An analysis of migratory patterns and social network chains, ties, and bonds in human trafficking: Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States, 2006-2011

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Dissertation Abstract

Research on human trafficking to date reveals certain limitations. First, little empirical research exists that focuses specifically on analyzing occurrences of human trafficking incidents. Second, very few human trafficking studies break away from the traditional male/female dichotomy of offender and victim. Investigations of disaggregated data on persons and circumstances remain rare. As a consequence, who does what to whom, and how often, remains unclear. This is problematic because current trends in trafficking research affect the direction of legislation meant to combat trafficking, and inadequate research can lead to inadequate legislation. It is paramount to understand human trafficking actors not only by their gender, but also by their actions, pathways, and networks that determine their inclusion in this underground economy. My intention is not to irreverently stir the pot, but to illustrate that the grey area is far too large for continuing calls to curb trafficking without understanding the logistics and rationale behind the action. This dissertation uses six years (2006-2011) of legal case files from Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States in order to consider how human trafficking operates transnationally and regionally. Focusing on the influence of networks and social ties, chains, and bonds, this dissertation addresses the nuances of human trafficking insofar as relationships between victim and offender are cultivated and employed in order to actuate the trafficking act. Analyses are two-fold: first, descriptive statistics are gathered in order to create a focused analysis of the particularities of those captured by the scope of this study; and, second, social network analysis (SNA) is used to better understand power dynamics within human trafficking networks. The structure of human trafficking networks is addressed based on the gender of offender and the prosecutorial action is addressed with a comparison of influence in the network and the imposed sentence length. The purpose of these two flows of analyses is to address how or whether a trafficker's gender affects his or her power and influence within the trafficking networks, as well as to investigate how law enforcement and criminal justice systems are affectively addressing the human trafficking problem. Findings suggest that insofar as power and influence within a trafficking network are concerned, gender does not matter: there is little to no difference between network centrality scores of males and females. Additionally, findings suggest that traffickers and trafficked individuals more often than

not are from the same origin: meaning, being a migrant matters insofar as who is likely to be both trafficker and trafficked individual. An individual is more likely to be trafficked by someone from *within* her own community regardless of whether she is trafficked transnationally or regionally. This dissertation highlights the importance of the previously unaddressed impact of social networks and migration in the commission of the trafficking offense.

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Résumé de la Thèse

La recherche concernant le trafic de personnes révèle aujourd'hui certaines limites. Tout d'abord, il existe peu de recherches empiriques qui focalisent spécifiquement sur l'analyse des occurrences d'incidents concernant les trafics de personnes. De plus, rares sont les études concernant ce trafic qui se démarquent de la traditionnelle dichotomie homme/femme du contrevenant et de la victime. Les investigations de données désagrégées des personnes et des circonstances demeurent rares. Par conséquent le qui fait quoi à qui et à quelle fréquence n'est pas très clair. Ceci est problématique parce que les tendances actuelles des recherches sur le trafic affectent le sens de la législation supposée combattre le trafic, et une recherche inadéquate peut mener à une législation inadéquate. Il est essentiel de comprendre les acteurs du trafic de personnes pas seulement dans leur genre, mais également par leurs actions, leurs parcours, et les réseaux qui causent leur présence dans cette économie clandestine. Mon objectif n'est pas de faire des vagues irrévérencieusement, mais de démontrer que les zones grises sont bien trop larges pour continuer les appels à lutter contre ce trafic sans comprendre la logistique et les motivations qui existent derrière ces agissements. Cet exposé se base sur 6 années (2006-2011) de dossiers juridiques de l'Australie, la Grande Bretagne, le Canada et les Etats Unis pour tenter de comprendre comment fonctionne le trafic de personnes sur le plan transnational et régional. En se focalisant sur l'influence des réseaux et des contraintes et liens sociaux, cet exposé traite les nuances du trafic de personnes dans la mesure où les relations entre victimes et contrevenants sont formées et utilisées dans le but même de déclencher l'acte du trafic. Les analyses sont de deux ordres: premièrement, des statistiques descriptives sont réunies dans le but de créer une analyse focalisée sur les particularités des cas observés dans le périmètre de cette étude; et, deuxièmement, l'analyse des réseaux sociaux (ARS) est utilisée pour mieux comprendre les dynamiques du pouvoir au sein des réseaux de trafic de personnes. La structure des réseaux de trafic de personnes est examinée sur la base du genre du contrevenant, et les poursuites sont traitées dans la comparaison de l'influence au sein du réseau et la durée de la peine imposée. Le but de ces deux flux d'analyses est de traiter comment le cas échéant, le genre d'un trafiquant affecte son pouvoir et son influence au sein des réseaux de trafic, mais également d'investiguer sur les systèmes d'application de

la loi et la justice pénale et comment ils traitent le problème du trafic des personnes. Les conclusions indiquent qu'en matière de pouvoir et d'influence au sein d'un réseau de trafic, le genre importe peu: Il y a peu ou pas de différence entre le degré de centralités des hommes et femmes au sein des réseaux. De plus, les résultats indiquent que les trafiquants et les victimes de trafic sont le plus souvent de même origine: cela veut dire qu'être un migrant a son importance dans la mesure où la personne est susceptible de pouvoir aussi bien être un trafiquant qu'une victime de trafic. Un individu est plus susceptible d'être victime de trafic par quelqu'un de sa propre communauté, qu'il s'agisse de trafic transnational ou régional. Cet exposé souligne l'importance de la question non encore traitée de l'impact des réseaux sociaux et de la migration sur la commission de l'infraction du trafic.

Statement of Originality

Over the past two decades, the subject of human trafficking has received much attention from academics, politicians, researchers, and the media. However, this attention, has not accumulated into a clear picture of the issue: trafficking is a frequently misunderstood and misrepresented international and domestic problem. At present, most trafficking discussions are ideologically bound to preconceived notions. The favoured perspective of human trafficking asserts that the greatest number of victims are women and children and offenders are male. This perception, however, has been advanced without addressing systematic and reliable data. Trafficking narratives are often presented as generalisations of the populations in question. The work contained herein represents an original and important contribution to the study of human trafficking. First, in order to better understand human trafficking, the human trafficker, and the trafficking victim, this thesis addresses legally-defined trafficking populations, and is comprised of data garnered from court records of prosecutions of human traffickers across space and time. Using six years of legal data (2006-2011) from Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States, this study uncovers the individual, criminal, network, and structural factors that shape and influence the anatomy of the trafficking offense. This research incorporates the study of networks in order to better understand the functionality and structure of trafficking rings. This approach permits analysis at both the case and individual level. The community and network of offenders are addressed, as is each individual offender. Here, I analyse the importance of social ties, chains, and bonds in facilitating the trafficking offense. Finally, this study questions the role of the migrant in the trafficking act as both victim and offender. Specifically, this study finds that transnational trafficking is the realm of the migrant, highlighting the connectivity of the social network regarding offenders accessing victims. Traffickers traffic those whom they have previous connections whether they be familial, community, or based on a pre-existing abstract relationship of originating from the same nation, state, city, town, village, or community. This thesis is the first to use a social network analysis of human trafficking with data collected at the micro level. It is also the first study to use cross-national successfully prosecuted legal cases of human traffickers. The research findings, objectives, methods, and theory represent original work. Under the guidance of Steven

Rytina and my research proposal committee, I conceived this study, carried out a systematic literature review, conducted all data collection and statistical analyses, and wrote each chapter in its entirety.

Author Contributions

ED is responsible for the conception and design of the study, data collection, data analysis, and drafting of thesis. SR advised on the design, analysis and interpretation of the data, and critically revised the article for important intellectual content.

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Acknowledgements

Executive Summary

Over the past two decades, the subject of human trafficking has received much attention from academics, politicians, researchers, and the media. This attention, however, has not accumulated into a clear picture of the issue: trafficking is a frequently misunderstood and misrepresented international and domestic problem. In this dissertation, I explore the anatomy of the human trafficking offense using documented legal cases across space and time.

BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE: Trafficking is often presented in the literature as a dyad of slave and enslaver. This subtext often further invokes a polarity of males and females as offenders and victims. Such characterizations oversimplify the problem. Human trafficking is an industry that relies on, in short, demand, networks, and vulnerability. The demand aspect is located in the desire for some to possess and exploit an individual for personal/company profit, gain, or otherwise. Networks create structural systems of individuals that connect traffickers to other traffickers and to their victims. Vulnerability is a key component because traffickers locate victims among populations of individuals who are easily manipulated, coerced, duped or otherwise influenced into situations wherein there is an aspect of uncertainty. These components of the trafficking act are important facets of possibilities, but they do not describe the act in its entirety. At the basic level, human trafficking successfully exists because of demand, networks, and vulnerability, but additional components may be crucial in allowing human trafficking to permeate the global community. However, trafficking components of demand and vulnerability can be misleading and carry subtext: demand is viewed as the purview of the male, vulnerability the purview of the female. Most contemporary human trafficking research interprets the act of trafficking as a male perpetrated crime against women and

children for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This body of research tends to conceptualize human trafficking with dichotomous categorizations of two popular ideologies: male versus female and developed versus developing world: the former of the two pairings representing the perpetrator and the latter the "victim" (read: "Other"). More often than not, the research-driven focus on the victim is derived from the concept of the "Other": *she* has one face, and it is that of a migrant. This dissertation is an exploratory analysis of human trafficking and assesses who does what to whom and how often. Additionally, this present effort seeks to better understand the role of the migrant, as well as the influence of gender.

OBJECTIVES: This dissertation seeks to address notable gaps left by earlier empirical studies of human trafficking. By drawing on legal court case proceedings from Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States, this study will circumvent some of the difficulties embedded in researching a population that operates in the underground economy. In doing so, this study will depict that, contrary to common presumptions, males and females, as individuals and in cooperation with one another, actively pursue human trafficking. This is most marked when legal employment can be difficult to attain, especially for landed and illegal immigrants. Earlier discussions identified the notion that gender roles exist in human trafficking, but not always within the traditionally accepted paradigm of males who sexually exploit females. The gender paradigm becomes even more interesting through a cultural network lens that uncovers the female as the head of the family and, more interestingly, the head of familial trafficking networks. A central motive for this study is the lack of understanding of the motivations and actions of those involved in human trafficking. This lack is specifically important when considering

previous treatments of sex trafficking. Human trafficking can be accompanied by sexual assault, but the trafficker is not always the assaulter, and the trafficked individual is not always a victim of sexual assault. Rape is not the invariant linchpin component of trafficking. Accordingly, this study does not begin and end with sexual exploitation. Rather, the start and end points are created and defined with limited preconceived ideologies of exploitation and gendered dichotomies.

HYPOTHESES: In order to expand on the notions and specific hypotheses discussed above, this dissertation addresses a number of shortcomings with the following:

Objective 1.

Determine the characteristics of traffickers and trafficked individuals. If trafficking is a network driven phenomenon, traffickers and trafficked individuals must have previous connections whether abstract or tangible (e.g. same country of origin and/or previous relationship).

Assessment of who traffics whom and for what purpose. I expect that trafficked individuals have pre-existing relationships with someone in the trafficking chain that leads to the commission of the trafficking offense.

Objective 2.

Assess the frequency with which female traffickers acted as offenders, as well as their roles within the commission of offense and, if applicable, trafficking network.

Assess the structure of human trafficking networks by gender and analyse whether female traffickers act on the periphery and/or as subordinates to their male co-offenders. Analyse whether female offenders are at parity with their male counterparts in regards to trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. My contention is that female offenders

engaging in human trafficking do so at an opportunistic level and are capable of acting as traffickers without the coercion of male co-offenders.

Objective 3.

Assess the structure of networks of human trafficking offenders in regards to migrants, specifically relating to migrants co-offending in networks with individuals from their native communities.

Analyse the frequency with which migrants trafficked individuals from their native countries, states, communities, etc. If trafficking is a network based phenomenon, I expect that migrants would locate a victim pool within their own race, ethnicity, country, community, and so forth.

Assess how network type (familial, business, brothel) affects the overall structure of the network in regards to migrant and female offender participation. If networks matter, then I expect to find that different networks require different types of offenders.

Objective 4.

Assess the circumstances from which an individual was likely to be trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation and analyse the degree to which sexual exploitation was the primary focus of the trafficking offender.

Analyse whether there is a typology of offender who is more likely to engage in trafficking for the purpose of exploitation rather than labour trafficking or trafficking for domestic servitude. Analyse whether such typologies are bound by geography (regional trafficking versus transnational/cross-border trafficking).

SAMPLE: This study uses six years of legal data (2006-2011) from Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States successfully prosecuted legal cases across time and space.

METHODS: This study captures cases of successfully prosecuted court cases of human trafficking between January 2006 and December 2011 in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States resulting in a conviction or plea-bargain. This study presupposes the existence of homogenous groupings/networks of human trafficking offenders, so the use of the collection of an exhaustive population allows for capturing populations of individuals within the dataset who co-offend because of pre-existing homogeneity (e.g. race, ethnicity, same country of origin). This result is exemplified by this study, although the population sizes between countries were uneven. Although this notion may suggest an issue within the selection methodology, the data collection captured the largest sample available of legally recorded human trafficking offences within the four countries of analysis between 2006 and 2011. The unevenness of data collection assists in cultivating portions of this study that challenge the overall issue of estimates of occurrences of human trafficking, in addition to questions of how many cases are successfully investigated and prosecuted.

Country selection was three-fold: 1) all countries selected have a viable court record database available for compiling human trafficking cases; 2) all four countries vary in their positioning on a sex trade legislative spectrum; and, 3) all four countries enacted comparable, if not entirely exact, human trafficking laws (as well as homogeneous laws protecting victims of trafficking). The sex trade legislation selection gradient allows for an analysis of the (possible) impact that sex trade laws have in regards to human trafficking: an issue specifically addressed in the trafficking literature. Of the four countries of analysis, Australia has implemented the most liberal sex trade legislation and the United States has implemented the most conservative. Britain is the

second most liberal, and Canada is currently imbued in a legislative battle regarding sex worker rights and regulations. Though none of the countries of analysis have legalised street-level sex work, they offer the opportunity to hypothesize and discuss the relationship between sex trade legislation and human trafficking incidents. This opportunity also extends to discussions of various criminal justice systems' responses to human trafficking.

Case level data were further disaggregated to the offender level, using the same collection tools as described above. Case-level collection was the first step of this study. The second step, and the level from which statistical analysis occurred, was at the offender level. Building of this section of the database involved reading and documenting each case for the number of individuals involved, believed to be involved (by law enforcement), and those prosecuted for their crimes. For example, case details of United States case US-HT-0057 (document number created by the researcher for this study) revealed law enforcement determined seventeen offenders involved at various stages, though the number of trafficking acts (beyond those prosecuted) was not determined.

Data were analysed at the descriptive statistic level, by correlation measurements, and at the network level using UCInet and NetDraw software. Additionally, data were analysed cross-comparatively by country.

CONCLUSIONS: Previous studies of human trafficking have focused primarily on two factors: the male/female dichotomy in relation to sexual exploitation and the developing/developed dichotomy wherein the West (developed nations) acts as the demand side of the trade and the non-West (developing nations) acts as the supply side. Although portions of this line of argument are represented by the results of this study,

discussions focusing primarily on these two dichotomies under-represent important components and characteristics of the anatomy of the trafficking offense. The issue is not merely that human trafficking researchers need to incorporate more quantitative analysis of *actualized* occurrences of trafficking, though that is a part of the problem. The issue is much larger than the lack of quantitative research, muddling of global estimates, lack of detection, lack of access to victims and so on. Perhaps the greatest issue impeding trafficking researchers is the framework that describes human trafficking is little more than an overwrought repetition of a sensationalized act. At its core, human trafficking may not be fundamentally about patriarchal structures, male dominance, and rape.

At its core, human trafficking is not functionally an issue of offenders perpetrating the history of gender discrimination; rather, trafficking involves coteries of individuals utilizing the vulnerability of others as a mode to financial gain/profit. Ancillary exploration of the root of the migratory act is important, as is understanding the demand side of the trade, though perfunctory rehashing of gender blame, at some point, becomes moot. Additionally, it is necessary to sift through ideologies that suggest the demand side is to blame. That is, males wishing to purchase sexual acts are not immediately responsible for the trafficking trade. The results of this study strongly suggest that the sequence of migrant to sex trade worker and/or sex trafficker is far more muddled than suggested in the literature.

The results of this study strongly support the importance of studying networks in relation to the human trafficking act. As depicted by this study, in a *criminal* sense human trafficking is unlike other types of crime in certain ways: traditionally, migrants to/in the United States do not commit crimes at a higher rate than the general non-migrant

population, though, tautologically, they represent the vast majority of migration-related offenses; the onset age of engaging in trafficking is higher than other types of crimes, such as property and violent crime, though it remains undetermined the extent to which individuals engage in criminal activity prior to the trafficking offense; there is a higher level of female involvement as offenders than is noted in other forms of criminal behaviour (aside from the sex trade); there is a high level of organisation suggesting organised crime is involved, though the fluidity and structure of trafficking suggests otherwise; in many cases, the trafficked individual (or *victim*) approaches the trafficker for assistance often, but not invariably knowing the possibilities of what is to come; finally, large portions of the human trafficking literature embrace popular and sensationalized media representations of human trafficking, unjustifiably setting this apart from much of criminological literature and theory. These difficulties compound with the circumstance that human trafficking largely operates in a grey area. More importantly, these differences, especially relating to the age of trafficker and the fluidity with which those who engage in the act operate, present areas of study that could greatly benefit from a network analysis.

Organisation of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organised into six chapters, following a conventional structure of introduction, literature review, method, results (including separate chapter presenting comparative analyses of countries/cases), and discussion. In the first chapter, I describe the fundamental issues within the current trafficking debate, as well as a review of the specifics of precisely what constitutes a trafficking offense. The second chapter discusses the current trends, ideologies, and debates within the current trafficking literatures. Specifically, this chapter outlines a large gap in the human trafficking literature that, in part, this dissertation addresses. In the second chapter, I cultivate a niche for systematic statistical research dealing with actual occurrences of human trafficking. This chapter separates my research from much of the past and present discussions in the human trafficking literature, but doing so by aligning my research with others who call for systematic representation of human trafficking. The third chapter describes the method employed for data collection and coding, as well as the statistical analyses conducted, including the social network analysis that makes up a significant portion of this dissertation. The fourth chapter provides the results of the data, highlighting the importance of previous relationships between victim and offender in facilitating the trafficking offense. The fifth chapter details the similarities and differences between countries and the macro and micro level. Additionally, the fifth chapter provides detailed discussions of the social networks and resulting human trafficking matrices that address the functionality and operations of the trafficking networks included in the scope of this study. The sixth and final chapter is a discussion of the implications of the results of my research, providing a call for future research and novel directions in which human trafficking research can continue to improve and develop.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Over the past two decades, the subject of human trafficking has received much attention from academics, politicians, researchers, and the media. This attention, however, has not accumulated into a clear picture of the issue: trafficking is a frequently misunderstood and misrepresented international and domestic problem. At present, most trafficking discussions are ideologically bound to preconceived notions. The favoured perspective of human trafficking asserts that the greatest number of victims are women and children and offenders are male. This perception, however, has been advanced without addressing systematic and reliable data. Trafficking narratives are often presented as generalisations of the populations in question. In contrast, this study will address an analysis of legally-defined trafficking populations. Specifically, this study is comprised of data garnered from court records of prosecutions of human traffickers.

This study uses successfully prosecuted legal cases across time and space in order to better understand human trafficking, the human trafficker, and the trafficking victim. Using six years of legal data (2006-2011) from Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States, this study uncovers the individual, criminal, network, and structural factors that shape and influence the anatomy of the trafficking offense. This research incorporates the study of networks in order to better understand the functionality and structure of trafficking rings. This approach permits analysis at both the case and individual level. The community and network of offenders is addressed, as is each individual offender.

Throughout the data collection and coding phases, the repeated appearance of migrants and components of migration called into focus the necessity of better understanding the role of the migrant in the trafficking offense. This study addresses these patterns by incorporating measurements of the importance of concepts of migration and migrants in the trafficking offense. The reason for their appearance across legal studies calls for a focused analysis of when, how, and how often migrants involved themselves in the cases of human trafficking captured within the scope of this study.

This study is a historically descriptive analysis of an institutional population of human traffickers and their victims. The study population is derived from the proceedings and procedures of the criminal justice system. The unit of data collection is successfully prosecuted criminal cases of human trafficking from 2006 to 2011. These data are a

collection of legal/court cases across four developed nations (Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States).[i] The use of legal cases offers the opportunity to study actualized occurrences of human trafficking conform to legal definitions as enacted by a legislative body. The human trafficking legal case merits attention because its existence within the legal system presents a situation wherein the legal requirements for defining a case of trafficking have been met. This study offers an analysis of such legal cases, and, by proxy, also offers insight into the types of trafficking acts captured by different justice system models across time and space. In adjunct, this research framework will present a picture of possible issues regarding legal definitions of trafficking, and will provide insight into the efficacy of varying modalities of trafficking legislation.

A short summary of the definition of human trafficking, as provided by the United Nations in its *Trafficking Protocol*[ii], is useful because it aligns this research with an internationally defined problem. Specifically, Article 2 of the *Trafficking Protocol* (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime[iii], 2006; hereinafter, *UNODC*) defines human trafficking as "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, either by the threat or use of abduction, force, fraud, deception or coercion, or by the giving or receiving of unlawful payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another persons" and defines human smuggling as "the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a nation or a permanent resident." There is a crucial legal difference between trafficking and smuggling. In law, the trafficking act is one of victimisation and smuggling is a joint act of two or more offenders.

A comprehensive definition of human trafficking is vital for the development of adequate anti-trafficking legislation, the development of law enforcement strategies to capture offenders, the development of mental health strategies to assist victims, as well as a number of preventative strategies at various macro and micro levels (e.g. the community and the individual). Arguably more important than descriptive definitions, such as that of the *UNODC*, are the *legislative* definitions that lead to how and when trafficking becomes the purview of the criminal justice system.

The focus of this study on human trafficking for the purpose of exploitation was a direct result of a harm-reduction approach to trafficking: that is, the research is meant to assist in the creation of effective policy that could assuage the victimisation of individuals who are coerced, or otherwise, into actions not of their choosing. Human smuggling is, by contrast, a victimless crime. Although one could debate the truth of this characterization, legally the act of human smuggling can occur without anyone designated as victim. However, as Gallagher (2009) asserts, the smuggling offender can become a trafficked individual, and if applicable he or she was captured by the scope of this study.

When, and if, a smuggled individual becomes a victim of trafficking is an area of research that merits further attention. Smuggling is an apt characterization of a duality of offending wherein both parties commit offences for mutual benefit (for the smuggler: financial profit; for the smuggled individual: illegal entry into a host nation). Crossing into the human trafficking domain, there emerges an offender and a victim. Though this concept may seem black and white, at closer inspection there appears a larger grey area that deserves focused analysis that permits the possibility that the offender/victim characterization may simplify a much more tangled issue.

Trafficking is often presented in the literature as a dyad of slave and enslaver. The subtext often further invokes a polarity of males and females as offenders and victims. Such characterizations oversimplify the problem. These characterizations are often assertions of magnitude based on aggregate imagination (Gozdziak and Bump 2008). Yet they are presented as factual summaries of human trafficking and, more specifically, sex trafficking. The wide acceptance of the dyadic view of trafficking is a one-dimensional view of the larger problem of effectively constructing an abstract concept into a contextualized reality.

