to know if women have been sexually exploited before entering the United States and, if they were in the sex industry, at what age they entered prostitution. Knowledge of women's educational background, job skills and English language proficiency are key to providing assistance to victims.

This section presents information on the background of the women in the sex industry from three sources: 1) interviews with law enforcement officials, 2) men's writings on the Internet, and 3) interviews with international and U.S. women in, or formerly in, the sex industry in the United States.

Racial and National Identity of Women Based on Men's Writings

Men's writings about buying women in prostitution and their observations inside prostitution establishments were analyzed to learn about the women in prostitution. The writings were analyzed to determine if this information revealed anything about international and/or trafficked women in prostitution in different cities/regions of the U.S.

Racist and sexist stereotypes of women are used in the sex industry to market the women. Men come to expect stereotypical behavior from the women they buy in prostitution. Also, buying women from different races and nationalities gives men the illusion of experiencing the "different" or "exotic." Consequently, when men write about buying women in prostitution, they frequently mention the race or nationality of the women. They often ask the women where they come from or their nationality. In their Internet writings the men also mention the race or nationality of women in the establishments they patronize.

In the set of 298 men's writings from the Internet (152 from San Francisco, 24 from Minneapolis/St. Paul and 122 from New York City), 66 percent (N=196) of the men described the race or nationality of the individual women they bought in acts of prostitution, or the composition of the women in the establishment by race and nationality. A number of the writings included descriptions of more than one woman or establishments, resulting in a total number of identifications greater than the number of writings.

In coding the men's writings, the racial or national identity of the women as indicated by the men was recorded. It was accepted from the beginning of the analysis that these identity labels were laden with numerous complications. For example, the men refer to "Asian women," which may mean Asian American citizens, legal or illegal immigrants, or trafficked women from an Asian country. In this analysis, when the men said women were "Asian," this was recorded as race, and only specific nationalities mentioned were coded as nationality. This may be imprecise, but analysis was done conservatively, and results are proportional representations so as to minimize inaccuracies in the conclusions.

Another indicator of the presence of international and/or trafficked women in U.S. sex industries was proficiency in speaking English. Although there are U.S. citizens who do not speak English, for the purpose of this analysis, women who were described as "Asian, can't speak English," were

included in the category of Asian foreign nationals. Again, the codes are not intended to make a precise identification and count of women from different racial or national groups, but as a way to describe proportional representations of different groups in prostitution and indicate trends and regional differences.

Even given the limitations of this coding, the men's writings were revealing about the racial and national composition of women in sex industries in New York City, Minneapolis/St. Paul and San Francisco.

Sixty-one percent of the New York City writings, 21 percent of the Minneapolis/St. Paul and 76 percent of the San Francisco writings indicated the race or nationality of the women the men bought or the women in the prostitution establishments.

In New York City, the most frequently mentioned racial identity was "Hispanic/Latina"—32 percent, followed by "Black"—30 percent, "white"—21 percent, and "Asian/Oriental"—14 percent.

In San Francisco, the most frequently mentioned racial identity was "Asian/Oriental"—52 percent, followed by "white"—21 percent, "Black"—18 percent, and "Hispanic/Latina"—7 percent.

In Minneapolis/St. Paul, there were small, but equal numbers of each racial identity group—"white," "Black," "Asian" and biracial, described as "Black-white." There were no "Hispanic/Latina" women identified.

When comparisons are made between these three cities/regions, there are large differences in the racial proportions of women in prostitution. In New York City, the men report many more "Hispanic/Latina" and "Black" women in prostitution as compared to San Francisco, where "Asians" strongly predominate. In Minneapolis/St. Paul, race was less often mentioned and then the proportions of the racial groups are equal.

Similar disproportions of women by nationality were found as well. In the writings on prostitution in Minneapolis/St. Paul, there were no women identified by nationality or indicators that the women may have been internationally trafficked. The finding of low numbers of international women in prostitution establishments is consistent with the rest of the findings from the Northern Midwest in this study.

In San Francisco, the most frequently mentioned national groups by geographical area were Asian—86 percent, followed by Eastern Europe—4 percent, and South and Central America—3 percent. Asian national identities mentioned by men in San Francisco were Cambodian, Chinese, Filipina, Japanese, Korean, Laotian, Thai and Vietnamese. The only Eastern European national identity mentioned was Russian. The South and Central American national identities mentioned were Brazilian and Panamanian.

In New York City, the most frequently mentioned national groups by geographical area were South and Central American—35 percent, followed equally by Asian and Eastern European national identities—15 percent, each. South and Central American national identities mentioned were Argentinean, Brazilian and Venezuelan. Eastern European national identities mentioned were Russian and Ukrainian. Asian national identities mentioned were Chinese, Korean and Laotian.

There was no mention in the men's writings of women from African countries.

In addition to men indicating the national identity of a woman, mention of the lack of English-language proficiency gives a sign of international or trafficked women in prostitution in New York and San Francisco. Examples from New York City are:

"She was the only Brazilian in the place... she didn 't speak a lot of English "

"She is from Argentina. I... tried to talk to her, but she hardly spoke any English "

"Victoria is Brazilian and arrived from Rio two weeks ago. She expects to work a couple of months before returning home."

"The place was a total dump. ... there were only one or two girls, chubby or skinny Hispanics who barely spoke English."

"All of the women were Hispanic. Two of the girls could not even speak much English. "

"At first she had trouble understanding... I later learned she was from Laos. ...I felt she misled me... or maybe I should give her the benefit of the doubt and say she misunderstood, because her English was very limited."

In San Francisco, there were numerous reports of massage parlors or other prostitution establishments with only Asian women. For example:

"The staff appears to be all Korean. "

"The women range from stunning to plain, Korean to Vietnamese. "

"Yet another Vietnamese place. "

"Some gorgeous Asian-American girls there at times, some Chinese girls, but mostly Korean girls. "

"Korean women ... new immigrants - inexperienced. "

There are many indications that the men's writings can be used to identify international women in U.S. sex industries in New York and San Francisco. One of the most significant findings is the greater number of women from South America in New York, and the greater number of Asian nationals in San Francisco.

Background of International and U.S. Women Interviewed

In this study, 15 international and 25 U.S. women were interviewed. As described in the Methods section, gaining access and obtaining candid interviews with women in the sex industry is difficult, particularly with international women trafficked from abroad. The 15 international women interviewed who had been trafficked, prostituted and/or sexually exploited in the United States came from Russia (12), Ukraine (1), Brazil (1), and Sri Lanka (1). Russian women are over represented in this study, because most of the interviews were arranged by our partner organization in Russia and took place there after women left the United States. The 25 U.S. women racially identified themselves as African American (13), white (8), Latina (2), and (2) biracial (Native American/African American and Caucasian/Latina). African American women are over represented in our study due to the fact that one of our partner organizations, Breaking Free in Minneapolis/St. Paul, is a service agency with a focused outreach to African American women who are in the sex industry, and also due to the fact that African American women are disproportionately targeted for prostitution in the United States.

The international women originated from both urban and rural backgrounds, whereas most of the U.S. women had urban backgrounds.

Background of Other Exploited Women

Many international and U.S. women are sources of information about other trafficked and sexually exploited women. The Sri Lankan woman trafficked to the United States reported that her trafficker had also kept another woman from Sri Lanka, one woman from Thailand, one from Bangladesh, one woman from Pakistan and two women from the Philippines under conditions of confinement for sexual use. This man also tried to lure and sexually assault foreign maids from neighbors' homes in Abu Dhabi where he previously lived.

A woman from Russia told of women being trafficked to Western Europe, Turkey and the United States from Russia. U.S. Women in prostitution in San Francisco reported large numbers of Vietnamese and other Asian women in the Tenderloin area who were young, spoke hardly any English, and were being sold in local massage parlors. One woman said, "... when I used to sell lingerie to the Asian massage parlors, I used to see women in there that didn't speak English. Or they would be working in the bars." Another U.S. woman spoke about women in the massage parlors as the most secluded and confined of all women in the sex industry. Women also reported that Central Americans and others were shipped to the United States with fake documents at a very young age.

English-Language Proficiency

At the time that the 15 international women were in the sex industry or sexually exploited in the United States, 40 percent reported no English language proficiency, and 33 percent, very little English language understanding or speaking ability. One international woman from Sri Lanka, kept in extreme conditions of confinement, told of the isolation that lack of English language proficiency caused and how it hindered her escape.

She was only able to flee when, in taking her son to the hospital, she met a medical assistant from her country, told the assistant her story, and sought refuge at a battered women's shelter and service.

Seventy-six percent of law enforcement officials (N=16) and 56 percent of social service providers, advocates and researchers (N=14) interviewed also confirmed that international women in the sex industry had no or very little English language proficiency.

Women's Age at Interview and at Entrance into the Sex Industry

At the time of interviewing, the ages of the 15 international and 25 U.S. women ranged from 20-45. Comparatively speaking, the international women tended to be younger - with nine of the women between the ages of 20-30; U.S. women were older - with 20 of the women between the ages of 30-40.

The majority of international (80%, N=12) and U.S. women (83%, N=22) were drawn into the sex industry, or were victims of other sexually exploitative relationships, before the age of 25. Twenty percent (N=3) of the international women, and 29 percent (N=7) of the U.S. women were abused in prostitution while they were children (under age 18). Social service providers, advocates and researchers indicated that they knew of girls as young as 12-14 who were used in the sex industry.

Origin of International Women in the Sex Industry in the United States

Northeast

Korea,* Thailand,* Russia,* Eastern European countries,* China, and Vietnam

Metro New York

China,* Korea,* Russia,* Mexico,* Malaysia, Eastern European countries,* South American countries* Thailand, Ecuador, Colombia, Ukraine, and Estonia

Southeast

Fucanese region in China, Korea, Malaysia, Thailand and Vietnam

Northern Midwest

Russia, Korea, Vietnam

Metro San Francisco

China,* Vietnam,* Thailand,* India, Korea, Taiwan

* Indicates this country or region was mentioned multiple times.

Source: Law Enforcement Officials

Education and Work Experience

The educational levels of both groups of women, before entrance into the sex industry, were similar ranging from those with limited primary school training to those who had some college education. Three of the international and two of the U.S. women had completed college.

The range of jobs that both groups of women held before entrance into the sex industry were varied: waitress, store manager, certified nurse's assistant, cosmetologist, receptionist, salesperson, kindergarten teacher, restaurant manager, knitter, food service worker, caretaker for the disabled, bartender, asbestos remover, horticulturist, security guard, express mail and package worker, lab assistant, chef, maintenance, and airport shuttle driver. Three international women held jobs as teachers, one a music teacher who became an accountant, and one was a nurse.

Some of the U.S. women were supported by public or disability assistance. Others derived income from drug smuggling and dealing.

Social service providers, advocates and researchers reported that women's jobs prior to entering the sex industry were minimum wage jobs, factory workers in Korea, nursing, lingerie modeling and sweatshop work.

Entry into the United States

Most international women (53%, N=8) entered the United States on tourist visas and overstayed their visas (See Table 1). Five explicitly stated that they overstayed their visas. Three others did not clearly indicate expiration status of their visas before exiting the United States, but from the context of other remarks, overstay was presumed. Three women entered with fraudulent travel documents. Six others entered the United States by legal means, two with spousal visas, one with a student visa, one with a work permit, and one with an immigration green card. (Number of types of entry exceeds number of women because several women indicated multiple types of entry).

Table 1

Documents Used by International Women for Entrance into the United States (N=15)

<u>Illegal Use of Legitimate Travel Documents</u>	<u>Imposter Travel Documents</u>	<u>Legal Entry</u>
8 ^a	2 ^b	6 ^c
^a Overstays on tourist visas		
^b False passports		
^c Spousal visas (3), work permit (1), student visa (1) immigration with green card (1)		
Total number of types of entry exceed total number of women because several women used multiple types of entry		

In contrast only two of the law enforcement officials that were interviewed reported that international women in the sex industry came to the United States by means of tourist visa and then overstayed. Most law enforcement officials reported that international women entered the United

States using fraudulent documents, as dependents of military men, as undocumented, as legal immigrants, and as students.

These findings indicate that a frequent means of entry for trafficked and sexually exploited women into the United States is being overlooked. Law enforcement and immigration officials have been more cognizant of immigrant smuggling and entrance into the country by undocumented means. Certainly, women are smuggled into the sex industry, and fraudulent documents are utilized. However, a significant number of sexually exploited women entered the United States by legal means and were subsequently recruited into the sex industry.

Prior Involvement in the Sex Industry in Other Countries

International women, formerly in the sex industry in their countries of origin, are particularly vulnerable to recruitment in sex industries in the United States. A majority (60%, N=9) of the international women had been in the sex industry before entering the United States (See Table 2). Of the nine international women who were in the sex industry prior to entering the United States, eight reported that they were in prostitution in their countries of origin. Two of these eight women were in prostitution in other countries--one in one other country (Germany), and another in three other countries (Germany, Finland and Mexico).

Table 2

International Women’s Involvement in the Sex Industry Prior to Entering the United States (Intl N=15, Law N=25)

	<u>NR</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Intl	-		9	60	6	40
Law	6	8	10	53	1	5

Approximately one half of law enforcement officials (53%, N=10) and social service providers, advocates and researchers (48%, N=12) had knowledge of some international women being in the sex industry in their own countries before coming to the United States. Social service providers, advocates and researchers pointed out that large numbers of Korean and Okinawan women, formerly in the sex industry surrounding U.S. military bases abroad, are now in the sex industry, particularly around military bases, in the United States.

Past Physical, Sexual and Emotional Abuse

The literature on prostitution describes high levels of sexual abuse in the backgrounds of women who end up in the sex industry, and our study confirmed this reported incidence. Thirty-eight percent of international women and 65 percent of U.S. women reported childhood sexual molestation, rape or incest. International and U.S. women described these incidents.

/ was raped in Russia in my early teens. It was my first sexual encounter. I still have a difficult time talking about it. I was also molested by my cousin. I was also numerous times raped by a couple of guys.

Incest with my father. Once a week. For one year. Then my parents divorced and he left.

I was molested for four years by my foster brother. He was much older. He would play games with me and have sex with me. My mother put me in a foster home, because she said she couldn't take care of me...

One health care worker reported that 80 percent or more of women in the sex industry have been molested or raped by family members.

RECRUITERS, TRAFFICKERS AND PIMPS

Recruiters and traffickers are criminals who supply the sex industry with women, and pimps are criminals who control the women on a day-to-day basis. International and U.S. women, law enforcement officials, and social service providers, advocates and researchers were asked about the identities, activities and methods of recruiters, traffickers and pimps.

The involvement of spouses/partners in facilitating women's entrance into the sex industry has been rarely mentioned in the literature on trafficking and prostitution. In this study, 20 percent (N=3) of the international and 28 percent (N=7) of the U.S. women said husbands/boyfriends acted as pimps. All of these partner-pimps were violent and physically, sexually and emotionally abusive to the women. One international woman reported: "His goal was to hold me and the other women prisoner and impregnate all of us and abuse us at his will. He thought he was doing us all a favor by rescuing us from our poverty." Another stated, "... my husband tortured me every week. ... [He] would beat me for everything or just to relieve his stress..." Other women reported that their pimps included family members and drug dealers.

One international woman, and sixteen percent (N=4) of U.S. women said they had no pimp. Four U.S. women indicated that drugs were influential in their involvement in prostitution. One stated that drugs were her pimp.

Sixty percent (N=9) of the international women, and 40 percent of the U.S. women (N=10) reported that organized networks and businesses were instrumental in recruiting and controlling them. The organized businesses were identified as escort services, bars, brothels and clubs, while the organized networks were identified as "biker gangs" and the Italian mafia. One question that has engaged those studying trafficking patterns is the dimension of organized crime groups involved in trafficking. The majority of respondents in all groups interviewed—international and U.S. women, law enforcement, social service providers, advocates and researchers—indicate that most trafficking organizations are small, with only 1-5 people involved, although there were a few large (6-15 people) and very large (50-100 people) networks reported.

The role of U.S. servicemen in the trafficking and pimping of women was noted by a significant number of international and U.S. women, law enforcement officials and social service providers. Often, U.S. military personnel promise marriage or wed women formerly in sex industries around U.S. military bases in Korea, the Philippines and Okinawa. One battered women's advocate reported that over half the women seeking refuge at her shelter near a military base in Jacksonville, North Carolina, were abused wives of U.S. military personnel. From speaking with her clients at the shelter, she heard accounts of Okinawan women, married to U.S. Marines, who were pressured into the sex industry in the United States by their military husbands. Thus prostitution added another layer to the violence and control of the battering situation.

Like the Korean fiancés and brides who had been in the sex industry around the military bases in Korea, many Japanese women had formerly been in sex industries around the military bases in Okinawa. Lacking English language and job skills and displaced in a foreign culture, many are at the mercy of their husband/abuser/pimp's demands and are recruited or coerced in massage parlors around military bases in the United States.

Background of Recruiters, Traffickers and Pimps

In order to obtain a picture of the international scope of the industry, its links with organized crime groups and gangs, and with dominant sex industries in the United States, interviewees were asked about the countries of origin of recruiters, traffickers and pimps. International women identified the following countries of origin of recruiters, traffickers and pimps: the United States, El Salvador, Mexico, Russia, Ukraine, Finland, Poland, Serbia, Italy, Germany, Jamaica, Japan, Malaysia, Vietnam and Yemen. Some reported that it was difficult to know who was involved. One international woman stated:

It's hard to know. They all used fake names... They hire other people to help with the business - phone girls. The Brooklyn agencies were a big mystery—we always only dealt with the driver and only talked to the phone girls. Nobody—hookers or drivers didn't know where the offices were.

U.S. women cited both Caucasians and African Americans involved in pimping.

There are connections between international and domestic sex industries and also between domestic sex industries across the country. Seventy-five percent (N=6) of international and 64 percent (N=7) of U.S. women reported that people who recruited and/or trafficked them were connected to pimps in the U.S. sex industry. Social service providers, advocates and researchers from all regions of the country also reported that recruiters and traffickers maintained connections with pimps.

One social service provider said that government officials and consulates in sending countries expedite and facilitate fraudulent immigration papers.

Another social service provider described a domestic pimps network where pimps congregate annually at a " 'players ball'... Last year they met in Las Vegas. They vote for the 'best pimp of the year' - depends on how many women they maintain or recruit and they have a big celebration. This still happens. It's interesting that they don't get in trouble for this."

Involvement in Other Criminal Activity

Recruiters, traffickers and pimps are involved in other types of criminal activity, in addition to trafficking and prostitution. Some international and U.S. women had knowledge of specific forms of criminal activity with which their recruiters, traffickers, or pimps were engaged. International women cited active participation of recruiters, traffickers, or pimps in welfare fraud, racketeering, tax evasion, drugs, fraud, bank fraud, robbery and domestic violence. U.S. women spoke of pimps being involved in money laundering, gambling, insurance scams, pornography, and guns. (See sidebars for criminal activities reported by law enforcement officials and social service providers, advocates and researchers by region.)

Criminal Activities of Traffickers and Pimps (in addition to trafficking and prostitution)

Northeast

Gambling, extortion, money laundering, migrant smuggling

Metro New York

Extortion, arms dealing, fraud, auto theft and export, robbery, money laundering, immigration fraud

Southeast

Gambling,* fraud

Northern Midwest

Fraud,* identification documents forgery,* check forgery,* weapons,* carjacking, money laundering, robbery

Metro San Francisco

Immigration fraud,* labor exploitation, fraud, guns,

***Indicates that the activity was mentioned multiple times**

Source: Law enforcement officials, social service providers, advocates and researchers

One social service provider reported that "The Jamaican gangs and the Chicago Bay St. gangs are now turning to pimping - it's less dangerous and there's less penalty if they get caught. They are looking at 30 years in jail for two ounces of cocaine if they've got felony convictions." Another social service provider reported that she did not know of any strip club in her area of the Midwest that was not related to organized crime.

Involvement with Legitimate Businesses

Social service providers, advocates and researchers, as well as law enforcement officials, reported that traffickers and pimps are also actively involved in legitimate businesses, often as a cover for their illegal activities. (See sidebar for legitimate businesses that traffickers and pimps are involved in, as reported by law enforcement officials, social service providers, advocates and researchers.)

One social service provider knew of two cases in which the traffickers were diplomats. Another spoke about hotel operators in the Chicago area that were involved in prostitution.

Traffickers and trafficking networks rely on the complicity of legitimate local U.S. businesses such as hotels, bars, travel agencies, and on the cooperation and corruption of immigration and law enforcement agents worldwide

Traffickers and Pimps Involvement in Legitimate Businesses

Northeast

Restaurants, bakeries,
construction, travel agencies,
hotels, beauty salons, computer
hardware, telecommunications

Metro New York

Restaurants, gas stations,
convenience stores, beauty
salons, limousine services,
travel agencies, clubs

Southeast

Restaurants

Northern Midwest

Employment agencies, farming

Metro San Francisco

Travel agencies, real estate,
hotels, restaurants, computers

*Source: Law enforcement officials,
social service providers, advocates
and researchers*

METHODS OF RECRUITMENT

Contrary to popular myths, few women and girls freely choose to be in prostitution, or seek out opportunities to enter the sex industry. There are contributing factors facilitating women's entrance into the sex industry and more direct means of recruiting women into prostitution.

Factors Facilitating Recruitment

There were many conditions that indirectly facilitated recruitment of women into the sex industry, making women vulnerable to trafficking and sexual exploitation. Many respondents reported circumstances of poverty, economic desperation and disadvantage, and the lack of a sustainable income. It is not sufficient, however, to say that poverty was a precipitating factor. With most women, it was *a poverty that was preyed upon* by recruiters, traffickers and pimps.

Economic conditions in countries of origin were push factors. The background for many Russian women who ended up in the sex industry in the United States was the political and economic breakdown of their country. The way in which these crises subordinated women in particular was noted by one law enforcement official who reported interviewing a trafficked Russian woman who had been a physician in her country.

Women reported other push factors. Some women were escaping oppression in the home country. In some families, girls were seen as burdens and liabilities. Lack of family support, or direct family pressure or coercion, was another factor in precipitating women's recruitment into the sex industry. Sometimes, older brothers or uncles acted as conduits for recruitment.

The pull factors facilitating women's recruitment into the sex industry were often those that drive other immigrants to these shores. Some women envisioned the United States as a utopia with "... promises of a better life for themselves and their families," but saw their hopes dashed upon arrival. One Russian woman stated, "I thought I would have a wonderful life and stay. I wish I didn't have any [life in the sex industry]." Some social service providers reported that women came to the United States not only looking for a better life, but to send money back to their families. Others were seeking marriage. One woman said, "I didn't plan to go in for prostitution. I just wanted to be a wife." One social service provider commented that it was not only the money itself but the "fantasy of a lifestyle" complete with house, car and living happily ever after that drew women into the trap of the sex industry.

Means of Recruitment

Traffickers and pimps directly recruited a significant number of international and U.S. women. In one case, the trafficker brought many women and men into the United States from India to work in his businesses, keeping several of the younger girls in an apartment for his own sexual use.

International Women

There were other more indirect means of recruitment, some of which took place after international women arrived in the United States. International women were brought into the country through marriage to U.S. men, often arranged by mail order bride agencies. Many were abused, sexually exploited, and recruited or coerced into prostitution. A Filipina advocate and social service provider described a case of a young Filipina, 17 years old, who married a US citizen. When she

arrived in the United States, he abused, sexually exploited and pimped her into prostitution. The advocate's organization also knew of Filipina women who end up in prostitution after they arrive in the United States because they cannot get work or don't possess the necessary language skills to find legitimate work. She further indicated that, "The alternative of going back [to their country] is not something they even want to think about."