Human trafficking is economically motivated. The foundation of the act is the commodification of the individual. Still, economic motivation is often overlooked in favor of dyadic conceptions of male (enslaver) versus female (enslaved). A closer look at the trafficking offense highlights potential complications of the dyadic view. Simultaneous occupation of multiple human trafficking roles creates problems and suggests that the slave/enslaver dyad is not a fully accurate characterization of the

trafficking offense. For example, some trafficking victims become recruiters while remaining under the control of *their* trafficker. Such cases occur when a trafficking victim moves up in the trafficking network and begins to insert herself into a role that offers greater economic security and less commodification of her own body. In such instances, the trafficking victim moves through several roles, each with a different level of economic security.

In more recent years, human trafficking researchers have focused some attention towards the economic side of the trafficking trade. However, in doing so, these researchers confound economic motivations with patriarchy, thereby sustaining the dyadic attitudes of male versus the other. For example, in an attempt to explore some of the "basic facets about human trafficking" (p. 4), Bertone (1999) notes the commodification of the body as a direct result of the political economy of capitalism across the world market. Bertone continues her attack, stating that the "patriarchal world system hungers for and sustains the international subculture of docile women from underdeveloped nations" (p. 7). Yet Bertone's assertions are not grounded in any data beyond aggregate nation-level discussions: the claims are supported only with tautological references to previous non-empirical studies. Economic discussions of the body need not always be conflated with anti-patriarchy. Aggregate male-blaming is unlikely to curb trafficking because the demand-side of the trade is likely to continue to exist, if only because the sex trade has shown persistent permanence across centuries. Empirical research of varying facets of human trafficking is a promising area wherein the trafficking body of research should be improved. This study seeks to, in part, fill this gap.

Human trafficking is an industry that relies on, in short, demand, networks, and vulnerability. The demand aspect is located in the desire for some to possess and exploit an individual for personal/company profit, gain, or otherwise. Networks create structural systems of individuals that connect traffickers to other traffickers and to their victims. Vulnerability is a key component because traffickers locate victims among populations of individuals who are easily manipulated, coerced, duped or otherwise influenced into situations wherein there is an aspect of uncertainty. These components of the trafficking act are important facets of possibilities, but they do not describe the act in its entirety. At the basic level, human trafficking successfully exists because of demand, networks, and

vulnerability, but additional components may be crucial in allowing human trafficking to permeate the global community. However, trafficking components of demand and vulnerability can be misleading and carry subtext: demand is viewed as the purview of the male, vulnerability the purview of the female.

Most contemporary human trafficking research interprets the act of trafficking as a male perpetrated crime against women and children for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This body of research tends to conceptualize human trafficking with dichotomous categorizations of two popular ideologies: male versus female and developed versus developing world: the former of the two pairings representing the perpetrator and the latter the "victim" (read: "Other"). More often than not, the research-driven focus on the victim is derived from the concept of the "Other": *she* has one face, and it is that of a migrant.

Statistics used to support arguments of male versus female and developed versus developing are often limited to country-level data that are highly aggregated. Although such data summarize the level of involvement of a country as origin, transition, or destination (or any combination of the three), they provide little to no information regarding types of individuals involved or the deeds with which individuals are charged. Additionally, discussions rooted at the nation-level render discussion of regional trafficking difficult. Investigations of disaggregated data on persons and circumstances remain rare. As a consequence, who does what to whom, and how often, remains unclear. This is problematic because current trends in trafficking research affect the direction of legislation meant to combat trafficking, and inadequate research can lead to inadequate legislation.

Although some proportion of human trafficking offences consist of male offenders sexually exploiting females and children, this type of case is (too) often uncritically taken as universal. This study will show that, upon closer inspection, the involvement of women as traffickers, males as victims, and occurrences wherein trafficked females knowingly enter a contractual agreement of work in the sex trade industry are largely ignored by the academic, political, and legislative discussions. Whether this oversight is a symptom of a larger issue (possibly an appropriation of trafficking research by individuals seeking to promote specific ideals regarding sex work

and the ensuing relationship between males and females)[iv], the gap in the research is wide and invites an opportunity to re-examine human trafficking using theoretical frameworks related to migration, networks, and labour markets.[v] The perspective offered by this study allows for inclusion of institutional and structural patterns and issues that can shape and limit individual choices.

A central motive for this study is the lack of understanding of the motivations and actions of those involved in human trafficking. This lack is specifically important when considering previous treatments of sex trafficking. Human trafficking can be accompanied by sexual assault, but the trafficker is not always the assaulter, and the trafficked individual is not always a victim of sexual assault. Rape is not an invariant linchpin component of trafficking. Accordingly, this study does not begin and end with sexual exploitation. Rather, the start and end points are created and defined with limited preconceived ideologies of exploitation and gendered dichotomies.

Trafficking is unlike other interpersonal sexually violent behaviours because the motivation is, more often than not, economical, and the sexual assault, if it occurs, is not essential to trafficking but an independent criminal act. That the human trafficker is entrepreneurial is rarely recognized or discussed in much of the literature. The human trafficking may not be the only individual involved in the act for financial gain: the trafficked individual's motivations for economic security may be the fulcrum of defining vulnerable targets for victimisation. How a trafficker accesses a potential victim is fundamental to understanding human trafficking.

Another issue impacting the framing of trafficking research is that trafficking is a crime that occur within, between, or across several nations. Regional trafficking can occur within a neighbourhood, community, city, state, country, and so on. Transnational movement is not required for a trafficking act to occur. The legal issue is the absence of consent for labor. This study breaks down the components of trafficking into separate analyses for regional and transnational trafficking. In doing so, this study locates differences in offending patterns between those who operate within a nation and those who operate between nations. This leads to differences in patterns of victimisation. Specifically, transnational trafficking creates a migrant in a host nation.

This research invokes migrant labour and network theories in order to underscore the possibility of the involvement of migrants in host nations as trafficked individuals *and* as traffickers. These theoretical moves uncover the need for understanding the role of migrants and diasporas in the trafficking act in a manner unrecognized in previous treatments of human trafficking. In doing so, this study provides analysis of the role of networks in the human trafficking offense.

Although reasons for the lack of discussion of migrants and labour in human trafficking research are not explicitly stated, a critical review of the literature suggests that researchers, academics, and scholars alike are focused almost entirely on the sexually exploitative side of trafficking (David 2010; Farrell *et al.* 2010; Goodey 2008; Gozdziak 2010; Kangaspunta 2010). The present study is a shift from the redundant preconceived notions of human trafficking to research that seeks to develop better empirical knowledge of human trafficking. The continued parallels of the sex trade and human trafficking are moot if the analysis of this relationship is primarily focused on the idea that there, indeed, exists a relationship. Empirical research should transcend these discussions.

Waldinger and Lee (2001) contend that migration is importantly shaped by social networks; human trafficking is often a migratory act, but much of the present work to date, largely ignores the aspects of human trafficking that allow the act to prosper: social networks, patterns of migrations, and accessibility to labour markets.[vi] Gramegna (1998), an official of the IOM, identified three type of human trafficking networks: large-scale networks with political and economic contacts in countries of origin and destination; medium-scale networks that sole source from one country of their choosing; and, small-scale networks that traffic one or two women at a time. Gramegna's analysis presents an opportunity to move beyond previous treatments of trafficking. While he clearly provides possible varying network structures that could potentially influence trafficking modalities, he does not provide a reference for how he defined these network structures. This gap offers an area of investigation regarding how these networks operate from the inside out. Specifically, how these networks form, how roles are defined, and how human traffickers succeed within their networks. Bertone (1999) may suggest that the allure of world travel leads to a vulnerable population of women, but entering an underground

economy is not always a simple task (Fagan 1994). Entrance is, however, made easier with one vital tool: a social network connection (Volkov 2002).

The notion that immigrants rely on social networks of foreign-born individuals of the same race and ethnicity, not only in relation to the ethnic enclaves that often become their communities, but also in regards to the labour market (Borjas 2006; Chin 1999; Chiswick 1988, 2005; Clemente, Larramona and Pueyo 2008; Espenshade and Hu 1997; Faist 2000; Fawcett 1989; Friman 2004; Massey *et al.* 1993; McDonald, Lin and Ao 2009; Mesch 2002; Neske 2006; Sanders, Nee and Sernau 2002; Waldinger 1994; Waldinger *et al.* 1990; Waldinger and Lee 2001), rarely appears in the human trafficking literature. The importance and need for the inclusion of concepts of migratory networks is better understood when the overall phenomenon of migration is understood.

As mentioned previously, Waldinger and Lee (2001) contend that "immigration is a network-driven phenomenon" (p. 2), and trafficking, for the most part, is a *migratory*[vii] act. As such, the network of trafficking is paramount to understanding and responding to trafficking offences because such networks provide the pipelines to the network of foreign (and domestic) individuals who are trafficked. Current trends in the human trafficking literature contend that many trafficked individuals come from developing nations. This assertion is cogent, and should direct trafficking researchers to focus on how individuals from developing nations connect with individuals in host nations who can assist with migration. A necessary inclusion in this discussion is the possibility of an already existing network connection. Understanding the importance of migration patterns, both regional and transnational, could lead to an understanding of trafficking (and social) networks, which, in turn, could lead to a snowball effect of unanswered, but necessary, questions regarding the influence of community-type, family-type, culture, ethnicity, and so on.

Increasing the focus of the varied types of offenders involved in the trafficking act allows for a better understanding of the act itself: not just that human trafficking happens, but why, how, and, more interestingly, among whom? How are they connected? How do roles define positioning in a human trafficking network chain? How do social chains, ties, and bonds influence the trafficking act? How do these relationships form? Answering any

number of these questions will enlighten human trafficking research and better advise the creation of more effective legislation.

The purpose of the present study is to, in part, understand the roles of migration and the migrant in the trafficking offense. Empirical studies into a connection between migrants and crime suggest that the former are involved in crime in their host countries at a lesser rate than the native population (Hagan *et al.* 2008; Martinez Jr. and Lee 2000). When migrants are involved in crime, it is often a result of where they settle rather than cultural traditions (Martinez Jr. and Lee 2000). Sayad (2004) demonstrates the need for researchers to sociologically frame the migrant-crime nexus, suggesting that the role of the state/community often sets the terms of the crime-immigration nexus. The structure of migrants' neighbourhoods, which corresponds to their social networks, appears to be the vital link between migrants and crime. A network offender analysis is an opportunity to understand when, if at all, the migrant plays a vital role in the trafficking chain.

Network theory provides a foundation for this research project. Although a significant portion of network theory is rooted in the mathematical, particular tenets of social network theory, indeed, lend themselves to human trafficking research: in particular, concepts of strength and social ties (Granovetter 1973), the evolution of social networks (McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Brashears 2006) in developed nations[viii], social capital (Burt 2001; Lin 1999, as discussed in a previous paragraph), small world phenomenon in large-scale social structures (Travers and Milgram 1969)[ix], clustering of individuals (Davis 1967)[x], and social mobility in labour markets (Lin, Ensel and Vaughn 1981; Podolny and Baron 1997).

Granovetter's (1973) critique of a lack of analysis of "micro-level interactions to macro-level patterns" (1360) in sociological theory holds true for much of human trafficking scholarship. His focus on the importance of interpersonal networks bridging the gap between the micro and the macro provides a theoretical structure that could advance human trafficking theory and promote the development of stronger, more focused human trafficking legislation.

The notion of *weak ties* in Granovetter's work can be found in Pastore, Monzini and Sciortino's (2006) analysis of human traffickers who act as bridges in co-operational networks of individuals divided among different nations. Pastore, Monzini and

Sciortino's (2006) discussion regarding the importance of social bonds and social contacts pertains to the argument that human trafficking is not a facet of organised crime, but rather a series of groups of individuals who, at times, utilise social contacts and social contracts with individuals in competing trafficking rings for the purpose of mutual profit. They do, however, discuss the important role of the individuals who possess these (weak, in the Granovetter sense) ties to others in different, often competing, networks, referring to them as "bridges" (p. 106). Conceptions like those offered by Granovetter offer an opening (i.e. bridge) to the broadened possibilities of human trafficking research when network analysis is brought to the forefront alongside the traditional.

A fundamental component of social network analysis is the concept of roles within predefined structures. Through centrality and brokerage measures aimed at pinpointing roles within and between networks, this study will present results that counter the gender bias imbedded in much of the trafficking literature. By deploying centrality measures, this study can investigate previous claims of the role of the female in the trafficking offense: namely, as subservient to her dominant male partner. Social network centrality measures align the actions of an actor within the structure of her network. That is, centrality measures inform the importance of an actor in the overall functioning of a network. Brokerage measures inform what exactly a network member does in relation to her network, her co-offenders, and her (possible) relationships to actors in other networks. The combination of criminal network theory and traditional social network theory provides a pivotal turning point in the structure of human trafficking research.

An additional turning point is the focus on another often ignored component of human trafficking offenders who engage in the trafficking of females and children for the purpose of sexual exploitation: the female trafficker. Just as Fagan (1994) noted in his analysis of the burgeoning role of females in the American drug trade, the role of women in human trafficking is much broader and greater than is acknowledged in current trends and ideologies in human trafficking literature and research. A brief read of "popular" trafficking literature may leave the reader entrenched in dichotomous notions of the wrongdoings of males at the expense of females and children. Critically analyzing the possibility of women freely engaging in the migratory element of the sex trade is crucial to developing a better understanding of trafficking. The concept of migration introduces

relevant issues relating to social networks and human capital. The role of women in the trafficking offense challenges current notions of gender in human trafficking and exposes facets of offences that occur without male domination and coercion.[xi]

Research Questions

 This study attempts to address notable gaps left by earlier empirical studies of human trafficking. By drawing on legal court case proceedings this study will circumvent some of the difficulties embedded in researching a population that operates in the underground economy. In doing so, this study will depict that, contrary to common presumptions, males and females, as individuals and in cooperation with one another, actively pursue human trafficking. This is most marked when legal employment can be difficult to attain, especially for landed and illegal immigrants, as is often the case in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States. Earlier discussions in this chapter identified the notion that gender roles exist in human trafficking, but not always within the traditionally accepted paradigm of males who sexually exploit females. The gender paradigm becomes even more interesting through a cultural network lens that uncovers the female as the head of the family and, more interestingly, the head of familial trafficking networks.

 In order to expand on the notions and hypotheses discussed in the previous paragraphs, this project will address a number of the aforementioned shortcomings with the following research questions:

General

1. What are the characteristics of traffickers, who have they been trafficking, and how do each come to occupy their roles?

2. What are the characteristics of trafficked individuals? How did they meet their trafficker(s)?

3. At what frequency did females act as trafficking offenders? What was the role of the female trafficker in the commission of the offense?

4. Under what circumstances were individuals likely to be trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation? To what degree was sexual exploitation the primary focus of the trafficking offenders?

Social Network Analysis

1. How were networks of offenders structured in regards to gender? Did female traffickers operate on the periphery/subordinate to their male co-offenders?

2. How were networks of offenders structured in regards to migrants? Did migrants co-offend with individuals from their native communities?

3. Did trafficking networks follow the traditional hierarchal organised crime structure? How do leadership roles correspond to the formation/operation of the trafficking networks?

4. Does network type (e.g. familial, business, brothel) affect the overall structure of the network in regards to migrant and female participation?

5. How do networks shape and define the migratory practices of individuals engaged in human trafficking?

Human trafficking is a crime without racial, gendered, or geographical prejudice (Zhang & Pineda 2008). Though these questions remain speculative, they are germane to current lines of research being explored in human trafficking theory, particularly those that underpin significant legislative efforts aimed at combating human trafficking and promoting human security. This study attempts to unearth a number of nuances relating to the human trafficking offense with Zhang and Pineda's assertion in hand.

Notes

[i] The reasoning leading to the selection of these countries of analysis is detailed in the Methods

[ii] Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Nov. 15, 2000, S. TREATY DOC. NO. 108-16 (2004), 2237 U.N.T.S. 319 [hereinafter *Trafficking Protocol*].

[iii] Hereinafter *UNODC*.

[iv] See Weitzer, 2007.

[v] Human trafficking legislation does not require the physical *movement* of an individual (e.g. regional trafficking/forced prostitution), but the nature of this study is to examine, when applicable, how *migration* affects the trafficking trade.

[vi] Turner and Kelly (2009) call for a focus on crime networks and human trafficking, but the use of the term *crime networks* presupposes that individuals (e.g. landed immigrants) who assist with the migration of those within their social/community network are, in fact, *criminals*. Though they may suggest otherwise, categorization of *victim* and *offender* in relation to human trafficking and smuggling is not as black and white as Turner and Kelly portray. This type of rhetoric and pre-supposing of categorizations is an inherent problem noted throughout human trafficking research (Agustin, 2007a 2007b; Denton, 2010).

[vii] Data collected for this study include cases of regional domestic trafficking (nearly always for a sexual exploitative purpose). Though this may seem contradictory to the notion of trafficking as a migratory act, legally, these cases are defined as human trafficking. The domestic cases captured by this study highlight that the importance of network structures and migratory patterns remains. That is, who does what to whom in a regional case still follows the pattern of networks and, to an extent, also follows the pattern of actuation to relocate (migrate) from one's home, neighbourhood, community, city, etc., regardless of whether the move is transnational.

[viii] McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Brashears (2006) stress the changes in core social networks of immigrant and ethnic groups in recent decades; such insights could offer potential areas for dialogue into the (concurrent) perceived increase in human trafficking and human smuggling.

[ix] The same level of mathematical analysis may not be possible for human trafficking, due to the limited number of actualized cases identified and discussed in the literature; it is likely that the ideological strands of "small world" phenomenon exist within human trafficking, especially those cases involving noticeable/identifiable patterns of chain migration.

[x] Waldinger (1994) highlights the occurrence of clustering of migrants in major urban cores throughout the United States. A comparison of number of trafficked individuals in urban areas with large migrant populations, especially those of similar ethnic backgrounds [Neske's (2006) discussion of mono-ethnic networks of migrants], would offer insight into the operation of network structures in those particular communities.

[xi] This statement refers specifically to the *criminal act* of trafficking, not the perceived inherent sexual exploitation that occurs within the sex trade (i.e. males purchasing females for the purpose of their own sexual gratification).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

During the past two decades, concern for human trafficking has led to an increase in anti-trafficking legislation throughout much of the developed world. The implications of this interest are numerous. Specifically, the implementation of anti-trafficking initiatives has led to a surge in the number of traffickers apprehended, as well as an increase in the number of trafficked individuals identified by law enforcement. As a result, the research community has been presented an opportunity to empirically evaluate the trafficking phenomenon (Gozdziak and Collett 2005) at both macro and micro levels. Paradoxically, the human trafficking literature largely lacks methodologically rigorous empirical assessments of such data. This dearth provides a foundation for which trafficking research can be redeveloped, reshaped, reframed, and reformed.

Since the decline of legal slavery during the age of emancipation, the subject of the commercial trade of peoples has been rooted in discussions of the sex trade (Davis 2014). The origins of debates about international slavery for sex are located in the late nineteenth century when Josephine Butler brought the White Slave Trade (or Traite des Blanches: an adaptation of the French term Traite des Noirs) to the attention of the American public (Derks 2000). Butler felt that white women and children were susceptible to involuntary prostitution. She advocated the criminalization of the sex trade in order to alleviate potential harms associated with prostitution (Friman and Reich 2007). Butler's writings luridly detailed the kidnapping and transport of white women for forced prostitution and, similar to present day anti-trafficking campaigns, the media widely covered the purported White Slave Trade. Media attention brought about public awareness, resulting in the creation of a number of organisations designed to combat the problem. A partial result of this attention brought about the first national and international anti-(white)slave trade legislation (Gozdziak and Collett 2005).

In Paris 1904, the first White Slave Trade international legislation was enacted by sixteen nations (Doezema 2002). The initial *International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Trade* legislation did not directly link Butler's White Slave Trade conception with the sex trade, but subsequent revisions to the legislation (in 1910 and again in 1921) broadened the scope to include traffic of women and children within

national borders (Wijers and Lap-Chew 1997). In Geneva 1933, a new convention was put into place with a focus specifically related to transnational sex trades. The *International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women* denounced all transnational sex trade recruitment, meaning that any attempts to facilitate cross-border migration in the sex trade were condemned (Gozdziak and Collett 2005). Further attempts to abolish the international sex trade occurred with subsequent conventions of the newly formed *United Nations*. In 1949, the *UN Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Person and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others* was drafted with specific verbiage detailing the inherently "evil" behaviours of those engaged in the trafficking of women and children (Doezema 2002). Although the 1949 convention remained in place, the fervour surrounding sex trafficking died down until changes in the international community brought about a renewed interest in cross-border interactions throughout the world (Gozdziak and Collett 2005).

Resulting from developing migration trends, an evolving feminist movement, and responses to sex tourism (among other international issues), the 1980s and 1990s brought about a renewed interest in the human trafficking dialogue (Doezema 2002). By 1996, seventy countries had ratified the 1949 Convention (Kelly and Regan 2000), and the *United Nations* was promoting the need for more stringent international and national legislation to further combat trafficking. The United States became the first in the international community to enact and adopt trafficking-specific legislation, culminating in 2000 with the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA). In 2000, the *UNODC* adopted the formalized international definition of human trafficking as outlined in the previous chapter. Subsequent *Protocols* (2006) followed, detailing the need to combat trafficking at both international and national levels. The United States was quick to ratify the *Protocols* put forth by the *UNODC*, as were Australia, the United Kingdom, and Canada. As occurred with the legislative implementation in the early Twentieth Century, the renewed international interest in human trafficking legislation ran concurrent to burgeoning attention from the research community. As legislation developed so too did problems defining human trafficking within the scope of the law.

Although legislation at the international level utilised a formal definition of trafficking, the challenge of defining a phenomenon so broad in scope brought about

difficulties for law enforcement and, subsequently, policy advocates and researchers (Gozdziak and Collett 2005). By ratifying the *UNODC Protocols* (2006), countries agreed to adopt human trafficking legislation at national and, if desired, state levels. However, the legislative definition need not be a duplicate of that of the *UNODC*, meaning trafficking definitions may be altered at the nation-level. The concept of a country-level trafficking definition allowed governments to focus on specific components of the act. The academic community has also engaged in similar focused-based endeavours, engaging in research that, more often than not, favours one particular component of the definition. This has led to an oftentimes redundant saturation of attention to specific aspects of trafficking (Doezema 2002; Denton 2010).

The redundancy is cause for concern because of possible resulting descriptions of trafficking that have very little to do with reality (Tyldum and Brunovskis 2005). This is especially problematic when data are used in order to inform anti-trafficking legislation because inadequate research can lead to inadequate legislation. The renewed international attention of the past two decades has resulted in the proliferation of human trafficking research that sets out to describe the tangible realities of the trafficking problem. Some would question whether the literature has successfully captured the realities at stake.

Gozdziak and Bump (2008) summarized the current state of the trafficking literature:

> While the majority of experts on human trafficking assert that the greatest number of victims of trafficking are women and children, there [are] little systematic and reliable data on the scale of the phenomenon; limited understanding of the characteristics of victims[…], their life experiences, and their trafficking trajectories; poor understanding of the *modus operandi* of traffickers and their networks; and lack of evaluation research on the effectiveness of governmental anti-trafficking policies and the efficacy of rescue and restore programs, among other gaps in the current state of knowledge about human trafficking (p. 4).

Knowledge about human trafficking, including who does what to whom, how often, and in what manner, is vital to assisting policy-makers, service providers, mental health workers, and law enforcement in creating effective responses to the variety of types of human trafficking. Understanding the life trajectories and characteristics of trafficked

individuals and traffickers is a fundamental component of trafficking research (Gozdziak and Bump 2005, 2008).

Of additional importance is the ability to differentiate between the often sensational publications intending to raise awareness about trafficking and research based on methodologically rigorous, systematic, peer-reviewed empirical research (Gozdziak and Collett 2005). This chapter aims to outline the research that currently exists and identify research gaps that need to be filled. In order to construct a representation of the human trafficking literature at present, the following questions will provide the framework of analysis: How is human trafficking defined? Who is funding and conducting research? What data and methodologies are most commonly used? What types of studies are most prevalent? What are the dominant theoretical research frameworks? What are the research gaps that need to be addressed?

Defining human trafficking

The creation of the *UN* definition[xii] of trafficking was the result of two years of negotiations and heavy lobbying by religious and feminist organisations (Gozdziak and Collett 2005). The lobbying efforts highlighted the opposing ideological frameworks that viewed trafficking for sexual exploitation with different perspectives: the Human Rights Caucus, who view the sex trade as a legitimate means of employment; and, the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (hereinafter, *CATW*), who argue that all forms of prostitution violate women's human rights (Doezema 2002).

Two issues are apparent within this debate: first, the direct focus on the sexually exploitative side of trafficking; and second, the circumlocution of the *CATW* in promoting anti-trafficking legislation that would bolster its primary goal of ending prostitution. The *CATW* and its supporters called for the creation of a trafficking definition that included all forms of recruitment, transportation, and migration for prostitution, regardless of whether force, fraud, coercion or deception were used (Hughes and Roche 1999). The Human Rights Watch countered that the use of force, fraud, coercion or deception was fundamental to defining acts of trafficking. Further fuelling the debate was the *CATW*'s assertion that prostitution, much like child sexual exploitation, is never voluntary regardless of a women's consent (Hughes and Roche 1999). The Human Rights Caucus disagreed, asserting the denial of women's capacity to consent to

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employment in the sex trade was limited to their ability to exercise their rights (Human Rights Caucus 1999). Ultimately, the Human Rights Caucus side of the argument was favoured by the signatories of the *Protocol*, and the definition included differentiation between consenting adults and trafficked individuals. The debate, however, has continued in the research community and, more specifically, in the human trafficking literature.

Sheila Jeffreys (1997, 1999, 2009) has repeatedly emphasised a dichotomous conception of male dominance and female subservience in the sex trade. Jeffreys's primary academic contributions feature an anti-prostitution framework. In the late 1990s, a renewed interest in human trafficking opened a space to include trafficking within the anti-prostitution dialogue. Jeffreys was quick to capitalize: her works have hundreds of citations, and her commentary regarding prostitution and human trafficking is prominent in the trafficking literature. Her contributions, however, have done little to clarify the definitional debates surrounding trafficking.

Jeffreys (2009) defines human trafficking as an issue rooted solely in male dominance and the male-dominated model of capitalism. She contends that neo-liberalism "has been merged with a free market ideology to reconstruct prostitution as legitimate 'work' which can form the basis of national and international sex industries" (2009: p. 16). She continues by claiming that "the growing market sector needs to be understood as the commercialization of women's subordination" (p. 16). She is willing to concede that male prostitution exists, though she explicitly points out that this is for the sexual purpose of other men.[xiii] Jeffreys (1997) uses the terms "male prostitutes" and "gay men" interchangeably, and she also suggests that subordination is the issue of the female as a result of perpetual male dominance. Jeffreys's (1997) presentation of sex work suggests that men, whether seller or buyer, are entirely involved for their own sexual pleasure. She contends the same is not true for females, and she uses the trafficking discourse to present her concerns regarding liberal sex work policies.

Jeffreys's (1999, 2009) main attack is directed at countries, such as Holland and Australia, that have legalised portions of the sex trade. Her contention that *all* sex trade work is exploitation is transparent in her discussions of human trafficking (Jeffreys 2009). This becomes a definitional issue because her presentation of human trafficking aligns itself with that of the *CATW*, meaning that she fails to distinguish among those

who are trafficked, those who willingly participate in the sex trade, those who willingly migrate within the sex trade, and those who fall somewhere in the grey area. At an ideological level, Jeffreys's discussion of human trafficking and prostitution is not problematic. The problem becomes more apparent when defining legislation that will combat trafficking offenses. Jeffreys (2009) suggests that the only way to combat trafficking is to define the problem as a male dominated industry that perpetuates the subservience of females. It is far from clear that her contention provides a sound basis for legislation, and those who disagree with Jeffreys suggest that her approach does little more than muddle an already problematic legislative situation.

Another angle to the debate is presented by Kelly (2002, 2003, 2005), who argues that *force* or *consent* should not be the locus of human trafficking legislation. Specifically, Kelly argues that in the absence of physical evidence the use of *force* can be difficult to prove and prosecute. Gulcur and Ilkkaracan (2002) echo Kelly's concerns. The concern is legitimate: determining exploitation can be arduous, particularly in circumstances wherein law enforcement struggles to draw distinctions between victim, migrant, and illegal immigrant.

The primary danger of the *force* debate is losing focus on legalities of human trafficking. Regardless of concepts of male dominance and female subservience, the human trafficking issue is a reality that requires adequate legal definitions. Jeffreys (1997, 2009) speaks to the issue of trafficking as a violation of human rights, but in doing so she denies the sex worker the right to engage in the occupation of her choosing. Therein lies the primary issue: a sex worker may feel as though she has no option but to sell sex for survival, but the choice is solely hers. She is distinct from the trafficking victim who enters the sex trade because of someone else's choosing.

The individual application of definitions of trafficking for the promotion of a specific politically-charged focus (e.g. anti-prostitution) can be dangerous insofar as human trafficking legislation is concerned (Chuang 2010; Goodey 2008; Zhang 2009). Reshaping definitions in order to facilitate a cause is especially problematic because areas of human trafficking unrelated to a specific scope may be shifted to the periphery (e.g. labour trafficking, male exploitation). The charged atmosphere of trafficking research suggests that one definition is unlikely to appease the whole of the trafficking research

community. Weitzer (2007) contends that a neutral definition will not appease those with ulterior motives involved in the trafficking dialogue. Specifically, Weitzer believes that those who utilise the human trafficking literature to further their purpose of abolishing the sex trade are not actually invested in promoting a comprehensive definition because human trafficking is not their primary concern. Instead, Weitzer suggests these individuals/organisations are propagating their own agendas through the trafficking literature.

Anti-sex trafficking ideologues such as Kathleen Barry (1979) and Janice Raymond (2013) continue to focus the trafficking debate on the sex trade. This is especially problematic when all sex workers are labelled "trafficked women," as is the approach of Barry and Raymond. Barry (2002) founded the *CATW*[xiv] and publishes a variety of trafficking reports that study sex workers with the assumption that all have been trafficked. By Barry's definition, her study's population of choice is acceptable; however, her defining all sex workers as trafficking victims leads to estimates of the human trafficking population that more resemble the number of active sex workers than they do the number of trafficked individuals. Barry's (2002) approach of defining sex workers as trafficked individuals is tied up with her argument that all sex work is sexual exploitation and all sex trafficking is sexually exploitative. Her linguistic tricks, however, do little for the purpose of understanding the tangible realities of human trafficking. Chapkis (2003) notes the frequent rhetorical tool of conflating topics of migrant abuse, trafficking, and sexual slavery in anti-trafficking discourse. The dilemma for the human trafficking literature is that rhetorical affrays have replaced viable discussions of what, legislatively, constitutes a trafficking offense.

Any single definition is likely to fall short of capturing trafficking in its entirety because the multifaceted character of human trafficking may not be adequately captured within the framework of one single definition. Comprehensive definitions can be difficult to attain, especially in the face of ideological debates of the very nature of trafficking. Trafficking in persons is not one single activity: there are those who recruit, those who transport, those who procure, those who facilitate, those who exploit, and those who unknowingly engage in illegal activities relating to the offense. This suggests that a broad definition is required in order to include all facets of trafficking. Yet, the purpose of the

definition is also important. In the criminal justice system, one must question the faculty of a definition in regards to the pursuit of criminal prosecution.

The issue returns to legislatively carving up a multifaceted act in a manner that permits social control policies that can alleviate any or all of the problem. Legislation defining trafficking is understandably focused on those who are exploited against their will, not those who choose occupations that are traditionally subservient. The international definition of trafficking outlines this concept. Although disagreements abound regarding the force/choice dichotomy of the sex trade, these issues seemingly only actualize problems when they influence the manner in which nations and states (if applicable) choose to create, enact, and implement anti-trafficking laws. Ultimately, it is the task of each country's criminal justice system to define and prosecute trafficking offenses (Gozdziak and Collett 2005).

The process of condensing many illegal actions into one compound definition has proved problematic, but, at the country level there exists the possibility for enacting legislation that deals with the multitude of offenses that comprise human trafficking activities. Specifically, offenders can be prosecuted for offenses involving living off of the avails of prostitution, forced labour, failure to adequately compensate for employment, and so forth. Such offenses have been utilised in prosecuting human traffickers (Denton 2010). The critical point remains that human trafficking is a complex set of acts that can consist of distinct criminal deeds (Zhang 2009).

The utility of understanding complications inherent to defining human trafficking is made more apparent when mapping out research treatments of human trafficking as depicted in the literature. More specifically, the problems inherent to the ways in which trafficking is defined can affect specific research methodologies and types of funding available to researchers.

Who is funding and conducting research?

To date, governmental organisations, intra-governmental organisations, international organisations, international and national non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and anti-trafficking programs have conducted, commissioned, and/or funded research reports that make up the majority of the human trafficking literature (Agustin 2007; Gozdziak and Collett 2005). These reports are not published in academic outlets

(Gozdziak and Bump 2008). Gozdziak and Bump (2008) argue that "by forgoing the double blind peer review process often used in academic publishing, the organisations publishing reports are able to control content and dissemination of their research" (p. 35). Much of the research conducted by international NGOs and intra-governmental organisations take place in developing countries where the *UN* and other NGOs have a consistent presence. Gozdziak and Bump (2008) argue:

> The methodological challenges posed by studying vulnerable populations seem to be resulting in less empirical research conducted in developing countries by institutions subject to an Institutional Review Board evaluation (p. 35).

United Nations-funded international organisations such as *UNICEF*, the *UNODC*, *UNESCO*, *UNICRI*, among others, comprise the vast majority of reports publishing macro-level information detailing country-level involvement in human trafficking. Organisations such as Amnesty International, the *CATW*, the *GAATW*, *ILO*, *IOM*, Anti-Slavery International, the Human Rights Watch, Alliances against Human Trafficking, among others, are more frequently the publishers of reports detailing characteristics of the trafficking act, including likely trafficking victims, traffickers, and modalities of the trafficking offense.

Unlike other social science disciplines, the human trafficking literature is underrepresented by academic peer-reviewed research and university book publications (Gozdziak and Bump 2008; Weitzer 2007). Weitzer (2007) argues that the existence of this dearth is a direct result of anti-prostitution abolitionists' monopolisation of the literature. He views organisations such as the *CATW* and the *GAATW* as purposeful monopolisers of the trafficking dialogue. More specifically, he suggests that these organisations are largely responsible for misrepresenting and sensationalizing human trafficking within an anti-prostitution framework.

Weitzer (2007) criticizes the alarmist approach that some anti-trafficking advocates employ. Specifically, researchers sensationalize human trafficking by arguing that the trade in humans is a billion dollar industry (Kelly 2002, 2005) with a growing numbers of victims (Weitzer 2007). At the same time, however, researchers also claim that accessing reliable trafficking data is incredibly difficult (Tyldum and Brunovskis 2005). Gozdziak and Collett (2005) note this paradox, stating:

It is noteworthy that despite the difficulties in establishing clear and reliable statistics, the trafficking phenomenon has often been described as mushrooming or being on the rise globally, while in fact these assertions are often based on very few cases (p. 110).

Herein lies a fundamental issue: those who fund and conduct trafficking research do so without reliable data, but continue to make assertions that the problem is growing. Chapkis (2003) argues that researchers engaging in this unspoken quagmire are making strategic use of the trafficking dialogue in order to create a moral panic around sexual slavery.

Chapkis (2003) suggests that the fundamental purpose of alarmist trafficking researchers is to abolish the sex trade in its entirety (see Raymond 2013 or Raymond and Hughes 2001 for an abolitionist viewpoint; see Shaver 2005 for a counter-argument to the abolitionist movement). It could be argued that the majority of trafficking research falls under the anti-prostitution research framework as a *value* judgement. Weitzer (2007) adds to this argument by claiming that governments wishing to enact anti-immigration and anti-sex trade legislation will use human trafficking as a method to bolster their specific political strategies. As such, the perpetual funding of trafficking research granted to ideological affiliates assists policy makers who want to enact legislation in adjunct to anti-trafficking policies (Weitzer 2007).

The virtually absent focus of trafficking of bonded labour and domestic servitude (traditional migrant roles) research holds across many disciplines (Gozdziak and Bump 2008; Gozdziak and Collett 2005). Criminal justice, law reviews, and social science disciplines comprise the bulk of the literature. These types of journals traditionally publish research that adheres to traditionally rigorous methodological practices. This is not the case for human trafficking research. However, published human trafficking research is scarce in the top tier academic journals (Gozdziak and Bump 2008; Weitzer 2012). This could be a result of the perpetual nondisclosure of trafficking sampling strategies, as well as a failure to deploy transparent methodologies for garnering results. This could also be the result of the lack of sampling of cases of trafficking in favour of analyzing only the cases that perpetuate the literature's current depiction of trafficking (Agustin 2007; Weitzer 2007). The apparent reliance on anecdotal evidence is cause for concern. Trafficking sampling issues could account for the rarity of support by research

agencies for traditional trafficking research. Though the reasoning for trafficking sampling issues remains speculative, current trafficking research data methodologies require further critical attention. If funding from research agencies is contingent upon methodological rigor, the lack of such in trafficking could be fatal.

What data and methodologies are most commonly used?

The lack of accurate statistical studies is widely noted in critical treatments of the trafficking literature. Goodey (2008) contends that "accurate data on the extent of trafficking in human beings does not exist" (p. 424). Figures are presented without verifiability (Gozdziak and Bump 2008; Gozdziak and Collett 2005), rendering their reliability impossible (Goodey 2008). Dollar estimates in the billions are touted and restated without any substantial verification (Weitzer 2007), and estimates of the number of trafficked individuals are often provided from unmentioned sources (Gozdziak and Bump 2008).

Many researchers do not work with random samples (Gozdziak and Bump 2008; Weitzer 2007), though the same researchers tout empirical results. Zhang (2009) adds that those who claim to be conducting empirical research more often than not fail to disclose their methodologies. Andrees (2005) and Goodey (2008) suggest that only the most obvious and blatant cases of trafficking are reported as supposed research findings. Weitzer (2007) argues that data collection methodologies are not a result of a lack of access to particular data, but rather a fundamental choice in publishing information that suits a specific ideological purpose.

A recent bibliography of English-language human trafficking publications highlights a number of issues regarding the human trafficking literature (Gozdziak and Bump 2008). The authors compiled a comprehensive bibliography of research-based literature on human trafficking, amassing a total of 741 publications. Of those, 58 percent were reports, 29 percent were journal articles, and 13 percent were books. Of the 218 journal articles, only 18 percent or 39 articles were based on empirical research.[xv] The remaining 82 percent were based on non-empirical research.[xvi] Of the non-empirical published research, Gozdziak and Bump found that 46 percent (or 96 articles) were published in peer-reviewed journals. This finding challenges traditional notions of the peer review process, which tends to eliminate non-empirical research (Gozdziak and

Bump 2008). The deficiency of traditional social science academic research in the literature is emphasised by the finding that 3 percent of journal articles were methodologically quantitative.

The primary methodological approach to human trafficking journal articles is non-empirical qualitative research, evenly split between non-peer reviewed and peer-reviewed publications. Previously, the scarcity of quantitative studies had been attributed to the lack of publicly-available human trafficking datasets. In a journal article published by the *IOM* (*International Migration*), Tyldum and Brunovskis (2005) argue that the lack of datasets on numbers and/or characteristics of trafficking has forced researchers to rely on qualitative methodologies. Though this claim may have represented research conducted prior to the 2012 inception of the *UNODC* Human Trafficking Case Law Database, it does little to answer the continued lack of published quantitative human trafficking in more recent years.

Weitzer (2005; 2007; 2012) argues that robust empirical human trafficking research is developing in the field of criminology, but contends that researchers who fail to conform to the myth of the literature will struggle to have their work published, especially if the peer-review process includes individuals advocating for a specific body of human trafficking literature. Weitzer (2007) also argues that the reason for the lack of methodologically robust empirical research is two-fold: first, the literature has been monopolised by anti-prostitution abolitionists, and; second, this monopolisation is used to perpetuate the "mythology of trafficking" (p. 1337). Regardless of whether quantitative research is being conducted, the issue is its prevalence in the literature.

The relative lack of journal articles within the human trafficking literature leads to another critique: the current state of knowledge is largely framed by non-academic sources who are not subject to rigorous quality controls. Gozdziak and Bump (2008) located the primary source of empirical trafficking research in the form of *reports*. Such reports, predominantly provided by governments and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), are not subject to the traditional rigours of the peer-reviewed process.[xvii] At four hundred and twenty-nine articles, reports make up the majority of the human trafficking literature. Of the sixty eight percent of reports that are empirical in nature, ninety-eight

percent employ qualitative[xviii] research methodologies. As noted with journal articles, the majority of reports are based on sex trafficking of women and children.

Of additional concern is the scarcity of quantitative studies, which Gozdziak and Bump suggest "stems from both the unavailability of datasets on trafficking in persons and difficulty in gaining access to existing datasets…[which]…affects trafficking researchers across all disciplines" (p. 7). There is, however, no mention of the possibility of researchers constructing their own datasets with methods similar to traditional crime studies (e.g. police reports, court records, crime surveys, etc.). Claims regarding the difficulty of empirically assessing a *hidden population* (Agustin 2007; Andrees and van der Linden 2005; Busza 2004; Di Nicola and Cauduro 2007; Gallagher 2010; Goodey 2008; Hathaway 2008; Kelly 2002, 2003, 2005; Kelly and Regan 2000; Laczko 2002, 2005; Laczko and Gramegna 2003; Tyldum and Brunovskis 2005; Vandenberg 2007; Weitzer 2005; Williams 1999) overlook the large number of empirically-sound studies conducted across the criminological discipline (Zhang 2009; Zhang and Pineda 2008).

Although accessing trafficking victims can prove difficult (Gozdziak and Bump 2008), such issues can be circumvented through the use of data collection methodologies that do not rely on the victim (Zhang 2009). Arguably, the *UNODC*'s 2011 launch of its trafficking case law database based on court records of human trafficking prosecutions has made the ability to conduct empirical research easier; however, to present date there remains a scarcity of empirical human trafficking research, and those who claim to conduct empirical research often do so without openly discussing their data collection methodologies.

The majority of researchers who have conducted empirical human trafficking studies have employed convenience sampling (Andrees 2005; Gozdziak and Bump 2008). Conducting empirical research with the use of a convenience sample can render generalisations about a phenomenon scientifically unviable (Lohr 1999). What can mislead are the generalisations and inferences of the human trafficking phenomenon that *are* made from results of convenience samples. For example, from 1999 to 2007 twenty-two reports released by *UNICEF* (alone and in affiliation with other organisations) used convenience sampling as a methodological approach to highlighting country-level issues of human trafficking. The *UNICEF* reports each ended with recommendations for ending

human trafficking in a particular region based on the results of the convenience samples. The results were cycled throughout *UNICEF*'s other trafficking reports, as well as the greater trafficking research community.

The recycling of results from convenience samples pervades the trafficking dialogue (Laczko 2002) with researchers using the results of previous studies in support of their own. Zhang (2009) highlights the frequent practice of authors citing one another as examples of the veracity of their own estimates of the economical value and number of cases of trafficking (in-group citing). The United States has funded several research studies of human trafficking since its 2000 inception of the *TVPA* (*US Department of State* 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012). Its estimates of global (international) trafficked individuals (800,000) remained consistent, but its estimates of domestic trafficking were significantly different (Zhang 2009). The dramatic change in estimated figures of trafficking led to the US federal government's attempt to disclose its research methodologies (*US Department of State* 2004, 2008). Zhang (2009) notes that the disclosure was an attempt "to boost the appearance of scientific rigor in its methodology" (183). The US Department of State purported the use of sophisticated mathematical modelling techniques in its calculation of estimates. After an internal governmental audit of the estimates of trafficking, it was revealed that the most of the estimates were developed by one individual who had failed to document all of his work, eliminating the possibility of replication and, more importantly, reliability [*US Government Accountability Office* (GAO) 2006].

Some trafficking researchers tout replication of results as indicative of reliability and validity of results. This could be a result of what Kelly (2005) refers to as a researcher being able to find anything she wants. Hodge and Lietz (2007), Kapstein (2006), and Malarek (2003) exemplify Kelly's criticism of "findings" that are touted without the existence of a rigorous methodological framework. Malarek claimed that every village, town, and city in Eastern Europe had young women disappear into the sex trade. Malarek made this claim based on interviews with townspeople that he generalised across a vast geographic area. He provides no sampling strategy or interview methodology, but his work is widely quoted in the literature as evidence of the scope of trafficking. Kapstein (2006) presents percentage statistics of the number of individuals in

various realms of trafficking, but his methodology is similar to that of Malarek: absent. Hodge and Lietz (2007) conducted a literature review, concluding that *every* country/nation state has a trafficking problem. They did so even though the vast majority of papers in their review lacked empirical data. Although they all may agree that trafficking data are difficult to collect, the lack of methodology combined with the purported authority of their claims is alarming. These authors exemplify the need for refocused discussions regarding data collection and statistical representations. In particular, the discussion should focus on the researcher and research organisations rather than the limitations of available data.

In 2006, the *UNODC* attempted to create an international representation of human trafficking. The "Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns" report was a content analysis of print material from a variety of international and national sources (*UNODC* 2006). The purpose of the content analysis was to count how often certain countries were cited as places of origin, transit, and/or destination. The content analysis was used to map characteristics of trafficking, trafficking offenders, and trafficked individuals based on their geographic location and the manner in which the trafficking occurred. Country-level involvement in trafficking was determined by the number of times a country was cited for a particular characteristic (e.g. place of origin, transit country, and/or place of destination). Although this methodology is an approach to macro level data, Goodey (2008) points out the issue of mistakenly interpreting citation count as "counts" of actual occurrences of trafficking. This is especially problematic because the *UNODC* data reflect only those countries with active trafficking policies whose print material discussed "human trafficking" as in issue within their borders (Goodey 2008). Here again is the issue of capably making generalisations about a phenomenon (even at the macro level) from a very specific population that may not represent overall trends and patterns.