Other international women were drawn into prostitution after they arrived in the United States via U.S. military men. As reported in a previous section detailing the "Operation of the Sex Industry," many Asian women were brought into the United States by U.S. servicemen, and ended up in the sex industry after the relationship dissolved. Fayetteville, North Carolina—with the largest military base in the United States—was singled out as a premier location of massage parlors in this country that was populated with Asian women.

An advocate and social service provider reported that sometimes women who are originally trafficked for sweatshop labor eventually end up in prostitution, after the illegal labor sites are raided, and women can't find sustainable local jobs. She also reported that it was possible that sweatshops also sexually exploit the women in prostitution.

Some women answered ads for jobs in the United States, arranged by alleged legitimate agencies in their countries of origin, or responded to ads placed in "the personals." One international woman thought she was coming to the United States for employment as a housekeeper but was held captive and sexually enslaved. Another went through an agency in Russia advertising for a job as a nanny, but the agency did not follow through on the nanny contract. Some answered other kinds of ads in newspapers. One woman was hired to act in pornography films with the initial promise that she would then move on to act in "good" films. When she arrived in the United States, in addition to shooting pornographic films, she was expected to "be a routine prostitute."

One social service provider reported that traffickers recruit Mexican women in the rural towns in Mexico, initially describing good jobs in the United States. Upon arrival, the women learn that the "good jobs" are only in prostitution.

Some respondents indicated more than one form of recruitment, and eight women in the sex industry stated that they were not recruited. Some women entered the country independently, arranging for their own legitimate or illegitimate travel documents. For women who enter the country legally, but overstay their tourist visas only illegal employment is open to them. One social service provider noted, "When women have no legal working papers, the pimps use this as a hook to lure them into the sex industry."

U.S. Women

Social service providers reported that pimps use various means to recruit U.S. women into the sex industry. One social service provider said, "Pimps can smell vulnerability." Local authorities and social service providers in Minnesota describe the Mall of America, the largest shopping complex in the United States, as one of the largest pimping grounds in the state where recruiters prey on young, suburban and rural teens who hang out there.

Pimps also recruit women in the clubs. Their methods are to befriend women, create emotional and/or chemical dependencies, and then convince them to earn money for the pimp in prostitution. Drug and alcohol dependencies are tools that pimps use to manipulate and maintain control over women. The pimp determines the level of dependency or use. If the woman's dependency exceeds that limit, he may discard her. A social service provider said, "The pimp may drop them if the drug

habit becomes the pimp." One social service provider reported that women score points with their pimps if they recruit other women into prostitution.

Another provider described how strip clubs push for further sexual exploitation by pressuring both international and U.S. women who dance in the clubs "to do a little more" to bring in larger amounts of money. She said, "It's a wooing process."

Money and Debt

Seventy-three percent of the international women (N=8) said they were promised money before coming to the United States; and 33 percent of the U.S. women (N=6) reported they had also been promised money, or told they would make a lot of money in the sex industry.

Thirty-three percent of the international women (N=4) reported that they had paid a passage or placement fee to the recruiter. Fifty-six percent of the law enforcement officials (N=10), and 41 percent (N=7) of social service providers reported that women or families had to repay debts incurred. Fees to traffickers and recruiters ranged from \$2,000-\$47,000 and often varied by countries of origin: e.g., \$40,000-\$47,000 for Chinese, \$35,000 for Koreans and \$2,000-\$3,000 for Mexican women.

Other women went into debt and bonded sexual exploitation to pay these fees for passage, and later for food, board and necessary essentials. Some women were advanced money for their children, whom they left behind, and traffickers added this advance to their debt. Women were required to repay this debt through prostitution and sexual acts with a specified number of "customers." An immigration investigator reported that one of his case witnesses told him she was required to sleep with over 100 men during a period of 2 1/2 months. A social service provider reported that some women tried to keep journals with tallies of money they had repaid, and the number of buyers they had "serviced," so they would know when their debt was cancelled. However, when these journals were discovered, the brothel owners confiscated them so that the women were unable to keep track of the money.

One social service provider told of a family who was made to pay \$12,000 to the trafficker for alleged wedding and honeymoon expenses. She also knew of one Thai woman who borrowed money from people in her village to pay for her passage to the United States.

The bonded condition never ends because there is always more money added for expenses as well as the interest that accrues. Women find themselves in a vicious cycle. They are expected to pay back money "borrowed" for passage, lodging, food, and clothes from the traffickers and pimps who recruit them into prostitution. They often become dependent on drugs that they must pay for, or they must reimburse the trafficker or pimp. Women are fined if they become sick or otherwise unavailable to the buyers, and are encouraged to gamble what little money they have left if their brothels and clubs are coupled with gambling enterprises.

METHODS OF MOVEMENT

Movement is a central element in the trafficking process. To understand how trafficking occurs, it is important to know how, where, and why borders are crossed. International and transnational sex trafficking involves both the legal and illegal crossing of national borders for purposes of sexual exploitation. Increasingly, there is recognition that the same patterns and criminal tactics are used to continue to move international women, once they are within the United States, and that U.S. women are trafficked for sexual exploitation in the same way. In this study, questions were asked about how and where women were moved to gain a better understanding of transnational and domestic trafficking in the United States.

Domestic Trafficking

Sex industries in the United States can be highly mobile. When international women arrive in the United States, they are frequently trafficked to various locations in this country. Immigration, law enforcement officials, social service providers, advocates and researchers all reported that international women are moved around and domestically trafficked after they enter the United States. U.S. women in the sex industry are often domestically trafficked as well.

A 1999 raid of brothels in Atlanta, Georgia revealed that women in the Atlanta brothels had been trafficked constantly around the United States. One law enforcement official stated that "...records from some of the brothels [showed] where the girls had come in from—Kansas and Massachusetts, California, New York, Miami among them. It was a big interstate network. The girls are transported all over the country."

Sex trafficking patterns are diverse with international women transported from the East to the West coast, from the South to the Northeast, and from urban to rural and rural to urban districts. Similarly, U.S. women in the sex industry are domestically trafficked across city, state and even national borders by pimps and traffickers.

Twenty-nine percent of international women (N=4) reported that they were moved from place to place in the United States, and 62 percent of the U.S. women (N=13) reported the same. Seventy percent (N=7) of international women, and 36 percent (N=4) of the U.S. women traveled alone. Eighty-eight percent (N=15) of law enforcement officials, and 33 percent (N=9) of the social service providers, advocates and researchers report that women are moved around within the United States. Women are moved on organized trafficking circuits from one town to another, and from one brothel or massage parlor to the next. Constant movement of women is three-fold: to provide a change of women for the male buyers who constantly demand new women; to prevent women from establishing any contacts who could provide them with assistance, and to escape detection from law enforcement agents.

The men record their observations on the turnover of the women in the establishments in the Internet writings. One man from New York wrote, "They do have quite a bit of turnover so don't expect anyone to be there more than three months." The same pattern of high turnover of women was noted in San Francisco. Several different men wrote: "Each time it's a different lady, with different style;" "... place has a high turnover rate so its hard to rate any one girl;" "Girls coming and going a lot at this place." The writing from a man in San Francisco hints at the domestic and international trafficking connections. He wrote, "On my third occasion, I was very surprised to see an all new

staff!" When he inquired about where the women he knew were, the woman told him, "Oh one went to Thailand, she went to Laos, two went to Vietnam and another went to Minnesota."

A law enforcement official from the Southeast commented on the movement of women. He said "I've been doing this investigation about two months now, and I've already seen turnover with these women." A social service provider from the same region reported that:

"[The women are] rotated every two weeks from brothel to brothel, so they couldn't make connections ... and so they would never know where they are."

A social service provider from the Northwest said that women are brought in for the male migrant workers and "moved from campsite to campsite."

Entry Points for International Women

Law enforcement officials report that the most frequently used mode of travel for international women entering the United States is by plane/air. In general, law enforcement officials and social service providers reported women entering the country by boat, car, train, on foot, hidden in a vehicle, swimming across a river, and traversing specific borders such as the Canadian and the Arizona/Texas border with Mexico.

Law enforcement and immigration officials reported that entry points for trafficked women into the United States are strategic sites along the U.S.-Canadian border, including widespread use of Akwesasne territory by traffickers. Other entry points cited in the Northeast include the St. Lawrence River, Detroit and Washington State. Small and large international airports, such as Bradley International in Connecticut and John F. Kennedy (JFK) in New York, were also reported. Military bases were additionally cited as gateways for trafficked women.

Upon arrival in the United States, women are housed in various locations, pending movement to other parts of the country. In one case, Thai women arriving at JFK Airport in New York were initially housed at a Holiday Inn in Chinatown. In another case, women arriving at Hartford International Airport in Connecticut were housed temporarily at a private residence in that state, before being trafficked into brothels in New York.

One San Francisco police officer acknowledged that the city was a big smuggling and "shipment point" to other parts of the States. Another police officer suggested that one reason for San Francisco's trafficking problem might be its "sanctuary city" status. City officials voted to make San Francisco a sanctuary city meaning that police are not allowed to question people regarding their immigration status. One law enforcement official said, "We are by mandate, as police officers...not even allowed to call INS, unless it's cases that involve a felony.. that's why we can't really get to the bottom of this, because we are not even allowed to work with INS, for the most part."

Trafficking often involves the use of many transit nations before women arrive at the country of destination. An Asian crime investigator noted that many Asians might have been in South America before coming over the Mexican border into the United States, as indicated by their ability to speak Spanish. "A lot of the Asian illegals [sic] often speak Spanish--so many have spent time in South America."

These entry points for trafficking, however, are fluid and when the Immigration and Naturalization Service conducts crackdowns in particular areas of the country, the entry points shift to another location.

Trafficking Routes Inside the United States

Trafficking routes inside the United States can be regional or national, or extend from coast to coast. Law enforcement officials and social service providers, researchers and advocates cited the following trafficking patterns. In the Northeast, women are moved within and outside the region: between Massachusetts, Delaware and Washington, and between Rhode Island and Georgia. Thai women have also been trafficked from Arizona and Texas to Massachusetts. A detective in this region noted the continuous movement of women from place to place, especially after police raid particular brothels and massage parlors.

In Metro New York, women are trafficked intensively within the New York City area, and up and down the East Coast. Metro New York is also an important transit city from which women are moved to states such as New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Florida, California, Washington, and also Washington, DC. Hundreds of Russian women are contracted out "like merchandise" in the countless numbers of go-go bars and strip clubs in the New Jersey area and moved continuously across state lines. One law enforcement official reported, "These places are often connected. They use the same girls. I've seen the girls in New Jersey bars out in the Pennsylvania bars."

One law enforcement agent described a typical scenario: Women come from China into the United States and are given an address where they go upon arrival in New York's Chinatown. There, they meet up with an "employment agent." They are then told to wait on a certain street, to be taken by bus or van to brothels, sweatshops, restaurants or other places of "work."

In the Midwest, women are trafficked around the region, as well as to the East and West Coast: from Minneapolis to Tampa, Memphis, New York, Chicago, Seattle, Denver, St. Louis and Las Vegas. Law enforcement officials in this region reported that large numbers of U.S. women are domestically trafficked to other states, because Minnesota laws are stricter than in these states, and the sex businesses move to more permissive regions. Law enforcement officials in this region reported that recently Russian women are trafficked from Chicago to the escort services and clubs of Minneapolis, especially after the crackdown of a Latvian-American trafficking ring in Chicago. The most widely known domestic trafficking ring within this region was organized by the Evans family of Minnesota who, over a period of two decades, trafficked over 50 women and girls, including 27 minors, to 24 different states.

In the Southeast, law enforcement agents described East and Southeast Asian women trafficked from Atlanta, Georgia to New York, Massachusetts, Kansas and California. One witness in a case in the South described being transported to over 15 brothels around the country every 2-4 weeks.

In Metro San Francisco, one law enforcement official said that San Francisco is one link in a chain. The main circuit for East and Southeast Asian women originates from the west coast—from San Francisco or Los Angeles—to New York City, Atlanta and Washington DC. Law enforcement officials in this area reported cooperation between massage parlors across the country since buyers are "bored with the same girls." A social service provider reported that Mexican women told her they were shifted from place to place by their Mexican pimps, "especially when it [the crackdowns] gets too hot." Thus women are rotated and exchanged between cities and states.

METHODS OF INITIATION

Many of the respondents in this study described processes of seduction and seasoning into the sex industry by pimps that begin in the recruitment and initiation stages, and continue as methods of controlling women and girls after entrance into the sex industry. Women are often coaxed, coerced, and/or raped by a pimp, and then cajoled or forced into having sex with his "friends." The seduction and seasoning can be quick or gradual, and is masked by a confusing mix of flattery, attention, "protection," and most often violence and exploitation. Young women and girls are particularly vulnerable to these tactics.

Violence

Ten international and U.S. women reported that they were initially in an intimate partner or marital relationship with the men who recruited or pimped them. In these situations, women experienced classic forms of domestic violence, i.e., emotional and psychological control, abuse, and sexual and physical violence. As documented in this study these same types of control and violence are also used as the basis of exploiting women and girls in prostitution. For most of the women in this study, the battering and prostitution went hand in hand to initiate women into the sex industry, and to control them after entry.

Violence was initially used to season women into prostitution. One U.S. woman talked about her husband, who sold her to his friends, and forcibly initiated her into having anal sex with him when she refused to comply with his friends' demands. Another reported:

He used to physically abuse me when we were driving and push me out of the car and drive off. Then drive back and get me saying he's only doing this for my own good and provide me affection. Looking back I don't know what made me so blind to him. He must have been preparing me for the eventuality of prostituting for him.

One international woman reported that she felt brainwashed and controlled by her trafficker and that he used violence to systematically prepare her and break her down to be "one of his girls [prostitutes]." Another Russian woman painfully recollected her pimp's abuse of her in the beginning: "I didn't realize that I could experience such pain."

Immigration officials also reported that traffickers used violence to season women into prostitution and the sex industry. Working on separate cases in which both a Russian and an Estonian woman had been trafficked into the New York area, officials respectively reported that each woman was gang raped by traffickers as a way to break them into prostitution in the United States.

Social service providers and U.S. women in prostitution describe "family" systems whereby a pimp or trafficker controls a group of women by creating a "family" hierarchy, with designated primary girlfriends, "wives," or satellite girlfriends. The main wife or girlfriend of the house is trained to be in charge, help initiate the other women into prostitution and monitor their movements.

Pornography and Stripping

Fifty percent (N=7) of the international women stated that pornography had been used to "educate" them into prostitution. One international woman stated that her pimp made her watch pornography in the beginning. Another reported that she had to watch pornography, because "my clients asked me to do as they did it on the screen." One U.S. woman remembered that as early as age

3, she was used in pornography. She was made to perform at "pornofests" from age 3-12 that were held in rural Minnesota barns, basements and private residences with up to 50 men in attendance. Six of the social service providers, advocates and researchers reported that pornography had been used to initiate or train women.

One social service provider reported that U.S. teenage girls were lured and photographed by older men in "compromising positions." The men threatened to send the photography to their parents if they refused to have sex with them. "... these girls continued to live a normal home and school life, but had this abuse going on alongside."

Some women are initiated directly into prostitution, and other women begin in other parts of the sex industry. Social service providers, advocates and researchers reported that the first sex enterprises that women were drawn into were often stripping and exotic dancing in clubs and at parties, and then ushered into table or lap dancing.

Stripping is frequently a first step into prostitution. Strip clubs initially hire young women to serve drinks and then pressure them into dancing and eventually into prostitution to make more money for themselves and the club. The women said that the pressure is constant, and both subtle and direct. One U.S. service provider working with women in the sex industry reported women in the strip clubs soon learn that it's the prostitution, not the stripping, that brings in the money.

[Stripping is] advertised as the glamorous way to be in charge, make money. However, in the end women discover that the dancing itself doesn't bring in that much money - it's the prostituting that does, and within six months on average, women get drawn into prostitution from stripping. Stripping is often the deceptive stepping stone to a worse end.

METHODS OF CONTROL

It is often asked why women don't simply leave the sex industry. The assumption is that women enter prostitution by choice and can thus make the choice to leave. In fact, women in prostitution are often restricted, controlled and coerced in ways not recognized. To assist victims of prostitution and trafficking, it is important for all concerned, but especially for law enforcement and the criminal justice system, to recognize and understand the types and frequency of control and violence to which women in the sex industry are subjected and how women's vulnerabilities are abused.

Lack of Freedom

Seventy-six percent (N=13) of law enforcement officials, and 71 percent (N=15) of social service providers, advocates and researchers reported that a large number of women were not free to leave the sex industry. Some women are held captive, and some are not free to leave until they pay off accumulated debts. International women are isolated and often undocumented, have few options, no knowledge of how to get home, and sometimes don't speak English.

Women's freedom was controlled in different ways. One way was to restrict their mobility. International women and U.S. women said pimps and/or traffickers tightly controlled them. One international woman stated, "They kept us locked inside." Another U.S. woman who had been used in prostitution as a young child spoke about herself and her mother being confined and locked in closets by her father who prostituted them both. A U.S. woman reported:

He kept me in an isolated area in rural Florida, with no car. I needed permission from him to do anything - to eat, to go out. He used to physically abuse me when we were driving -push me out of the car and drive off. Then drive back and get me saying he's only doing this for my own good.

Law enforcement officials also reported that trafficked women lacked basic freedom of movement. One policeman stated that women in the massage parlor he was monitoring never left the premises. The managers attended to everything.

They don't have access to a vehicle. We've never seen cars parked in the vicinity to indicate that these women are independent to drive out when they please. We've also never observed these women ever venture outside the premises. I believe that the managers feed, clothe them as they see fit. If they do go out, it is probably an organized outing in the company van. Also, there are no conveniences around the area there. There are no stores. The only thing in the area is the [donut shop]. These women were not just walking out the door.

Other exploited women were sometimes used to keep women in line. One woman stated that in Canadian cities where she had been trafficked, the pimps kept surveillance over "their" women, using other women to monitor their movements and behavior.

Some law enforcement officials reported that a primary method of controlling women was differential treatment of women in the sex industry. Koreans are treated differently than other Asians. One law enforcement official on the West Coast reported that there is a hierarchy in the massage parlors: "Chinese are at the top, followed by Vietnamese, and then Koreans." In New York City, it was reported that Mexican/Latina women are the most poorly paid.

Social service providers confirmed that women's mobility was restricted in various ways. One reported that a woman was kept in a hotel, naked with no clothes. Others described the limited freedom women had. "The Mexican women [in Florida could not leave and] were dependent on the men for food, clothing and shelter." Other providers noted that some women could not read or write.

And they knew no one in the community. "The Korean women couldn't even read their own language and were trapped in a brothel." Others mentioned domestic violence/prostitution situations in which movements were controlled by abusive partner/pimps. These circumstances influenced women's ability to leave the sex industry and to have control over their lives.

Control of Money

In most cases, women have little control of their money. Pimps controlled most of the money women earned and, in some cases, negotiated the price of the "tricks." Seventy-nine percent (N=15) of the U.S. women, and 36 percent (N=5) of the international women had money withheld from them (See Table 3). One woman reported: "... in Vegas he took everything. When he ran the escort service he took 50 percent [of the earnings]." Another U.S. woman who was in sauna prostitution reported that not only did women lack control of their money, but were frequently penalized by fines, for example, if they overstayed the allotted time with buyers, or if they were ill.

One international woman reported that when she was in the escort services, she had to turn over half of what she made to the managers. The rest of her money went to pay for her drug habit. Another international woman who stated she controlled her own money, nevertheless ended up with less than half of the amount paid to her. " I .. gave a cut to the driver... The usual fare was \$125 basic for a call, \$25 for the driver, \$45 for the agency, the rest was mine to keep."

Thirty-six percent (N=9) of law enforcement officials reported that women in the sex industry had money withheld from them. Seventy-four percent (N=14) of social service providers, advocates and researchers also reported that women did not control their money. Trafficked women from Mexico, the Dominican Republic or Honduras, for example, in brothels in New York City, might get \$3-\$4 of every \$25-\$30 paid per buyer. That meager amount would go back to the brothel for food, laundry, lubricants, and condoms. In effect, these women were not receiving any money. One social service provider reported that pimps monitor women even when they work in mainstream clubs.

In [one strip club], you can observe the pimps lined up against the back wall... the management lets the pimp stand there because it's better control of the women. The individual pimp watches so that the right amount of money gets turned over to him, and that way... to the establishment as well. "

Some places have a quota of dances that women must perform and a number of drinks they must sell. Women run the risk of violence if they don't meet the quotas.

Forms and Frequency of Violence Against Women²

The international and U.S. women were victims and survivors of violence perpetrated against them by traffickers, pimps, recruiters and buyers. International and U.S. women, as well as law enforcement, social service providers, advocates and researchers, and health care providers were asked specific questions about their knowledge of the forms of violence and abuse, and also about the frequency of the violence, that women in the sex industry are subjected to (See Table 3).

Eighty-six percent (N=19) of U.S. women and 53 percent (N=8) of international women reported being physically abused by their pimps and traffickers while in the sex industry. One half (N=11) of the U.S. women and 20 percent (N=3) of the international women described frequent, sometimes daily physical assaults. Examples of violence perpetrated against women in conditions of trafficking

² In this section of the report, all numbers of respondents and percentages used in the discussion of the findings are accumulated totals of "at least once," "multiple times," and "frequently," unless otherwise stated.

and prostitution include having head and face split open, being punched until teeth were knocked out, pounded unconscious, hit with hangers, choked, and pushed out of moving cars.

A number of the respondents in this study have described similarities between prostitution and domestic violence in the ways in which women are abused, whether traffickers and pimps were partners or husbands, or whether they were women's daily agents of control.

Violence was used to punish women. One woman described being physically punished by her pimp when "customers" on the streets victimized her. One woman said, "I've been beat with hangers, tied to a bedpost. Beaten for being with a trick too long. I was robbed and raped by a trick and then beaten by the pimp for letting that happen."

Thirty-three percent (N=5) of the international women and 61 percent (N=11) of the U.S. women had weapons, such as guns, knives, sticks, ropes, and in one case, a sword, used against them. Fifty-nine percent (N=9) of the social service providers, advocates and researchers responded that weapons were used against women. One social service provider from the Mid-West noted "most pimps carry guns." So the threat is always there for the women. Only twenty-four percent (N=6) of the law enforcement officials were aware of the use of weapons against women in the sex industry.

Many of the social service providers and advocates worked with sexually exploited international and U.S. women, and were familiar with sex industries in their local areas and the treatment women received in the bars, clubs, brothels, and massage parlors. Their estimates of the types and frequency of violence perpetrated by recruiters, traffickers and pimps confirmed the reports from the international and U.S. women. Seventy-seven percent (N=17) reported that women suffered physical violence in the sex industry.

Some law enforcement officials confirmed the violence in women's lives in the sex industry. "I was told once that a girl who came in for one of the hearings [massage parlor license] had a scar across her neck like she had been slit from ear to ear." Another official reported that, "Women get killed if they go out of line."

One man in his writings about buying women in prostitution in San Francisco, made this observation about Asian women he saw:

/ noticed what I have seen with almost all Asian women -scars on her back that had the look of healed knife marks. ...it looked like the mark of whatever gang or mafia that was responsible for her being there.