In recent years, there have been attempts to better empirically understand the influence of sex trade laws on rates of human trafficking. The question, however, is the quality of data employed for quantitative evaluation. Cho, Dreher, and Neumayer (2013) present results from their study of the rate of trafficking into developed countries with legalised sex trades. Though their results suggest a correlation between the two measures, their data are based on the previously mentioned *UNODC* report (2006) that comingles

"citation" counts with actual occurrences of trafficking (Goodey 2008). The data used by Cho, Dreher, and Neumayer do not reflect actual trafficking cases: at best, the data reflect the interest level of a country in combatting trafficking, as well as *estimates* of the flow of trafficking victims into a particular country (Goodey 2008). Cho, Dreher, and Neumayer's results may not be rooted in reality because they are derived from an estimated population. Studies by Hughes (2000) and Jakobsson and Kotsadam (2011) present similar results to that of Cho, Dreher, and Neumayer, but both studies use similar *UNODC* aggregate data.

Surtees (2008) contends that "future research on traffickers should, where possible, also include alternative data collection methodologies, such as interviews with traffickers or secondary analysis of court cases" (p. 44). Goodey (2008), however, argues that methodological and ethical issues pertaining to interviewing convicted and non-convicted traffickers render court cases as the "most valuable untapped source of information" (p. 430). For example, Troshynskis and Blank (2008)'s interviewing non-convicted traffickers raised numerous questions regarding their methodology for locating and interviewing traffickers (Goodey 2008). Though Troshynskis and Blank indicate that their research is exploratory in nature, their publication reads too comparable to journalism to be considered a rigorous methodological study of human traffickers.

Influence of the media

Academics such as Weitzer (2005, 2007, 2012) and Zhang (2009) assert that prototypical (sex) trafficking discussed in the literature mimics that of the media: at the very least, an overrepresentation. Weitzer (2012) suggests that the hyper-focus on the voices of victims of sex trafficking dilutes the literature and perpetuates the myth of human trafficking. These voices often resound in the media and commandeer the focus of trafficking research from a biased tone. Weitzer (2007) contends that the dominant voice in the literature is that which decries men's treatment of women and children.

Weitzer (2005) continues his strong stance regarding the problems embedded in the trafficking discourse by lamenting that:

> In no area of the social sciences has ideology contaminated knowledge more pervasively than in writings on the sex industry. Too often in this

area, the canons of scientific inquiry are suspended and research deliberately skewed to serve a particular political agenda (p. 934).

Weitzer's (2005) claims supplement Sanghera's (2005) previous critique that empiricism in the literature is frequently replaced with mythological constructions of the act and its actors (as noted in Zhang 2009). Weitzer's (2007) analysis of sex trafficking in the trafficking literature suggests that a "robust moral crusade against sex trafficking has appeared in the past decade" (p. 447). He contends that the core claims of those moral crusaders are, when closely analysed, dubious. He notes (with alarm) that these activists have found remarkable success in incorporating their views in government policy, legislation, and law enforcement practices, therein representing the fundamental issue of the predominant lack of empirical trafficking research in favour of non-empirical value judgments (Weitzer 2007).

A major problem with media representations of human trafficking is overrepresentation of types of cases. Andrees (2005) critiques the use of media as a secondary source because the overrepresentation of one type of trafficking and one type of victim will lead to sampling bias. Cheng (2008) conducted a content analysis assessing the preoccupation with sex trafficking in the media, concluding that media depictions are capable of undermining efforts to understand human trafficking (Cheng 2008; Denton 2010). Vandenberg (2007) adds to the commentary by suggesting that the rise in media coverage of sex trafficking may create situations wherein increased policing is unnecessarily used to combat trafficking.

The danger of non-empirical human trafficking research is the ability to influence policy with statements that carry ideological clout in favour of empirical data. When one argues, as Donna Hughes (2005) has suggested, that trafficking should be addressed under the larger umbrella of abolishing the sex trade in its entirety, there is a denial of agency (Weitzer 2007). Hughes has acted as the primary voice in the recent anti-sex trade abolitionist movement, specifically in the state of Rhode Island where she campaigned to enact legislation that criminalised the sale of sex indoors (massage parlours, brothels, escort agencies, independent call girls, etc.) (Weitzer 2009). In 2003, Hughes spoke before an American Senate commission, detailing her fierce opposition to the allocation of resources and funding that provided HIV prevention programs to sex workers. Weitzer

(2012) accuses Hughes of perpetuating the sex trade myth in order to create a moral panic that leads people to agree with her views and opinions regarding sex work. By conflating sex work with sexual slavery, Hughes makes the human trafficking legislative task a very difficult one: the underlying danger of denying agency is the inability to separate those who are trafficked from those who willingly engage in the sex trade, regardless of whether or not one views the sex trade as indelibly exploitative (Agustin 2007).

From a criminological viewpoint, statements like those of Hughes (2005) render moot the purpose of the criminal justice system in separating trafficking victims from voluntary sex trade workers. The confounding of sex workers and trafficking victims suggests that, for sex trade abolitionists of this ilk, data collection of trafficking populations will consistently include those who may not have been trafficked, but who are self-employed in the sex trade (Gozdziak and Collett 2005). Weitzer's (2007) notion of the social construction of sex trafficking highlights why statistical representations of trafficking populations are habitually absent in the literature: such representations are unnecessary when ideology tills the groves of academe.

The vast majority of journal articles rely on unknown samples (Gozdziak and Bump 2008; Weitzer 2007, 2012). Direct access to trafficking victims has proven extremely difficult (Agustin 2007; Brennan 2005; Gozdziak and Bump 2008; Goodey 2008). The difficulty of assembling or accessing quality datasets is frequently discussed in the literature (Andrees and van der Linden 2005; Busza 2004; Di Nicola and Carduro 2007; Gallagher 2010; Goodey 2008; Hathaway 2008; Vandenberg 2007; Zhang 2009; Zhang and Pineda 2008). As noted above, samples often include "counts" of "events" of trafficking without actual reference to a specific sampling methodology (Goodey 2008). The "counts" of trafficking mentioned in reports, articles, media publications, etc. are often used to bolster annual estimates of numbers of trafficked individuals (Goodey 2008). The numbers, however, are not realistic representations of actual events; rather, the numbers represent the frequency of the discussion of human trafficking across a variety of sources (Goodey 2008). Such methodology is an empirically shaky substitute for a lack of access to trafficked individuals (Goodey 2008).

Tyldum and Brunovskis (2005) note the overall lack of access to key anti-trafficking affiliates, including representatives of law enforcement, policy-makers, health

providers, mental health providers, and social service providers. Brennan (2005) notes that many service providers are reluctant to assist researchers because these service providers see research as failing to empower trafficking survivors. Gozdziak and Bump (2008) suggest that:

> Trafficked victims are considered an extremely vulnerable population and service providers are charged with protecting them from further exploitation as well as from the possible effects of recounting their trafficking experiences in the course of a research project (p. 30).

Weitzer (2007, 2012) adds that the perpetuation of the trafficking myth requires highlighting specific trafficking "horror" stories over more banal accounts of human trafficking. In the end, accessing anti-trafficking advocates and service providers is easier than accessing trafficked individuals. Although accessing individuals trafficked for sexual exploitation remains difficult, the vast majority of research remains focused almost entirely on sex trafficking of women (Agustin 2007; Gozdziak and Bump 2008).

The problem of accurate victim accounts

Trafficking victims are rarely interviewed, but when research is collected from the voice of the victim, a clear and concise methodology of data collection is rarely presented. In such cases, victim security trumps the traditional presentation of methodology. The issue of the veracity or accuracy of victim statements is also cause for concern: trafficked individuals may not be aware of where they were, where they went, or have knowledge of their current location. This could be of detriment to researchers. Surtees (2008), who has interviewed trafficked individuals, argues that researchers filter victims' accounts of trafficking to frame a specific viewpoint; specifically, Surtees's interviewees presented more diverse profiles of traffickers that previously discussed in the literature: in some countries, female traffickers are as active as male traffickers. Surtees also suggests that some recruiters believe they are securing legitimate employment for friends, family members, and acquaintances. Voices such as those provided by Surtees are rarely revealed in the trafficking literature.

Gozdziak and Bump (2008) note that numerous studies rely on interviews with service providers. The dominant methodology is as discussed above: convenience sampling of victims and/or victim service providers[xix]. The inherent issue remains that

there is difficulty locating individuals within the anti-trafficking framework who are willing to assist researchers. Although researchers do manage to access a portion of the anti-trafficking service worker community, studies employing such methodologies remain the minority (Gozdziak and Bump 2008). Additionally, individuals who are trafficked for labour outside the sex trade (e.g. domestic workers, labourers) also remain on the periphery of trafficking research.

The *UNODC* (2011; 2012) has pursued the development of data amenable to empirical research by establishing a single database detailing trafficking prosecutions and ensuing convictions that have occurred throughout the world. Currently, the database contains information on more than 800 legal briefs from 70 different countries and three supranational courts (European Court of Human Rights, European Court of Justice, and the ECOWAS Court of Justice). The online database is a starting point for researchers who wish to build their own datasets based on legal cases of human trafficking. Although validity and reliability testing remains of tremendous importance, the database does provide motivation for the researcher who is struggling to locate the hidden population of individuals involved in human trafficking. The *UNODC*'s database is a step towards constructing anti-trafficking policy that is built upon tenable data that do not require hiding behind ideology or rhetoric.

What are the dominant theoretical frameworks?

The question of "agency"

Two opposing camps supply much of the theoretical framework of the trafficking literature. The fundamental area of contention is agency. For proponents of the anti-prostitution framework, women and children are depicted as victims with little to no agency in either their victimisation or their lives leading up to the trafficking event. If trafficking victims were previously involved in the sex trade prior to their victimisation, sex trade abolitionists often argue previous sex work as a gateway to victimisation (Agustin 2007).

The smaller of the two camps are those who advocate for the rights of sex workers. Specifically, this camp seeks to separate the notion of sex work and victimisation in favour of legislation that protects sex workers who voluntarily enter the

trade in combination with anti-trafficking legislation that seeks to assist those who fall into the realm of trafficking as it is currently defined (an act of force, coercion, fraud, or other forms of deception). The differences between the camps are numerous, and the fundamental disagreement is that of agency: whether an individual can *choose* to engage in sex work or is otherwise enslaved because of individual or structural constraints. The former camp argues that regardless of the perception of *choice*, the structuring of society places certain individuals in positions wherein their ability to choose combined with their available choices render sex work as the only viable option. As such, individuals do not necessarily occupy a role of their choosing. The latter camp recognizes such concepts, but argues that some individuals do, in fact, have numerous options and do, in fact, *choose* sex work as an occupation (Weitzer 2007). Those who choose sex work should be granted labour services that promote safe work environments rather than underground labour in potentially unsafe work environments.

A tacit presumption pervades much of the former camp's literature—those who are trafficked are unaware of what awaits them. Agustin (2007) argues that migrant workers, whether in the sex trade or other forms of labour, are often very aware of the situation to which they are migrating. Previously, Bruckert and Parent (2004) discussed such *willing victims*. They noted within Canadian RCMP trafficking files the existence of migrants who are willing to work longer hours for less pay (than native individuals) in developed nations because working and living conditions are significantly worse in their home countries. Although, legally, such instances are cases of exploitation, it can be argued that many individuals are exploited to the benefit of their employer. The issue then becomes one of type of work rather than exploitation. The *options* for employment become the focal point.

Much of the trafficking literature emphasises that trafficked women and children are from lower socioeconomic backgrounds in countries where women and children are not afforded the same rights as males (Bertone 1999; Bruckert and Parent 2002, 2004; Chapkis 2003; Goodey 2003, 2008; Kempadoo and Doezema 1998; Long 2007; Williams 1999). Vocks and Nijboer (2000) and Blanchet (2002) suggest that strain and anomie render moot the ability to choose the sex trade. They argue that women who join the sex trade do so because of limited opportunities to succeed in the legal economy.

Shannon (1999) contends that "poverty is a great supporter of sexual exploitation" (p. 123). She suggests that desperation leads individuals to sell their bodies in order to meet the demand of the market and to support their families. Shannon, however, fails to link this conception to the actions of traffickers. Shannon's statement is rooted in the rationalisation that poverty induces behaviour that might not otherwise occur if financial success could be achieved by other means. Shannon's justification for entering the sex trade is puzzling. Her argument defends individual action for self-selling one's body for profit, but she offers no discussion of individuals facing similar economic predicaments who sell others' bodies for profit. Although there may be a moral distinction between exploiting oneself and exploiting others, the issue as present by Shannon is how anomie and strain influence particular behaviours.

Weitzer (2012) recognizes the substantial variation in sex work. He argues for a *polymorphous paradigm* that underlines the "broad constellation of work arrangements, power relations, and personal experience among participants in sexual commerce" (p. 1338). He continues by stating that "victimisation, exploitation, choice, job satisfaction, self-esteem, and other factors differ between types of sex work, geographic locations, and other structural conditions" (p. 1338). Weitzer and others (Benoit and Millar 2001; Bruckert 2002; Doezema 1998; Jennes 1990; McLeod 1982; Pons and Serra 1998; Shaver 1994) argue that the sex trade industry is not homogenous: there exist structural fluctuations that go beyond the male/female dichotomy as presented in the trafficking literature.

The assumption that most traffickers are men (Agustin 2007; Denton 2010; Zhang, Chin and Miller 2007) is often uncritically accepted. Conversely, the notion of females as traffickers, brothel owners, and madams is virtually absent (Zhang 2009). If, as Shannon (1999) asserts, desperation leads women to sell their bodies, what leads women to sell other women for sexual exploitation? Both sell a body and both engage in the sex trade. There seems to be, at the very least, some level of agency affecting each of these situations.

The issue of gender roles is of substantial interest to many engaged in human trafficking research. At the extreme end of the spectrum are researchers such as Bertone (1999) and Jeffreys (1997, 2009), who root sexual exploitation in patriarchy. Their

descriptions of trafficking conform to this notion: trafficked males are depicted as smuggled migrants and trafficked women as victims of exploitation. The depiction of former implicitly suggests a lack of victimisation. Although the notion that males are smuggled more often than female is likely accurate, the source of distortion is within the assumption that females are trafficked and males are smuggled. Some contributors to the literature (Jeffreys 2009; Kelly 2002; Pastore *et al.* 2006, to name a few) seem to be more in line with discussions of rape than discussions of human trafficking. The danger of the solely gendered perspective of trafficking is the ability to affect change in situation that may not be rooted in traditional concepts and treatments of sexual violence.

Poverty, inequality, and corruption (Beare 1999; Williams 1999; Agustin 2007) may very well be some of the primary factors influencing the human trafficking trade. Migrants tend to emerge from locales where socioeconomic issues abound (Waldinger 1994). Socioeconomic issues may assist in identifying vulnerable individuals who are more easily exploited than their less vulnerable counterparts, but there remains a danger in perpetually gendering socioeconomic issues. Depicting women and children as "vulnerable populations" may be realistic, but vulnerability is widespread across migration source populations. Although attributing a gender variable is amenable to probability estimates of whom is likely to be trafficked, it does little to identify populations outside the categorisation of gender. The "vulnerability" may well not be gendered. The "vulnerability" may not be individual. The "vulnerability" could apply to entire populations who share a common thread: the desire for change and the willingness to migrate to actuate the potential for change.

Human security versus homeland security

Over the last decade, anti-human trafficking advocates have occupied a number of positions relating to research focus. Leading policy objectives are often defined by a specific approach or position. Anti-trafficking advocates generally occupy one of three approaches: those who position themselves by arguing for a human security approach (e.g. Chapkis 2003; Doezema 1998, 2000, 2002; Wijers 2002); those who define trafficking as a crime against the state (as discussed by Friman and Reich 2007); and, those who argue for the need of a market-based perspective (e.g. William 1999).

Fundamentally, the first is concerned with human security, the second with homeland security, and the third with developing an approach to trafficking research rooted in economics.

Arguing for a human security approach, Chapkis (2003) addresses the notion that the person as victim must be protected, but not at the expense of a "guilty migrant" (P. 923). Doezema (2002) believes that the ideological anti-sex approach to trafficking fails to address the crime against the person because it creates conceptions of shame, blame, and fear of prosecution. Doezema (2002) and Wijers (2002) suggest that the moral condemnation of sex workers promotes an atmosphere of shame that isolates and stigmatises sexually exploited individuals. As such, the crime is not against one person, but against an *innocent victim* (Wijers 2002: p. 2). Researchers advocating the human security approach understand that transnational trafficking occurs, but they do not view the crime as one against the nation.

Friman and Reich (2007) advocate for a homeland security approach to human trafficking. In doing so, they do not seek out protection only for the state, but argue that the analysis of national characteristics (poverty, discrimination, unemployment, etc.) is important for locating migrant populations vulnerable to trafficking. Friman and Reich argue that the "women as victim" approach is too narrow in focus because the gendered victim approach fails to capture the structural forces behind migration that lead to vulnerable individuals "seeking economic opportunity [at the] risk [of] being trafficked" (p. 15). Friman and Reich advocate for a stronger, more definitive separation between illegal migrants seeking employment and those who are trafficked.

In theory, the use of polarising migrant smuggling/illegal immigrant and human trafficking actively separates the issues of human versus homeland security. This perspective, although logical, fails to address Chapkis's (2003) claim that differentiating between the two could create situations of illegal migrants in the non-sex trade positioned against immigrants in the sex trade. Chapkis suggests a slippery slope: such distinctions may lead to additional anti-sex trade legislation that, proven over the last century, does little to assuage sex trade supply and demand. Bruckert and Parent (2004) echo Chapkis's concerns, stating:

> When the problem is defined as moral, criminal, migration or a public order problem, there is a tendency to opt for solutions that involve control or punishment. When the problem is defined as a labour or human rights issue, positive measure can be taken in response (p. 7).

The issue for Bruckert and Parent is one of cultivating policy that adequately responds to the realities of the situation, not issues of gender, migration, or morality. To better understand the situation, researchers should seek to understand the trafficking offender and offending patterns and characteristics.

<u>The trafficking offender and anti-trafficking policy</u>

Within the human trafficking dialogue, there exists a need for research that includes and responds to multiple points of view. Adequate policy cannot be cultivated only from understanding trafficking victimisation. At present, the perspective of the trafficker is rare in the human trafficking literature. Estimations of the involvement of organised criminal enterprises in human smuggling do exist[xx] (Zhang 2009; Zhang and Chin 2002; Zhang, Chin, and Miller 2007), but there remains a dearth of this type of research in the trafficking literature. Zhang and colleagues (2002, 2007) have conducted research of human smuggling networks, arguing that the human trafficking literature could benefit from similar strategies.

At present, there are discussions in the literature which focus on the notion that trafficking is most often committed by highly structured criminal organisations who gain large monetary rewards from sexual exploitation (Kelly 2002; Shannon 1999; Williams 1999). There is, however, a lack of empirical research to support such statements (Goodey 2008). Another stream of empirical research focused on human smuggling suggests a range of involvement of types of "organised" criminals, including individuals who are *organised* and individuals who do not co-offend (Zhang and Chin 2002; Zhang, Chin, and Miller 2007), but similar research regarding human trafficking is rare. Presently, arguments regarding organised crime's involvement in the trafficking trade are conjecture. Here again Weitzer (2007) contends that, in the absence of empirical evidence, the traditional view perpetuates the trafficking myth in order to promote specific ideologies with the trafficking literature.

Zhang and Chin's (2002) human smuggling research often contradicts statements regarding organised crime in the trafficking literature. Specifically, they discovered networks of offenders engaged in partnerships and co-offending patterns typical of other transactional offences (Morselli 2008). Zhang and Chin also found a lack of involvement of traditional hierarchal structured criminal organisations. They argue that this result suggests that the level of organisation required for human trafficking may not necessitate the existence of organised crime syndicates. However, their research does pinpoint the importance of networks in trafficking co-offending patterns as well as structures inherent to the operation of the sex trade. If Zhang and Chin are correct in their assertions, the human trafficking trade is not controlled by organised crime because the nature of the trafficking act is not amenable to traditional structures of hierarchy in crime syndicates. Simply put, trafficker roles are fluid; hierarchal organised crime syndicates roles are not.

The results of Zhang and Chin's (2002) research present a rich opportunity for investigation: namely, if trafficking is a multi-billion dollar industry, why are traditional organised crime syndicated failing to capitalize on this market? Zhang and Chin contend that organised crime syndicates are not involved at levels suggested in the literature because the sex trade market is exaggerated. They argue that trafficking as described in the literature is hyperbolic. They suggest that the majority of individuals involved in trafficking are strictly opportunistic and not engaged in continuing the lucrative profit-gaining situation. Additionally, they argue that the fluidity of trafficking roles and the ability to move in and out of the trafficking trade suggests that the offense is more akin to the drug market.

As occurs in drug markets, there are distinctions between those who provide product and those who sell to an end-user (Fagan 1994). Market demand supports the notion of procuring individuals for sexual exploitation, but demand is not entirely causal, nor does it explain the choices of buying and selling others' bodies for profit. There are individuals involved in the underground trade economy for sustenance, and there are those involved in illegal markets for substantial profit (Fagan 1994; Zhang and Chin 2002; Zhang, Chin, and Miller 2007). For the most part, trafficking researchers deal extensively with the latter and minimally with the former.

What research gaps need to be filled?

The shortcomings of the current trafficking literature are rooted in the neglect of two crucial concerns: migration, either regional or transnational, and the motives, economic or otherwise, that inform migration. Economic incentives often precipitate migration (Chiswick and Hatton 2002). The notion that a migrant's employment probability fluctuates at destination suggests that when determining timing of migration, migrants may place greater emphasis on employment outcomes rather than wage rates.

The timing of migration may also be closely correlated to a migrant's familial ties and social networks at home and abroad. When formal work is not readily available, a migrant may opt for work in an informal economy (Agustin 2007). As such, the characteristic of vulnerability is likely broader that gendered categorisations because a migrant, either regional or transnational is positioned in a cohort of vulnerability. Additionally, migrants often receive less than positive labels: they differ from tourists in their economic capacity and, often, their ethnicity (Agustin 2007).

Harris and Todaro (1970) define an interesting component of rural to urban migration: urban minimum wages are often lower than rural minimum wages. Yet still, rural to urban migrant flows persist, suggesting motivating factors for migration beyond simple economics. Harris and Todaro argue that one such motivating factor is the rate of employment. The opportunity is the motivating factor: the notion that the bad will eventually give way to the better prompts the gamble of migration. If economic parity is not a primary motivating factor, then Harris and Todaro's claim of sustainable employment is promising. Sustainable employment implies demand for workers, so the notion could hold true for those who migrate and travel for sex work.

Female human traffickers who enter the trade after arriving in their country of destination may be offending in a similar capacity to male traffickers. In previous studies, the existence of female traffickers as vital to the trafficking offense has been suggested (Denton 2010). These female traffickers are, more often than not, migrants who sustain their trade drawing upon individuals from their own social networks in their native land. Massey (1987, 1990) argues that the economic origins of migration are surpassed by the social nature of the action. If this is a distinguishing factor of migration, it is plausible to consider similar patterns in human trafficking.

Agustin (2006) notes that the involvement of sex in the discussion of migration often perpetuates a desire on the part of political/legal authority figures to stir up a similar sensationalised tone. Agustin's research is ethnographic and anthropological, profiling migrant women working in the sex trade who have migrated for the purpose of their work. Through a series of essays, Agustin (2007) argues that travelers' motivations and intentions are systematically ignored in trafficking discourse in favour of viewing them as victims. Agustin (2007) notes that wealth and geography often define a migrant's label: those who have the economic means and come from developed nations are tourists; those less economically secure and from developing nations are more likely to be categorised as migrants.

Agustin's (2007) research discusses women who have willingly travelled for employment in the sex trade, fully understanding what awaited them upon arrival. She locates women who derive financial benefits, security, and pleasure from their relationships and their work. Regardless of whether their feelings are distorted because of the nature of the industry (Shannon 1999), these women claim to possess agency, stating that the choice to migrate was theirs. Agustin's work presents a discursive picture of the *migrant prostitute*, invoking a term that traditionally carries a negative connotation for both the former and the latter word. Her purpose for presenting the migrant prostitute is to recognise the self-proclaimed agency of the migrant sex worker: something that is often abandoned in the literature in favour of politicisation of a trafficking victim who is helpless, abused, easily conned, and in need of rescuing.

Agustin's (2007) distrust of the motivations of police, governments, NGOs, etc. is largely shaped by the systematic denial of agency for any and all migrant sex workers. Agency, however, hardly rules out victimisation (Agustin 2007). She notes polarising views of migrants as illegals or victims of trafficking. Her research pushes for analysis of those who fall somewhere in between, and her argument is useful to trafficking researchers looking to better understand the grey areas of human trafficking. For the purpose of this research, Agustin's arguments are of value because they identify the need for data collection and analysis that seeks to separate migrant sex workers from trafficking victims. Additionally, Agustin's research remains to be tested for its empirical

validity. Whether or not her assertions hold true for legal cases of human trafficking is to be determined.

At present, large portions of the trafficking literature mimic those of the previously discussed 'white slave' discourse from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Agustin 2006, 2007). Doezema (1999) argues that while, ostensibly, the goal of the early anti-white slavery movement was the protection of women, ultimately the movement was an attempt to control *loose women*: women similar to those Agustin (2007) discusses. Doezema's contentions apply to current trafficking researchers whose writings are riddled with anti-sex work ideology. The issue often presents as one of correcting morals rather than correcting human trafficking offenses. At question is the morality of males who purchase sex and females who sell sex. Much of the literature has been constructed around such gendered dogma (Weitzer 2012).

Kanaiaupuni (2000) and Pedraza (1991) advocate a gendered perspective to address the distinct motivations of migrant men and women. This perspective is useful in understanding how migrant men and women streamline into specific labour markets. It is also useful for illuminating how female migrants access the sex trade at levels far greater than their male counterparts. However, the distinction of the human trafficker may not be so easily gendered. Removing a gendered perspective of human trafficking may result in research and scholarship that are better suited to deconstructing issues inherent to trafficking.

By reframing the migration aspect of human trafficking, researchers may be able to separate exploitation from the migration element. This could allow for an enlightened perspective that teases out details regarding migrants who successfully integrate into a labour market and those who engage in the informal economy. Specifically, socioeconomic factors of education and economic background prior to migration could correlate to the motives of migrant populations. It is often asserted in the literature that particular country-types act as originating countries (Bertone 1999; Blanchet 2002; Bruckert and Parent 2002, 2004; Chapkis 2002; Friman and Reich 2007; Gallagher 2010; Lindstrom 2007; Wijers 2002). The countries often have widespread poverty and limited employment for women. It is of interest to the human trafficking researcher whether

similar patterns hold true for regional trafficking. That is, do poorer areas supply victims of domestic trafficking? How do such issues affect who is likely to become a trafficker?

<u>Structural foundations of human trafficking</u>

If structural inequalities such as poverty, distribution of wealth, and discrimination are correlated to motivating factors of migration and entrance into the sex trade, it is conceivable that such influences also affect the decision to become a trafficker. This notion receives little attention in the majority of the trafficking literature. The structure of one's social and kinship networks may lead to a better picture of individual choices in regards to migration and, ultimately, human trafficking. This statement is somewhat ironic when considering that much of the literature is developed from anthropological, gendered, and sociological research frameworks: areas that generally emphasise the importance and influence of sociality and social context on individual behaviour. At present, there is a dearth in the trafficking literature regarding elements of trust, occupational involvement, networks, and offending patterns. This notion provides opportunity for a turning point in human trafficking research.

Human trafficking analysis through a social network lens

Granovetter's (1973) strength of weak ties (SWT) theory is organised by a set of explicit premises and conclusions. SWT's primary premise is that the stronger a tie between two people, the stronger the likelihood that their social worlds overlap (either past, present, or future). Essentially, the strength of a tie dictates the probability that two individuals will have the same third tie; in essence, the strength of the tie impacts *transivity* in the network. Granovetter's first premise carries the assumption that people tend to be homophilous (Lazarsfeld and Merton 1954; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001), leading to the likely scenario that if A is similar to B, and B is similar to C, A and C will likely possess some similarity as well. Granovetter furthers the transivity of ties argument based on cognitive dissonance theory (Borgatti and Lopez-Kidwell 2011): if A likes B, and B likes C, then A is likely to avoid conflict with C in order to maintain balance with B.

The second premise of Granovetter's (1973) SWT theory is that *bridging ties* ("weak ties" that bridge from one group to the next and are not connected to other

members of the group, see Figure 1) are potential sources of original information. The importance of a bridging tie is the type of information that one can potentially receive. That is, redundant information flows may persist in a core group, but the structure of a bridging tie allows for previously unknown information to flow between two individuals located in two separate network structures. Though bridging ties are not as strong as core network ties, they are of value. Additionally, if a tie develops into a strong tie, Granovetter's theory suggests that the tie would no longer be a bridge because, based on the first premise, it is likely that ties would develop between the original bridging tie and other members of the network (in the case of Figure 1, if A and E develop a stronger relationship that strengthens their tie, it is likely that E would also develop a tie with B and/or C, thereby eliminating the potential for novel information to be shared only between A and E).
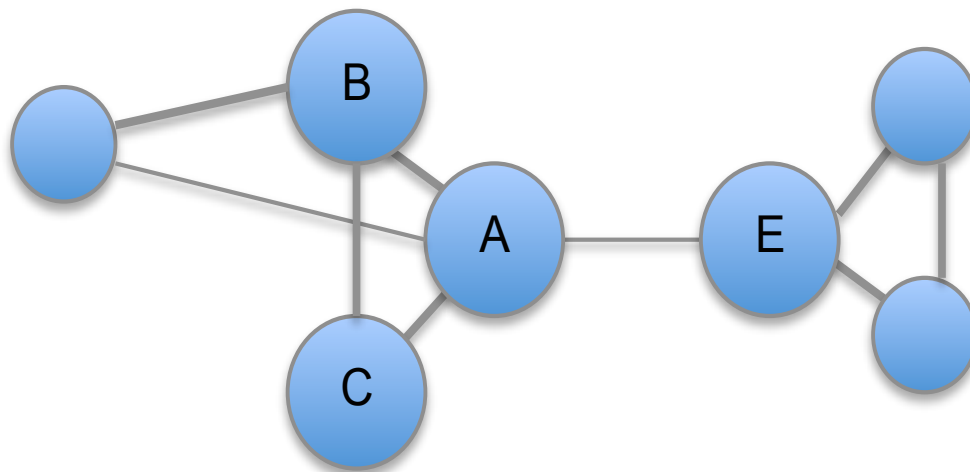
Figure 1: Bridging tie between A and E

Granovetter's (1973) theory has many sociological implications. Those who possess more weak ties implicitly possess more social capital and are likely to be more successful. Groups built upon strong ties have strong cohesion, but lack globally cohesive strength: theirs are communities isolated from other groups because of the lack of bridging ties. The reverse is true for groups possessing many weak ties but lack strength of group cohesion.[xxi]

In regards to human trafficking research, Granovetter's SWT theory can assist in developing insight into locating those individuals who possess the necessary ties (i.e. information flows) to migrate, regionally or transnationally. Not everyone with the desire

to migrate has the social capital to do so. A vulnerable individual who possesses the social capital to actuate migration may, depending on network characteristics, become a trafficked individual. Paradoxically, an individual with the social capital required to enter the human trafficking trade may also rely on her ties in order to engage in the trade as an offender. The implicit notion in the latter statement suggests that individuals with ties to those wanting to migrate are more likely to engage in trafficking (e.g. landed migrants) than those whose networks lack such ties. A social network analysis of the trafficking offense allows for a comprehensive analysis of this implication.

Criminologists employing network analysis are on the periphery of traditional crime studies, though this poses a paradox because significant portions of criminals co-offend (Morselli 2009; Papachristos 2011); that is, a significant portion of criminal behaviour occurs through collaborative efforts of two or more individuals who engage in criminal behaviours that are categorically structured by defined roles or otherwise loosely structured. The organisation of co-offenders is considered within the scope of traditional criminological theory, but the incorporation of network-based criminological theory remains embedded in the margins of crime studies (Papachristos 2011). Naylor (2006) criticises a network-based approach to crime because he views a social network as boundless (Morselli 2009). That is, anyone and everyone can, potentially, be included in a network. This view positions social network analysis as a limited construct (Morselli 2009). Felson (2003) is another sceptic of criminal (social) network analysis (Morselli 2009): he questions SNA's application to criminology, but he offers no clear or precise input as to why the application is questionable.

Morselli (2009) contends that a social network is structurally unique in regards to criminological theory because it is not bound in pre-conceived notions of structure: class-based, race-based, gender-based, etc. Though Naylor's critique is, in part, viable, the value of SNA is its ability to allow network lines to be drawn in ways previously concealed by traditional attribute grouping. Early Twenty-first Century approaches to theories of co-offending[xxii] were depicted as categorisations of social bandits (Hobsbawn 1959) and dangerous underclasses (Booth 1902). Shaw and McKay (1942) were concerned with urban cores and the transmission of criminal behaviours. Constructing his theory regarding the Chicago school research of disorganised urban cores, Sutherland

(1947) proposed the concept of differential social organisation, which broke from a pre-conceived geographical trajectory of crime to one relating to the concept that criminal groups form and co-mingle in ways similar to the groupings of their non-criminal counterparts. Cohen (1955) and Cloward and Ohlin (1960) expanded Sutherland's theory to various subcultural theories, but core criminologists persisted to discount the notion that groups of co-offenders existed and offended in normative structures comparable to non-criminal groups.

Theorising regarding human trafficking co-offending patterns is open to interpretation. Specifically, without first defining the anatomy of the offence regarding the roles of traffickers and trafficking individuals within possible network structures, one is left struggling within the aforementioned myth of the trafficking offense. In order to deconstruct notions embedded within trafficking discourses, co-offending should be addressed with the methodological means of interpreting the social and structural behaviours that promote the success of human trafficking. Rather than presupposing the existence of a traditional criminal enterprises, the focus of trafficking research should be deconstructing the offense in relation to who does what to whom, how often, and by what means. Although some traffickers act without the collaborative assistance of a co-offender, their ability to access a trafficked individual suggest that social networks remain an important measure of analysis.

SNA, as a theoretical and methodological construct, stresses the *interdependence* of social actors (Papachristos 2011; Wasserman and Faust 1994). The *connectedness* of criminal actors is, oftentimes, largely ignored by the criminological academy. The primordial tenet of mainstream criminology has been one of pathological offending at the individual level that, at times, occurred amongst individuals. SNA is methodologically grounded in mathematical graph theory, and presently extends to algebraic and statistical modeling, allowing for a portable analysis across a myriad of criminological inquires: human trafficking is a phenomenon that is steeped in the concept of networks. Though not entirely shown the egress by mainstream criminology, SNA has much to prove in order to cement itself as a tangible tool in criminological studies: this study endeavours to highlight such.

Notes

[xii] See Chapter 1 for *UNODC* definition.

[xiii] Jeffreys's (2009) discussion of male prostitution is important for the trafficking definition dialogue because, as occurred with the *CATW* and the framing of the *UN* definition, Jeffreys makes the trafficking problem solely an issue of female and child exploitation. There is little room in Jeffreys's concept of human trafficking for discussions of male exploitation, sexual or otherwise.

[xiv] Previously noted as a primary group lobbying the UN to define all sex work as exploitative.

[xv] Gozdziak and Bump (2008) consider empirical research as original studies based on direct or indirect observations to analyse an issue or test a hypothesis and reach a conclusion.

[xvi] Non-empirical research refers to papers that do not subscribe to the methodology described in the previous note (xv). The majority of non-empirical research trafficking research are legal analyses of the scope and efficacy of legal protections for victims of trafficking or direct analysis of specific provisions enacted by various governments for the purpose of combatting trafficking

[xvii] One could argue this holds true for much of the human trafficking literature.

[xviii] The issue is not a value judgment of quantitative versus qualitative. The issue is that qualitative studies offer certain advantages and this is equally true for quantitative research. The notion that the human trafficking literature is predominantly qualitative reveals certain limitations and gaps in the research that require attention.

[xix] *Service providers* range from mental health professionals to community workers advocating and providing secure living facilities to welfare agencies to community driven safe sex advocates and so on. Essentially, *service providers* are individuals at the community level who provide day-to-day service to sex workers in their community.

[xx] Legally, human smuggling is a victimless crime: both parties are deemed guilty of an offense. Human trafficking, on the other hand, is a crime against a person.

[xxi] Burt's (1992) structural holes theory of social capital is similar to Granovetter's, but differs in the verbiage of the description of ties: Burt prefers proximate ties (bridging) to Granovetter's distal ties (strength). Both theories underpin the importance of ties in network structure, but Burt argues that his terminology and theoretical description delineates the *causal agent* (Borgatti and Lopez-Kidwell 2011). Whether Burt's claim is fully accurate is of little significance to this specific discussion: both theorists posit the importance of a tie *between* networks in garnering novel information.

[xxii] Though these theorists dealt, in part, with the organisation of offenders, this notion was not always within the scope of their research.

Chapter 3: Method

Researchers' reliance on crime records (court, police, government, self-reporting, etc.) is well founded in the criminological and sociological literatures. From Durkheim's (1897) study of suicide, to Chambliss's (1973) study of the class distinctions in juvenile sentencing, to Hay's (1975) study of property crime and criminal law, to Erikson's (2005) study of deviance in Puritan society, to Reiman and Leighton's (2009) study of the dichotomy between rich and poor as dictated by class and the criminal justice system, the foundation of research regarding deviance and social control has greatly relied on historical methods of crime record analysis. The study of crime and the criminal is bound by the methodological; that is, much research relies on past occurrences and past behaviours, though this conception does not imply that said occurrences/behaviours *remain* embedded in the past. Reliance on archival data, such as crime records, requires a specific research methodology that remains valid in the face of what may be an originally flawed data collection. Regardless of the historical rooting of crime data, archival data are not mere "representations" of an offense: human trafficking legal cases are embedded in a reality of existing deeds. Implementation of such data collection methodologies should allow the research to go beyond simply repeating stereotypes.

This study's research methodology was developed in order to address the notion that human trafficking for the purpose of exploitation is not accurately represented by the current literature. Contrary to common presumptions, males *and* females, as individuals and in cooperation with one another, both actively pursue human trafficking as a means of participation in the illicit economy. This is most marked when legal employment can be difficult to attain, especially for landed and illegal migrants. Additionally, female traffickers are participants, even as leaders, in human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Male traffickers tend to gravitate towards specific roles relating to the operational aspects of the act (e.g. middleman, driver, enforcer, etc.). This suggests that gender roles do exist within human trafficking, but not always within the traditionally accepted paradigm of males who exploit females for the purpose of sex.

Design of study

This study captures cases of successfully prosecuted court cases of human trafficking between January 2006 and December 2011[i] in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States resulting in a conviction or plea-bargain. This study presupposes the existence of homogenous groupings/networks of human trafficking offenders, so the use of the collection of an exhaustive population allows for capturing populations of individuals within the dataset who co-offend because of pre-existing homogeneity (e.g. race, ethnicity, same country of origin). This result is exemplified by this study, although the population sizes between countries were uneven. Although this notion may suggest an issue within the selection methodology, the data collection captured an exhaustive number of legally recorded human trafficking offences within the four countries of analysis between 2006 and 2011. The unevenness of data collection assists in cultivating portions of this study that challenge the overall issue of estimates of occurrences of human trafficking, in addition to questions of how many cases are successfully investigated and prosecuted.[ii]

The purpose of the study is not to provide generalisations of *all* human trafficking actors based on this particular population. Within this study's population, one may encounter instances of the stereotypical roles and actors (e.g. women as duped or coerced victims, men as violence-wielders and so forth), but who actually does what to whom, rather than previously presupposed behaviours and actions, was the basis for variable selection for coding.

The literature highlights traffickers' widespread use of violence (often sexual) for control over their victims. Additionally, previous research suggests that female traffickers are a rarity and, when involved, are often forced by their male counterparts who, for many human trafficking researchers, remain the sole focus of centrality and power. Human trafficking research is heavily imbued with notions of patriarchy, and researchers seem unwilling to entertain notions of the involvement of female traffickers. Finally, much of the literature contains calls for the need to end slavery and combat the continued abuse of women and children. This present study uses criminal trafficking cases in order to assess who does what to whom and how often *in addition* to acknowledging the role of the criminal justice system in alleviating and punishing crimes of trafficking. With

methodological measures employed to better understand correlations between centrality and sentence length, this research seeks to tease out details regarding the criminal justice system's effectiveness of removing core traffickers from the trafficking act. As such, codes for variable were devised with two considerations in mind: i) availability within the data (i.e. predominant inclusion/corroborating in legal case files); and, ii) capturing of facets prominent in the literature but heretofore lacking statistical representations. The selection methodology, statistical, and network analysis frameworks will be discussed at length in the forthcoming sections of this chapter.

Selection of countries for analysis

Country selection was three-fold: 1) all countries selected have a viable court record database available for compiling human trafficking cases; 2) all four countries vary in their positioning on a sex trade legislative spectrum; and, 3) all four countries enacted comparable, if not entirely exact, human trafficking laws (as well as homogeneous laws protecting victims of trafficking). The sex trade legislation selection gradient allows for an analysis of the (possible) impact that sex trade laws have in regards to human trafficking: an issue specifically addressed in the trafficking literature. Of the four countries of analysis, Australia has implemented the most liberal sex trade legislation and the United States has implemented the most conservative. Britain is the second most liberal, and Canada is currently imbued in a legislative battle regarding sex worker rights and regulations. Although none of the countries of analysis have legalised street-level sex work, they present the opportunity to hypothesize and discuss the relationship between sex trade legislation and human trafficking incidents. This opportunity also extends to discussions of various criminal justice systems' responses to human trafficking.

<u>Australia</u>

Australia's sex trade is governed by laws enacted by each state/territory, with an evident geographic divide: sex work is legal in western Australia (states of South Australia, Northern Territory, and Western Australia) and Tasmania, but brothels are illegal and prostitution is not regulated; sex work in eastern Australia (Australian Capital Territory, New South Wales, Queensland, and Victoria) is regulated, as are the brothels

where sex workers can be legally employed. Although partisan divide remains, Australian states have all enacted some form of liberalisation within their sex trade legislation.[iii]

Britain

In the United Kingdom, the economical act of exchanging sexual services is not illegal, though a number of related activities (listed in Section 51a of the *Sexual Offences Act 2003*, hereinafter *SOA 2003*), such as soliciting in a public place, owning or managing a brothel, pandering and/or pimping, are prohibited.[iv] In England and Wales, Section 53a of the *SOA 2003* directly addresses human trafficking, making it illegal for an individual to pay for sexual services from an individual who is subject to engaging in the sex trade by force. Section 14 of the *Policing and Crime Act 2009* cements such illegality with the provision that ignorance of knowledge of a person's exploitation does not exempt one from prosecution. Because it is an offence to loiter in order to sell one's sexual services, sex workers are permitted to engage in their work in a private place or as an outcall escort (Section 51(2) of the *SOA 2003*). However, if two or more sex workers engage in sex work in the same private location/residence, legislatively they are deemed to be operating a brothel (a criminal offence under Section 33a of the *SOA 2003*). Third parties are not permitted to be involved in the sex trade if they receive monetary gain from the sex act in question (Section 33a of the *SOA 2003*). Additionally, the *Policing and Crime Act 2009* amended legislation to establish the customer's act of public solicitation as a criminal offense. Similar sex trade legislation exists in Scotland and Northern Ireland.

Canada

Canada's approach to sex trade legislation is a state of confusion for both customer and sex worker. The acts of buying and selling sexual services, in and of themselves, are legal, but activities required for the actuation of the economical interaction are offenses under the Canadian Criminal Code (hereinafter *CCC*).[v] Additionally, Section 212(1j) of the *CCC* prohibits living off of the avails of prostitution, though prostitution itself remains legal. Also prohibited by the *CCC* are the following: owning, managing, leasing, occupying, or being found in a bawdy house (Section 210);

transporting any individual to a bawdy house (Section 211); procuring (Section 212); purchasing sex from anyone under the age of 18 (Section 212[4]); communicating in a public place for the purpose of prostitution (Section 213[1c]).[vi]

A number of social movements have ignited debate amongst Canadians and lawmakers regarding the aptitude of the *CCC* in regards to public safety and protection of sex trade workers (van der Meulen and Durisin 2008). Of primary issue is that law enforcement's street-level approach to combatting the sex trade pushes sex workers out of the public sphere and into private areas that may pose more danger to the sex worker. Essentially, Canada's sex trade laws manifest at the street-level as a mechanism for moving the sex trade underground. This study seeks to analyse whether this manifestation facilitates human trafficking in Canadian communities.

United States

United States' federal law deems that sex work is legislatively handled at the state level.[vii] As of 2012, forty-nine out of fifty states classify sex work as a misdemeanour offense. Nevada is the only state that allows some form of sex work (licensed brothels), but this is applicable in certain counties[viii] (Clark County, Washoe County, and the independent city of Carson City specify sex work as illegal). Of the forty-nine states with legislation prohibiting sex work, all activities pertaining to the sale and purchase of sexual services are illegal. Adjunct laws regarding sexually oriented businesses, as specified by Senate Bill 707, require employers to maintain legal identification records for all employees and independent contractors. In comparison to the other countries of analysis, the United States is the most conservative in its view of the sex trade. Although this varies by state, legally, the United States actively enacts laws to prevent sex trade labour regardless of trafficking intent. Most notably, Louisiana state law requires sex workers convicted of engaging in oral or anal sex in exchange for money (denoting as a crime against nature) to register as sex offenders [La. Rev. Stat. § 15:542(A)(1)(a)]. Arguably, this law may be a back-door attempt to specifically criminalise gay sex workers, but its application is universal regardless of the gender of sex worker and customer.

Collection of cases for analysis

This study was designed to capture criminal cases of human trafficking between January 2006 and December 2011 that occurred in the four aforementioned countries wherein the actualized legal decision (read: outcome) resulted in a conviction either by plea-bargain or jury/judge adjudication. For the purpose of this study, convictions by judge or jury had to be in relation to a human trafficking criminal charge. Cases resulting in plea-bargaining were included if at least one offender (if co-offending occurred) involved in the case pleaded guilty to a human trafficking-related charge.[ix] Case collection began in April 2012 and concluded in September 2012. Cases were included in this study if all the three elements of the internationally agreed upon definition of trafficking in persons were present. The three inherent elements of human trafficking were the act, the means, and exploitation, regardless of the purpose (i.e. sexual, labour, domestic servitude). The legal case data were retrieved via a multitude of on-line public and private case law and database resources. The first stage of collection was conducted using LexisNexis Quicklaw[x] database.