Overall, law enforcement officials reported a much lower incidence of violence against women in the sex industry. Less than half (48%, N=12) said they were aware of violence against women in the sex industry. Two officials even said that they had never known women in the sex industry to be physically abused. One said, "I have not heard evidence of abuse from anyone." Given the reports of much higher incidence of violence from the international and U.S. women and the social service providers who work with women in the sex industry, some law enforcement officials appear to lack crucial knowledge about basic criminal control and abuse of women in the sex industry. Such lack of awareness prevents law enforcement officials from recognizing acts of violence against women in the sex industry. Consequently, women are overlooked for assistance and perpetrators are not prosecuted.

Table 3

Violence and Threats Against Women by Recruiters, Traffickers and Pimps
(Intl N=15, US N=25, Law N=25, Soc N=37)

		NR	DK	Never		At least once		Multiple times		Frequently		Accumulated	
				N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Physical violence	Intl ^a	-		7	47	3	20	2	13	3	20	8	53
	US ^a	3		3	14	4	18	4	18	11	50	19	86
	Law	7	4	2	8	4	16	4	16	4	16	12	48
	Soc	15	5	-	-	6	27	2	9	9	41	17	77
Sexual assault	Intl	-		9	60	1	7	2	13	3	20	6	40
	US	6		4	21	7	37	2	11	6	32	15	80
	Law	12	4	2	8	2	8	1	4	4	16	7	28
	Soc	14	4	-	-	8	35	3	13	8	35	19	83
Sadistic sex	Intl ^b	-		10	67	-	-	4	27	1	7	5	34
	US ^b	10		3	20	4	27	3	20	5	33	12	80
	Law	15	5	2	8	-	-	1	4	2	8	3	12
	Soc	21	6	-	-	5	31	2	13	3	19	10	63
Death threats to woman or family	Intl	-		11	73	2	13	1	7	1	7	4	27
	US	13		8	67	2	17	-	-	2	17	4	34
	Law	15	4	1	4	2	8	2	8	1	4	5	20
	Soc	23	5	-	-	8	57	-	-	1	7	9	64
Use of weapons	Intl ^c	-		10	67	3	20	2	13	-	-	5	33
	US ^c	7		7	39	8	44	2	11	1	6	11	61
	Law	14	4	1	4	2	8	3	12	1	4	6	24
	Soc	22	5	1	7	5	33	2	13	2	13	9	59
Other ^d	Intl	6		6	67	1	11	1	11	1	11	3	33
	US	9		3	19	7	44	3	19	3	19	13	82
	Law	16	4	-	-	1	4	4	16	-	-	5	20
	Soc	21	5	-	-	1	6	9	56	1	6	11	68

^a Acts included being tied up, punched, beaten, stabbed, strangled and hit with objects, resulting in bruises, broken bones, cuts requiring stitches, scars and loss of teeth

^b Acts included being vaginally and anally raped, gang rapes, beaten and urinated on, "rough sex," bondage, S&M, bestiality, fisting, objects inserted in anus and vagina and assisting with the rape of other women

^c Weapons included hangers, sticks, guns, knives, board with nails, ropes, electrical cords, shoes and a sword

^d Acts included hurting family members, stalking, robbery, murder attempts, harassing phone calls, kidnapping, killing a pet, making and distributing pornography of the women, being sold, and being forced to do domestic work

The violence that women were subjected to was an intrinsic part of the prostitution and sexual exploitation. Traffickers and pimps used violence for many reasons and purposes. As discussed in a previous section, violence was first used to initiate women into prostitution, and to break them down so that they would do the sexual acts. After initiation, at every step of the way, violence was used for sexual gratification of the pimps and traffickers, as a form of punishment, to threaten and intimidate

women, to exert the perpetrator's own dominance, to exact compliance, to punish women for alleged "violations," to humiliate women, and to isolate and confine women.

Violence for Sexual Gratification and Punishment

The traffickers and pimps used sexual violence for gratification and as a form of punishment. Eighty percent (N=15) of U.S. women and 40 percent (N=6) of international women reported being sexually assaulted in prostitution at the hands of the pimps and traffickers.

Eighty percent (N=12) of U.S. women and 34 percent (N=5) of international women reported being the victim of sadistic sex. One international woman said she was thrown in a room with 5-7 men who started "ramming me altogether." Another woman reported:

"In the first brothel there were terrible guards... awful perverts. Once they gobbled up some pills that prevent men from cumming quickly. They fucked me for five hours straight. I have never experienced anything like that."

An international woman reported "I had one pimp in the States who liked to whip me with thin belts and urinate on my body... Sometimes he would even invite his friends."

A social service provider reported that Latin American women who had been trafficked into the South, protected themselves by "... sleeping together, because they [traffickers] had underlings who would rape them in the middle of the night. They felt safer, when they slept together."

Sometimes, women were made to participate in sexual violence committed against other women. One international woman described that she was one of many women from Asia that her trafficker enslaved and impregnated. She bore three children as a result of being raped in captivity over the years by her trafficker. With difficulty, she described having to be complicit in his abuse. "We were beaten and raped if we didn't comply.. I had to hold down women as he raped them. I saw five women being raped."

The international women reported a lower incidence of sexual violence than the U.S. women. A few of the international women did not seem to identify the violence in their lives as violence. For example, one international woman did not report she was a victim of sexual assault, but said that her husband/pimp sold her to his friends. When the buyers asked her for anal sex, she refused to comply. She said, "I refused. Then my husband tortured me a week. He decided to train me himself. It was horrible. A lot of things happened."

Social service providers, advocates and researchers confirmed the high incidence of sexual violence against women in the sex industry. Eighty-three percent (N=19) said they were aware of sexual violence perpetrated against women in the sex industry. Sixty-three percent (N=10) reported knowing about women being victims of sadistic sex while in the sex industry.

Law enforcement officials reported a much lower incidence of sexual violence against women in the sex industry. Only 28 percent (N=7) said they were aware of incidents of sexual violence against the women in the sex industry. Two officials (8%) indicated that they had never heard of sexual violence against women in the sex industry. Only 12 percent (N=3) said they were aware of women being the victims of sadistic sex. One official, who also said she was unaware of any trafficking of women, went so far as to voice the myth that women in prostitution cannot be raped.

Violence and Intimidation

Violence was used as a form of control and intimidation, and to continually remind women who was in command. Many women describe submitting to their pimp's wishes after being repeatedly physically and spiritually broken down. Eighty-five percent (N=17) of U.S. women, and 50 percent (N=7) of international women reported psychological abuse; and 90 percent (N=17) of U.S. women and 46 percent (N=7) of international women reported verbal threats (See Table 4).

One international woman whose husband/pimp physically and sexually abused her said, "He always told me that I am nothing without him." A U.S. woman described the dehumanizing way the women were referred to. She said the pimp "calls us 'ho's.' Doesn't call us by name or refer to us as women, just 'ho's.'"

Social service providers, advocates and researchers confirmed the high level of psychological abuse and verbal threats reported by the international and U.S. women. Seventy-four percent (N=14) said they were aware of psychological abuse suffered by women in the sex industry and 77 percent (N=14) reported known verbal threats against women in the sex industry. As with physical and sexual violence against women in the sex industry, fewer law enforcement officials reported that they were aware of psychological and verbal threats against women. Thirty-two percent (N=8) said they were aware of psychological abuse and 28 percent (N=7) said they knew about verbal threats.

Although the traffickers and pimps themselves were committing crimes against the women, a number of international and U.S. women reported that the traffickers and pimps threatened to report them to the police and used these threats to gain compliance from the women. Since many of the international women were not in the United States legally, their visa status could be used against them. Four of the international women said that traffickers and pimps made immigration related threats against them. Four law enforcement officials indicated they were aware of immigration related threats against international women in the sex industry. Three of the social service providers, advocates and researchers said they knew that women were threatened in this way.

Both international and U.S. women had death threats against them or their families. Four of the international women and four of the U.S. women reported that traffickers or pimps had threatened their lives or their families. An international woman said the man who trafficked and enslaved her wrote stories about her and the other women he controlled, including one about killing her, which he published on the Internet.

Sixty-four percent (N=9) of the social service providers, advocates and researchers said they knew of death threats against women or their families, while only 20 percent (N=5) of the law enforcement officials said they were aware of death threats against women in the sex industry and their families.

International and U.S. women described other types of violence such as stalking, robbery, murder attempts, harassing phone calls, kidnapping, killing of a pet, being sold.

Table 4

Psychological Abuse, Threats and Use of Drugs and Alcohol to Control Women
(Intl N=15, US N=25, Law N=25, Soc N=37)

		NR	DK	Never		At least once		Multiple times		Frequently		Accumulated	
				N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Psych abuse	Intl	1		7	50	1	7	-	-	6	43	7	50
	US	5		3	15	8	40	1	5	8	40	17	85
	Law	11	4	2	8	5	20	-	-	3	12	8	32
	Soc	18	5	-	-	8	42	-	-	6	32	14	74
Verbal threats	Intl	-		8	53	2	13	-	-	5	33	17	90
	US	6		2	11	10	53	1	5	6	32	7	46
	Law	12	4	2	8	4	16	1	4	2	8	7	28
	Soc	18	5	-	-	8	44	-	-	6	33	14	77
Use of drugs / alcohol ^a	Intl	1		7	50	3	21	-	-	4	29	7	50
	US	7		7	39	8	44	2	11	1	6	11	71
	Law	14	4	4	16	-	-	3	12	-	-	3	12
	Soc	20	5	2	12	6	35	1	6	3	18	10	59
Isolation / confinement/ restraint ^b	Intl	1		9	64	1	7	1	7	3	21	5	35
	US	9		5	31	8	50	1	6	2	13	11	69
	Law	11	4	1	4	4	16	2	8	3	12	9	36
	Soc	19	5	-	-	6	33	3	17	4	22	13	72

^a Acts included giving women drugs and medication, such as marijuana, hallucinogens, heroin, cocaine and sedatives, to control them and forced injections of drugs.

^b Acts included being blindfolded, tied up, locked in chains, a cage, room, or house; children being taken away, kept away from family and always traveling in a group.

Drugs and Alcohol

Drugs and alcohol were used to control international and U.S. women in the sex industry. Fifty percent (N=7) of the international women and 71 percent (N=11) of the U.S. women said that drugs and alcohol were used to control them (See Table 4). One international woman said a pimp injected her with a drug: "We had worked together only for two days. He forcefully gave me a shot. I puked all over his room. I got poisoned at once." Another international woman whose husband/pimp repeatedly physically and sexually abused her said that, "I was sober until I met him. But he made me drink, especially after a fight."

Pornography

A significant number of both international women (36%, N=5) and U.S. women (65%, N=11) were used in the making of pornography, and/or threatened with it (See Table 5). Social service providers also had knowledge of the way in which pornography is used to threaten and intimidate women in the sex industry. Forty-eight percent of social service providers, advocates and researchers reported that prostituted women were used in the making of pornography and that those images were distributed of them.

Table 5

Use of Pornography to Control Women (Intl N=15, US N=25)

	<u>NR</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Used in making</u>	<u>Distributed images</u>	<u>Blackmailed</u>
Intl	1	9	64	5	36	5	1	1
U.S.	8	6	35	11	65	11 ^a	1	-

^a Three women indicated that they were paid for making pornography

International women indicated that they had been blackmailed with the pornography made of them. One international woman spoke of her husband/pimp threatening her with exposure. "... my husband... shot [pornographic films of] me and promised to send the tape to my parents."

A number of women reported that making pornography was a routine aspect of the prostitution. One woman said "a lot of guys film us in the act." And another reported that "Sometimes [the pimps] don't tell you that you have been filmed and later, they sell this tape to the client."

Women, who danced in the strip clubs, reported that the establishment kept pornography constantly running on the multiple monitors and video screens all over the club. A social service provider reported, "Women are surrounded by pornography in the places they work." The one woman trafficked for marriage testified that her husband placed pornographic pictures of her on the Internet.

One U.S. woman reported that undocumented women in the strip clubs were more easily coerced, compelled to labor longer hours and pressured into pornography.

In the strip clubs/adult theatre places, they have a lot of girls therefrom outside without green cards, or illegal aliens. And they really work them like they were stupid, and with those girls they really recruit them to do porno. (The club manager) has a hold on them, because they don't have their green card.

Isolation

Violence was also used to isolate women from the world. Women were kept isolated from others, and some were even held in conditions of captivity. Thirty-five percent (N=5) of international women, and 69 percent (N=11) of U.S. women described being held in isolation and under guard at the brothels or compounds in which they were kept (See Table 4). One international woman described the conditions of her captivity. The group of women that she was with were kept locked in a compound. Sometimes the locks were taken off the doors. If women had children, the children were taken away from them and placed in other locked rooms. The women never had any privacy and could not leave the compound. One woman said, "We were held in slave-like conditions."

Seventy-two percent (N=13) of the social service providers, advocates and researchers knew of women who had been kept in isolation or confined. Thirty-six percent (N=9) of the law enforcement officials were aware that women in the sex industry were held under such conditions.

Controlling contact with family, friends or acquaintances enhanced isolation. Seventy-nine percent (N=11) of the international women and 87 percent (N=13) of the U.S. women stated that pimps and traffickers controlled contact with their friends and family. Some were never allowed

contact with their families. Others reported vigilant scrutiny and being forced under duress or armed guard to assure loved ones that they were doing fine.

Twenty-six percent (N=6) of the social service providers, advocates and researchers were aware that women were denied contact with friends or family while under the control of traffickers and pimps. In the Mexican trafficking case, an advocate for the women reported that the Cadenas trafficking ring orchestrated the women's contact with families in the following way:

If they [trafficked Mexican women] were good, that is they complied with them [pimps and guards] and performed the sex acts that they wanted them to perform, then they were allowed to use the phone. Once a week, with a guard, they were taken to a public phone and allowed to call family at home, with phone cards that they had to purchase from the owner. Of course, their family would think that they were fine. But of course they weren't fine, and had to say that, because they were under armed guard [by people who were] listening to them.

Violence Against Other Exploited Women

The overall estimates of the forms and frequency of violence reported by both international and U.S. women in the sex industry is very high. However, in most categories of violence against women perpetrated by recruiters, traffickers and pimps, there were considerable differences in the incidence of violence between international and U.S. women. U.S. women reported higher frequencies of violence than international women. There are important reasons why international women - and in some cases, U.S. women ~ underreport the violence of sexual exploitation and prostitution. This underreporting will be discussed in the Section on buyers and buyer violence.

Because it is often difficult for women to report intimate aspects of violence and violation done to them and because women in the sex industry have first hand knowledge of the violence against other women in prostitution, international and U.S. women were asked whether they had heard of or witnessed violence done to other women in the sex industry. International women were mainly prostituted in establishments that housed, exploited and/or prostituted other trafficked or foreign women.

In some places I worked for, there were girls who were not allowed to leave at all. I met two girls from Albania; they could speak some Russian. They were threatened all the time due to their illegal status. But they had nowhere to go.

Sixty-nine percent (N=9) of the international women and 100 percent (N=10) of the U.S. women reported knowledge of physical violence done to other sexually exploited women (See Table 6). One international woman described the violence done to other exploited women. "I saw women being beaten, and I witnessed five women being raped and confined on a daily basis." Seven (86%) of the U.S. women and three of the international women said they knew other women who had been sexually assaulted by pimps and traffickers. U.S. women also drew a portrait of the violence experienced by other women in the sex industry. One reported that she "knew of three girls who were murdered." Another stated, "It was common to see women come in with bruises, black eyes, being stalked."

Another international women witnessed women being taken to a hospital emergency room. "One woman was just like a piece of flesh." Some women found it difficult to describe what they witnessed. One international woman stated: "I know, but don't want to talk about them. Everybody had her own misfortune."

Table 6

Women's Knowledge of Abuse of Other Exploited Women (Intl N=15, US N=25)

		NR	Never		At least once		Multiple times		Frequently		Accumulated	
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Physical violence ^a	Intl	2	4	31	3	23	3	23	3	23	9	69
	US	3	-	-	9	41	3	14	10	45	22	100
Sexual assault	Intl	2	7	54	4	31	1	8	1	8	6	47
	US	9	-	-	7	44	4	25	5	31	16	100

^a Acts included killing women if they did not cooperate and beating women if they tried to escape.

Ultimately, violence was used to render women as less than human. Women reported that they were treated as sub-human—like many would treat animals.

[I have been sold by] lots [of pimps]. So many, that it's scary. Pimps who resold me [globally]... I was like a dog on the short leash. When I pulled it just a little bit, they threatened to put me in jail.... Last pimp in Turkey. He described in details how he would be doing it [threatened to kill my family]. I think at the end he could have.

Large numbers of women in the sex industry live in a state of constant trauma, vigilance and expectation of violence. Violence, rape, robbery, kidnapping and killings are normal occurrences for women in prostitution. However, violence does not only come from the pimps and traffickers but also from the buyers as well.

MEN WHO BUY WOMEN FOR PROSTITUTION

Almost no research on trafficking and prostitution has focused on the men who buy women for prostitution—the so-called customer. Trafficking in women is based on supply and demand, and it is the men who create the demand. In this study, men's behavior and activities were researched in order to understand the demand side of the sex industry and the role of the male buyer in creating the demand for trafficked women.

Background of Buyers

Men who buy women in prostitution come from all nationalities and races. Many of the brothels housing international women specifically catered to buyers from within women's ethnic communities. Several of the international women from Russia noted that their "clients" were mostly "... Russians, people from the Caucasus." In the northern Midwest, law enforcement officials reported that generally white males, aged 30-50, patronized the saunas and strip clubs. Younger men are allowed, and thus use, the non-alcoholic "juice bars."

A number of sex enterprises, especially in the Northeast, the Metro New York area, and Metro San Francisco catered to Chinese buyers. One law enforcement agent reported that in New York City's Chinatown, the Chinese houses of prostitution are closed to non-Chinese buyers. Not even other Chinese men are allowed into the Fucanese brothels. Prostitute buyers have to speak the right dialect to gain access to the brothels. Restriction of buyers also applies in the Mexican establishments where certain speech patterns are monitored for entry.

Evidence from the men's writings supports racial and national restrictions on men allowed into certain brothels. In writings about their experiences buying women in prostitution, buyers describe the prostitution establishment, which sometimes includes information about who uses it. Asian massage parlors or brothels appear to be most restrictive in limiting their "clientele" to specific groups. One Black man writing about his buying experiences in New York said, "If you happen to be black, sometimes the korean [sic] places just won't let you in." White men also indicate that they were not allowed to enter an all-Asian prostitution establishment, or they are not the priority "clientele." One man wrote from San Francisco: "This is a relatively new place which already has an established Korean clientele. As a result you might not get in during peak hours..." Another man writing from San Francisco reported that, "You may also be asked who you saw before; particularly if you are not recognized or you are not Asian."

In the men's writings, one Asian man wrote about the preference of Asian brothels for Chinese or Korean men and the "discrimination" against Whites, Latinos and Japanese.

At competitive establishments like _____, _____, and _____, Asian customers are rarely asked questions like "you want massage?" and are never turned away at the door. The first thing mama-san do when she opens the door is to try to figure out who you are. Japanese and foreigners (Whites, Latinos) generally start at least \$20 more than Chinese and Korean. ...Asians get to choose every time at any place! The reason foreigners aren't allowed to select at these places is because a lot of high quality young girls are reluctant to give foreigners full service, as a result they would end up with a regular massage. Some factors contribute to this unwillingness include higher risk of exposure to alcohol and HIV. This is especially true at _____ where sometimes they feature cameos of semi-celebrities from Korea, and appointments are always necessary for a loyal fan who likes to meet his favorite star up close and personal. In other words, the girls who are off limits to foreigners essentially make these three places less inclusive to races other than Asian.

Vietnamese-specific buyers were also noted in Vietnamese-controlled brothels. In the men's writings on prostitution in San Francisco, numerous men wrote about the Vietnamese controlled massage parlors, saunas and spas. In these establishments, the women were usually all Asian or exclusively Vietnamese. Another man wrote, "Despite the Japanese name, all Vietnamese girls. Seems to be popular with the local Vietnamese kids."

A number of the African American women in the sex industry in the United States commented that the majority of their "customers" were white, mostly married, and from the suburbs. However, other ethnicities of men were also described as buyers:

/ had one Chinese guy 16 years old. He brought other people from China and he brought them all to me. We really didn 't do nothing. All they wanted to do was to see my black skin. They just kept rubbing it to see if the color would come off.

Men from U.S. military bases were frequently mentioned as buyers in the Southeast. Clubs, massage parlors and brothels replicate the sexual rest and recreation (R&R) areas that proliferate near U.S. military bases to serve U.S. servicemen while in countries outside the United States. The military demand for prostitution in the towns and cities surrounding U.S. military bases abroad continues to be responsible for the exploitation, rape and prostitution of impoverished local populations in these areas. This infrastructure and culture are recreated here in the United States, with inordinate numbers of Asian women especially, trafficked and exploited in U.S. massage parlors, strip clubs, bars and brothels surrounding U.S. military bases.

Age and Occupations of Buyers

International and U.S. women in the sex industry stated that buyers came from all age groups. The range of ages reported was from 15-90. On the subject of younger buyers, one U.S. woman stated that younger men use women in street prostitution because they are cheaper, easy to access, and think they are getting away with something. Another U.S. woman reported that she usually did not take young buyers because they were "scandalous," and young "dudes" do not want to pay. One international woman who saw mostly older men stated that they came for the company, not so much for the sex, since "a lot of old men can't perform." This same woman commented that fathers often brought sons to give them a "good time - training on sex."

Buyers also came from all walks of life. Several women commented on the number of married men (70-90%) who bought women for prostitution. One woman stated: "Their families didn't know what they were doing."

Occupations of buyers ranged from working class, such as fast food employees, truckers, oil rig and pipeline workers or warehouse workers, to professional men, some of whom were "prominent community members," such as businessmen, lawyers, doctors, politicians, and dentists. One woman reported, "Guys with the best jobs are the cheapest. The others (farmers, etc) are more lenient with their money." Another woman spoke of a professor who was caught by police after he had sex with her and was apprehended upon leaving the establishment. The police did not believe that he actually had engaged in the sex, and told her to give him back his money. "They didn't want the prominent professor at the college to have his name in the papers. He had a family and this would mess up his career."

One social service provider near a marine base, who had identified military personnel as frequent consumers of commercial sex, reported that officially, prostitution establishments were off limits to U.S. Marines. The regulation is never enforced, however, and the prostitution establishments are

filled with military men. The interviewee's husband, who is a taxi driver, often picks the men up in full dress uniform and takes them to outcall venues or massage parlors.

Several U.S. women reported that police officers or undercover cops had asked for sex in exchange for dropping charges against them.

Police officers - they were abusive. The undercover cops asked me to have sex with them - straight and oral - in order to drop the charges.

Police are frequent customers, though, and they walk in like they own the place. In fact one of the cops ran his own house somewhere in Brooklyn and was always trying to get me to be part of his posse. They 'd come in and be on a power trip and treat us like we were nothing.

Another U.S. woman commented that her first "trick" was a policeman. She was not arrested, because he let her off.

Buyers' Demands

Social service providers, advocates and researchers reported on the trends in women that buyers demanded. Across all regions, men are seeking young women, often underage girls.