The organisation and accessibility of LexisNexis allowed for a bulk search of human trafficking cases by country for the specified years included in this study. Each result (court records of case opinions/outcomes/judgments) was accessed and saved as a PDF for reading at a later date. Civil cases of human trafficking were excluded at this point because such cases were beyond the scope of this study. Cases that did not result in a conviction or plea-bargain were also excluded, in addition to false-positive cases that were not related to human trafficking, though included in the results of the LexisNexis search as a result of a reference to a trafficking law or a previous trafficking case. The LexisNexis search resulted in the following number of viable criminal court cases included in this study: Australia, 2; Britain, 10; Canada, 0; United States, 65. It is important to note that LexisNexis limits its results to appellate court decisions, but this did not result in a sampling issue because these cases were also captured during other sampling phases. Essentially, the appellate court material provided additional information regarding the nature of the case, assisting in the coding process. If the appellate court did not uphold the initial decision of the lower court, the case was excluded from the study. However, if the court upheld any decision in regards to the human trafficking charge (or

related) of the criminal court case, the case was included in the study sample. Cases of human smuggling were excluded because the focal point of this study is cases of human trafficking for the purpose of exploitation.[xi]

Supplementary to the first stage of the data collection was the use of three additional databases: the Canadian Legal Information Institute[xii] (CanLII), the British and Irish Legal Information Institute[xiii] (BAILII), and the *UNODC*[xiv] Human Trafficking Case Law Database. The multiphase data collection procedure resulted in duplicates of cases previously captured by the LexisNexis search, and the additional court record/case law data of any such occurrence were collected and saved for later reading/analysis for the purpose of triangulating the data whenever possible. CanLII, BAILII, and the *UNODC* are similar in accessibility and organisational structure to that of LexisNexis. As such, the data collection was conducted by country for the years listed above. The CanLII search resulted in the collection of eight Canadian cases; the BAILII search resulted in a collection of twelve British cases; the *UNODC* search resulted in the collection of nine additional Australian cases, two additional British cases, no additional Canadian cases (the same eight *UNODC*-listed cases were previously captured during the CanLII search), and fifty-one additional United States cases. The final case tally per country was: Australia, 10; Britain, 12; Canada, 8; and the United States, 116 (N=146). These cases represent all criminal cases of human trafficking that resulted in a human trafficking conviction or plea-bargain (as described in the first paragraph of this chapter) between January 1, 2006 and December 31, 2011.

The collection methodology led to situations wherein the same case was collected across multiple searches. This situation was a positive because this permitted corroboration across sampling searches and because no conflicting case details occurred. That is, regardless of the primary database search, the case details remained consistent. This allowed for the testing of the validity and veracity of the details within the sampling stage, as well as corroboration across legal searches regarding the fundamental details of the case/offender.

Disaggregation of cases for offender analysis

Case level data were further disaggregated to the offender level, using the same collection tools as described above. Case-level collection was the first step of this study.

The second step, and the level at which statistical analysis occurred, was the offender level. Building of this section of the database involved reading and documenting each case for the number of individuals involved, believed to be involved (by law enforcement), and those prosecuted for their crimes. For example, case details of United States case US-HT-0057 (document number created by the researcher for this study) revealed law enforcement determined seventeen offenders involved at various stages, though the number of trafficking acts (beyond those prosecuted) were not determined.

For SNA, each offender was assigned an alphanumeric label per case and assigned specific role(s) in the matrix as denoted by the case law information. Disaggregation of case-level data garnered thirty-two offenders involved in Australian cases, eleven offenders involved in Canadian cases, one hundred offenders involved in British cases, and three hundred and eighty-two offenders involved in United States cases. The coding instrument described below was utilised for the offender-level portion of this study, though the variables, at times, differed in their nature (e.g. sentencing was not captured at the case level) because the disaggregated data were collected in order to anatomize the offender rather than the action (case-level).

Cases with a comprehensive level of offender information were selected for SNA for the purpose of analysing network matrix components. Case selection for SNA was limited to cases with more than three offenders, as well as cases wherein law enforcement was able to determine the operational functions of the network insofar as to who did what to whom and how often. Additionally, the case selection was limited to transnational cases of trafficking because the data showed a fundamentally significant difference between those who trafficked regionally and those who trafficked transnationally: namely, migrant saturation of transnational networks and virtual absence from regional networks. Finally, case selection was limited to transnational cases because Australia, Britain, and Canada did not have viable regional cases for analysis either because of a lack of regional co-offending networks or a lack of comprehensive evidence of offender roles and behaviours within regional networks. The benchmark of three offenders was a matter of selecting viable cases for network analysis that could be statistically analysed. Including networks with three or fewer offenders would greatly limit the utility of the

SNA component of this study: to determine how trafficking networks function with multiple offenders occupying multiple roles.

Selection of networks for analysis was based on criteria that render SNA possible: information regarding network ties and networks that preserved the statistical representations of the overall population of offenders collected for this study. The purpose of the former is paramount because a lack of information meant that the network could not be constructed nor deconstructed for analysis. SNA is not amenable to addressing networks with limited data regarding network ties or overall organisation. The purpose of the latter was to allow for the opportunity for data representation that mirrored the overall offender population.

SNA is only a viable statistical tool of analysis when researchers are able to map the structure and functionality of any given network. In order to effectively code the types of ties of network members, the researcher must have information available that denotes the power dynamics/relationships of offenders within the network. Without this information, the researchers cannot develop representative network data. This constraint, though germane, informed the selection of cases for SNA for this study. Appendix B lists all offenders across all four countries of analysis, showing whether any given offender was part of a human trafficking network. This list accounts for all offenders included in the scope of this study, and the Case ID reference number indicates the coded case for which each offender was involved.

A primary goal of this study is to better understand the migrant's role in the trafficking offense as both victim and offender. As such, SNA was limited to cases of transnational human trafficking. The reasons for this decision were two-fold: first, this study was guided by the hypothesis that networks matter, meaning that a migrant was more likely to be trafficked by someone known previously to her; secondly, migrants are more likely to be trafficked transnationally than regionally. An additional concern regarding regional trafficking networks was the lack of regional networks with more than four individuals. SNA enriches understanding of network operation. As is commonplace in statistical representations of social phenomena, numbers matter: the greater the n the "greater" the results.

An additionally selection criterion was made based on the number of people involved in the network. Specifically, networks for SNA were included in the selection pool if they involved four or more offenders. Although three offenders technically (SNA-speaking) comprised a "network," these types of networks would not prove fruitful to this study's specific investigation of trafficking networks. Primarily, the issue was one of network structure: three offenders provided little data in regards to structure because only nine total ties could be measured with SNA. The purpose of this study is to better understand how human trafficking networks operate, and a triad of offenders did not offer substantial network analysis. However, the triad offending cases are discussed in the Discussion chapter and provide insight into patterns of offending for these particular case-types (co or triad offending).

The single most important criterion for SNA case selection after the aforementioned criteria was the level of information available regarding how offenders operated within their networks. Specifically, if any individual in the network could not be coded for his action within the network, the case was not selected for SNA. The purpose of this study is not to analyse partial networks or to engage in guesswork regarding who directed whom. Considering the number of issues currently prevalent in the literature, this study sought to remove any and all guesswork surrounding the cases and offenders captured by the scope of this study. If an offender's role in the network could not be determined, that network was not selected for SNA.

The purpose of this study is to better understand the trafficking offense and the modality with which traffickers operate. After removing any and all networks that did not meet the criteria as discussed in the paragraphs above, the final SNA case selection methodology was made using purposive sampling (Jupp 2006). This sampling methodology is a type of non-probability sampling wherein the researcher makes a final case selection based upon selected criteria "which may include specialist knowledge of the research issue […]" (p. 244). Purposive sampling allows for a research design that necessitates a decision regarding individual and case participation that is most likely to "contribute appropriate data, both in terms of relevance and depth" (p. 244). Specifically, purposive sampling allows the researcher to identify cases that are most detailed and relevant to the research question(s). Though the sampling strategy rests on the

subjectivity of the researcher, previous chapters of this paper, namely the Literature Review, detail the areas of human trafficking in need of further exploration.

As expressed earlier, this study posits an overrepresentation in the literature of sex trafficking of females by males. Instead of including all-male networks, I opted for closer examination of the networks where cross-gender ties were part of the data. This study is exploratory; the current literature abounds with treatments of male dominance, and any and all male offenders included in the scope of this study received statistical treatments during the non-SNA component of this study. As such, their involvement in trafficking has not been ignored by this study, nor has their involvement received a sweeping dismissal from this study. Instead, the SNA component focuses of migrant and gender notions of traffickers and their subsequent sentencing in relation to their centrality in the network.

Australia

Ten offenders (n=10) were involved in a total of two Australian networks; both networks were selected for SNA. The legal coverage of both cases proved fruitful, and much information was available regarding the structure, organisation, and functionality of the networks.

Britain

Fifty-two (n=52) offenders were involved in a total of 10 British networks. Of those ten networks, five had four or more offenders. Of those five networks, one involved five sex workers who were previously trafficked and were charged and convicted of recruiting for sex trafficking. The legal information pointed to the strong likelihood that these five sex workers were part of a larger scheme, likely involving whoever had first acted as their trafficker(s). As such, the five sex workers did not have much interaction with each other in regards to functioning as a network of co-offenders. That is, there was little information available to suggest any sort of directed ties or power dynamics within the network. Because the five sex workers were likely members of the lower tier of a much larger organisation, they did not engage in organisational behaviour that suggested they were acting in any other manner than receiving information and recruiting victims.

Of the remaining four networks meeting the criteria for SNA, only the two selected provided information for all arrested members of the network in regards to network and offending behaviour.

<u>United States</u>

Data garnered from the collection of US cases proved fruitful for SNA: 302 offenders were involved in a total of forty-seven (n=47) networks with three or more offenders; of these forty-seven networks, thirty-three (n=33) networks had more than four individuals; of these thirty-three "4+" offender networks, twenty-four (n=24) were transnational.

The decision for limiting United States SNA was both a matter of expediency (meaning all networks would not be selected for this specific study) and gathering an SNA sample of networks that exemplified different trafficking types. The selection was limited to those cases with enough legal case information to construct and analyse each network. As occurred with British cases, if information was unclear, contradictory, or not amenable to SNA, the network was removed from the selection pool. Nine networks met this condition.

Noting concerns addressed in previous paragraphs of this section, only one male-led US sex trafficking case was included in the four networks selected for SNA. Of the six male-led sex trafficking rings initially included in the selection pool, the case selected for SNA had the most detailed descriptors of the functionality and operation of the network. The remaining five networks were eliminated from the selection pool as a matter of redundancy.

The selected male-led sex trafficking network involved several brothels and brothel owners who utilised one main contact to procure women for sex work. The other three cases represented trafficking types that are not frequently discussed in the literature: a sex trafficking ring co-led by a married couple; a female-led sex trafficking ring; and, a labour trafficking ring led by a migrant male who owned businesses in the Southern United States. The four networks were representative of the overall offender population in regards to demographic statistics. Although there was a desire to capture a domestic

Table 1: Descriptive statistics for SNA data

		Australia	Britain	Canada	USA	All Offenders
No. of Matrices		2	2	0	4	-
	Matrix 1	7 Offenders	14 Offenders	-	9 Offenders	-
	Matrix 2	5 Offender	10 Offenders	-	13 Offenders	-
	Matrix 3	-	-	-	9 Offenders	-
	Matrix 4	-	-	-	12 Offenders	-
Total		12	24	0	43	484

	No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of non-residing offenders	2	16.67%	8	20.83%	-	-	0	0.00%	8	1.65%
No. of migrant offenders	8	83.33%	16	100.00%	-	-	41	97.62%	304	63.87%
No. of non-migrant offenders	2	16.67%	0	0.00%	-	-	2	4.65%	172	36.13%
No. of female offenders	3*	27.27%	3	12.50%	-	-	13	30.23%	149**	31.37%
No. of male offenders	8*	72.73%	21	87.50%	-	-	30	69.77%	326**	68.63%
No. of migrant females	3	30.00%	1	6.25%	-	-	12	29.27%	108***	23.13%
No. of non-migrant females	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	-	-	1	50.00%	38***	8.14%
No. of migrant males	5*	50.00%	15	93.75%	-	-	29	70.73%	192***	41.11%
No. of non-migrant males	2	20.00%	0	0.00%	-	-	1	50.00%	129***	27.62%

*gender of one offender unknown

**gender of eleven offenders unknown

***migrant and gender of seventeen offenders unknown

servitude trafficking case, no US case met the criteria for selection because no US case involved more than three offenders.

As Table 1 depicts, the network descriptive data is representative of the overall offender population:

Australia

- 76.19% of transnational trafficker were migrants
- 100.00% of regional traffickers were Australian-born offenders.
- Of the 16 migrants involved in trafficking, 87.50% were sex traffickers
- Female traffickers represented 30.43% of the 23 offenders whose sex could be determined
- Of the 7 females whose migrant status and sex could be determined, all were migrants
- Of the 19 sex traffickers, females represented 40.00%
- Of the 12 Australian offenders assessed with SNA: 80.00% were migrants, either landed or illegal; 27.27% were female (one individual's gender was not determined).

Britain

- 93.06% of transnational trafficker were migrants
- No regional traffickers were successfully prosecuted
- Of the 98 migrants involved in trafficking, 100.00% were sex traffickers

- Female traffickers represented 25.00% of the 92 offenders whose sex could be determined
- Of the 18 females whose migrant status and sex could be determined, 88.89% were migrants
- Of the 92 sex traffickers, females represented 25.00%
- Of the 16 UK offenders assessed with SNA: 100.00% were migrants, either landed or illegal; 12.00% were female

Canada

- 100.00% of transnational trafficker were migrants
- 88.89% of regional traffickers were Canadian-born offenders
- Of the 2 migrants involved in trafficking, 100.00% were sex traffickers
- Female traffickers represented 20.00% of the 10 offenders whose sex could be determined
- Of the 2 females whose migrant status and sex could be determined, 50.00% were migrants
- Of the 10 sex traffickers, females represented 20.00%
- Law enforcement determined no offenders who operated within a trafficking network (i.e. offenders act without the assistance of others).

United States

- 90.46% of transnational trafficker were migrants
- 94.03% of regional traffickers were US-born offenders
- Of the 225 migrants involved in trafficking (transnational or regional), 71.55% were sex traffickers
- Female traffickers represented 32.44% of the 373 offenders whose sex could be determined
- Of the 191 females whose migrant status and sex could be determined, 70.59% were migrants
- Of the 289 sex traffickers, females represented 32.18%
- Of the 42 US offenders assessed with SNA: 97.62% were migrants, either landed or illegal; 30.32% were female

Coding instrument

The coding instrument specified collection of the following characteristics of both trafficker(s) and trafficked individual(s): age, sex, race, region of origination, type of exploitation, type of geographic move, etc. These characteristics were divided into sixty variables at the case level and forty-seven variables at the offender level (see *Appendix A* for list of coded variables). The specific variables were created to assess the traditional

dichotomies present in the literature (male/female, West/non-West, migrant/non-migrant), as well as to assess probabilities of exploitation when females and/or migrants[xv] acted as traffickers or members of the trafficking network. If not present in the case law, supplementary information relating to offender characteristics was corroborated via national law enforcement media and federal public announcements regarding the case. This information primarily related to whether or not the offender was an illegal migrant or foreign national.

Each case was read through once and assigned values based on the manifest information contained within. If the information for a variable was not present, was unclear, or was not evident, the variable for that particular case was coded as "unassigned." After assigning attributes to each case, I reviewed and reassessed each case twice in order to ensure that the values assigned were representative of the information available regarding the incident. Reliability of the coding scheme was tested through independent coding of twenty cases from the original sample of five hundred and twenty-five offenders across all countries.[xvi] It is important to note that coding occurred at the *offender* level not the *victim* level. As such, whom the offender trafficked determined the race variable for victim (e.g. if five co-offenders of different races trafficked ten Asian individuals, each offender's race would be individually assigned and the race of each of his/her victim would be coded as "Asian").

Data analysis

Offender-level data were analysed using descriptive statistics of sex, age, race, victim race, country of origin, conviction type, victim type, level of violence, and whether the offender pleaded guilty. The purpose of using descriptive statistics was to garner a representation of each offender for comparison to other types of criminal activity, specifically other types of organised crime offenders. Because human traffickers often operate in networks, it is important to understand trafficking networks in comparison to other criminal activities that traditionally operate in groups (gangs, organised crime syndicates, drug traffickers, etc.).

In addition to descriptive statistics, this study uses correlation measurements in order to understand relationships between offender type and trafficking type. Specifically, this study uses statistical analysis that determines the correlation between offender sex

and types of offending, offender country of origin and victim country of origin, migrant offender and trafficking type, offender sex and sentence length, and offender centrality and sentence length. The purpose of each correlation is to determine possible relationships between offender variables and offenders' specific offending patterns.

This study uses Pearson correlation measures because the data are binary, continuous, and ordinal. As such, the correlation coefficients are most amenable to rank-biserial correlation because some ordinal variables are correlated with true dichotomies (such as sex) and, in such instances, an underlying continuous normal distribution should not be assumed (Garson 2013). Using STATA, the Pearson correlation measures the covariance of standardised variables, which are themselves standardised by subtracting the mean and dividing by the standard deviation. This calculation is automatically computed by STATA prior to the output of the Pearson correlation result.

The correlation measurements are not employed in order to assess causation; rather, they are used in order to focus analysis on possible previously unrealised connections/relationships, or lack thereof, of offenders and trafficking types. Causation cannot accurately be assessed by correlation because only the possibility of covariance is indicated, not the direction of causal influence (Garson 2013). Additionally, other unmeasured variables could influence the appearance of a correlation. The correlation measurement is a starting point for further measurement, discussion, and analysis.

Social network analysis

Although the aforementioned descriptive analyses focus on offender-level data, SNA is a statistical tool designed for describing and analyzing actors by their relations, not their attributes (Hanneman and Riddle 2005). Because human traffickers often co-offend, SNA presents an opportunity to examine relationship types among offenders and, in some cases, among offenders and their victims. Additionally, SNA can be used to identify relationships and measure the *strength* of these relationships. As such, it is possible to uncover underlying power dynamics that may not be best understood with descriptive statistics. SNA is not amenable to standard inferential statistical tools (Hanneman and Riddle 2005), so the data were separated into two identical packages and tested via standard statistical software (STATA) and SNA software [UCInet 6.0 (network analysis) and NetDraw 2.123 (graph visualization)].

For the purpose of this study's SNA, matrices were chosen by country and were selected to represent differences in exploitation and leadership.[xvii] Because transnational trafficking exemplifies the *network* component of the trafficking offense, all cases chosen for SNA were transnational. Regional cases rarely involved more than four co-offenders and, as such, were not, at this time, conducive to network analysis. SNA as a methodological tool will be illustrated and detailed in the coming paragraphs.

SNA of each matrix focused on centrality measures in regards to gender, as well as an analysis of sentence length versus importance in the network. Importance in the network was assessed via Bonacich centrality (Bonacich 1987), core/periphery analysis (Hanneman and Riddle 2005), betweenness (Freeman 1977), transitivity (Hanneman and Riddle 2005), hierarchy analysis (Krackhardt 1994), QAP correlations (Hanneman and Riddle 2005), and brokerage roles (Burt 1992; Hanneman and Riddle 2005).[xviii]

Bonacich (1987) suggested a modified approach to the traditional degree centrality measurement, arguing that an actor's *number* of connections is not necessarily entirely indicative of an actor's centrality in a network. Instead, Bonacich proposed the inclusion of measuring the connections others in the network possess relative to an actors position within the network. The proposal opted for a distinction between centrality *and* power. A well connected actor in a network of few connections possesses both centrality *and* power. Essentially, Bonacich degree centrality allows for the measurement of an actor possessing the *right* connections, thus measuring his power within the network. It is important to note that measures relating to centrality do not necessarily exemplify the severity of an actor's actions in a network, which may supersede any *importance* in the network in relation to the structure and functionality of the group (e.g. – an offender who is more violent than any other member of his network).

Freeman's (1977) betweenness scale measures the centrality of an actor based on his possessing a transitive role in the network insofar as occupying a position between two actors. The more an actor in a network relies on other actors for connections, the less power he possesses. The more reliance placed on an actor as a node of connectivity to others, the more power he possesses. Additionally, Freeman's measurement captures the dynamics of network interactions by measuring all the geodesic paths between actors in comparison to the number of occurrences wherein an individual acts as a go-between.

Transitivity adds to the measurement of actor connections by assessing the triadic relationships within a network (e.g. if A connects to B, and B connects to C, then A should also connect to C). Rather than the Freeman approach of assessing the lack of triadic relationships as a power measurement, transitivity evaluates the overall cohesiveness of the network via triadic equilibrium. The more triads, the more cohesive and power-balanced a network.

Network hierarchy was assessed using Krackhardt GTD (graph theoretical dimensions) analysis (Krackhardt 1994) via UCInet. Krackhardt provides a pithy definition of the meaning of social network hierarchy, suggesting that an *ideal typical* hierarchy implies arborescence (Berge 1962; Everett and Krackhardt 2012). Rudimentarily, Krackhardt's notion suggests that an ideal hierarchy would extend from one person downward, each below the "leader" receiving one directed tie. In order to assess the extent to which a network formed a hierarchy, Krackhardt (1994) formulated four dimensions of measurement. His aim was to cultivate a measurement strategy that could characterise hierarchy in informal organisations and permit comparative analysis across complex networks (Everett and Krackhardt 2012).

The four dimensions of measurement typified within formal organisational structures are: 1) connected; 2) graph hierarchic; 3) graph efficient; and, 4) meets the least upper boundedness condition. The foundational graph theory employed by Krackhardt (as discussed in Everett and Krackhardt 2012) invokes the concept of digraphs (directed graphs) and underlying graphs/subgraphs (p. 159):

> A digraph is weakly connected if there is a semipath connecting every pair of vertices, a graph is connected if there is a path connecting every pair of vertices; it follows that a digraph is weakly connected if the underlying graph is connected. A component of a graph is a maximal connected subgraph; a weak component of a digraph is a maximal weakly connected subgraph.

Connectedness refers to a weakly connected digraph with only one weak component, meaning that every pair of vertices (actors) is joined by a path in the underlying graph. *Graph hierarchic* suggests that ties are directed in ascension, meaning that if *x* reaches *y*, *y* cannot reach *x*. *Graph efficient* relates to the number of ties in an underlying graph, meaning that a graph is efficient if each actor of the underlying graph has one fewer ties than the number of actors in his portion of the network (i.e. not reciprocal). *Least upper*

boundedness refers to the shared connectivity of a pair of actors (*x* and *y*) to another member in the network (upper bound, *z*); specifically, the least upper bound (LUB) is an "an upper bound that is included on at least one directed path from every other upper bound to each of *x* and *y*" (Everett and Krackhardt 2012: p. 159).

Krackhardt's (1994) four parameters are measured on a scale of 1 (indicating no violations to that particular parameter in the digraph) and 0 (indicating the digraph possesses the maximum number of violations). The purpose of including Krackhardt's GTD analysis in the SNA component of this study is to apply a multidimensional analysis of the modalities with which hierarchy and power dominance can become apparent in a network.

QAP Correlation measures correlation values in comparison to the probability of randomized correlation between actors in a network based on two different relations (Hanneman and Riddle 2005). That is, if two actors share a tie in a network and share a tie outside of that network (familial, employment-based, etc.), what is the probability that their network tie is randomized rather than circumstantial? For the purpose of this study, QAP measurements are only applicable to US trafficking cases because only the US cases viable for SNA involved actors who possessed multi-level relationships: ties both within and outside of the trafficking network. QAP employed for this study assesses the likelihood that two actors connected in the primary information/goods flow of the network will have a connection based on participation in the same brothel (USM2), family-relationship type (USM3), and company of employment (USM4).

The concept of *brokerage* relates to the importance of an actor in the network as a bridging tie (Burt 1992; Granovetter 1973). A *brokerage* actor may play a pivotal role in the network in regards to information/instruction gathering and disseminating. UCInet software allows for the calculation of *brokerage* status based on five roles (Hanneman and Riddle 2005): *coordinator* (all nodes belong to the same group, i.e. A→A→A); *gatekeeper* (the source belongs to a different group, i.e. B→A→A→); *representative* (the recipient belongs to a different group, i.e. A→A→B→); *consultant* (broker belongs to a different group, i.e. B→A→B→); and, *liaison* (all actors belong to different groups, i.e. B→A→C). An example of a human trafficking *gatekeeper* would be an offender who supplies an individual to another group/brothel/etc. An example of a human trafficking

consultant would be an offender from group *a* who requests a member of group *b* to supply/transport an individual to another member of group *a*. In this case, the offender from group *b* who supplies the trafficked individual to another member of group *a* is the *consultant*. Depending on the type of network and the role of the offender, the supply chain could range from trafficked individuals to manufactured transportation documents to the physical transportation of the individual.

Within SNA, an actor is considered dominant if he or she wields enough power to instruct another individual to provide information, resources, or action. To be "dominant" the individual must occupy a higher position of hierarchy within the network than the non-dominant individual of the social tie. Individuals can be both dominant and subservient depending on the tie being measured. The SNA approach to dominance allows for dominant/non-dominant dualism and does so without preordaining a network as a traditional top/down hierarchy.

All matrices were coded with directed ties, meaning that each actor/ego was coded in the matrix as "1" when he/she was the dominant individual in the tie and 0 when he/she was the submissive individual. Mutual direction was coded as one for both individuals if the relationship/tie was lacking the presence of dominance. For example, AUM1 included 7 actors, one of whom received instructions from another actor in the network. The secondary actor in the first tie was a dominant actor in another tie. In this case the direction of the tie was coded to indicate this network formation.

Dominancy was determined based on whether or not the actor was acting on his own accordance or was being directed by another individual in the network. This distinction is important because of implications of power, centrality, and manipulation. Individuals possessing dominancy within the framework of a trafficking network buttress the functionality of the success of the network. Rudimentarily, they give orders; they give direction; they inform how others are to operate in the network. Much of the literature asserts the domination of males at the expense of females, including cases involving female offenders. That is, for trafficking researchers sharing this notion, the female as victim and offender must remain subservient and obliging to their male counterparts. SNA centrality results are based on who instruct whom, and who controls the actions of whom.

Coding for dominancy was informed by the information garnered from within legal case files, police reports, victim statements within legal case files, and prosecutorial information. Offender-described information was analysed for inclusion, and offered an interesting perspective in its own right: those whom the legal case file information determined as leaders or integral to the network rarely offered their own testimony regarding network operations. Individuals who were directed were those who presented such information, and the evidence rarely contradicted itself. Any networks with contradictory information regarding offender roles and behaviours were not included in SNA.

The cases chosen for SNA were cases of transnational trafficking. Each case is developed as a case study, by country, in the fifth chapter, providing an overall development of the anatomy of the case and offenders. A lack of co-offending cases was the reasoning for excluding regional cases from SNA. Although there existed US regional co-offending cases, the same was not available for Australia, Britain, and Canada. In order to maintain parity of analysis across countries included in the scope of this study, the SNA component focused on transnational cases. Comparison among the countries of analysis rendered transnational co-offending trafficking networks the more viable level of analysis.

No Canadian cases satisfied the threshold of four persons required for inclusion in the SNA. Eleven cases in total have been prosecuted, though only ten met the requirements for inclusion in this study. Additionally, there has yet to be a successful prosecution of a Canadian case, including outside the scope of this study, wherein law enforcement has determined a trafficking network's (more than two individuals) involvement (i.e. co-offending was not readily apparent within Canadian trafficking case). All Canadian cases captured by this study (n=10) were cases of regional sex trafficking by a known friend/boyfriend/family member. Although the network of the individual was a component in the commission of the offense (i.e. the existence of a relationship prior to the offense), SNA analysis of Canadian cases would be superfluous. Descriptive statistics tables provided in the Results section depict that the offenders chosen for SNA are not dissimilar to the overall population of offender (by nation) as captured by this study.

Two matrices were chosen from the Australian offender data: both were transnational sex trafficking cases. The matter of case selection was directly related to the information available for the case: the two cases chosen received significant attention in the Australian legal system, and represent the first two prosecuted cases of human trafficking in Australia.

Matrix 1 (AUM1) was a male-led sex trafficking network involving debt bondage, implying a situation wherein the female victims agreed to engage in Australia's legal brothel industry, but upon arrival had their passports and immigration documentation seized by their traffickers until they paid off a debt that had been established by the traffickers. AUM1 had seven offenders (n =7), six males and one female, who was previously a trafficking/debt bondage victim of the primary trafficker in the network.

Matrix 2 (AUM2) was a female-led sex trafficking network also involving debt bondage. AUM2 had five offenders (n =5): two females and two males (one member whose gender could not be determined). The non-leader female in the network was a previous trafficking/debt bondage victim who was since employed by the leader of the network. The leader of the network, B1, was a legal brothel owner who purchased Thai sex workers from a recruiter in Thailand. The women were employed in the Australian brothel owned by B1 and were required to repay the cost of their purchase and costs associated to B1's acquiring fraudulent immigration papers. AUM2's B2 was found not guilty because the prosecutor was unable to convince the jury that his involvement in the brothel related to the specifics of the debt bondage case. Although the jury indicated his involvement in the employment of the Thai prostitutes, he acted as a driver from brothel to brothel and his knowledge of the purchase of the women did not qualify his guilt.

The percentage of migrants involved is not an overrepresentation of the population of Australian trafficking offenders captured by this study: of the twenty-three offenders residing in Australia, 69.56% (*n*=16) were migrants; of the twenty-one offenders (residing in Australia) involved in transnational trafficking, 76.19% (*n*=16) were migrants; of the nineteen offenders (residing in Australia) involved in sex trafficking, 73.68% were migrants; of the thirty offenders whose sex could be determined, 33.33% (*n*=10) were female; all females involved, either residing in Australia or elsewhere, were involved in transnational sex trafficking; no female was

involved in regional trafficking or labour trafficking; of the thirty-two offenders involved in Australian trafficking, 6.25% (*n*=2) were involved in regional trafficking, both of who are male; of the twenty-six individuals involved in sex trafficking, 80.77% (*n*=21) were either migrants or individual residing in the nation of origin of the victim(s).

Two matrices were chosen from the British offender data: both were transnational sex trafficking cases. As occurred with Australia and the United States, case selection was directly related to the information available. Data from Britain were unique in regards to this study: specifically, most cases involved unnamed individuals and contacts not residing in the UK who were not arrested, but were considered viable components of the network (e.g. often acting as recruiters and middleman). However, the lack of concrete information regarding these co-offenders made the SNA case selection both difficult and simple: few cases had substantial information for all members of the network. This is not necessarily detrimental to the overall study because the scope of the research and analysis is only in relation to the cases captured by this study. Additionally, the SNA component of the study is not included for the purpose of generalising across all trafficking events, but rather to highlight idiosyncrasies of specific networks captured by this study.

Matrix 1 (UKM1) was a female-led sex trafficking network comprised of Eastern Europeans residing within the UK and throughout Eastern Europe. UKM1 had fourteen offenders (n =14), three females and eleven males. Four of the offenders, three males and one female, resided in Lithuania and were not arrested. Seven unnamed contacts resided in the UK and were not arrested. The three individuals arrested, prosecuted, and sentenced were denoted by law enforcement as the leader of the network and her two main accomplices. Matrix 2 (UKM2) was an all-male sex trafficking network comprised of Eastern Europeans residing within the UK and throughout Europe. UKM2 had ten offenders (**n** =10), all males. Four of the offenders were not arrested, one residing in Lithuania and three residing in the UK.

The SNA cases provide a reasonably representative snapshot of the overall sample of UK cases: of the 100 offenders captured by this study, 14% (*n*=14) had a migrant status that could not be determined; of the 86 offenders who migrant status could be determined 13.95% (*n*=12) of offenders did not reside in the UK; 6.98% (*n*=6) of

offenders were non-migrants; 79.07% (*n*=68) were migrants; the geographical type of trafficking (i.e. transnational or regional) could not be determined for 2% (*n*=2) of offenders; of the 98 offenders whose geographical type of trafficking could be determined, 98.98% (*n*=97) were migrants; of the 94 offenders whose sex could be determined, 25.53% (*n*=24) were female and 74.47% (*n*=70) were male; of the eighty offenders whose sex and migrant status could be determined, 27.50% (*n*=22) were females, of which 13.63% (*n*=3) were non-UK residing females, 9.09% (*n*=2) were non-migrant females, and 77.27% were migrant females; of the same eighty offenders, 72.50% (*n*=58) were males, of which 13.79% (*n*=8) were non-UK residing males, 6.90% (*n*=4) were non-migrant males, and 79.31% (*n*=46) were migrant males. All UK offenders (*n*=100) were sex traffickers. No cases captured by the scope of this study were cases of labour exploitation resulting in a conviction/plea bargain.

Three matrices chosen from the United States offender data related to transnational sexual exploitation and one matrix related to labour exploitation. Matrix 1 (USM1) included nine offenders (four males and five females), and was a sex trafficking familial network co-led[xix] by a married couple. Matrix 2 (USM2) included thirteen offenders (twelve males and one female), and was a male-led sex trafficking network involving five brothels in Memphis, Tennessee. Matrix 3 (USM3) included nine offenders (three males and six females), and was a familial sex trafficking network led by a female. Matrix 4 (USM4) included twelve offenders (eleven males and one females), and was a male-led labour trafficking network involving two companies co-owned by the leader.

Of the 376[xx] offenders whose immigrant-status could be determined, 40.16% (*n*=151) of offenders were non-migrants and 59.84% (*n*=225) were migrants, either landed or illegal; of the 241 offenders involved in transnational trafficking of individuals into the United States, 90.46% (*n*=218) were migrants; of the 134 offenders involved in regional trafficking, 94.03% (*n*=126) were United States-born offenders (non-migrants); of the 225 migrants involved in trafficking, either transnational or regional, 71.55% (*n*=161) were involved in sex trafficking; female traffickers represented 32.44% (*n*=121) of the 373 offenders whose sex could be determined; of the 119 females, 70.59% (*n*=84) were migrants; of the 289 sex trafficking offenders, females represent 32.18% (*n*=93).

Notes

[i] The selection of years was based on the timing of the *UNODC Trafficking Protocol*, which commenced in 2006, though the countries selected for this study had previously enacted federal anti-trafficking legislation (Australia in 1999, with amendments in 2005; Britain in 2003; Canada in 2002; and the United States in 2000, with subsequent amendments every two years). Successful prosecutions included cases wherein offenders pleaded guilty to offences related to the commission of the trafficking case. Essentially, if prosecutors determined a case of trafficking occurred the case was collected regardless of whether the offender(s) were convicted of "human trafficking." This decision was informed by the lack of universal "human trafficking" laws enacted at all levels of government. That is, Australian prosecutors could determine an offender as a human trafficking, but charge the offender with living off the avails of prostitution or brothel violations.

[ii] This concept is developed in the Discussion chapter through a pointed analysis of two British investigative attempts to investigate and prosecute detected cases of human trafficker. Pentameter I and II were largely unsuccessful, with investigators questioning the validity of estimates of human trafficking in Britain (Crown Prosecution Service 2009; Human Trafficking Centre Sheffield 2009).

[iii] All information pertaining to sex trade legislation in Australian states/territories were accessed via each state's Parliamentary website.

[iv] British sex trade laws were accessed via the UK Crown Prosecution Service sex legislation website: http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/p_to_r/prostitution_and_exploitation_of_prostitution/

[v] Canadian sex trade laws were accessed via the Government of Canada's *Justice Laws Website*: http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-46/ (specifically, the Criminal Code C-46).

[vi] March 2012, the Ontario Court of Appeal declared Section 210, 212(1j), and 213(1c) invalid in response to a constitutional challenge (Bedford v. Canada) regarding the request to decriminalise all aspects/activities/actions required to function in Canada's sex trade. At time of printing, the case is under appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada.

[vii] United States sex trade laws were accessed via each state's government website.

[viii] Public voting dictates which Nevada counties permit sex work in licensed brothels, though not all counties that permit licensed brothels actually have active brothels in operation.

[ix] Human trafficking charges range by country, but the countries included in this study all employ virtually identical supplementary charges relating to human trafficking. These applicable charges range from possessing a slave, to exploitation under the duress of trafficking, to living off the avails of a trafficked individual, to a multitude of immigration-related charges within the framework of the human trafficking legislative definition.

[x] Lexus Nexus Quicklaw is an online database that hosts an extensive collection of full-court text and tribunal decisions dating back to the 1800s.

[xi] Chapter 1 highlights the legal and definitional distinctions between human trafficking and human smuggling.

[xii] CanLII is a non-profit organisation managed by the Federation of Law Societies of Canada (Canadian Legal Information Institute 2013). Website access: www.canlii.org.

[xiii] BAILII is legally constituted in the United Kingdom, and is hosted in the UK and Ireland by the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, London and the Law Faculty, University College Cork (BaiLII, 2013). Website access: www.bailii.org.

[xiv] The *UNDOC* human trafficking database currently hosts more than 800 case briefs from 70 different countries and three supranational courts (European Court of Human Rights, European Court of Justice and ECOWAS Court of Justice) (*UNODC* 2013). Website access: http://www.unodc.org/cld/index.jspx.

[xv] Individuals born outside of the United States who migrated after the age of 16 were coded as migrants. Non-migrants were United States-born citizens or individuals who migrated to the United States as children.

[xvi] Inconsistent coding occurred in less than 1% of the cases (*n*=5). Inconsistencies related to selection of region of origination for trafficked individual and resulted in country-specific recoding (e.g. previous designations of "Asia" were modified to "Middle East" if applicable).

[xvii] Chosen matrices were matters of expediency, specifically in regards to the level of information available for the offenders involved in the network, as well as the leadership structure of the network insofar as who instructed whom and who supported whom. This is the case for all countries of analysis.

[xviii] Explanations for each measure will be provided in the Results chapters that follow because the purpose of each is most lucid when discussed in the context of the matrices.

[xix] The "leadership" categorization was based on law enforcement classifications of individuals involved in the case. The SNA portion of this study included analyses that qualified the verisimilitude of law enforcement's establishing of leadership. Additionally, SNA was used to compare sentence length to offender's (law enforcement) determined role in the network.

[xx] The migrant status of six ($n=6$) offenders was not ascertained. Twelve ($n=12$) offenders were located in countries outside of the United States and were not assigned a status of migrant or non-migrant.

Chapter 4: Results

The variables used for this study may not represent the entire breadth of the human trafficking act, but they incorporate fundamental phases of the cases included in this study. Additionally, this study's variables represent key elements of trafficking as discussed in the literature. This section will present the results that directly relate to the focus of this study. The purpose of this type of presentation is to challenge human trafficking scholarship to pursue statistical modeling and analysis of actual occurrences of trafficking in order to challenge the dearth of debate of components of the act. The inclusion of migratory network analysis can assist in this call for a novel approach to trafficking research. Specifically, the data presented in this chapter address issues of gender, migrant status, network variability, judicial sentencing patterns, and offense characteristics influencing the mode and methodology of the crime. The comparative analysis between countries incorporates results that open a dialogue regarding the possible impact of sex trade legislation/enforcement and cases of human trafficking, as well as discussions pertaining to the anatomy of human trafficking offending.

Australia

The nature of Australian human trafficking offenses captured by this study suggest a lack of variability in the nature of the offense. This does not imply that all offenders involved in Australian cases are the same; rather, this implies that the cases prosecuted by law enforcement display similar patterns. This notion leads to a limited number of statistical resources that can be employed in order to analyse cases. Paradoxically, this dearth invokes interesting conditions of the trafficking offense in Australia that permit a stimulating discussion of human trafficking in the Australian realm. The discussion will follow in the coming chapters.

Tables 2 and 3 display descriptive statistics[i] of the 23 offenders involved in the ten Australian cases captured by this study. Of particular note is the mean age of offender (46.01) of the sixteen offenders whose age could be established. Even if the remaining seven offenders were 18 years of age, the mean age of offending (37.89) would still be higher than noted in most criminal offenses (Farrington 1986).[ii]

Table 2: Descriptive statistics for AU offender data

	N (All)	N (SNA)	N (Transnational)	Percentage (All)	Percentage (SNA)	Percentage (Transnational)
Sex trafficking	23	12	21			
Yes	19	12	19	82.61%	100.00%	90.48%
No	4	0	2	17.39%	0.00%	9.52%
Migrant offender	23	10	21			
Yes	16	8	16	69.57%	80.00%	76.19%
No	7	2	5	30.43%	20.00%	23.81%
Age of offender*	46.01	43.21		(60 / 37)	(47 / 37)	
Gender of offender	23	11	21			
Male	16	8	14	69.57%	72.73%	66.67%
Female	7	3	7	30.43%	27.27%	33.33%
Gender of victim	23	12	21			
Male	2	0	2	8.70%	0.00%	9.52%
Female	19	12	19	82.61%	100.00%	90.48%
Male & Female	2	0	0	8.70%	0.00%	0.00%
Race of offender	21	11	21			
Asian	14	9	14	66.67%	81.82%	66.67%
Black	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Latino	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
White	6	2	6	28.57%	18.18%	28.57%
Other	1	0	1	4.76%	0.00%	4.76%
Race of victim	23	12	21			
Asian	22	12	20	95.65%	100.00%	95.24%
Black	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Latino	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
White	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Other	1	0	1	4.35%	0.00%	4.76%
Variety	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Child involved	23	12	21			
Yes	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
No	23	12	21	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Coercion/threats of violence	23	12	21			
Yes	18	8	16	78.26%	66.67%	76.19%
No	5	4	5	21.74%	33.33%	23.81%
Offender rape victim	23	12	21			
Yes	1	0	1	4.35%	0.00%	4.76%
No	22	12	20	95.65%	100.00%	95.24%
Violence by offender	23	12	21			
Yes	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
No	23	12	21	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Same origin as victim	23	11	21			
Yes	14	9	14	60.87%	81.82%	66.67%
No	9	2	7	39.13%	18.18%	33.33%
Geographic type	23	12	21			
Transnational	21	12	21	91.30%	100.00%	100.00%
Regional	2	0	0	8.70%	0.00%	0.00%
Consensual sex with victim	23	12	21			
Yes	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
No	23	12	21	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Additionally, Australian maximum sentence length (168 months) is the second lowest (Canada ranked the lowest) of the four countries assessed by this study. The mean sentence length (82.79 months), however, is the second highest of the four countries. Although only fourteen offenders' sentence lengths could be determined, this number accounts for those offenders who were arrested, prosecuted, and, subsequently, found

Table 3: Descriptive statistics for AU offender data

	N (All)	N (SNA)	N (Transnational)	Percentage (All)	Percentage (SNA)	Percentage (Transnational)
Origin of offender	23	11	21			
Africa	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Asia	2	1	2	8.70%	9.09%	9.52%
Central America	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Canada	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Eastern Europe	1	0	1	4.35%	0.00%	4.76%
India	1	0	1	4.35%	0.00%	4.76%
Mexico	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Russia	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
South America	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
South Pacific	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
South East Asia	11	8	11	47.83%	72.73%	52.38%
Unted Kingdom	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
United States	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Other	8	2	6	34.78%	18.18%	28.57%
Origin of victim	23	12	21			
Africa	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Asia	1	0	1	4.35%	0.00%	4.76%
Central America	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Canada	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Eastern Europe	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
India	1	0	1	4.35%	0.00%	4.76%
Mexico	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Russia	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
South America	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
South Pacific	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
South East Asia	21	12	19	91.30%	100.00%	90.48%
Unted Kingdom	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
United States	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Various	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Compensation to state	20	8	18			
Yes	2	0	1	10.00%	0.00%	5.56%
No	18	8	17	90.00%	100.00%	94.44%
Compensation to victim	20	8	18			
Yes	3	0	2	15.00%	0.00%	11.00%
No	17	8	16	85.00%	100.00%	88.89%
Conviction trafficking offense	20	8	18			
Yes	13	5	13	65.00%	62.50%	72.22%
No	7	3	5	35.00%	37.50%	27.78%
Conviction other offense	20	8	18			
Yes	9	2	7	45.00%	25.00%	38.89%
No	11	6	11	55.00%	75.00%	61.11%
Plead guilty to trafficking	20	8	18			
Yes	4	1	4	2.00%	87.50%	77.78%
No	16	7	14	80.00%	12.50%	22.22%
Plead guilty to other offense	20	8	18			
Yes	1	0	1	5.00%	0.00%	5.56%
No	19	8	17	95.00%	100.00%	94.44%
Sentence length (months)	14	5	14			
Max	168	168	168	-	-	-
Min	4	72	4	-	-	-
Mean	82.79	108	82.79	-	-	-

guilty. A number of individuals involved in Australian cases (*n*=9) were not arrested, but law enforcement was able to establish their involvement in the crime.[iii]

  At 66.67% (*n*=14), the majority of offenders were Asian, as were the individuals they trafficked. This study could establish that trafficked individuals belonged to one of

either two races: Asian or Indian (designated as "Other" in Table 3). Relative parity between distribution of race of offender and victim suggests that many offenders were of the same race as their victim(s). This notion is echoed by the frequency distribution results, which indicate that of the twenty-one offenders who race could be determined, 66.67% (n=14) were Asian, 28.57% (n=6) were White, and 4.76% (n=1) were Indian. The race of offender's victim was determined for all cases (n=23): 95.65% (n=22) offenders trafficked Asian individuals and an additional 4.35% (n=1) trafficked Indian individuals. All Asian offenders were involved in the trafficking of Asian individuals, as were white offenders. An Indian offender was involved in the trafficking of one Indian man, both of who were from the same community in India. Of the offenders whose migrant status could be determined[iv] (n=23), 69.57% (n=16) were migrants and 30.43% (n=7) were Australian-born individuals. Of the twenty-three offenders whose gender could be established, 30.43% (n=7) were female; all of these females were migrants.

All female offenders were Asian. Of the fourteen males whose race could be established, 50.00% (n=7) were Asian, 42.86% (n=6) were white, and 7.14% (n=1) were Indian. Of the male offenders whose sex and migrant status could be established, 56.35% (n=9) were migrants and 43.75% (n=7) were non-migrants. An Asian female sex trafficker received the longest sentence (168 months). Two cases involved business corporations prosecuted for trafficking for the purpose of labour exploitation. Both prosecutions resulted in convictions, but no individuals from either company were required to serve jail time.