International and U.S. women, as well as law enforcement officials and social service providers, reported that, on average, women were required to service 1-10 men per day. Law enforcement estimates were higher, with a majority reporting that women were required to engage in commercial sex with 6-20 or more men per day. One immigration official reported that one of his witnesses stated: "It was a ridiculous figure. Depending on the day - it was sometimes at least 10... Over a period of two and a half months, one of our witnesses said she had to sleep with over a hundred men." Another law enforcement agent reported that if you include other sexual activities in this tally such as stripping, essentially women are providing sex to 50 or more men a night. "Stripping is not really dancing," he said, but rather women subjected to "being groped and felt up left and right."

In the cheaper venues, and in street prostitution, some women have sex with 20-30 men per day. When there were few buyers, women had to "entertain" the guards and the pimp. One trafficked woman reported that weekends were the busiest times. One U.S. woman said: "I'd prostitute just enough to get me through to the next morning... On a good day I'd do five men. On a bad day I'd do ten."

When women were brought into bachelor parties or conventions, they might have to engage in sex with up to 20 men. In the men's writings, one man describes a party with over 20 men and one or two women. He writes about it as great fun, but the reality for the woman was most likely quite different.

In the LR [living room] was about 15 guys in towels ... In the room to the left a group of about seven guys surrounded a slender attractive young looking latino girl. She was lying on her back getting fucked. ... I stood over the crowd and watched her ...I tried to get down and copa [sic] feel, but I really couldn 't get close. ... She sucks me for about 10 minutes while 4-5 guys watch in the dimly lit room. I plow her for about 12 minutes... She kept her eyes closed while I fucked her and didn 't say much. Later, I go into the back room and some black guy is giving this girl another plowing ... Most everyone has left. So me and another guy lay her down. I bang her ... finally I slam her hard a few times ...I look in the BR and she's laying there with one leg splayed out and the other bent at the knee. Her head is turned to the side and her hair is everywhere. She looks like she's been fucked.

The majority of international and U.S. women (82%, N=9 and 58%, N=11, respectively) were expected to comply with all requests of the buyers (See Table 7). If the women try to place limits on what they will do, what the men can do to them or where they can be touched, the men complain. In

their writings they give women who place limits on the sexual activities "negative" reviews. The following are some of the men's complaints about women trying to set limits:

"She wouldn't kiss my neck or touch my bare skin anywhere with her lips... "

"She matter offactly told me that my tip didn't include that. Jesh!"

"Too many rules, don't touch me here, there ..."

If the women complained or resisted, the men often reprimanded or punished them. A man from Minnesota wrote about buying a young woman he estimated to be 18 years old: "She seemed to have a bit of an attitude, but once I called her on it she got a little nicer." A man from San Francisco wrote: "She ... was unenthusiastic for the price ... and complained that I was taking too long (which made me pump harder and longer)."

Table 7

**Men's Expectations of Women's Compliance To Requests
(Intl N=15, US N=25)**

	<u>Expected to comply with all men's requests</u>				
	<u>N.A.</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Intl	4	2	18	9	82
U.S.	6	8	42	11	58

Activities that women were expected to engage in were "Everything. From half and half, some [men] liked to be beaten up, some [men] liked to be urinated on, some [men] wanted us to dress in different clothes." Another woman responded to the question about buyer demands by listing the sexual acts requested with a price tag attached to each one.

Sitting naked: \$ 10; Verbally abusing men:\$10 - \$20; Masturbation: \$20; Homosexual fantasy: \$20; Using a dildo:\$30; Anal sex with dildo:\$40; Pee in a glass: \$100; Sniff shoes, pop balloons with my high heels, hotdog man-put ketchup and mustard on his penis, tie a string on his penis and tug.

Some women stated that they would refuse to accept verbal abuse or enact men's fantasies of sex with children. Other women said that if they needed the money, e.g., to buy drugs, they would take what they could get and do what was requested. One woman summed it up by stating that the most important thing was to say you enjoyed whatever the "customer" requested that you do.

Condoms

Almost half of the international and U.S. women (47%, N=7, N=8, respectively) reported that men frequently expected sex without condoms. Fifty percent of the international women (N=5), and 73 percent (N=8) of U.S. women reported that men would pay more for sex without a condom. A significant portion of the women (international women 29%, U.S. women 45%) reported that men became abusive if women tried to insist that they use condoms (See Table 8).

Some women said that establishments have rules that men wear condoms but, in reality, men still try to have sex without them. One woman said, "It's 'regulation' to wear a condom at the sauna, but negotiable between parties on the side. Most guys expected blow jobs without a condom." Several

U.S. women reported that men try to slip-off the condom without them knowing it. Another woman reported that she didn't use condoms regularly when she was offered extra money. She said:

/ very rarely had sex using a condom. I'd be one of those liars if I said 'Oh I always used a condom.' If there was extra money coming in, then the condom would be out the window. I was looking for the extra money.

Table 8

Men's Attitude and Behavior Towards Use of Condoms
(Intl N=15, US N=25)

		<u>N.A.</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Expected sex without condom	Intl	-		8	53	7	47
	U.S.	8		9	53	8	47
Pay more for sex without condom	Intl	5		5	50	5	50
	U.S.	14		3	27	8	73
Abuse if insisted on condom	Intl	1		10	71	4	29
	U.S.	14		6	55	5	45

Many factors militate against condom use: the need to make money; older women's decline in attractiveness to men; competition from places that do not require condoms; pimp pressure to have sex with no condom for more money; money needed for a drug fix/habit or to pay off the pimp; and the general lack of control that prostituted women have over their bodies in prostitution venues.

Screening of Buyers

Health checks, and screening of women for sexually transmitted infections, has been a theme in the public health approach to prostitution. The unexpressed goal in this approach, and in the public health literature in general, has been screening of the women for the protection of the male buyers and the general public. Few researchers question whether the male buyers are screened for protection of the women. In this study, international and U.S. women, law enforcement officials and social service providers were asked if sex industries screen male buyers for disease and protection of the women from abuse.

Almost unanimously, law enforcement officials and social service providers, advocates and researchers indicated that there were no sex industry practices of screening men for disease. None of the law enforcement officials indicated that men were screened for disease.

A few law enforcement officials and social service providers, advocates and researchers, 11 and 13 percent, respectively, thought that women were protected from physical abuse, but the majority either didn't know or indicated that there was no protection for the women. One social service provider reported that in some establishments, "They tell you that there's a bouncer, but I have never ever seen a bouncer before."

One law enforcement official stated that

... as long as they are making the money, anything goes. In the _____", they have dungeon rooms - there's no way for her to get help if she wanted. One of the girls on a case had reported to her pimp that one of the johns had brutally raped and beat her. All he (pimp) said was - did you get the money. Plus the pimps beat them up too.

Only two law enforcement officials indicated that establishments protect women from abuse.

Social service providers generally reported that screening for disease and protection from abuse were impossible, especially in the escort services where women travel to different locations. One social service provider reported that in the sauna or health clubs, women had no one they could call on for protection. She pointed out that women are at risk from the pimps as well. She said, "The pimps will beat them too." In one trafficking case in the South, men came into the trailers (makeshift brothels) high on drugs and alcohol and wanted the women to perform sexual acts on demand. According to an advocate for the women, if the women refused, they would frequently be beaten and raped by the buyers and/or those guarding the brothel. The buyers would call the ring leader "who would personally come in and give them a beating as well. The young girls got it bad."

International and U.S. women in prostitution also indicated that prostitution establishments did little to protect them. "The only time they protect anyone is to protect the customers. For instance they only put in the surveillance camera after a customer was killed." Of the women who did report that establishments gave some protection, they qualified it by pointing out that no "protector" was ever in the room with them, where anything could occur.

The driver functioned as a bodyguard. You 're supposed to call when you get in, to ascertain that everything was OK. But they are not standing outside the door while you 're in there, so anything could still happen.

In their writings, the men write about a different kind of screening. A number of prostitution establishments who advertise in magazines and newspapers in San Francisco, employ a two-step procedure before allowing a man to enter the premises. The man must call and make an appointment, then go to a public telephone, often within sight of the establishment, and call for directions. The aim is to visually evaluate them to determine if they are known and to make it more difficult for police to enter. The men write that during this screening, they are asked if they are police officers. One man writing from San Francisco said,

"As a first-timer, you will be directed to a nearby pay phone where you will call them again for directions. This is referred to as the "two-call" system—first call for an appointment, second call for the address. On subsequent visits, depending on how busy they are, you may be permitted to skip the second call and proceed directly to the house. "

A few men wrote about the presence of surveillance cameras outside the establishments. One man wrote, "I entered the main door ... and began walking up a flight of stairs and noticed that a camera was aimed at me from the top. Not a good touch in my opioin [sic]." Another man wrote, "It's a little spooky, because they have TV security cameras watching you climb the stairs as well as at the front door, and a motion-sensor turns a light on when you get to the door."

A man writing about his experience in New York wrote this about being screened,

The apartment building is very upscale, so much so that I thought I had gone to the wrong place. A large lady named _____lets you into a very nice two-bedroom apartment. She pats you down, asks if you are a cop or have any weapons.

This type of screening is used to protect the establishment from police raids and to screen men by race, class and possibly prior drunkenness and disorderly behavior, but protection of the women from abuse is likely of secondary importance.

Violence Against Women Perpetrated by Buyers

Where violence against women in the sex industry is reported and noted, pimps are generally assumed to be the perpetrators. However, it is not only pimps and traffickers but also male buyers who abuse women in the sex industry. International and U.S. women reported significant rates of violence from buyers. Many women also reported being witness to, or knowing of, other exploited women who were mutilated, drugged, stalked by "tricks," and murdered by serial killers. One woman said: "I knew of three girls who were murdered. One was stabbed by the cashier at [a well-known sex club] in February 1991. The other incident was in 1994 where two buyers killed the two women they took home."

U.S. women reported higher rates of violence compared to international women in the sex industry. The highest rates of buyer violence reported by both international and U.S. women were in the following categories: physical violence (International women -28%, N=4; U.S. women - 86%, N=19); sexual assault (International women-36%, N=5; U.S. women - 80%, N=16); sadistic sex (International women- 23%, N=3; U.S. women - 40%, N=8); and use of weapons to threaten or harm women (International women - 15%, N=2; U.S. women - 65%, N=13). Other types of violence cited included being harassed by "obsessive men," videotaped, robbed, kidnapped, stalked, and destruction of women's property (See Table 9).

Table 9

Women's Reports of Buyers' Violence (Intl N=15, US N=40)

		NR	Never		At least once		Frequently		Accumulated	
			<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Physical violence ^a	Intl	1	10	71	2	14	2	14	4	28
	US	3	3	14	15	68	4	18	19	86
Sexual assault	Intl	1	9	64	4	29	1	7	5	36
	US	5	4	20	11	55	5	25	16	80
Sadistic sex	Intl	2	10	77	3	23	-	-	3	23
	US	5	12	60	5	25	3	15	8	40
Use of weapons	Intl	1	11	85	2	15	-	-	2	15
	US	5	7	35	13	65	-	-	13	65
Other ^b	Intl	2	11	85	1	8	1	8	2	16
	US	5	8	40	10	50	2	10	12	60

^a Acts included being beaten, stabbed, thrown from a car and cut in the eye resulting in blindness

^b Acts included being harassed by "obsessive men," videotaped, robbed, kidnapped, stalked, and having property destroyed

Note: One woman indicated that something had happened to her, but said, 'I don't want to talk about it.' That response was coded as one occurrence of physical and sexual violence.

In the men's writings, a man from New York wrote that a woman he bought in prostitution had been the victim of a known sadistic couple.

[They offered large sums of money to] do whatever they want with the girl for 24 hours. Apparently some girls take the offer and come away bloody and hurting, but their attitude is, "What the hell, I'll heal in just a few weeks." [One woman] got tricked into seeing the couple, then ran away when things started to get

weird. Someone she knew went for a session with the couple immediately afterwards and was never heard from again.

As in the section on violence perpetrated by recruiters, traffickers and pimps, women also reported violence against other sexually exploited women that they witnessed or had knowledge of. "One girl went with a Russian client. She was drugged. She didn't know where she landed up. They held her for 24 hours. About five of them. She was gang raped. She never reported this to anyone." Another international woman reported that her Russian girlfriend was killed by a buyer who picked her up on the street. She knew an Asian-American woman who was also killed by a "trick on the street" who had slit her throat.

Although there are significant incidences of violence against women reported by the international and especially by U.S. women, the research team believes that these findings represent underreporting and underestimates of the actual violence perpetrated not only by buyers, but also as reported earlier in this project, by recruiters, pimps and traffickers. There may be many reasons for this underreporting and underestimates, as evidenced from the context of our interviews with women:

- Numbers of incidents too numerous to recollect in the short time available with the interviewer
- Difficult for women to quantify and rate frequency of occurrences of violence
- Failure to recognize or name certain types of episodes as violence - (this was observed among US women, but more so among women from abroad who may not discern abuse or violence by the same norms or legal definitions of U.S. culture)
- Refusal to talk about the violence
- Normalizing the violence in their lives
- Minimizing the violence in their lives
- Women becoming accustomed to low levels of violence or certain forms of repeated abuse on a daily basis
- Reluctance to describe or speak about the violence for fear of retaliation from the abuser
- Shame in talking about what they were subjected to
- Difficulty in recollecting traumatic and painful events in the short available time with the interviewer

One case in particular, involving a U.S. woman who provided detailed information on the violence she had experienced in prostitution, is a pointed example of underreporting of violence—even by women who are aware of the frequency of violence in their lives and the lives of other women in the sex industry. The project interviewer observed that this U.S. woman had a particularly noticeable eye injury that she hadn't mentioned in her interview. It was only when the interviewer asked about the woman's eye, that she explained that she "she had completely forgotten about that." This survivor of prostitution had been attacked by a buyer with a shard of broken glass that cut her eyeball in half. She now has only limited visibility and weak muscle control in her left eye. What the interviewer saw as noteworthy, the interviewee saw as one almost forgettable example of the many violent experiences she had suffered in her lifetime.

Degrading Treatment of Women in the Sex Industry

The men's writings about buying women in prostitution are posted in a public forum (the Internet) and not all the men use anonymous email addresses when they originally posted their writings. Therefore, men rarely post messages in which they admit to committing violence against women, but the majority still writes about the women in highly sexual objectified ways and with contempt.

One man from San Francisco wrote the following about his purposeful humiliation and degradation of a woman:

Once I picked up a lady and we proceeded to an abandoned shell of a house. This was after stopping at a store for me to buy her condoms and she also picked up some food! We got down to business ... Shortly I asked to get between her tits w/o the rubber (I had my plans). ... At just the right moment I leaned way forward and shot my load on her face! Good amount on her lips, cheeks and an eye shot as well! She was suprised [sic] and shocked, this got me more exited than the act. I left her there with nothing to wipe the cum off with and her exclaiming to get something, Yeah right!

In these writings men frequently report paying extra money to women to allow them to do acts which are more degrading or humiliating to the women. For allowing these acts, the women are given better performance ratings.

HEALTH EFFECTS OF SEX TRAFFICKING AND PROSTITUTION

The health effects of sex trafficking and prostitution have not been well documented and analyzed. Although a number of studies in the medical and social science literature investigate the rates of HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) of certain populations of women in prostitution, there has been no focus on the larger health consequences to women who have been trafficked and prostituted. In this study, international and U.S. women, health care providers, and social service providers, advocates and researchers were asked about the physical and emotional effects and aftereffects of trafficking and prostitution on women.

Physical Injuries and Illnesses

A significant number of women who have been trafficked and prostituted suffer multiple health effects from violence and sexual exploitation. Women in the sex industry sustain the same kinds of injuries as women who are battered, raped and sexually assaulted. The difference is that when women are subjected to these same injuries in the context of prostitution, the violence is ignored, or redefined as sex. "Rough sex," sadism, and rape are often accepted as "job liabilities" or "occupational hazards." When unwanted sexual behavior is perpetrated against non-prostituted women on the job, it is called sexual harassment. When men in a sex club or brothel pay for the same behavior, it is accepted as commercial "sex work."

Women's reporting of the injuries and illnesses, sustained as a result of being in the sex industry, established that violent sexual exploitation is an intrinsic part of the prostitution and trafficking.

Generally, U.S. women reported higher rates of injuries than international women. International and U.S. women sustained serious physical injuries as a result of the violence and sexual exploitation—inherent elements of the prostitution. 35 percent (N=7) of the U.S. women and one international woman reported broken bones (See Table 10). Major bones, such as ribs and vertebrae, and smaller bones, such as fingers and toes were broken. Women in the sex industry are frequently punched, hit and struck with objects. Fifty percent (N=7) of the international women and 80 percent (N=16) of the U.S. women reported bruises. As in battering, women are frequently struck in the face and head, resulting in face, head, mouth and teeth injuries. Almost half of the U.S. women (47%, N=9) reported head injuries including nose bleeds, those that resulted in loss of consciousness or required stitches, and TMJ (grinding and tension of the lower jaw). Thirty-six percent (N=5) of the international women and 53 percent (N=10) of the U.S. women reported mouth and teeth injuries that resulted in loss of teeth, chipped teeth, split lips and scars. Thirty-eight percent (N=5) of the international women and 65 percent (N=13) of the U.S. women reported vaginal bleeding, with 46 percent (N=6) of the international women and two of the U.S. women stating that they experienced pain in the vaginal or cervical area. Fifty-three percent (N=6) of the U.S. women reported other injuries that included sprains and stab wounds.

Table 10

Injuries Sustained by Women As a Result of Sexual Exploitation
(Intl N=15, US N=25)

		<u>N.A.</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Broken bones ^a	Intl	1	13	93	1	7
	U.S.	5	13	65	7	35
Bruises ^b	Intl	1	7	50	7	50
	U.S.	5	4	20	16	80
Head injuries ^c	Intl	1	13	93	1	7
	U.S.	6	10	53	9	47
Mouth and teeth injuries ^d	Intl	1	9	64	5	36
	U.S.	6	9	47	10	53
Vaginal bleeding ^e	Intl	2	8	62	5	38
	U.S.	5	7	35	13	65
Other ^f	Intl	10	5	100	-	-
	U.S.	10	7	47	8	53

^a Bones fractured included: vertebrae, ribs, jaw, toes, fingers, and nose
^b Included black eyes
^c Included nose bleeds, being choked, injuries that resulted in loss of consciousness, migraines, and TMJ, and injuries requiring stitches
^d Injuries resulted in loss of teeth, chipped teeth, throat pain, split lips, and scars
^e Bleeding from sexual assaults, injuries similar to domestic violence
^f Injuries included stab wounds and sprains

More than half (N=8) of the international women and 69 percent (N=11) of the U.S. women contracted major illnesses as a result of sexual exploitation. Twenty percent of the U.S. women specifically reported contracting hepatitis as a result of sexual exploitation. Fifty-six percent (N=13) of the U.S. women required emergency room treatment at least once for injuries and illnesses sustained while in the sex industry; and 25 percent (N=4) had sought emergency room treatment multiple times.

Awareness of Violence and Illnesses Suffered by Women in the Sex Industry

In this study, some health care workers reported that women in the sex industry received injuries similar to domestic violence and reported incidences of infectious diseases, such as hepatitis and tuberculosis, and other health problems, such as dental cavities, missing teeth, and general poor hygiene.

Although injuries and illnesses were noted by some of the health care workers, overall, they had little knowledge about injuries sustained by violence and illnesses suffered by women in the sex industry. This finding indicates the need for more awareness about the injuries and illnesses sustained by women in the sex industry.

Health care workers who are allowed into massage parlors and brothels generally limit their outreach to promoting condoms and "safe sex." One health care worker said she also offers advice related to "tricks of the trade." The problem, as one health worker noted, is that those engaged in HIV outreach with women in prostitution are generally not trained to screen or look for signs of wider abuse. If abuse or injury is not part of the screening that HIV outreach workers conduct, then women in the sex industry don't disclose this information.

Social service providers interviewed were well aware of the injuries sustained by women in the sex industry. Sixty-two percent reported broken bones; 81 percent, bruises; 60 percent, head injuries; 50 percent, mouth and teeth injuries; 73 percent, vaginal bleeding; 13 percent pain in the vaginal or cervical area; 43 percent, other bleeding; and 86 percent other injuries. They also reported illnesses such as kidney problems, upper respiratory ailments, bronchitis, and hepatitis.

Access to Health Care

International and U.S. women were asked if they were able to obtain health or medical treatment when they needed it. Two thirds of the international women responded negatively.

/ never ever went to a doctor, even when I was pregnant.

I wanted to. There was a local doctor who came to see us, but he couldn 't do much. I couldn 't go there myself, they didn 't let me.

In this context, one health provider stated that Asian women were most confined, and that it was difficult to penetrate systems of "slavery" in which they were kept. She believed that they are not receiving any services, and added that Russian women kept in brothel conditions are in the same circumstances.

Twenty-three percent (N=3) of the international women and 35 percent (N=6) of the U.S. women reported that they had been seen at a particular hospital or clinic. Forty-four percent (N=4) of the international women, and 100 percent (N=7) of the U.S. women utilizing medical services stated that the health information they received was comprehensible. Thirty-eight percent (N=3) of those international women and 36 percent (N=4) of the U.S. women who had been able to use these health services stated that the doctor was aware they were in the sex industry. Only one woman was referred from these hospitals and clinics to social services. One quarter of both groups reported that doctors were brought into the sex establishments.

One health care worker spoke about the need to diversify staff at her clinic who would have the language capability to serve immigrant women. Immigrant women who speak no English are often brought into her clinic by middle-aged, Caucasian or other men who appear to be their partners. She remarked that this is a very awkward situation, because the men speak for the women, since the clinic does not have a private screening policy. Sometimes women's children end up as interpreters.

Both health and social service providers were asked if they saw trafficked women in their practice and how they suspected or knew that women were trafficked. One health provider treated a victim of domestic violence, whom she suspected had come into the United States as a mail order bride from Fiji. The woman was married to an African American man. Although they were able to place her in a battered women's shelter and assisted her in obtaining a restraining order, she returned to her husband several days later, probably because of the lack of immigration status.

One international woman summed up her health consequences and her present needs:

/ need a lot of help, medically and I need therapy to deal with all the trauma I've suffered. I need plastic surgery and dental reconstructive surgery (from when pimp/husband knocked my teeth out). It's hard

because at the drug program, they won't allow me to get on any assistance until I complete the program. My self-esteem is so low and I have a complex about speaking with people. I'm going to start writing.

Sexually Transmitted Infections

Of the international women responding to questions about sexually transmitted infections, 75 percent (N=12) said they had been tested, and 46 percent (N=6) reported they had been treated. Of U.S. women responding, 100 percent (N=13) had been tested, and 70 percent had been treated. Women found it difficult to respond to questions about sexually transmitted infections, possibly due to embarrassment or feelings of shame the question induced. One half of the U.S. women (N=12), and 20 percent (N=3) of the international women did not answer the question asking if they had been tested for STIs.

Fifty-three percent (N=7) of international women reported symptoms of urinary tract infections, yeast infections and syphilis at least once, or multiple times. 71 percent of U.S. women (N=12) reported symptoms of yeast infections, vaginal discharge and itching, gonorrhea, trichomoniasis, crabs or pubic lice, herpes and pelvic inflammatory disease resulting in a hysterectomy and sterility, all infections occurring at least once or multiple times. In the words of one international woman and one U.S. woman:

/ have chronic syphilis

I got gonorrhea from one of my pimps. The infection was so bad that I had to have my right ovaries removed, I had PID.

The sexually transmitted infections that health care providers reported seeing among women in the sex industry are HIV, chlamydia, syphilis, and yeast infections. Social service providers reported gonorrhea, herpes, chlamydia, syphilis, crabs and pubic lice.

Birth Control and Condoms

When asked about use of birth control, 43 percent (N=6) of the international women and 70 percent (N=7) of the U.S. women reported using no form of birth control. Those who reported using birth control specified sterilization (N=1), contraceptive pills (N=1), Norplant (N=1), the IUD (N=2), and abortion (N=1). Fifty-seven percent (N=8) of the international women and all (N=10) of the U.S. women who responded depended on condoms. One health worker reported that women in the sex industry with whom she had contact used no form of birth control or protection.

Campaigns promoting "safe sex" and condoms have tended to take little account of the fact that condoms break, or they treat the breakage as an infrequent occurrence. Although a large number of international and U.S. women who were interviewed did not respond to the question about condom breakage, 25 percent (N=3) of the international women reported that condoms broke "at least once;" and 88 percent (N=5) of the U.S. women reported condom breakage "at least once" or "several times." One health outreach worker reported that a woman in a sex club told her that everyone in the club needed to be tested for HIV/AIDS. To her, this was an indicator that women had unprotected sex.

Health providers attested to the weakness of relying on condoms to protect the women. One stated that women in the sex industry who rely on drugs are very inconsistent in condom use, i.e., in getting buyers to use condoms. One U.S. woman also pointed out that women under the influence of drugs or alcohol are less careful about condom use. "When you're strung out on drugs, you don't really care. Who knows, who cares—it was—on to the next trick."

International and U.S. women were asked about condom irritation because there had been scattered reports of this problem within a few populations of women in prostitution. Latex condom irritation produces bleeding from vaginal abrasion with a concomitant danger of blood serving as a conductor of HIV. Fifty-eight percent (N=7) of the international women and 33 percent (N=2) of the U.S. women responding reported condom irritation.

Given the rates of violence and abuse from traffickers, pimps and buyers, it is not surprising that women do not consistently convince men to use condoms. The ability of trafficked and prostituted women to "negotiate" with either pimps or buyers is at best sporadic—severely compromised by alcohol and drug use, violence, and the various ways that women are manipulated and controlled in the sex industry. One social service provider familiar with the massage parlors in her area reported that "the Korean massage parlors don't allow condom use." A health care worker said that especially older women in the massage parlors and brothels find it difficult to insist that men wear condoms because they don't have a lot of bargaining power, and the buyer may just take his "business" elsewhere.

Pregnancy and Children

Many women became pregnant as a result of sexual exploitation by partner/pimps, other pimps, traffickers and buyers of commercial sex. An additional factor was the relatively low rate of reliable or consistent birth control use.

Forty-three percent (N=6) of international women became pregnant as a result of sexual exploitation in prostitution; and 20 percent (N=3) gave birth. Fifty percent (N=9) of U.S. women became pregnant, and 42 percent (N=8) gave birth. Six women reported terminating pregnancies with abortions. After childbirth, one woman placed her child in an orphanage, and one gave up her child for adoption. Two women have custody of their children, and four women do not retain custody - reporting children to be in the custody of social services, mother, sister and pimp.

International and U.S. women reported:

I placed my child into an orphanage and let the government take care of him.

... after an abortion I almost died of blood contamination. I never got pregnant afterwards.

I had four abortions from trick pregnancies. I had one child by a trick.

Health care workers that were interviewed reported that women in the sex industry became pregnant quite frequently, although they could not comment on the numbers.

An international woman from Sri Lanka reported that she became forcibly pregnant four times, having three children by her trafficker and a fourth as a result of stranger rape. She also stated that of the six other women that the trafficker had recruited for his own sexual use/abuse—who were not interviewed for this study - three of them had been forcibly made pregnant. A Pakistani woman had one child, a child she had to abandon to flee her trafficker; a Thai woman miscarried a forced pregnancy; and another Sri Lankan woman had one child by the trafficker.

Trafficking has consequences for the children of women trafficked. The situation of the woman from Sri Lanka interviewed for this study particularly illustrates the aftereffects on children.

I'm really afraid for my oldest son... He talks about what he wants to do to him [trafficker] when he grows up. He might really want to kill him... He's in special educational classes. He couldn't read although he is 11 years old. [Her son] fantasizes about being violent to [the trafficker] - revenge for what [the trafficker] did to me and them. He's a little boy, but he talks like a grown up man. I don't know if I can handle him once he grows up. He's seen so much already.

Emotional Consequences of Trafficking and Prostitution

The emotional consequences of trafficking and prostitution can be just as, and sometimes more, severe than the physical health effects.

Thirty-one percent (N=4) of the international women and 64 percent of the U.S. women (N=14) said they had suicidal thoughts (See Table 11). One international woman and 12 (63%) of the U.S. women had tried to hurt or kill themselves at some point. Fifty-four percent (N=7) of the international women and 41 percent of the U.S. women felt hopeless. One U.S. woman said, "I didn't care if I died." One international woman said, "I don't care about myself."

Table 11

Women's Reports of Mental and Emotional Difficulties As a Result of Sexual Exploitation (Intl N=15, US N=25)

	<u>International Women</u>					<u>U.S. Women</u>				
	NR	No	%	Yes	%	NR	No	%	Yes	%
Depressed/sad	2	2	15	11	85	3	3	14	19	86
Unable to feel	2	8	62	5	38	3	16	73	6	27
Hopeless	2	6	46	7	54	3	13	59	9	41
Difficulty sleeping	2	9	69	4	31	3	15	68	7	32
Self blame / guilt	2	7	54	6	46	3	14	64	8	36
Loss of appetite	2	9	69	4	31	3	15	68	7	32
Anger / rage	2	9	69	4	31	3	8	36	14	64
Suicidal thoughts	2	9	69	4	31	3	8	36	14	64
Hurt or kill self	1	13	39	1	7	6	7	37	12	63
Other	1	8	57	6 ^a	43	3	7	32	15 ^b	68

^a Anxious or guilty about children (2), "No concentration," "Scared all the time," "I was diminished," "I don't care about myself."

^b Paranoia (2), eating disorder (4), low self-esteem (4), shame (2), panic disorder (2), survivor's guilt (2), "felt like killing someone (2), post traumatic stress disorder, "I didn't care if I died," "feel dirty," "flashbacks, hearing voices, difficulty forming relationships, nervous about men, sexual dysfunction, disassociation

Eighty-five percent (N=11) of the international women and 86 percent (N=19) of U.S. women experienced depression/sadness. Women who were sexually exploited continued to experience depression and sadness, even after being out of the sex industry. Thirty-eight percent (N=5) of the international women, and 27 percent (N=6) of the U.S. women reported that they were unable to feel. 54 percent (N=7) of the international and 36 percent (N=8) of the U.S. women reported feeling like they had no energy or felt sluggish. One international woman said she had "no concentration." And approximately a third of international and U.S. women (31%, N=4 and 32%, N=7, respectively) said they had difficulty sleeping. Thirty-one percent (N=4) of the international women and 32 percent (N=7) of the U.S. women suffered from a loss of appetite.

Women who are victimized in the sex industry often blame themselves for what happened to them. This internalization of responsibility is not surprising given that there is little understanding and little sympathy about about the situation of women in the sex industry. Consequently, 46 percent (N=6) of the international women and 36 percent (N=8) of the U.S. women said they felt self-blame

and guilt about being sexually exploited and abused. Two international women said they felt anxiety and guilt about their children. Two U.S. women said they felt "shame."

Although international women blamed themselves more than U.S. women, the U.S. women reported more anger and rage. Sixty-four percent (N=14) of the U.S. women compared to 31 percent (N=4) of the international women experienced anger and rage. One U.S. woman said she "felt like killing someone."

Although women were not asked about feelings of fear, two U.S. women said that they felt "paranoid," and one international woman said she was "scared all the time." Two U.S. women said they suffered panic attacks.

One international woman summed up her mental state prior to and after entrance into the sex industry. "Before I entered this business I was quite a normal person: laughed, fell in love. And then everything was gone. I was like in lethargy, I thought I didn't have the way out." Another international woman simply said, "I was diminished."

METHODS OF COPING AND RESISTANCE

This study has documented the violence, injuries and illnesses that women are subjected to in the sex industry in the United States. Although women have been severely victimized, they are not simply victims. They found many ways to cope, resist and survive the exploitation and violence.

Everyday Coping and Resistance

On a daily basis, some women reported a routine of waking in the morning, afternoon, or early evening, eating, and going to the bar or club where they "worked." One woman said, "It's a repeat cycle."

One international woman whose pimp was her husband reported that, "In the morning, as all wives, I cleaned the apartment, cooked, went shopping... Then at approximately 8:00 p.m, he took me to the disco. I had two to three clients there and then went home."

Many women endured long hours - non-stop exploitation ~ in the brothels or clubs. One U.S. woman reported being on call as many hours as the establishment was open. "He [the pimp] would keep me up and going all night." Another woman said that women would "... work everyday. No breaks, holidays, rainy days, everyday."

Social service providers reported that some women in the sex industry had to be "out there at 6:00 a.m." Still other women in the strip clubs had to be dancing by noon, when the lunch hour crowd of buyers would come in. Some women were made to engage with buyers 12-14 hours daily if the establishments were open all day. "They weren't allowed to eat properly.. If they had clients, they couldn't eat."

Women in the sex industry reported various means of confronting the realities of existence in the sex industry and surviving the abuse, exploitation and violence. Some women reported sleeping all day, watching television, spending money on clothes and perfume, crying a lot, and writing letters "that probably went nowhere." Others reported dissociating and erasing everything. One Russian woman reported that if she hadn't been so afraid of dying, she would have committed suicide.

In order to cope with unwanted sex in prostitution, women develop techniques and strategies to use with the men who buy them. One way is to minimize the amount of time spent and the kind of sexual contact they have with the men. One woman found ways to make the buyers ".. hurry up."

Men write about women's strategies in their writings on the Internet. Several men wrote: "... she was unenthusiastic for the price and complained that I was taking too long... after about two minutes she told me I had to finish... She said we have to finish up so I could shower and leave. What a bunch of Bull!"

Finally she said, 'I'm tired' and didn 't want to give me a hand job any more. Tired? And I'm her first appointment of the day? Pity the poor fool who schedules an appointment with her at 5 PM! I suspect she's not all that experienced and is used to guys cumming [sic] quickly. She didn't know what to do with a guy who can last a long time.

Analysis of Internet writings by male buyers gives glimpses of the women's aversion for the sex of prostitution, and their resistance. To the men, who are only interested in getting their money's worth, women's acts of coping and resistance are described as poor performances. Men give a woman

a bad review, maintaining that she has "an attitude," "did things reluctantly," was "unenthusiastic," "a bit cold," and failed to perform to their satisfaction.

One man's description of the woman's behavior in prostitution shows a combination of resistance and compliance. "She gives you a bit of an attitude while negotiating. She sort of wierd [sic] because after every attitude she gives you, she follows it with a smile."

For protection from male buyers in the strip clubs, one U.S. woman reported that when she left the club at night, she would dress like a boy, in very baggy clothes and a hat; or have her boyfriend meet her after hours so she would not have to walk out of the club alone.

Drugs and Alcohol

"Smoking dope" and using drugs and alcohol were common ways of coping. The numbers of women using drugs and alcohol to cope with their experiences and abuse in the sex industry is staggering. In this study, 87 percent (N=13) of the international women and 92 percent (N=24) reported using drugs and/or alcohol to cope (See Table 12). U.S. women report higher use of both alcohol and drugs than international women, with the majority using alcohol, heroin, crack, LSD and speed. Seventy-five percent of social service providers (N=15) also reported that women cope with the abuse in the sex industry by using alcohol and drugs, in the forms of marijuana, cocaine and heroin.

Table 12

Use of Drugs and Alcohol to Cope with Sexual Exploitation (Intl N=15, US N=25)

	<u>No</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Onset in Relation to Sexual Exploitation^a</u>					
					<u>Before</u>	<u>While</u>	<u>Before and While</u>	<u>Before</u>	<u>While</u>	<u>Before and While</u>
Intl	2	13	13	87	6	50%	6	50%	-	-
US	1	4	24	92	9	41%	11 ^b	50%	2	9%

^a One international and one US woman indicated that they used drugs or alcohol to cope, but didn't indicate onset.

^b Three of these women indicated that they had tried drugs or alcohol prior to being sexually exploited, but became addicted while being sexually exploited.

Although it has been generally assumed that the need for money to support a substance habit or dependency is a main reason why women are drawn into prostitution, 50 percent of international and U.S. women (N=6, N=11 respectively) who report that they used drugs and alcohol to cope with sexual exploitation began self-abusive alcohol and drug use after they entered prostitution and the sex industry. Some reported that without the drugs and/or alcohol they would not have been able to survive in the sex industry. Some reported that they used drugs and alcohol to dissociate from the reality and trauma of unwanted sex. One woman said:

I was self abusive. I hated myself and my life ...I would sleep till noon ...By 3 - 4 pm, my boyfriend/pimp would get me alcohol. I would get high before I went out on the streets at around 7-12 midnight. "

For women who abused drugs and alcohol, they engaged in prostitution "... just enough to get me through to the next morning wake up." One woman reported, "my daily goal was to feed my habit. First alcohol, then cocaine, a lot of cocaine and then eventually heroin."

Sometimes drugs were forced on women. One woman reported, "The Chinese women I heard about were drugged before being used in sex videos.. to make them relax or make them behave better."

Complying to Survive

The violence that the women experienced and witnessed affected women in profound ways. Observing others being beaten, raped and tortured imprinted the message that they were as vulnerable. Women describe being compliant with the demands of pimps and traffickers in order to preserve themselves from harm. A Russian woman, who was trafficked to New York, described frequently witnessing women around her being sadistically beaten. She explained her compliance in this way: "I don't resist because I saw others mutilated. Pimps would beat up [women] for attempts to escape, sometimes mutilate or beat [them] to death. One girl died in three days." Other women said they avoided anything that might provoke pimps, since pimps would mete out violence for no reason. One woman said it was like "walking on eggshells all the time."

U.S. women reported that the only way to get through a day was for women to keep each other sane. "We'd talk to each other a lot and compare stories and let off steam and make fun of the men." Social service providers reported that women did find support from other women, but that sometimes women would be pitted against each other. In one case in which three young South Asian girls had all been abused by one "trafficker"--a "father-figure"—the 20 year old had been "... given the task of lording it over the two younger girls.."

Social service providers and advocates reported that many women endured severe trauma and submitted until they escaped from the abuse. One woman, who did not speak English, suffered severe trauma and eventually escaped, but was arrested by the police. She was viewed as hysterical and placed in a psychiatric ward because no one could understand her or believe her story. A social service provider who assisted her said:

She... didn 't have the language to describe what had happened to her... She was traumatized and embarrassed. It was devastating to her... The psych staff viewed her as someone rather naïve about sex... They couldn 't believe that she had been brutally raped.

Leaving the Sex Industry

It is significant that 43 percent (N=6) of the U.S. women and 50 percent (N=10) of the international women responding reported that they had attempted to leave prostitution. Many of them tried multiple times (See Table 13).

Table 13

Women's Attempts to Leave Prostitution (Intl N=15, US N=25)

	<u>N.A.</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Intl	1	57	6 ^a	43
US	5	50	10 ^b	50

^a At least once (2), "many times" (1)
^b At least once (5), several times (3), fifteen times (1), "every day" (1)

Twenty-seven percent of the international women (N=4), and 52 percent of the U.S. women (N=13) stated that factors such as forcible return, stalking, physical abuse, threats of harm to themselves and their children all influenced their inability to leave. One U.S. woman described her 15 attempts to flee her pimp over the course of several years. He harassed, stalked, hunted her down and meted out severe physical punishment. In addition, women were addicted to drugs, possessed no skills or resources, and stayed in prostitution out of economic necessity (See Table 14).

Table 14
Factors that Prevented Women from Leaving the Sex Industry
(Intl N=15, US N=25)

	<u>N.A.</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Intl	8	3	20	4 ^a	27
US	10	2	8	13 ^b	52

^a Forcible return, physical abuse, threats to harm woman and children (3), drug addiction (1), no skills or resources (1)

^b Physical abuse, stalking, forcible return, threats to harm or kill (4), drug addiction (8), economic necessity (1)

Many international women were also threatened with arrest or deportation to discourage them from leaving and to exact their compliance.

Social service providers, advocates and researchers reported that the consequences to women in the sex industry who tried to leave were similar to those experienced by victims of domestic violence. They reported that women were deceived, threatened with harm to them or their families, had their children taken away, stalked, beaten, and killed.

Women attempting to leave the sex industry don't get as much assistance as they should from authorities. One social service provider reported that one woman was arrested after she had escaped her perpetrators. Another reported that the authorities do not take women's concerns seriously, so the women don't seek help there.

Women who come to the United States with military men often face a return to prostitution if abused and/or abandoned by their GI fiancés or husbands. One social service provider stated that these women had nowhere to go but to the streets "... or back into prostitution." A Korean social service provider reported, "... even the Korean community here in the U.S. rejected the women who were married to GIs [and discouraged them] from entering the churches."

Although many of the Korean prostituted women who were former military brides or fiancées are not trafficked in the classic sense, their situation raises the problem of a significant and vulnerable population of women who are readily recruited and exploited in the U.S. sex industry, often shortly after entry into the United States. Few resources are available to address their unique situation and conditions of exploitation.

INTERVIEWEES' VIEWPOINTS

Interviewees were asked their opinions on topics that are often debated, such as what are the causes of trafficking, do women enter prostitution voluntarily, and should prostitution be legalized. Since these are topics of current import for legislators and the criminal justice system, interviewees' responses are reported in this section.

Legalization of Prostitution

Worldwide, there is a debate about legalization of prostitution. Some have suggested that sex trafficking, and the violence and illnesses that are now sustained by women in the sex industry, would decrease if prostitution was regulated and/or legalized in countries such as the United States. Respondents were asked whether prostitution should be legalized, and whether governments should recognize prostitution as a form of work.

International and U.S. women who are or were in the sex industry were asked not only about the legalization of prostitution but if they would recommend the experience of prostitution for other women.

Fifty percent (N=6) of the international women said that prostitution should not be legalized or recognized as a form of work. Thirty-three percent (N=4) said yes, and 17 percent (N=2) were undecided/mixed. When they were asked if they would recommend this experience of prostitution to other women, over 50 percent of the international women said no. A number of women stated that they would never want to see their children end up in prostitution.

Sixty-seven percent (N=10) of the U.S. women responding said prostitution should not be legalized or recognized as a form of work. Eleven U.S. women did not respond to this question, and 21 percent (N=3) answered yes. When the question was asked if U.S. women would recommend their experience in the sex industry to other women, 94 percent (N=16) of those responding said no, only one woman said yes. One woman stated that in the past she had considered prostitution "very empowering work, but [now realizes] it's only a way for male society to keep women down."

Women who stated that prostitution should not be legalized spoke of it as "sexual abuse." Women reported that what underlies the lives of women in the sex industry and on the streets needs to be looked at. The reason why many women end up in prostitution is economic and the result of past sexual exploitation. "Most women who enter prostitution are sexually abused." Other women reported the enormous devastation that life in the sex industry had wrought on their lives.

[Prostitution] is terrible. The ramifications of the sex industry are so great. No human being should have to be subjected to working in the sex industry for survival. ... until you 've been there, and you experience the demoralization and dehumanization, there's no way that you could condone it.

International women who responded no to legalization and/or no to recommending the experience of prostitution to other women explained that the sex industry is not something you choose to do. One international woman described a conversation she had with a buyer in which she sarcastically commented on her choices.

One customer asked me 'Why do you do this?... Why don't you do something else. I can see you don't like it.' I said, 'I need to support my life.' He said, "... you don't have to do this.' I said, 'Oh really!'

Almost all of the women who said they supported legalization also made some contradictory statements about their experiences of being in the sex industry. One international woman who stated

that prostitution should be legalized, also said, "It's shit." Another international woman, who was undecided, said:

/ haven't come to any conclusions. I just don't want any woman to get hurt. I don't know where I am on this subject morally or politically. Personally, I had a really bad experience. Personally, I also think that if women make a choice to be involved in the sex industry there is something wrong there. Something is wrong with your perspective on regular life. Men say that it's up to women to make a choice if she wants to be in prostitution. For most cases there's some previous stuff that has happened to lead to this lifestyle.

One U.S. respondent who reported that if prostitution were legalized "it would be a lot better" stated: "It's not the kind of life that one should lead... This is a profession [where] you get manipulated and used by men. You get used to it and it becomes somewhat hard to get out."

In evaluating these responses, the position of women in prostitution in the United States has to be taken into consideration. In the United States prostitution is illegal (with the exception of two counties in Nevada), but it is usually the women who are targeted by the police. Women in prostitution are penalized and more likely to be arrested, fined and even imprisoned than the pimps who often control them or the men who buy them. In the case of international women they face deportation. Therefore, the question of legalization is compounded. Women do not want to be targeted by police, arrested, burdened with a criminal record or deported. They judge that legalization would be a way to stop those penalties that add to their victimization. But, wanting relief from fear of arrest, and not wanting a criminal record or deportation, in the case of the international women, is not the same as saying prostitution is a good or desirable job.

Law enforcement officials were also questioned about their views on legalization of prostitution. Fifty percent (N=7) of law enforcement officials responding said no, 33 percent (N=3) said yes, and two were undecided about legalization.

Causes of Trafficking

Trafficking is precipitated by economic conditions in sending countries. Depressed, stagnant and collapsed economies, high rates of unemployment, women being driven from jobs once held, as in Russia, and desperation to find a living somewhere push women to leave their countries and make them vulnerable to the recruiters and traffickers. One Ukrainian woman described a sense of hopelessness about women being able to achieve a higher standard of living, despite having an education. "... some of my girlfriends who I was involved [with] in the escort/prostitution in Russia stopped university.. Because it didn't seem that education was going to get you anywhere financially."

In response to why trafficking occurs, one health care worker reported the necessity to focus on male demand. "I think it's time overdue to educate men, instead of focusing on women.. nobody really wants to be a prostitute... It's still about the man's 'need'." If more opportunities were created for women and the image of women were changed, it would not be necessary to ask about trafficking of women.

One law enforcement official spoke in a personal way about how the trafficking situation has changed little since his Chinese grandmother was smuggled into the United States many years ago to do piecework in a sweatshop. The same official had a Chinese grandfather who came into the United States illegally through Mexico over 100 years ago. He said:

People are surprised when they hear Asians come through Mexico, but these are the same routes that have been used for years. What drew people then was what draws them now—economic prosperity and opportunity in the United States.

Many law enforcement officials cited low penalties for traffickers as a major factor in promoting trafficking. Some stated that the punishment was not commensurate to the crime, and that the penalty for trafficking drugs was higher than for trafficking human beings.

Women's Choice in Entering the Sex Industry

Most interviewees reported that choice in entering the sex industry could only be discussed in the context of other options. Most emphasized that women who were trafficked and prostituted had few other options.

Many spoke about prostitution as the last option, or as an involuntary way of making ends meet. One social service provider reported that it was not a first choice of women to go into prostitution but rather based on economic need. "Women [especially from sending countries] are also not valued for education and have very few options in the workforce to make a living." One health care provider described conditions in a refugee camp and turned the question into a commentary on what men choose to do.

In the camps I could see that... the men really will turn women into prostitutes. They will make the women work as prostitutes. They have no respect for women, but live off the earnings of the women. Most of the women in prostitution support their families back home. Women everywhere in the world— last and least.

Sixty-seven percent (N=8) of law enforcement officials expressed the opinion that women did not enter prostitution voluntarily. One law enforcement official reported that 80 percent of the women he knew are duped into thinking that they are coming to the United States for legitimate work. Another emphasized that women are recruited and often deceived. One listed the influence of childhood abuse in women's entry into prostitution. Several stated that women had no other option, and that prostitution thereby was not voluntary. One agent phrased it this way: "I can't imagine that any eight year old kid would be writing her school paper on when I grow up I want to be a prostitute."

Seventy-two percent (N=13) of the social service providers, advocates and researchers said they did not believe that women voluntarily choose to enter the sex industry. Only 11 percent (N=2) thought that women voluntarily entered prostitution; seventeen percent (N=3) were ambivalent and said that "some do, some don't" voluntarily enter prostitution.

When U.S. women were asked in retrospect if there was anything they wished they had known before being drawn into the sex industry, one woman spoke about the need for places where sexually abused kids could talk and trust someone to recognize their abuse. One U.S. woman who had been sexually abused by her father as a child wished that she knew how to respect her body.

/ wish I knew how to respect my body; I wouldn 't have gotten to this point. The ones that actually quit are the ones... finally figuring out that their bodies aren 't going to be able to take this much longer. Their teeth are falling off. I woke up one morning and I thought I had crack in my mouth and I tried to smoke with a piece of tooth and that's when I told myself-I have got to stop. A piece of tooth, that's what crack does - it just eats it up, it's horrible.

In spite of everything that women in the sex industry have endured - the physical and psychological trauma, the drugs and alcohol that many use to dull the pain of prostitution, the mistreatment and violation that many spoke about both prior to and while in prostitution, the effects on their children, families and others close to them - there was much hope and strength in some of their concluding comments.

A former mail order bride sought: "Job skills training, housing/safe relocation, [and] legal immigration status." One of international women wanted to go back to school, get a car and house, and get her kids back. A U.S. woman reported that there had been "too many men in [her] life," and

that she refused to "do that anymore. I have a lot of rough edges that I need to clean out." And, in the words of one international and one U.S. woman:

If I had an ID card that said my name— prostitute—/ couldn 't deal with that. Legalizing—No... I'm glad I quit the life, I don't need it anymore.

I feel strong today. I'm not going to say never, but right now I feel strong enough to say no.

When asked about directions for future change, some women spoke more philosophically and others spoke very practically. Their specific recommendations are contained in the next and final section of this project.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHANGE

The national anti-trafficking plan of the United States addresses prevention, protection and assistance for victims of trafficking, and prosecution of traffickers. These three elements are interconnected and involve both general approaches and very particular strategies.

Our recommendations address both general approaches and particular strategies, and are based on the premise that the three P's of prevention, protection and prosecution belong together. There will be few successful prosecutions of traffickers if specific protective measures are not provided for women. Likewise, services will fail in protecting women if traffickers and pimps are not prosecuted. Consistent prosecution and strict penalties keep women out of harm's way.

In the final section of our study, all groups interviewed were asked what their specific recommendations were relevant to the problems of sex trafficking and prostitution. Respondents were asked to address general policy questions, and more specific issues such as repatriation, residency status, safety, health and programs to serve the needs of international and U.S. women in the sex industry. All recommendations come from our interview responses and are based on data gathered through this project. Where this is not the case, it is noted.

A Human Rights Definition of Trafficking

It is the significant numbers of atypical trafficking cases that illustrate the danger in defining sex trafficking too narrowly. Rather than making the actual cases of trafficking conform to a narrow definition of trafficking, this research indicates that the circumstances of the women interviewed show that trafficking is a process. Several interviewees, as well as the directors of this study, recommend that the definition needs to conform to the reality of what happens to all women who are trafficked for purposes of sexual exploitation—across borders and within countries, into or in a country, with or without their consent, and through force, fraud, deception, or abuse of the vulnerability of a victim.

Human rights legislation against trafficking must apply to both international and U.S. women, otherwise there is a risk of depriving all women of recourse, remedy and redress. The key element of the offense of trafficking, contained in the new UN Protocol's definition of trafficking, focuses on the exploitation, not the transport or movement of a victim across a border. Therefore, U.S. women who have been domestically trafficked within the United States should also be protected by anti-trafficking legislation.

Focusing only on *international* trafficking as actionable risks stereotyping trafficking as an immigration problem, treating foreign victims of trafficking as immigration criminals, and regarding trafficking as a crime against the state rather than a crime against the person. When trafficking is defined narrowly as only applying to international women who are trafficked into U.S. sex industries from other countries, there is also the risk of increasing anti-immigrant and xenophobic sentiment and activities, because victims of trafficking, especially for prostitution, may be targeted as "undesirable and criminal aliens" crossing borders illegally for personal gain. Social service providers reported that trafficking cases involving immigrants may heighten anti-immigrant sentiments among the general public.

Law enforcement officials should focus on exploitation and not on coercion. Some prosecutors have recommended that the involuntary servitude statutes be modified to recognize financial and

psychological pressures, not just force or threats. Otherwise, the burden of proof is always on the victim to prove force.

Trafficking should not be separated from prostitution. Anti-trafficking policies and programs must address organized prostitution and domestic trafficking. Most trafficking is for prostitution, and operates within the context of domestic sex industries. International women are trafficked into domestic sex industries, and both international and U.S. women are trafficked within the United States. Findings from this project indicate that women in local prostitution industries and those who are domestically trafficked experience similar kinds of violence as internationally trafficked women and are subjected to the same and sometimes higher frequency of violence.

Education and Public Awareness

Creative resources need to be developed for raising public awareness about sex trafficking in both sending and receiving countries. Many in the general population, as well as law enforcement, social and health care providers, do not understand what trafficking is. Law enforcement officials interviewed stated that there are few initiatives to raise awareness of the problem of trafficking, especially at the local policing level, in receiving countries.

A large number of respondents recommended education and public awareness campaigns. Within sending countries, people must be made aware of the risks of trafficking, the conditions and the exploitation involved. One play designated as a best practice has been produced by the Philippines Network Against Trafficking in conjunction with the International Organization of Migration (IOM), and has been performed in many cities, towns and villages of the Philippines. Entitled *We're So Syndicated Ma'am*, and written by Maria Socorro "Soki" A. Paulin-Ballesteros, it is based on the actual experience of three Filipino women who were trafficked to Nigeria. This play raises concrete awareness about sex trafficking among the local people, because the script is realistic and the language is taken from the women themselves.

Education and public awareness campaigns on trafficking should utilize the media in many immigrant communities in the United States. As an example, Korean social service providers that were interviewed recommended that Korean radio is an excellent medium to disseminate information, and listened to by many in the Korean community.

The network of social and legal services within the violence against women community is a natural place for trafficked women to be assisted. However, women's advocates reported that more awareness is needed here also, particularly about the special needs of trafficked and prostituted immigrant women. Likewise, the few centers that exist for women in prostitution in the United States serve mostly white and some African American women.

Social service providers spoke about their need for legal knowledge about trafficking. Legal information should be disseminated to social service providers and advocates for immigrants and abused women, in an easy-to-understand format, to comprehend laws that apply to trafficking cases and include specific information on what federal agencies, departments and numbers to contact if trafficking is suspected.

Strict Penalties and Consistent, Uniform Law Enforcement

Penalties must fit the crime. Many police reported that the "problem was not criminalized enough." Overwhelmingly, law enforcement respondents asked for revisions in the sentencing guidelines to reflect the seriousness of the crime. There are higher penalties for trafficking drugs and

guns, than for selling women. Police need to know that their efforts and arrests will produce prosecution results. For example, when cases are arraigned, pimps are often back on the streets the next day.

The burden of proof should be lowered. Police report that it is currently so high that it's difficult to convict. Evidentiary standards need to change. Law enforcement respondents suggested that allowing videotapes or wiretaps to be entered into evidence would help their cases. Others advocated allowing police officers to serve as complainants. Currently, prosecution of traffickers depends on testimony from victim witnesses. Interviewees emphasized that victims must know that it is safe and worthwhile for them to testify. If victims believe traffickers will only receive a light penalty, they will not risk testifying for fear of retaliation from the traffickers or his criminal associates.

Police and social service providers recommended the increased use of civil statutes to combat the promotion and spread of sex industries in addition to criminal prosecutions. Civil remedies can cost the traffickers financially and can often be utilized in a more extensive way.

Local ordinances that clamp down, for example, on local sex venues, should also be used. Local ordinances need to be consistent and uniform.

Law enforcement officials especially recommended that jurisdictional differences within states need to be harmonized, since pimps and owners of establishments are quick to pick up on these differences.

The Women

Trafficked women should not be treated as illegal immigrants but as victims of human rights abuses and violations. Protection of victims is made nearly impossible if trafficked women first and foremost are punished as "illegal aliens."

Sex trafficking is a crime of violence against women in which women are the victims, not the criminals. This recommendation has wide support among all groups interviewed. Women in local sex industries emphasized that law enforcement should stop targeting women, who have been trafficked and prostituted, as the offenders. Victims and social service providers emphasized that women in prostitution should be decriminalized.

When international women are found in prostitution raids, some police and social service providers recommended not checking suspected women's documentation status, since they would then have the obligation to turn the women over to INS.

Social service providers recommended that women in the process of emigrating to and arriving in the United States should be made cognizant of their civil and legal rights.

Women are the key to prosecutions of traffickers. Their experiences and knowledge of trafficking and sexual exploitation is authoritative and necessary to convictions. But many immigrant women, especially those who are undocumented and who have been trafficked, are terrified of coming forward to report crimes against them because they fear being reported to the police, INS or returned to the perpetrator.

Trafficking victims are in a legal no-woman's land. One legal solution proposed by social service providers and several law enforcement officials, which would give trafficked women residency status in the United States, is the new "T" visa. This visa has been proposed for undocumented persons who have been victims of severe abuse in the United States, and who can provide material information to a crime. One thousand of these visas, also providing work authorization, will be issued yearly for

victims of crime and their families. The "T" visa will be valid for up to three years and, ultimately, can be adjusted to green card status.

Overwhelmingly, social service providers, U.S. women in the sex industry and some law enforcement officials emphasized that victims of trafficking need a range of services such as legal advocacy, shelter, transitional housing, medical and dental care, counseling services, linguistic and job training. Battered women's and rape crisis services need to expand their mission to include victims of the sex industry. Adequate resources from local, state and Federal government need to be allocated for these additional programs and services.

The Traffickers

Law enforcement and social service providers reported that the burden of proof needs to be shifted to the traffickers. Legislation must not allow traffickers to use the consent of the victim as a defense against trafficking. Law enforcement should be sensitive to the lack of options that women have who are trafficked.

Sex trafficking cases, like prostitution cases, are not given priority, according to law enforcement officials. Police must receive the resources to investigate and prosecute trafficking kingpins—the people at the top.

Social service providers, particularly those around military bases, recommended that military authorities work in concert with other government agencies, to investigate the role of U.S. military men in trafficking international women into the United States and the extent to which U.S. servicemen are directly trafficking in women or accomplices to the trafficking.

The Buyers or Prostitute-Users

Anti-trafficking measures must address the whole chain of trafficking, including its most invisible link, which is the demand that results in women and children being trafficked. The new UN *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children* calls upon countries to take or strengthen legislative and other measures to discourage this demand that fosters all forms of exploitation of women and children. Sex trafficking is linked with men's attitudes toward prostitution. Several interviewees reported that many men who buy women for sexual purposes see themselves as purchasing a service to which they are entitled, and deny that they are engaging in commercial sexual exploitation.

Women, law enforcement and social service providers recommended that it must be made more difficult for buyers to purchase women for commercial sex. Laws against buying women must be strengthened. Campaigns should be conducted warning men that buying women for sexual purposes is a crime.

Specific legal measures recommended included car forfeitures/confiscations of men arrested for soliciting, publication of buyers' names in the newspapers, and more "johns schools" where first offender buyers in certain areas of the country are "educated" about the harm of prostitution to the women, the neighborhood and themselves.

Interviewees stated that policies are needed within U.S. military contexts, both in the United States and abroad, to discourage and prohibit U.S. servicemen from buying women for prostitution. If there are policies forbidding fraternization between officers and enlisted men, there can certainly be enforceable policies that enjoin U.S. military from engaging in commercial sexual exploitation at home and abroad.

Community Involvement

Many interviewees stated that community involvement is essential to prevention, prosecution and protection. All communities, immigrant and non-immigrant, must combat trafficking and prostitution. Several interviewees mentioned grassroots organizations in Boston and Minneapolis who put pressure on public officials and police departments to stop the soliciting of women by men on the streets. Their goals are to stop sexual harassment of women and children, eliminate crime, and keep the streets free of condoms, drug paraphernalia and the constant traffic of "johns."

Social service providers emphasized that media, law enforcement and social service providers should be sensitive to the complexities of community participation. Members of immigrant communities emphasize that publication of international trafficking cases may rebound on certain ethnic communities who feel they have to resist racism and discrimination and are sensitive to criminal cases that may damage the reputation of their communities. For this reason, they may be reluctant to support victims of trafficking from within their own ethnic group and to pursue prosecution of those involved in trafficking who may come from the same ethnic group.

Victims who come from immigrant communities need community resources and victim assistance to get back on their feet. One immigrant community in Florida was given as an example of individuals and groups who came together to provide resources to victims of trafficking. Community contributions included free medical and dental care, surgery, eyeglasses, counseling, pro-bono legal services, social services, food, housing, employment training and English-language classes.

Communities should not bear the resource burden alone. There should be a joint effort of government, women's and community groups to act quickly on behalf of trafficking victims and to provide long-term assistance. Trafficked women are often in critical situations, and systems need to be quickly put in place for appropriate support.

Social service providers and several law enforcement officials said that government should work with a variety of community-based groups to design and implement victim services and support networks in various regions of the country. Victims need specialized services not now available in battered women's shelters and centers.

Coordination and Collaboration

Immigration and law enforcement officials stated that immigration and law enforcement agencies worldwide should coordinate efforts. A computerized database to share information would be helpful, not only at the international level, but at the local level as well. There should be some way of tracking U.S. men who travel to the same or different countries, and return to the United States with serial foreign fiancées or wives.

Law enforcement officials stated that more coordination and cooperation is needed between local police officers on the job, who often make trafficking arrests in conjunction with federal law enforcement agencies and prosecutors - e.g., INS and FBI along with the DA's or U.S. Attorney's office. Police officers expressed frustration at this lack of coordination and cooperation.

Women who are trafficked should be given the option to cooperate with INS. INS should cooperate with local prosecutors in not deporting victim/witnesses.

Law enforcement, immigration and social service providers should collaborate and cooperate in prevention of trafficking, protection of victims, and prosecution of traffickers. In the course of this project, the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women project coordinator was asked by INS agents to help provide services for one Russian victim/witness who needed housing, healthcare, substance

abuse assistance, legal advocacy regarding immigration status, and employment. Agents were very relieved and grateful when she was referred to one of our partner organizations.

International and inter-regional collaborations, such as joint educational programs and transnational prevention, prosecution and protection initiatives should continue so efforts are made to combat trafficking in sending, transit and receiving countries. The project directors especially recommend that NGOs working on trafficking issues in the United States should work closely with NGOs abroad. If trafficked women return, or are returned to their countries, there should be some notification and follow-up by NGOs in the women's countries to ensure that women do not end up back in the hands of recruiters and traffickers, and that they receive some assistance. Beginning from the point at which a woman crosses a border or de-planes in her country, she should be met by advocates who can offer some assistance.

Need for Culturally Appropriate Legal Strategies and Social Services

The criminal justice system must be made more immigrant-friendly. Many social service providers reported that the current system hampers victims from coming forward who fear deportation and the lack of INS assurance that victims will not be sent out of the country. International women who have been trafficked and prostituted in the U.S. sex industries reported this fear of deportation and how it had been used as a threat against them.

Social service providers, legal advocates and several victims recommended that all law enforcement and social service agencies need to have available more bilingual, bicultural staff who are able to communicate with victims, assist the development of the case and provide cultural understandings of the dynamics of the events. Trained interpreters need to be available in the court system to ensure that victims are informed of their legal rights and can fully participate in the prosecution of the case.

Some social service providers emphasized that trafficked victims should be eligible for welfare and government funding without penalty to their future immigration status. Existing law prohibits undocumented immigrants from being on welfare. Even if victims of trafficking are put on welfare, they may not be eligible for permanent immigration status later. These laws should be waived in the case of victims of trafficking.

Legal advocates and social service providers recommend that legal advocacy entities, receiving funds from the Legal Services Funds Corporation, should be allowed to represent trafficked victims in court. They pointed out that currently, funding may not be used to represent "illegal aliens" in civil and criminal cases. Restrictions must be lifted so that legal services can provide legal and immigrant representation to trafficked women.

More resources and services are needed for women in the sex industry and those who have been trafficked - e.g., witness protection programs, health care, housing, shelter, counseling, legal services and financial assistance. Existing programs that provide services to prostituted women in the United States are essential in providing women with the tools they need to lead healthy and productive lives outside of prostitution. Social service providers emphasized that such programs could be expanded and given resources to conduct outreach to internationally trafficked women and collaborate with immigrant women's organizations and services.

Services should meet the needs of specific communities in culturally appropriate ways. Basic needs such as the way food is prepared and served, sleeping accommodations and familiar home

settings are key elements that can help provide victims of trafficking with safe and comfortable environments in which they can begin to lead new lives.

Law enforcement officials need investigators and consultants - cultural advisors--who are familiar with the cultural environments of both victims and traffickers.

Several respondents recommended that more funding from the Violence Against Women Act should be made available for research, education, training and services for trafficking victims. The Crime Victims Fund should also be used to support services and shelters for trafficked women. When assets are seized from traffickers, they should be used for trafficked victims' support.

APPENDIX I INCIDENTS OF TRAFFICKING TO THE UNITED STATES

DATE	LOCATION	CASE	N	ORIGIN	DESCRIPTION
1990	Houston, TX	Cantina Case	Several	Honduras	Several Honduran women were exploited in a smuggling operation which guaranteed them safe passage and "jobs" for a fee of \$450. The women were trafficked and forced to dance and have sex with men in a cantina. The women escaped when the owner of the club suddenly died.
November 1991	Oceanside, CA	Love Shack Brothel	20	Mexico	Oceanside police shut down a prostitution ring which catered to 300 migrant farm workers. The women, who were trafficked to the U.S. from Mexico, were placed in makeshift shacks furnished only with mattresses. Instead of making arrests, local officials demolished the shacks and cleaned up the heaps of condoms and beer cans.
October 1994	Chinatown, NYC	Bowery St. Brothel	50+	Thailand	A routine inspection by city housing authorities uncovered a brothel in which over 30 women of Thai origin are imprisoned. In a subsequent raid of the premises, INS officials find barred windows, armed guards and squalid conditions. Sixteen people are arrested and convicted of various crimes related to the prostitution ring and brothel.
February 1995	Seattle, WA	Seattle Brothel	5	Thailand, Laos	Police raid a house in Seattle, suspecting that it is a brothel, and find five young prostituted Asian women. The women range in age from 20-27 and are of Thai and Laotian descent. The women had been trafficked from New York City just weeks before the bust and may have been connected to another trafficking incident in Brooklyn. The man who was found in the house with the women was taken into prison but released with no charges filed.
October 1995	Houston, TX	Bangkok Spa	8	Vietnam, Thailand	INS agents raid The Bangkok Spa and find eight young Asian women who were being held against their will. The women were locked in the brothel and forced to have sex with 5-8 men per day while trying to repay their smuggling debt. The INS became alerted to the operation when a young woman trafficked to San Francisco managed to escape. The authorities suspect that the women, who are from Thailand and Vietnam, circulated between brothels in Atlanta, Houston, and San Francisco. Three men were arrested, convicted and sentenced to fewer than five years each.
March 1996	Bethesda, MD	Russian Touch Massage	8	Russia	Police raid a massage parlor in the Washington suburb, finding several undocumented Russian immigrant women, who were expecting to have legitimate jobs in the United States and instead were prostituted. The proprietor, Gregory Baytler, was indicted on misdemeanor charges and one felony. Charges were dropped in July 1996.
May 1996	San Diego, CA	Japanese Prostitution Scam	3,000 +	Mexico, Japan, United States	In a joint investigation, Mexican and American police bust a 10-year old trafficking and prostitution ring that exploited upwards of 3,000 women. The ring, which operated out of San Diego, Tokyo and Guadalajara, had close ties with the Yakuza, the Japanese mafia. The women were brought to Japan, sold to seedy clubs and forced to cater to the sexual whims of buyers.

DATE	LOCATION	CASE	N	ORIGIN	DESCRIPTION
					Nineteen people were investigated and indicted in the bust.
May 1996	Rosemead, CA.	Rosemead Brothel	5	South and Central America	INS investigators raid a two-bedroom home in suburban Rosemead, CA. and discover five Latina women who are being held. The INS took the women into protective custody and arrested the four Asian men who were holding them captive.
October 1996	New York NY, New Jersey	Zamora-Flores Trafficking Case	Several	Mexico	Three men are brought to trial for the abduction, rape and prostitution of a 15-year-old Mexican girl. In addition, they are charged with promoting prostitution of young Latina women. In this particular case, the girl was kidnapped from her hometown in Mexico, brought to the US, and then trafficked from brothel to brothel in New York City and New Jersey.
December 1996	Los Angeles, CA	LA Escorts	4	Russia	Police arrest four Russian women from an "escort service" in Los Angeles. During interviews, the police learn that the women traveled to Mexico on tourist visas and were then trafficked into California. The women were deported and no arrests were made.
1996-1997	Lowell and Boston, MA, New Jersey, Delaware	Footman Interstate Trafficking Case	25	United States	Troy Footman is convicted on November 18, 1998 of 18 charges related to an interstate trafficking operation which sexually exploited about 25 girls. Preying on teenage runaways, the Lowell pimp trafficked the girls from Boston, New Jersey and Delaware into prostitution at truck stops all along Eastern seaboard.
1996-1997	Texas, Florida, S. Carolina	Cadena Trafficking Case	20+	Mexico	Two 15 year-old Mexican girls escape from a brothel in Miami and flee to the Mexican consulate. An investigation by the Justice Department reveals a well-organized trafficking network from Veracruz, Mexico to Texas, Florida and South Carolina, which enslaved over 20 young Mexican women in 18 months. The women, endured repeated rapes, beatings, and were forced to undergo abortions. In spring, 1999, Rogerio Cadena was sentenced to 15 years in prison and ordered to pay \$1 million in restitution. In all, sixteen people were charged; seven of those were sentenced to 6 and a half years in prison and 8 remain at large.
Sept 1997	Midway City & Los Angeles, CA	Midway City Brothel	2+	Thailand	A police raid uncovers an organized crime syndicate trafficking young Thai women to the United States. The women must repay a smuggling fee of \$40,000 by engaging in prostitution. The police arrested six people and turned over two women to the INS. It is suspected that the house was part of a larger operation which traffics women all over the West Coast.
Sept 1997	San Jose, CA	San Jose Brothel	24+	Thailand, Malaysia	The Royal Canadian Mounted Police and INS complete a series of raids in San Jose and Toronto, arresting 30 people. The raids are the culmination of an 11-month investigation into a highly organized North American trafficking ring which lured dozens of young Thai and Malaysian women to Canada and the U.S. to engage in prostitution. The women were brought into Vancouver and then trafficked to brothels in Toronto, San Jose and Los Angeles.

DATE	LOCATION	CASE	N	ORIGIN	DESCRIPTION
December 1997	Portland, OR	Child Trafficking and Prostitution	2	Canada	Two Canadian girls, ages 13 and 14, were placed in protective custody after one managed to call 911. The two were brought across the US - Canadian border at Bellingham, WA by two Americans who purchased the teenagers for \$3000 from a Vancouver man. The American men, Adam Ingram and Kevin Woods, intended to take the girls to San Diego, where they would force them to serve in an escort business. The two Americans were charged with interstate prostitution under the Mann Act.
March 1998	Atlanta, GA (AZ, CA, CO, DC, FL, IL, IN, KY, MA, MD, NV, OH, PA, TN, TX)	Atlanta Trafficking Ring	500-1000	China, Korea, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam,	FBI agents raid a house in Atlanta, finding eight girls, aged 15 and 16, being held in prison-like conditions. The brothel turns out to be only one in a network which operated in 16 states. At the conclusion of a 2-year investigation, the FBI estimated that up to 1,000 women had been rotated through brothels in 16 states, with some brothels grossing over \$1.5 million dollars in a 28 months. According to FBI agents, the women were trafficked between cities every week to ten days. In August 1999, 6 out of 13 people who were indicted in the case were arrested. The others remain at large.
Spring 1998	Northern Mariana Islands	Trafficking in Saipan	Unknown	China, Philippines, Russia	An undercover group working for the US Dept. of Interior published a report noting several human rights violations occurring in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. Among the conclusions of the report included evidence that minors from the Philippines and China were being trafficked for the purposes of prostitution and that more than 100 Russian women were trafficked for work in brothels.
Fall 1998	Daly City, CA	Daly City Trafficking Ring	5	Malaysia	Huang Ming Ma and Johnson Li were arrested and indicted for their involvement in a trafficking ring which charged illegal immigrant women \$5,000 for entrance into the United States. The women were expected to pay this fee by engaging in prostitution.
November 1998	Providence, and Pawtucket, RI	Club Osaka-Sports Therapy Case	6	Southeast Asia	Providence Police raid a brothel that had been disguised as a health club. The police arrest seven people including the brothel owner and six young women, aged 24-35, from Southeast Asia who were working as unpaid prostitutes in the club, known as Club Osaka. In interviews, the women reveal that they were expected to pay \$10,000 for transportation to the United States. Local officials dropped charges and the case was adopted federally in 1999. In a related case, Pawtucket police busted a similar operation, called Sports Therapy, arresting four people on prostitution charges.
November 1998	Fresno, CA, Denver, CO, Beaverton, OR	Hmong Gang Case	15	Southeast Asia	Nine members of a Hmong gang in California are arrested in connection with a crime ring that turned young Asian girls into prostitution. Though the gang is based in Fresno, California, the girls were found in Denver and the police suspect that the gang also has connections in Oregon. The girls, aged 11-14, were kidnapped and raped repeatedly until they were willing to submit. Eighteen members of the Hmong gang were indicted in the case.
June 1998-	Long Beach, and San Gabriel, CA	Long Beach	4	Mexico	Police raid a residence in Long Beach and find four women, aged 14, 18, 20, and 23 in prostitution. All of Mexican descent, the women had been working for months to pay off their

DATE	LOCATION	CASE	N	ORIGIN	DESCRIPTION
January 1999		Brothel			smuggling debt. The women agreed to testify, although they will likely be deported. Sammy Cheung, the owner of the brothel, pleaded guilty and was sentenced on September 27, 1999. Vu Tieng-Phou, manager of the brothel, was acquitted in July 1999.
March 1999	Swanton, VT	Vermont Smuggling Case	5	Korea	U.S. border patrol arrests nine Koreans as they attempt to cross into the United States from Canada. Five of those arrested were women, aged 20-30 who were bound for New York City, Georgia or Chicago to engage in prostitution. According to police, the women were expected to pay a \$30,000 smuggling fee for their passage from Korea to Canada to the United States.
August 1999	Based in Minneapolis, MN (AL, AK, AZ, CO, GA, IA, IL, KS, KY, MO, NC, NV, NM, OH, OK, SD, TN, TX, WA, WS, WV)	Evans Family Trafficking Network	50	U.S.	FBI uncovered an interstate trafficking ring based in Minneapolis, MN. The ring was organized by members of the Evan family and had operated for 17 years. Young teenage girls were forced into prostitution and controlled with repeated rapes, beatings and death threats. The girls were trafficked to other states to maintain variety for the buyers. Fifteen men were arrested and received sentences ranging from two to forty-five years in Federal prison.
August 1999	San Diego, CA	San Ysidro Border Crossing	10+	Russia	Two young Russian women and a Russian-American man were stopped at the US-Mexican border and accused of using false immigration documents. The incident led to charges against the man and his wife, who stand accused of running an international prostitution ring. According to INS investigators, the couple trafficked women from Moscow to brothels in Southern, CA.
Sept 1999	Denver, CO Indiana	Acapulco Pedophile Ring	4+	Mexico	A Denver school teacher, Michael Smith, and at least five other Americans stand accused of owning a house in Acapulco, Mexico for the purpose of vacations which included having sex with young Mexican boys. Smith had managed to bring three boys back to the US to live with him as had other men in the alleged ring. According to federal agents, the men regularly exchanged pornographic photographs and videos via the internet. Smith is presently incarcerated and faces five years in prison if convicted.
October 1999	South Florida	Operation Bonsai	Several	Thailand, China, Malaysia	FBI agents announced the arrest five members of an Asian organized crime group that operated out of South Florida. Among other illicit activities, the gang specialized in transporting Asian women who were pressed into prostitution to pay off their smuggling debt.
December 1999	Seattle, WA	Organized Crime Network	Unknown	Eastern Europe	US and Canadian officials break up an extensive international organized crime ring. Police say that the organization operated out of Seattle and Toronto and their activities included drug trafficking, money laundering and prostitution. Three-dozen eastern Europeans were arrested in the sweep and all face numerous criminal charges.

DATE	LOCATION	CASE	N	ORIGIN	DESCRIPTION
December 1999	Chicago, IL	Chicago Strip Clubs	5	Latvia	FBI busts an organized crime ring which recruited Latvian women into strip clubs in the Chicago area and then confiscated their passports. The women had to strip six days a week and received only a fraction of their earnings. Some of the women were sold into prostitution and others were sold outright to strip club patrons. Alex Mishulovich, a Russian immigrant, pleaded guilty on December 3 and will testify against a co-conspirator, Vadim Gorokhovski. All of the women were deported to Latvia.
January 2000	Honolulu, HI	Internet	4	Japan	After a six-month investigation of an alleged smuggling ring, federal officials discover an internet pornography scheme which uses Japanese women as "hostesses" in pornographic chat rooms. Police raided an apartment in which four women lived on the set of an internet studio. Four men, three Japanese nationals and one American, were charged with conspiracy to smuggle aliens which carries a maximum 10-year penalty. The four women in the case were also arrested and each face six months in prison.
January 2000	Berkeley, CA	Berkeley Landlord	3	India	A prominent Berkeley landlord and businessman is charged with numerous offenses after an investigation into the carbon monoxide poisoning of two of his tenants in late 1999. Lakireddy Bali Reddy is accused of purchasing three teenage girls and bringing them to the US for sexual exploitation. The oldest of the girls died of the carbon monoxide poisoning, and an autopsy revealed that she was pregnant when she died. In March 2001, Lakireddy pleaded guilty to charges of illegally bring young girls from India to California for sex. He was ordered to pay \$2 million in restitution to a group of East Indian women imported for sexual slavery and low-wage work in his businesses and, in a plea bargain, has received 5-6 years in prison.
April 2000	Los Angeles, CA	"Got" Trafficking Case	Unknown	Thailand, China	Immigration agents at Los Angeles International Airport seized a 2-year-old Thai boy when it became clear that two people posing to be his parents were using him as a "human decoy". The trafficker was escorting Chinese women into the US for prostitution. The trafficker and the woman deported before officials could determine the extent of the trafficking network. The boy, nicknamed "Got," was taken into protective custody
May 2000	Detroit, MI	Project Squeeze Play	400	China	INS arrested several Canadians involved in an immigrant smuggling scheme which specialized in procuring false documents and moving Chinese across the border via the Detroit airport. According to the indictment, many of the women were bound for prostitution in order to pay back their transport fee. Five Canadians and two Chinese nationals were indicted in the case and are out on bail, awaiting trial.

DATE	LOCATION	CASE	N	ORIGIN	DESCRIPTION
1 y 2000	Houston, TX	Operation "Little Dragon"	700+	China, Thailand	Federal agents broke up an international trafficking ring based in Bangkok, Thailand. The ring lured Chinese and Thai women to Houston where they were told they would work in "modeling studios." Instead, the women were pressed into prostitution and forced to pay a \$40,000 smuggling fee. Members of the ring, who face charges ranging from conspiracy to transporting women for the purpose of prostitution, claim to have trafficked upwards of 100 people per month into Texas. Of seven who were charged in the case, three pleaded guilty, two await trial, and two remain at large.
1 y 2000	Atlantic City, NJ	Sun Gold Massage Parlor	8	Thailand, Korea	Atlantic City police raided a massage parlor that was being used as a front for prostitution. Police found over \$30,000 in cash and took eight Asian immigrant women into protective custody. It is suspected that the brothel was one on a circuit between Atlantic City, Philadelphia, and New York City. According to investigators, the women frequently wired money to Los Angeles. The brothel manager, a Korean-American man, was charged with promoting prostitution.
Sept 2000	San Francisco, CA, Los Angeles, CA, Denver, CO, Atlanta, GA, Boston, MA, Minneapolis, MN, New York, NY	Operation "Jade Blade"	Unknown	Malaysia, China, Thailand	In an undercover sting known as "operation Jade Blade," the FBI arrested five co-conspirators in an Asian prostitution ring that spanned the country. Women and men were trafficked into the US and forced to work as prostitutes to repay their debt. They were trafficked from city to city every 2-3 weeks. None of the five have been brought to trial yet; most of the victims have been deported.
October 2000	Miami, FL, Boston, MA, Cleveland, OH, Seattle, WA	Teen Interstate Trafficking Case	10+	United States	Tracey James Barnes was convicted of violating the Mann Act in October 2000 and sentenced to nearly twenty years in prison. The pimp lured teenagers from around the country into prostitution and maintained control over them with violence and threats. The girls were moved frequently, making \$20,000/week for Barnes.
November 2000	Seattle, WA	Operation "Pacific Breeze"	100s	Korea	A year long investigation culminated in the arrest and indictment of a man thought to be the ringleader of a scheme that trafficked as many as 40 Korean immigrants per month across the border between the US and Canada. According to authorities, each of the immigrants were expected to front \$3000 and many of them were known to be in prostitution.

APPENDIX II QUESTIONNAIRES

Questionnaire for International and U.S. Women in the Sex Industry in the U.S.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

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

METHODS OF RECRUITMENT

1. How did you get involved in the sex industry? Describe your expectations or understanding of what you would be doing.
2. Were you recruited by someone or was there a person(s) who was involved in getting you to come to the U.S.? By whom? Friend/Neighbor, Spouse/Partner, Family member, Stranger, Business/Agency, Print/Media advertisement, Other, explain.
3. Were others recruited with you? If so, how many?
4. How much money were you promised?
5. Did you sign a contract? If yes, for how long?
6. Were you/your family/anyone else paid any money ahead of time? If so, how much?
7. Did you have to pay it back? If yes, how were you told you'd have to pay it back?
8. Did the agreement remain the same once you arrived in the US? If no, please explain.
9. Were you prostituted in your hometown, country or other countries before entering the US?
10. If yes, where were you in prostitution? Outside the U.S.? Describe establishment e.g. bar, massage parlor; etc. Description of location(s) e.g. rural, urban, island, military base, entertainment strip, etc.
11. At what age did you begin in the sex industry?
12. In retrospect, is there anything you wished you had known before committing to this arrangement/being recruited?

METHODS OF MOVEMENT

1. Describe your travel experience to the US.
Paid for own travel? If no, who paid? How much? Travel alone? If no, in a group? Number in group?
Smuggled/Illegal? If yes, please explain
Were they all traveling for the same purpose?
Type of Visa? Tourist, Work permit, Student, Unknown, Other.
Sponsor? If yes, who sponsored?
2. Did you have access to your travel documents at all times? If no, who held?
3. Did you know what the requirements to travel and work outside your home country were?

4. Did you have access to any financial resources?
5. Once in the US, where did they put you?
6. Were you moved from place to place in the US? Outside of the US? If yes, where you were transported?
7. Once in the US, were you free to move about as you pleased? If no, please describe.

METHODS OF INITIATION

1. Did you work anywhere else in the U.S. before entering the sex industry? If yes, what did you do?
2. What was the first sex business you were put into? What did you do after that?
3. Describe the establishment(s) where you were prostituted in the U.S.? Where? Type (e.g. bar, club, street, etc.)
4. How did you learn to do the sex acts?
5. Did you start out by yourself or were there other women who went through initiation or training with you?
6. Was there any violence inflicted on you when you first started? Were you forced to do things you were uncomfortable with?

Physical violence	Yes	No	Frequency _____	Describe
Sexual assault	Yes	No	Frequency _____	Describe
Verbal threats	Yes	No	Frequency _____	Describe
Death threats	Yes	No	Frequency _____	Describe
Use of weapons	Yes	No	Frequency _____	Describe
Usage of drugs/alcohol	Yes	No	Frequency _____	Describe
Other				Describe
7. What would happen if you resisted or tried to leave?

METHODS OF CONTROL

1. In your opinion, did you have freedom? Were you free to leave or return home or find employment elsewhere?
2. If you did not have freedom, please describe who controlled you and how you were kept from having personal freedom/rights

Physical violence	No	Yes	Frequency _____	Describe
Sexual assault	No	Yes	Frequency _____	Describe
Psychological abuse	No	Yes	Frequency _____	Describe
Verbal threats	No	Yes	Frequency _____	Describe
Death threats to you/family	No	Yes	Frequency _____	Describe
Use of weapons	No	Yes	Frequency _____	Describe
Usage of drugs/alcohol	No	Yes	Frequency _____	Describe
Isolation/confinement/restraints	No	Yes	Frequency _____	Describe
Other				Describe
3. Were you allowed contact with family or friends?
4. Were you ever allowed to move about outside of the establishment on your own? (e.g. go to the store, hospital, take days off)
5. Did you witness others being beaten/harmed? If yes, describe how many women and how often.
6. Did you ever see or hear of anyone being killed? If yes, describe who and how often.

METHODS OF COPING AND RESISTANCE

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

History of Abuse

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

EXPERIENCE WITH OTHERS INVOLVED IN THE INDUSTRY

A. Experience with Pimps/Recruiters/Traffickers

1. If applicable, who were your pimping agents?
2. Do you know where your recruiters/pimps originated from? US? Home country? Elsewhere?
3. How many were there?
4. Were they employed or connected with the place that you worked at?
5. Do you know if your recruiters/pimps operated independently or were involved in any other criminal activity?
6. Do you know if they were involved in any other type of business? If yes, please describe.
7. Who told you what to do on a daily basis?
8. Who did they report to?
9. Who was the boss?
10. Who owned the establishment?
11. Who collected the money?
12. Who else worked there? What did they do?
13. Were there other women who were not prostitutes who worked in the establishment?
14. Did any of these people above ever assault you or threaten your safety/life?

B. Experience with Buyers

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

C. Experience with Other Women in Prostitution

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

EXPERIENCE WITH OUTSIDE AGENCIES, SERVICES

Medical/Health

A. Health effects

1. Did you ever receive any injuries? If yes, what type of injury? Broken bones, Bruises, Head injury,

- Mouth/teeth injuries, Vaginal bleeding, How much? How often? Other hemorrhage? Explain.
2. Did you become very ill while in the sex industry? Chronic pain, Loss of appetite/Nausea, Exhaustion, Other.
 3. Did you have to go to the emergency room/hospital?
 4. While in the industry did you know about birth control and infection prevention?
 5. Did you use any form of birth control at that point?
 6. Did you ever have any sexually transmitted infections? Did you have any symptoms? (e.g. bleeding during intercourse, itching, burning, sores, warts)
 7. When the men used condoms, did the condoms ever irritate you/make you uncomfortable?
 8. Did you bleed?
 9. Did the condoms ever break?
 10. Were you ever told that you might get HIV or other sexually transmitted infections from prostitution?
 11. Have you ever been tested for HIV or any other diseases?
 12. Did you ever get pregnant while in the industry?
 13. If yes, did you ever have to have an abortion/were forced to abort? Or did you have the child?
Number of live births, Number of children, Number of abortions.
 14. If you had the child/children, where are they now?
 15. How would you describe your own emotional well being? Depressed, Unable to feel, Hopeless, Difficulty sleeping, Nightmares, Easily startled/always on guard, Rage, Self blame/guilt, Other.
 16. Are you currently suicidal?
 17. Have you felt suicidal while in the sex industry?
 18. Did you try to kill yourself while in the sex industry? If so how many times?
 19. Have you/are you using drugs or alcohol? If so, when and why did you start using?

B. Health provision

1. Did the pimps or owners of the establishment ever bring in a doctor to the establishment? If so, when did that happen?
2. Do you think he/she was a real doctor?
3. Were you ever seen at a particular health center/hospital? If yes, where?
4. If yes, was your medical provider aware of your situation in prostitution?
5. Did you ever have to have sex with your medical provider?
6. Were you ever referred to any social services from the hospital?

Law Enforcement

1. Have you ever had to deal with law enforcement agencies/police in the US? Outside the US?
2. If so how did you come to have contact with the police? Through a raid, Sought assistance yourself, Other.
3. Describe your experiences with law enforcement in the US.
Were you charged with any crime?
Detained?
Bailed out? If yes by whom?
4. If you were detained where were you held?
5. What were the conditions of this place?
6. Were you required to appear in court?
7. Were you informed of your legal rights? Appointed an attorney?
8. Was information presented to you in a way that you could understand?
9. Were you ever referred to any social services from the police station?
10. Describe the events, outcome or status of your case.
11. Did you ever have to have sex with any law enforcement agent?

Immigration

1. Have you ever had to deal with Immigration Naturalization Services?
2. If so, how did you come to have contact with them? Through a raid, At airport, Other.
3. Please describe your experience and involvement with them.
4. Were you detained/held by INS at any time?
Were you charged with any crime?
Detained?
Bailed out? If yes by whom?
5. If you were detained where were you held?
6. What were the conditions of this place?
7. Were you required to appear in court?
8. Were you informed of your legal rights? Able to secure an attorney?
9. Was information presented to you in a way that you could understand?
10. Describe the events, outcome or status of your case.
11. Were you ever referred to any social services from the INS?
12. Did you ever have to have sex with any INS agents?

Social Service /Advocacy Agencies

1. Have you ever dealt with any advocacy or social service agencies? If yes, please describe which agency.
2. Was the agency knowledgeable about how to deal with your situation?
3. Was information presented to you in a way that you could understand?
4. What relief was sought or what services were provided to you?

Shelter/homeless or battered women's	Legal services
Substance abuse treatment	Religious support
Child Protection Services	Law enforcement
Support Group	Housing
Mental health services	Job skills
Financial aid for relocation, etc	Healthcare
Other	
5. Did you ever have to have sex with any social service providers?

FUTURE GOALS/RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Are you in or out of the sex industry at this point?
2. Do you feel that you are safe from your pimps/establishment? If no, what do you need to be safe?
3. What do you see as the best option for yourself presently and in the future?
4. What do you need to be able to achieve these goals? Education, Job skills training, Financial aid, Housing/Safe relocation, New identity, Asylum, Other, please describe.
5. Would you ever recommend this experience for other women? Please explain.
6. Would you ever want for your daughters or your sisters to ever have to be in the sex industry?
7. What do you think needs to change to make things better for women in your situation or women who may find themselves in this situation?
8. Some have suggested that prostitution should be legalized and considered a job. Do you think that governments should recognize prostitution as a form of work?
9. What do you think needs to happen to: Trafficked women? Traffickers? Buyers? Establishments involved in sex trade?
10. What do you feel would be necessary to stop sex trafficking in this country? Education/informational campaigns, Service coordination/collaboration, Change in laws, Consistent/uniform enforcement, Stricter penalties for traffickers, Other.
11. Do you believe that the laws and penalties for this crime adequately address the issue?

Questionnaire for Law Enforcement and Immigration and Naturalization Service Officials

THE SEX INDUSTRY

1. Tell me about the sex industry in this metropolitan area?
2. How many establishments are there?
3. Who controls it?
4. Where is it located in the city?
5. Are there establishments that cater to certain communities? What are they?
6. What method of advertising is used by the industry? Print media, Internet, Brokers, Travel industry, Clubs/bars, Other.
7. To what extent is the sex industry controlled by organized crime?
8. Are women being trafficked into this area? If yes, what indicators do you have of that?
9. Where in the US do you think trafficked women first enter the US?
10. What are the main destination points for trafficked women?
11. Have you worked on cases involving:
 - Trafficked women? From the US? From outside the US?
 - Traffickers? From the US? From outside the US?
 - Organized crime rings involved in sex trafficking? From the US? From outside the US?
 - Buyers? From the US? From outside the US?
12. Tell me about the cases you've had.
13. If you have, how did you come to have contact with the people listed above? Through a raid, Walk-in victim seeking assistance, Other.
14. Have there been arrests or were they charged with any crime? If yes, describe charges.
 - How many times?
 - Detained?
 - Bailed out? If yes, who posted bail?
15. What are your practices and policies around the detention/prosecution? Describe arrest/legal procedure practiced by your department with regards to: Trafficked women, Traffickers, Organized crime agents, Buyers.
16. What percentage of each category are detained, released, convicted and deported? Trafficked women?
 - Traffickers? Organized Crime Members? Buyers?
 - Trafficked women*
 - Length of detention
 - Returned to their home country?
 - Convicted of crime/s?
 - Traffickers*
 - Length of detention
 - Returned to their home country?
 - Convicted of crime/s?
 - Buyers*
 - Length of detention
 - Returned to their home country?
 - Convicted of crime/s?
 - Organized crime members*
 - Length of detention
 - Returned to their home country?

Convicted of crime/s?

17. If they are held, where are they detained?
18. Did they appear in court after bail? If no, what do you think happened with them?
19. What kind of safety planning do you do with women in the sex industry who come in seeking assistance from your agency?
20. If the perpetrators of trafficking are also apprehended at the same time as the victims of trafficking, are there any measures taken to assure safety of the women from their perpetrators while in detention centers?
21. Are there any measures for protection/anonymity of women given while they are in detention or case is in progress?
22. Are individual embassies responsible for the deportation and deportation costs of those convicted? What about the deportation costs for the victims?
23. Do you refer women in the sex industry and trafficked women to other services? If yes, what services?
24. What information would be useful to you in the work that you do around trafficking and trafficked women in the sex industry?
25. Is there anything else you would like to tell us about the sex industry and trafficked women?

KNOWLEDGE OF PIMPS/RECRUITERS/TRAFFICKERS

1. Who are the pimps/recruiters/traffickers?
2. Nationality of pimps/recruiters/traffickers?
3. Do traffickers/recruiters/pimps operate independently or are involved in any other criminal activity?
4. Numbers of pimps/recruiters/traffickers within one ring?
5. Are they involved in any other type of business? If yes, please describe.
6. Who controls the money that buyers pay women?
7. Who are the women working in the industry? Describe age, nationality etc.
8. Who owns the sex establishments where trafficked women are placed?

PROFILE OF BUYERS

1. Describe the buyers of women in the sex industry.
 - Age range
 - Race/Nationalities
 - Occupation
 - Highest level of education
 - Marital Status
2. How many men do women have to provide sex to in a day?
3. Do sex establishments screen buyers for diseases/cleanliness?
4. Do the establishments control men's abuse of the women?
5. Describe trends in whom buyers prefer? (with regards to age, race, standards of beauty, etc.)
6. Is there anything else you would like to tell us about the sex industry?

METHODS OF RECRUITMENT OF TRAFFICKED WOMEN

1. How do women get involved in sex trafficking?
2. Are women typically recruited by someone or was there a person(s) who was involved in getting them to go to the U.S.? Friend/Neighbor, Spouse/Partner, Family member, Stranger, Business/Agency, Print/Media Advertisement, Other, explain.
3. Are women recruited in groups? If so, how many are recruited at a time?
4. How much money are they told they will make?
5. Do they sign a contract? If yes, for how long?
6. Were they/their family/anyone else paid any money ahead of time? If so, how much?
7. Did they have to pay it back? If yes, how were they told they'd have to pay it back?
8. Did the agreement remain the same once they arrived in the US? If no, please explain.

9. Were they in prostitution in their hometown, country or other countries before entering the US? If yes, were they in prostitution? Outside the U.S? Describe establishment (e.g. bar, massage parlor). Describe the location(s) (e.g. rural, urban, island, military base, entertainment strip)
10. What is the age range for trafficked women?
11. Are you aware of what individuals/gangs/organizations are trafficking women into this country?
12. Are there indicators that tip you off as to whether or not an individual/gang/organization is involved in sex trafficking? If yes, what are they?

METHODS OF MOVEMENT OF TRAFFICKED WOMEN

1. Describe the conditions or circumstances under which women were brought into the U.S.?
 - Mode of travel
 - Paid for own travel? If no, who paid? How much?
 - Smuggled/Illegal? If yes, please describe.
 - Travel alone? If not, in a group? Number in group?
 - Visas type? Tourist, Work permit, Student, None, Other.
 - Sponsor? If yes, who was the sponsor?
2. Do women have access to their travel documents at all times? If no, who held?
3. When they arrive in the U.S., do they have access to any financial resources?
4. Once in the US, are you aware of what happens to these women? Where were they placed?
5. Describe the establishment(s) where trafficked women are in prostitution? Where? Typical areas (e.g. urban, rural, red light districts, suburban, isolated, within district heavily populated by new immigrants), Other.
 - Type (e.g. clubs, massage parlors, warehouses, hotels, residences, street)
6. Are they typically moved from place to place in the US? Outside of the US? If yes, where are they transported?
7. Once in the US, are they free to move about? If no, please describe e.g. Confined, aware of surroundings

METHODS OF INITIATION

1. Do women work elsewhere in the U.S. or do other types of work before entering the sex industry/prostitution? If yes, what did they do?
2. What was the first sex business they were drawn or put into? And what did they do consequently?
3. Are they abused or threatened when they first start?

Pimps/Recruiters/Traffickers

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

Buyers

Physical violence	No	Yes	Frequency _____	Describe
Sexual assault	No	Yes	Frequency _____	Describe
Psychological abuse	No	Yes	F r e q u e n c y _____	Describe
Verbal threats	No	Yes	Frequency _____	Describe
Death threats to them/family	No	Yes	Frequency _____	Describe
Use of weapons	No	Yes	Frequency _____	Describe
Use of drugs/alcohol	No	Yes	Frequency _____	Describe
Isolation/confinement/restraints	No	Yes	Frequency _____	Describe

Other

Describe

METHODS OF CONTROL

1. Are women free to leave the industr
2. If women are not free, describe how and by whom they were controlled?

Pimps/Recruiters/Traffickers

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

Buyers

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

3. Were they allowed contact with anyone outside of the sex industry? (e.g. family, friends)
4. Have women described witnessing other women in prostitution being beaten/harmed? If yes, describe circumstances and how often this happened.
5. Do you know if trafficked women are killed while in the industry? If yes, describe who and how often

PROFILE OF TRAFFICKED WOMEN

1. Estimated numbers of women you see (individual and overall case counts)
2. Age range
3. Language(s) spoken
4. Nationality/Countries/State of origin
5. Description of hometown/location of origin (geographical, political/economy)
6. Highest level of education
7. Past work experience
8. Economic status (in home country)
9. Number of dependants
10. Residency/immigration status

FUTURE GOALS/RECOMMENDATIONS

1. What are the causes of trafficking? Who or what factors do you believe are responsible for this problem?
2. Do you think that most women voluntarily choose to enter the sex industry?
3. Some have suggested that prostitution should be legalized and considered a job. Do you think that governments should recognize prostitution as a form of work?
4. Do you think that once they get out of the industry they are safe from the pimps? If not, what do they need to be safe?

5. What do women need in order not to fall prey to this type of situation?
6. What do you think needs to happen in the criminal justice or immigration system to Trafficked women? Traffickers? Buyers? Establishments involved in sex trade?
7. What do you feel would be necessary to stop sex trafficking in this country? Education/informational campaigns, Service coordination/collaboration, Change in laws, Consistent/uniform enforcement, Stricter penalties for traffickers, Other.
8. Do you believe that the laws and penalties for this crime adequately address the issue?
9. Do agencies work together around issues of sex trafficking? If no, explain why

Questionnaire for Social Service Providers, Researchers and Advocates

BACKGROUND

1. How big a problem is trafficking?
2. In your opinion, what are the causes of trafficking? Who or what factors do you believe are responsible for this problem?
3. Do you think that most women voluntarily choose to enter the sex industry?
4. Where in the US do you think trafficked women first enter the US?
5. What are the main destination points for trafficked women?
6. What method of advertising is used by the industry? Print media, Internet, Brokers, Travel industry, Clubs/bars, Other.
7. In your opinion is the sex trade linked with organized crime?
8. In your experience do agencies work together around issues of sex trafficking? If no, explain why.

GENERAL PROFILE OF TRAFFICKED WOMEN

1. In your experience, how many trafficked women on average have you discovered working in a raided establishment? Describe some recent cases.
2. Describe how these women interacted and communicated with each other?
3. Were there other trafficked women who were non-prostitutes who worked in the establishment?

PROFILE

1. Estimated numbers of women you see (individual and overall case counts)
2. Age range
3. Language(s) spoken
4. Nationality/Countries/State of origin
5. Description of hometown/location of origin (geographical, political/economy)
6. Highest level of education
7. Past work experience
8. Economic status (in home country)
9. Number of dependants
10. Residency/immigration status

METHODS OF RECRUITMENT

1. How do you believe women get involved in sex trafficking?
2. Are women typically recruited by someone or was there a person(s) who was involved in getting them to go to the U.S.? Friend/Neighbor, Spouse/Partner, Family member, Stranger, Business/Agency, Print/Media advertisement, Other. Explain.
3. Are women recruited in groups? If so, how many are recruited at a time?
4. How much money are they promised?
5. Do they sign a contract? If yes, for how long?
6. Were they/their family/anyone else paid any money ahead of time? If so, how much?
7. Did they have to pay it back? If yes, how were they told they'd have to pay it back?
8. Did the agreement remain the same once they arrived in the US? If no, please explain
9. Were they prostituted in their hometown, country or other countries before entering the US? If yes, where did they prostitute? Outside the U.S? Describe establishment(s). Description of location(s) (e.g. rural, urban, island, military base, entertainment strip)
10. At what age do women typically begin in the sex industry?
11. Are you aware of what individuals/gangs/organizations are trafficking women into this country?

- Are there indicators that tip you off as to whether or not an individual/gang/organization is involved in sex trafficking?

METHODS OF MOVEMENT

- Describe travel experience of trafficked women to the US or the way in which traffickers and trafficked women gain or attempt to gain entry into the U.S.
- Paid for own travel? If not, who paid? How much?
Smuggled/Illegal? If yes, please describe.
Travel alone? If not, in a group? Number in group?
Were they all traveling for the same purpose?
Visas held? Tourist, Work permit, Student, None, Other.
Sponsor? If yes, who sponsors?
- Do women have access to their travel documents at all times? If no, who held?
- Do the women know what the requirements to travel and work outside their home country were?
- Do they have access to any financial resources?
- Once in the US, are you aware of what happens to these women? Where were they placed?
- Describe the establishment(s) where women were prostituted? Typical areas (e.g. urban, rural, red light districts, suburban, isolated, within district heavily populated by new immigrants, other) Type (e.g. clubs, massage parlors, warehouses, hotels, residences, street)
- Are they typically moved from place to place in the US? Outside of the US? If yes, where are they transported?
- Once in the US, are they free to move about? If no, please describe e.g. Confined, aware of surroundings

METHODS OF INITIATION

- Do you know if women work anywhere else in the U.S. or doing other types of work before entering the sex industry/prostitution? If yes, what did they do?
- What was the first sex business they were put into? And what did they do consequently?
- How do they learn to do the sex acts?
- Do they start out by themselves or are there other women who go through initiation or training?
- Is there any violence inflicted on them when they first start or are they forced to do things they are uncomfortable with?

Physical violence	Yes	No	Frequency_____	Describe
Sexual assault	Yes	No	Frequency_____	Describe
Verbal threats	Yes	No	Frequency_____	Describe
Death threats	Yes	No	Frequency_____	Describe
Use of weapons	Yes	No	Frequency_____	Describe
Usage of drugs/alcohol	Yes	No	Frequency_____	Describe
Other			Describe	
- What would happen if they resist or try to leave?

METHODS OF CONTROL

- In your opinion, do women have freedom to choose whether or not to enter, remain or leave the industry?
Are they free to return home or find another job?
- If they did not have freedom, please describe by whom and how they are controlled?

Physical violence	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Sexual assault	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Psychological abuse	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Verbal threats	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Death threats to you/family	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Use of weapons	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe

Usage of drugs/alcohol	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Isolation/confinement/restraints	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Other, describe				

3. Were they allowed contact with anyone outside of the industry, family or friends or to move about outside of the establishment on their own?
4. Were they ever allowed to move about outside of the establishment on their own? (e.g. go to the store, hospital, take days off)
5. Have you heard of women witnessing others being beaten/harmed? If yes, describe how many women and how often.
6. Do you know if trafficked women have been killed while in the industry? If yes, describe who and how often.

METHODS OF COPING AND RESISTANCE

1. Are you aware of how these women got by emotionally and physically on a daily basis? How do they deal with working in the sex industry.
2. Did women ever use drugs or alcohol or take medication? If yes, please explain.
3. Have any women ever tried to escape/leave this industry? If yes, please describe.

History of Abuse

1. Do you know if women were ever abused/assaulted in their lives (physical, sexual, psychological)? If yes, by whom? For how long?

EXPERIENCE WITH OTHERS INVOLVED IN THE INDUSTRY

Experience with Pimps /Recruiters / Traffickers

1. Who are the pimps/recruiters/traffickers?
2. Nationality?
3. Numbers of traffickers within one ring? Are they employed or connected with the place that trafficked women are placed at?
4. Do you know if traffickers/recruiters/pimps operate independently or are involved in any other criminal activity?
5. Do you know if they are involved in any other type of business? If yes, please describe.
6. Who owns the sex establishments where trafficked women are placed?
7. Who controls the money that buyers pay women?
8. Are there other women who are not prostitutes who work in these establishments?
9. Are you aware if trafficked women's lives or safety are at risk from traffickers or the sex establishment?

Profile of Buyers

1. Describe who the buyers of trafficked women are?
2. How many men do trafficked women have sex with in a day?
3. Do sex establishments screen buyers for diseases/cleanliness?
4. Are trafficked women forced to have sex with men without a condom?
5. Do men pay more money for that?
6. Do trafficked women report that the men who buy them ever hurt them? If so, how?
7. Have trafficked women reported that they've been asked to do things sexually that they didn't want to? If yes, what were those things?
8. Did they have the right to refuse or choose not to perform any of these acts?
9. Have trafficked women reported that the sex ever got violent? If yes, how often have you heard this?
10. Have trafficked women reported to you that they thought they would be killed by any of their buyers?
11. Do you know if the establishment does anything to any buyer who is violent toward the women in the establishment?

Health Effects and Health provision

1. Are you aware that you have seen any sex trafficked women in your practice?
2. What kind of injuries do women in the sex industry present? Broken bones, Bruises, Head injury, Mouth/teeth injuries, Vaginal bleeding, How much? Other hemorrhage? Explain.
3. What kind of illnesses do women in the sex industry typically present with?
4. Did these problems require ongoing medical treatment? If yes, please explain.
5. Do the trafficked women you see know about birth control and infection prevention?
6. What kind of sexually transmitted infections do women in the sex industry present?
7. Do they use any form of birth control?
8. Do they use condoms when servicing customers?
9. Do women report that condoms ever irritate them or make them uncomfortable?
10. Did women ever report bleeding with the use of condoms?
11. How many women in the sex industry do you see that become pregnant while in the industry?
12. How would you describe the emotional well being of sex trafficked women/women in the sex industry? Depressed, Unable to feel, Hopeless, Difficulty sleeping, Nightmares, Easily startled/always on guard, Rage, Self blame/guilt, Other.
13. Are they suicidal while in the sex industry?
14. Do the women you see using drugs or alcohol?
15. Do the pimps or owners of sex establishments ever bring in a doctor into the establishment?
16. Do you think women in the sex industry are seen at particular health centers, hospitals or clinics? If yes, where?
17. Do you ever refer women you suspect of being trafficked or in the sex industry to any social services from the hospital?
18. Is there anything that you as a healthcare provider need to know more about trafficked women in the sex industry? What would be useful information for you?

Social Services /Advocacy Agencies

1. Have you ever dealt with trafficked women?
2. What relief did trafficked women seek? What services were provided?

Shelter/homeless or battered women's	Legal services
Substance abuse treatment	Religious support
Child Protection Services	Law enforcement
Support Group	Housing
Mental health services	Job skills
Financial aid for relocation, etc	Healthcare
3. What kind of safety planning do you do with women in this situation?
4. Is there anything that you as an advocate/social service agency need to know more about trafficked women in the sex industry? What would be useful information for you?

FUTURE GOALS/RECOMMENDATIONS

1. In your opinion, what do women who are out of the industry, see as the best option for themselves in the future?
2. Do you think that once they get out of the industry they are safe from their owners? If not, what do they need to be safe?
3. What do women need in order not to fall prey to this type of situation?
4. What do you think needs to happen to: Trafficked women? Traffickers? Buyers? Establishments involved in sex trade?
5. What do you feel would be necessary to stop sex trafficking in this country?

Education/informational campaigns
Service coordination/collaboration

Change in laws
Consistent/uniform enforcement
Stricter penalties for traffickers
Other

6. Do you believe that the laws and penalties for this crime adequately address the issue?
7. Some have suggested that prostitution should be legalized and considered a job. Do you think that governments should recognize prostitution as a form of work?

Questionnaire for Health Care Workers

THE SEX INDUSTRY

1. Tell me about the sex industry in this metropolitan area?
2. How many establishments are there?
3. Who controls it?
4. Where is it located in the city?
5. Are there establishments that cater to certain communities? What are they?
6. What method of advertising is used by the industry? Print media, Internet, Brokers, Travel industry, Clubs/bars, Other.
7. Are women being trafficked into this area?

Pimps /Recruiters / Traffickers

1. Who are the pimps/recruiters/traffickers?
2. Nationality of pimps/recruiters/traffickers?
3. Do traffickers/recruiters/pimps operate independently or are involved in any other criminal activity?
4. Numbers of pimps/recruiters/traffickers within one ring
5. Are they involved in any other type of business? If yes, please describe.
6. Who controls the money that buyers pay women?
7. Who are the women working in the industry? Describe age, nationality etc.
8. Who owns the sex establishments where trafficked women are placed?

Buyers

1. Describe the buyers of women in the sex industry.
 - Age range
 - Race/Nationalities
 - Occupation
 - Highest level of education
 - Marital Status
2. How many men do women have to provide sex to in a day?
3. Do sex establishments screen buyers for diseases/cleanliness?

METHODS OF RECRUITMENT OF TRAFFICKED WOMEN

1. How do women get involved in sex trafficking?
2. Are women typically recruited by someone or was there a person(s) who was involved in getting them to go to the U.S.? Recruited? By whom? Friend/Neighbor, spouse/partner, family member, stranger, other business/agency, print/media advertisement
3. Are women recruited in groups? If so, how many are recruited at a time?
4. How much money are they told they will make?
5. Do they sign a contract? If yes, for how long?
6. Were they/their family/anyone else paid any money ahead of time? If so, how much?
7. Did they have to pay it back? If yes, how were they told they'd have to pay it back?
8. Did the agreement remain the same once they arrived in the US? If no, please explain
9. Were they in prostitution in their hometown, country or other countries before entering the US? If yes, were they in prostitution outside the U.S? Describe establishment(s). Describe the location(s) (e.g. rural, urban, island, military base, entertainment strip)
10. What is the age range for trafficked women?
11. Are you aware of what individuals/gangs/organizations are trafficking women into this country?
12. Are there indicators that tip you off as to whether or not an individual/gang/organization is involved in sex trafficking? If yes, what are they?

METHODS OF MOVEMENT OF TRAFFICKED WOMEN

1. Describe the conditions or circumstances under which women were brought into the U.S.?
 Mode of travel
 Paid for own travel? If not, who paid? How much?
 Smuggled/Illegal? If yes, please describe.
 Travel alone? If not, in a group? Number in group?
 Visas type? Tourist, Work permit, Student, None.
 Sponsor? If yes, who sponsors?
2. Do women have access to their travel documents at all times? If no, who held?
3. When they arrive in the U.S., do they have access to any financial resources?
4. Once in the US, are you aware of what happens to these women? Where were they placed?
5. Describe the establishment(s) where women are in prostitution? Where? Typical areas (e.g. urban, rural, red light districts, suburban, isolated, within district heavily populated by new immigrants, other). Type (e.g. clubs, massage parlors, warehouses, hotels, residences, street)
6. Are they typically moved from place to place in the US? Outside of the US? If yes, where are they transported?
7. Once in the US, are they free to move about? If no, please describe

METHODS OF INITIATION

1. Do women work elsewhere in the U.S. or do other types of work before entering the sex industry/prostitution? If yes, what did they do?
2. What was the first sex business they were drawn or put into? And what did they do consequently?
3. Are they abused or threatened when they first start?

PIMPS/RECRUITERS/TRAFFICKERS

Physical violence	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Sexual assault	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Psychological abuse	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Verbal threats	No	Yes	F r e q u e n c y _ _ _	Describe
Death threats to them/family	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Use of weapons	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Use of drugs/alcohol	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Isolation/confinement/restraints	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Other	Describe			

BUYERS

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

METHODS OF CONTROL

1. Are women free to leave the industry?
2. If women are not free, describe how and by whom they were controlled?

PIMPS/RECRUITERS/TRAFFICKERS

Physical violence	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Sexual assault	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Psychological abuse	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Verbal threats	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Death threats to them/family	No	Yes	F r e q u e n c y _ _ _	Describe
Use of weapons	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Use of drugs/alcohol	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Isolation/confinement/restraints	No	Yes	Frequency_____	Describe
Other	Describe			

BUYERS

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

3. Were they allowed contact with anyone outside of the sex industry? (e.g. family, friends)
4. Have women described witnessing other women in prostitution being beaten/harmed? If yes, describe circumstances and how often this happened.
5. Do you know if trafficked women are killed while in the industry? If yes, describe who and how often.

METHODS OF COPING AND RESISTANCE

1. What do women do on a daily basis?
2. How do they cope emotionally and physically on a daily basis? How do they deal with working in the sex industry?
3. Did women ever use drugs or alcohol or take medication? If yes, please explain
4. Do women try to escape/leave this industry? If yes, please describe

History of Abuse

1. Do you know if women were ever abused/assaulted in their lives (physical, psychological, sexual such as incest, child sexual abuse...)? If yes, by whom? For how long?

PROFILE OF TRAFFICKED WOMEN

1. Do you see women you think are in the sex industry coming to you for healthcare or advocacy services? If yes, how many and how often?
2. Age range
3. What racial/ethnic/national backgrounds do they come from?
4. Were they able to speak English? If no, describe languages spoken
5. Were they accompanied by someone during their visit/appointment with you?
6. Did that person speak for them?
7. Description of hometown/location of origin
8. Highest level of education
9. Past work experience
10. Economic status (in home country)

11. Number of dependants
12. Residency/immigration status

HEALTH

1. If your patient/client does not directly disclose to you, is there anything about the circumstances that leads you to believe she may be in the sex industry? Describe
2. What injuries do women in the sex industry present?

Broken bones	Yes	No	Frequency	Describe
Bruises	Yes	No	Frequency	Describe
Head injury	Yes	No	Frequency	Describe
Mouth/teeth injuries	Yes	No	Frequency	Describe
Vaginal bleeding	Yes	No	Frequency	Describe
Other hemorrhage?	Yes	No	Frequency	Describe
Other				
3. What illnesses do women in the sex industry typically present with?
4. During the course of your examination, what other injuries, infections or illnesses do you see?
5. Do you see the same women more than once? If yes, how often?
6. Do women in the sex industry use birth control? If yes, what kind?
7. What kind of sexually transmitted infections do women in the sex industry present?
8. Do men use condoms when having sex with women?
9. Do women report that condoms ever irritate them or make them bleed?
10. How many women in the sex industry do you see that you think become pregnant as a result of being in the industry? Can you estimate the following:
 - Number of live births
 - Number of children
 - Number of miscarriages
 - Number of abortions
11. How would you describe the emotional well being of women in the sex industry? Depressed, Unable to feel, Hopeless, Difficulty sleeping, Nightmares, Easily startled/always on guard, Rage, Self blame/guilt, Other.
12. Have women inflicted harm on themselves or attempted to kill themselves while in the sex industry?
13. Do the women you see using drugs or alcohol? If yes, what do they use?
14. Do women in the sex industry go to particular health centers, hospitals or clinics? If yes, where?
15. Do you think you have ever seen women who you think are trafficked in your practice/agency? If yes, what made you suspect they were trafficked?

FUTURE GOALS/RECOMMENDATIONS

1. What are the causes of trafficking? Who or what factors do you believe are responsible for this problem?
2. Do you think that most women voluntarily choose to enter the sex industry?
3. Do you think that once they get out of the industry they are safe from the pimps? If not, what do they need to be safe?
4. Some have suggested that prostitution should be legalized and considered a job. Do you think that governments should recognize prostitution as a form of work?
5. What do women need in order not to fall prey to this type of situation?
6. What do you think needs to happen in the criminal justice or immigration systems to: Trafficked women? Traffickers? Buyers? Establishments involved in sex trade?
7. What do you feel would be necessary to stop sex trafficking in this country?
 - Education/informational campaigns
 - Service coordination/collaboration
 - Change in laws

Consistent/uniform enforcement

Stricter penalties for traffickers

Other

8. Do you believe that the laws and penalties for this crime adequately address the issue?
9. Do agencies work together around issues of sex trafficking? If no, explain why.

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