Of the twenty-three offenders involved in Australian trafficking, one offender engaged in sexual assault of the victim(s):[v] this offender was a 60 year old White male convicted of transnational sex trafficking. This was the *only instance of violence* in Australian cases included in the scope of this study. No other Australian offender was accused of violence by either law enforcement or the victim, and no victim presented physical evidence of injury, healed or otherwise. Of the twenty offenders prosecuted, 20.00% (n=4) pleaded guilty to trafficking offenses and an addition 5.00% (n=1) pleaded guilty to a labour violation. The offender who pleaded guilty to a non-trafficking charge was sentence to sixty months incarceration. The four who pleaded guilty to trafficking were sentence to 27 months, 60 months, 72 months and 96 months. Of the additional ten

Table 4: Australian trafficking (all data) Pearson correlations

	Sex trafficking	Violent offender	Consensual sex	Coercion	Geographic Type	Same origin	Age (offender)	Gender (offender)	Race (offender)	Origin (offender)	Migrant (offender)	Origin (victim)	Gender (victim)	Race (victim)	Child (victim)
Sex trafficking	1.0000														
Violent offender		1.0000													
Consensual sex			1.0000												
Coercion				1.0000											
Geographic type	0.6726*				1.0000										
Same origin						1.0000									
Age (offender)							1.0000								
Gender (offender)						-0.5303*		1.0000							
Race (offender)						-0.8620*	0.4756	0.4872	1.0000						
Origin (offender)						0.7041*			-0.5801*	1.0000					
Migrant (offender)				-0.4666		-0.8250*		0.4375	0.8592*	-0.6281*	1.0000				
Origin (victim)	0.6351*											1.0000			
Gender (victim)	-0.9389*				-0.8863*								1.0000		
Race (victim)	-0.4647*											-0.4142		1.0000	
Child (victim)															1.0000

p < 0.05 (printed), * p < 0.01 (if significant)

offenders who were convicted of trafficking offenses but did not plead guilty, all were sentenced to incarceration, ranging from 4 to 168 months. The majority of offenders [80.00% (*n*=16)] went to trial without arranging a plea bargain/admission of guilt.

Correlation measures were used in order to assess possible relationships between variables, resulting in a correlation matrix including fifteen variables[vi] relating to offender and victim. The purpose of which was to display a correlation matrix that could highlight previously unrealized relationships between variables. In a number of cases, perfect correlations resulted in dropped data outputs and were not included in this study.

The correlation matrix displays correlations that are statistically significant (p<0.05). From left to right (top row), the variables depict different components of the trafficking act: the first six variables (sex trafficking, violent offender, consensual sex, coercion, geographic type, same origin) relate to the commission of the offense; the following five variables relate to offender characteristics; and, the last four variables relate to victim characteristics. Because correlation measures were employed in order to assess the possibility of relationships between variables, the correlation matrix only displays correlations that are statistically significant (p<0.05).

The results suggest that co-nationality of victim and offender prevails: namely, there is a statistical relationship between an offender and a victim originating from the same locale. This result is strengthened when the *type* of trafficking is considered. Regional trafficking is almost always exclusively related to sex trafficking. Regional trafficking is almost always exclusive to non-migrant offenders. Regional trafficking is almost always exclusive to non-migrant victims. This result suggests the likelihood of different modes of operation across different trafficking models.

Table 5: Network characteristics of AU offenders; n.s. = not statistically significant

	Active Nodes	Ties	Transitivity	Network Central Indegree	Network Central Outdegree	Gender (t-test centrality)*
Matrix 1	7	12	34.78%	30.00%	100.00%	N/A
Matrix 2	5	6	6.25%	33.33%	116.67%	N/A

		Core	Periphery	QAP Value**	QAP Avg
Matrix 1		4 Nodes (B1 B2 **B4** B7)	3 Nodes (B3 B5 B6)	N/A	N/A
Matrix 2		2 Nodes (**B1** B2)	3 Nodes (**B3** B4 B5)	N/A	N/A

* t-tests indicate no significant difference between male network centrality and female network centrality

** QAP results indicate significance of correlations between actors in the network based on two levels of relations

Note: female actors indicated with bold text for core/periphery analysis

Of additional note is that offender variables of race, gender, and origin are all statistically significant with the offender being from the same origin as the victim(s). However, there is no statistically significant relationship between the gender of offender and the gender of the victim(s), nor is there a significant correlation existing between the gender of the offender and whether or not the victim was trafficked for sexual exploitation.

SNA centrality, transitivity, Indegree/Outdegree, and core/periphery analyses are indicted in Table 7. Matrix 1 (AUM1) consisted of seven actors and twelve directed ties. Matrix 2 (AUM2) included five actors and six directed ties. Network transitivity depicts the number of ties resulting in triads (i.e. because AB and BC have a relationship, it is likely that AC also have a relationship, though this may be weaker or stronger). The transitivity of a network suggests the overall cohesion and closeness of relationships based on the number of times a possible triad is completed (Hanneman and Riddle 2005). Both AUM1 and AUM2 have low transitivity scores (34.78% and 6.25%, respectively), suggesting that both networks, especially the latter, lacked strong cohesion. This notion is echoed by the low number of ties in each network relative to the possible number.

Centrality measures were assessed in order to analyse the overall cohesion of the group and members in the network. Indegree measures quantify the extent to which an actor in the network is a reference point for the rest: a go-between or broker of sorts (Hanneman and Riddle 2005). Outdegree depicts an actor's capacity for connecting to others in the network (Hanneman and Riddle 2005). AUM1 possesses a network central

Table 6: Centrality measures of AU offenders; Bonacich (1987) and Freeman (1977)

	Node	Bonacich Centrality (- *b*)	Bonacich Centrality (+ *b*)	Power Bonacich Centrality (Beta)	Freeman Betweenness
Matrix 1	B1	2.646	1.771	1.716	18.333
	B2	-0.000	1.635	1.712	1.667
	B3	-0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	B4	-0.000	1.090	1.060	0.000
	B5	-0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	B6	-0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	B7	0.000	0.000	-0.000	0.000
Matrix 2	B1	2.108	1.860	1.584	25.000
	B2	-0.527	1.209	1.578	0.000
	B3	0.527	0.279	0.003	0.000
	B4	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	B5	-0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Note: normalized scores provided for all estimates

Indegree of 30.00% and an Outdegree of 100.00%, meaning that the network lacked parity in regards to power distribution (i.e. giving and receiving orders/instructions/information). AUM2 is less equilibrated than AUM1, possessing a network central Indegree of 33.33% and an Outdegree of 116.67%.

The centrality of a network measures power distribution across the network. A network with high centrality measures is indicative of a hierarchal structure with uneven power distribution. In such networks, there can be a lack of cohesion or connectivity between those in power roles and those who are subservient to others in the network. In order to obtain a sense of the *closeness* of the two networks, the mean of InCloseness and OutCloseness was computed. This measure provides a geodesic path distance, calculating the sum of the lengths of the shortest paths from ego to ego (Hanneman and Riddle 2005): in other words, *closeness* measures the cohesion and connectivity of the network, as well as the balance of power in regards to giving and receiving information/instructions. The means of InCloseness and OutCloseness for AUM1 are 22.073 and 41.497, respectively, suggesting that some actors in the network dominated others in the network because in-distances and out-distances are unevenly distributed. AUM2 depicts a similar level of uneven distribution of power (IC 31.197 and OC 44.429).

T-test centrality measures were not calculated for Australian matrices because of limited network size and distribution of gender. Core/periphery analysis was conducted in order to ascertain the actors in each network who held core and periphery roles in regards to network functionality. AUM1 had three actors who held core roles (AU1.B1, AU1.B2, AU1.B4) four actors who held periphery roles (AU1.B3, AU1.B5, AU1.B6, and AU1.B7).[vii]

The only female, AU1.B4, held a core role in the network, suggesting that she not only received information from her male counterparts, but also was dominant over other males in the network. Interestingly, AU1.B4 was a former trafficking victim of AU1.B1, but her role in the network, determined by the directional flow of information/instruction, suggested that she acted as a co-offender alongside B1 rather than a direct subservient to him.

AUM2 had two actors who held core roles (AU2.B1 and AU2.B2) and three actors who held periphery roles (AU2.B3, AU2.B4, and AU2.B5). AU2.B2 was found not guilty of his crimes, though his involvement in the network was corroborated by law enforcement who strongly felt his involvement in the network alongside AU2.B1 facilitated much of the trafficking. AU2.B1 and AU2.B3 were females, and law enforcement determined AU2.B1 to be the leader.

Table 3 depicts Bonacich (1987) centrality measures, which decipher the importance of an actor in regards to power and connections to those with power and those with few or "weak" connections [in the Granovetter (1973) sense].[viii] The latter in the final pairing is an important measure because an individual with a connection to another individual who lacks strong connections implies the importance of the first actor in regards to the second. Essentially, the primary actor binds the other actor into the network and, as such, asserts dominance in the tie because he controls how the secondary actor accesses the overall network. In AUM1, AU1.B1 has the highest negative beta coefficient, implying his importance as the only actor with ties to those who are not well connected. In this case, AU1.B1 is the *only* individual in the network to hold this pivotal role. In regards to connections to the "right" actors (i.e. those with power), the results change slightly: AU1.B1, AU1.B2, and AU1.B4 are the actors with the connections to those of importance. In this case, AU1.B1 and AU1.B2 are brothers, and, as mentioned

Figure 2: Australian node size by centrality (1a) and sentence length (1b): Matrix 1

1a) Node size based on centrality measures

1b) Node size based on sentence length
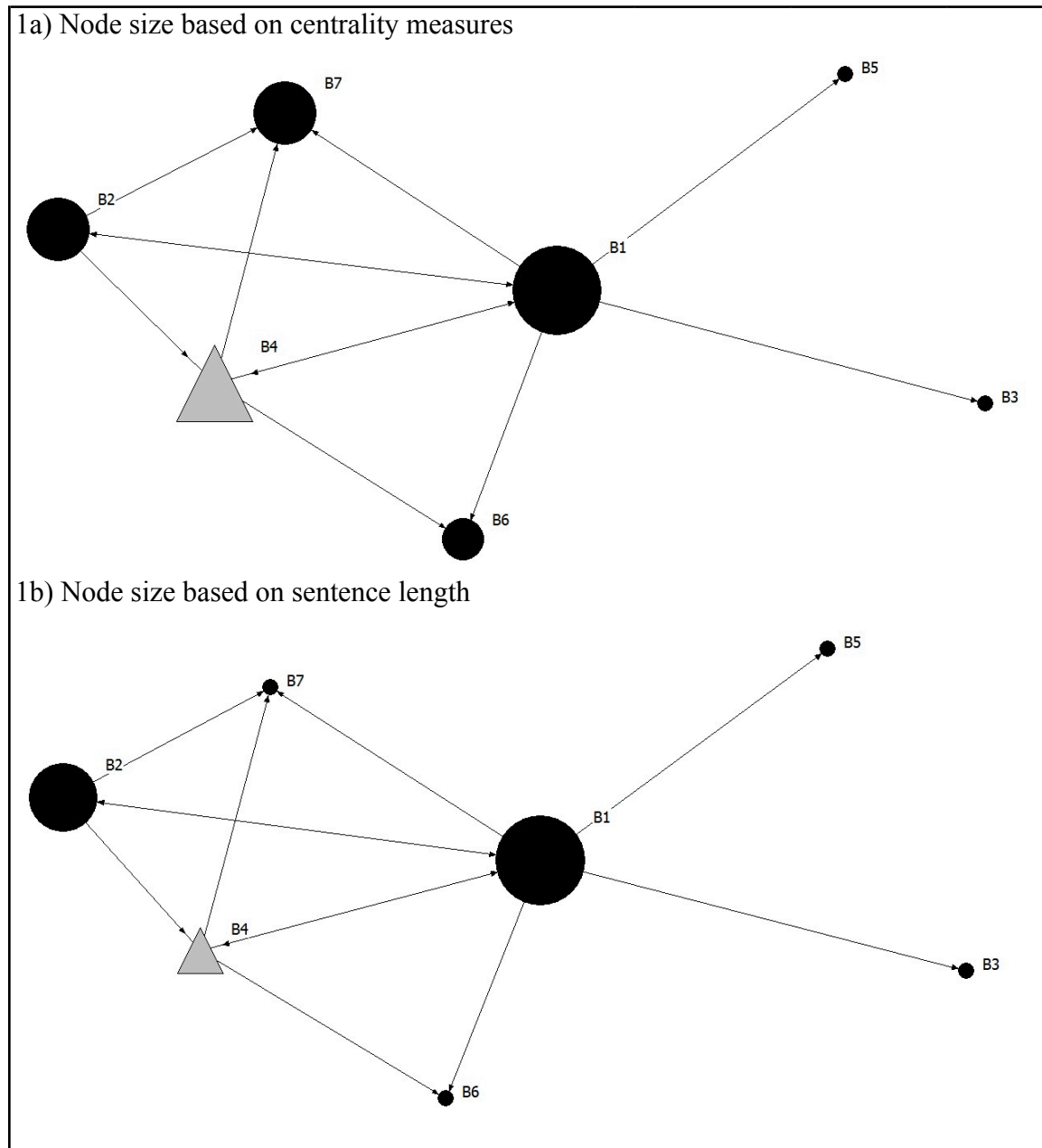
previously, AU1.B4 is a former trafficking victim of AU1.B1. The variability of Freeman (1977) betweenness scores (from 18.333 to 1.667 to 0) suggests the presence of hierarchy in the network.

In AUM2, AU2.B1, AU2.B2, and AU2.B3 are the most connected to those with weak connections, and they are also the individuals with the connections to those with the most power/highest level of importance. This result is not surprising: AU2.B4 and AU2.B5 have zero pull in the network and only receive instructions/directions/etc. Again,

2a) Node size based on centrality measures

2b) Node size based on sentence length

the variability of Freeman betweenness scores suggests the presence of a hierarchal network structure.

Figure 2 depicts the variability of each network. For all models labeled *a*, node size is dictated by the offender's calculated centrality (influence/importance) in the network. The *b* label indicates offender node size based on the length of judicial sentence (in months).[ix] Model 1a reproduces the network structure of AUM1 with nodes sized by offender centrality and node colour and shape based on offender gender (grey triangles

indicate node is female and black circles indicate node is male: this holds true for all models). Centrality measures[x] in comparison to sentence length suggest that, of those arrested (AU1.B1 to AU1.B5), AU1.B4, a female, received a lower sentence length in comparison to her role in the network, though this is possibly a result of her status as a former trafficking victim of AU1.B1 and AU1.B2. Although AU1.B6 occupied a periphery position in the operation of the network, he was not arrested, though his role as a middleman[xi] in Thailand was important for the functionality of transiting individuals to Australia. AU1.B7, who acted as an enforcer,[xii] was not arrested. Law enforcement did, however, determine his existence and role in the network.

Model 2*a* (Figure 3) reproduces the network structure of AUM2 with node size influenced by offender centrality, reiterating the centrality and importance of AU2.B1 in the network. However, this model depicts AU2.B2 with a lower centrality score than would appear to be suggested by the core/periphery result in the previous paragraphs. At first glance this appears to be a contradiction, but AU2.B2's core/periphery score is partly based on his having the only mutually directed tie with AU2.B1. The strength of this tie leads to AU2.B2's core/periphery designation, though his overall centrality in the network results in a lower score because his only tie in the network is to AU2.B1. AU2.B3's sentence length is slightly out of proportion to her centrality in the network, but is identical (72 months) to her fellow trafficking victim counterpart from the other Australian matrix. AU1.B3 did, however, plead guilty to a trafficking charge. Under her instruction, AU1.B4 supplied trafficked individuals to AU1.B1, and also directed AU1.B4 in her recruitment of potential trafficking victims. Though not arrested, likely because of residing in Thailand, AU1.B4 occupied a vital role in the network, especially insofar as overseeing AU1.B1's access to potential victims. All offenders were coded for previous criminal history; none of the offenders sentenced had previous Australian criminal records.

Tables 9 and 10 depict the correlation measures of sex, sentence length, and centrality of AUM1 and AUM2, respectively. Echoing previous results, both tables present low correlations (0.36 and 0.31) between sex and centrality: that is, the sex of an offender is not significantly correlated with his/her positioning in the network. However, an offender's sentence length is significantly correlated (0.77 and 0.83) to his/her

Table 7: AU correlations (Matrix 1)

	Sex	Sentence	Centrality
Sex	1.00		
Sentence	0.12	1.00	
Centrality	0.36	0.77**	1.00

* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table 8: AU correlations (Matrix 2)

	Sex	Sentence	Centrality
Sex	1.00		
Sentence	0.64	1.00	
Centrality	0.31	0.83*	1.00

* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

positioning in the network. In this regard, Australia might be accurately assessing and sentencing offenders based on their level of importance in a trafficking network.

Network hierarchy was assessed using Krackhardt GTD (graph theoretical dimensions) analysis (Krackhardt 1994) via UCInet. The four parameters of hierarchy measures for AUM1 are close to 1 (connectedness = 1.000; hierarchy = 0.800; efficiency = 0.7333; least upper bound = 1.000), suggesting the presence of hierarchy in the network. A similar pattern emerges in AUM2: all four parameters are close to 1 (connectedness = 1; hierarchy = 0.8750; efficiency = 0.8333; least upper bound = 1.000), suggesting the presence of hierarchy in the network. AUM2 presents a slightly greater amount of network hierarchy, though this is likely a result of the possible co-offending structure of AUM1 wherein two siblings, AU1.B1 and AU1.B2, worked closely together in the operation of the network. As such, the spread of the hierarchy score was slightly lower.

Network brokerage was assessed using G&F brokerage analysis (Borgatti, Everett, and Freeman 2002) via UCInet. For the purpose of this study, brokerage roles were determined by clustering of network individuals (when applicable) by gender. To reiterate, much of the literature is dichotomized by gender, though statistical analyses of such dichotomizations remains scarce. In order to address the seemingly antipositivist approach noted in much of the literature, this study positions the dichotomy as a pivotal role in the analysis. AUM1 consists of two clusters (by gender)[xiii]: the first cluster (males) is composed of AU1.B1, AU1.B2, AU1.B3, AU1.B5, AU1.B6, and AU1.B7; the second cluster is composed of the only female in the network, AU1.B4. In the first cluster, AU1.B1 holds the only brokerage role, acting as a *coordinator* on three occasions and a *gatekeeper* on three occasions. No other member of the first cluster occupies a brokerage role. In the second cluster, AU1.B4 acts as a *consultant* on one occasions,

suggesting that she, alongside AU1.B1, are the only two members of the network to occupy roles of importance in relation to brokerage.

AUM2 is also clustered by gender, though AU2.B5, gender unknown, is categorized as a member of the second "female" cluster (alongside AU2.B1 and AU2.B3). This does not impact the brokerage results because AU2.B5 does not occupy a brokerage role. The first cluster (males), composed of AU2.B2 and AU2.B4, results in neither offender acting as a broker. In the second cluster, AU2.B1 acts as a *gatekeeper* on two occasions and a *consultant* on one occasion. AU2.B3 does not occupy a brokerage role. Across the two networks, three offenders hold brokerage roles, two of who are females.

Britain

As noted with the Australian cases captured within the scope of this study, British cases also lacked variability, resulting in limited statistical approaches that could be employed. Again, this does not limit the scope of discussion pertaining to these cases. All British cases were cases of sex trafficking.

Table 11 displays descriptive statistics of the sixty-nine offenders involved in the twelve British cases captured by this study. The mean age of offender (30.25) of the 60.87% (*n*=42) of offenders whose age could be established is lower than noted in the Australian cases, and if the remaining 39.13% (*n*=27) of offenders were 18 years of age, the mean age of offender (25.46) would be closer to that of typical offending patterns (Farrington 1986). The range in age of offender (from 65 to 17) is interesting to note, especially when considering that many of the non-familial cases displayed a lack of co-offender clustering by age. Additionally, British sentence length (276 months) ranked the second highest of the four countries, depicting a mean of 66.71 months (second lowest). Although only fifty-six offenders' sentence lengths could be determined, this number accounts for those offenders who were arrested, prosecuted, found/pleaded guilty, and, subsequently, sentenced (prior to December 31, 2011). A number of individuals involved in British cases (*n*=27) were not arrested, but law enforcement established their involvement in the crime.[xiv]

Table 9: Descriptive statistics for British trafficking offender data

	N (All)	N (SNA)	N (Transnational)	Percentage (All)	Percentage (SNA)	Percentage (Transnational)
Sex trafficking	69	24	68			
Yes	69	24	68	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
No	0	1	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Migrant offender	69	16	68			
Yes	63	16	63	91.30%	100.00%	92.65%
No	6	0	5	8.70%	0.00%	7.35%
Age of offender*	30.25	30.76	30.31	(65 / 17)	(55 / 17)	(65 / 17)
Gender of offender	69	24	68			
Male	50	21	49	72.46%	87.50%	72.06%
Female	19	3	19	27.54%	12.50%	27.94%
Gender of victim	69	24	68			
Male	3	0	3	4.35%	0.00%	4.41%
Female	66	24	65	95.65%	100.00%	95.59%
Male & Female	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Race of offender	69	18	68			
Asian	5	0	5	7.25%	0.00%	7.35%
Black	2	0	2	2.90%	0.00%	2.94%
Latino	2	0	2	2.90%	0.00%	2.94%
White	55	18	54	79.71%	100.00%	79.41%
Other	5	0	5	7.25%	0.00%	7.35%
Race of victim	69	24	68			
Asian	6	0	6	8.70%	0.00%	8.82%
Black	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Latino	1	0	1	1.45%	0.00%	1.47%
White	56	24	55	81.16%	100.00%	80.88%
Other	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Variety	6	0	6	8.70%	0.00%	
Child involved	69	24	68			
Yes	16	10	16	23.19%	41.67%	23.53%
No	53	14	52	76.81%	58.33%	76.47%
Coercion/threats of violence	69	24	68			
Yes	51	24	50	73.91%	100.00%	73.53%
No	18	0	18	26.09%	0.00%	26.47%
Offender rape victim	69	24	68			
Yes	1	1	1	1.45%	4.17%	1.47%
No	68	23	67	98.55%	95.83%	98.53%
Violence by offender	69	13	68			
Yes	19	3	19	27.54%	23.08%	27.94%
No	50	10	49	72.46%	76.92%	72.06%
Same origin as victim	69	18	68			
Yes	10	18	10	14.49%	100.00%	14.71%
No	59	0	58	85.51%	0.00%	85.29%
Geographic type	69	24	68			
Transnational	68	24	68	98.55%	100.00%	100.00%
Regional	1	0	0	1.45%	0.00%	0.00%
Consensual sex with victim	69	24	68			
Yes	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
No	69	24	68	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

As depicted by Australian cases, the frequency distribution results suggest that most offenders were of the same race as their victim(s). Offenders' race was assessed for all cases (*n*=69): 7.25% (*n*=5) were Asian, 2.90% (*n*=2) were Latino, 79.71% (*n*=55) were White, 2.90% (*n*=2) were Black, and 7.25% (*n*=5) were designated as "Other". The race of offender's victim was also determined for all cases: 8.70% (*n*=6) were Asian,

Table 10: Descriptive statistics for British trafficking offender data (cont.)

	N (All)	N (SNA)	N (Transnational)	Percentage (All)	Percentage (SNA)	Percentage (Transnational)
Origin of offender	69	18	68			
Africa	2	0	2	2.90%	0.00%	2.94%
Asia	8	0	8	11.59%	0.00%	11.76%
Central America	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Canada	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Eastern Europe	48	18	48	69.57%	100.00%	70.59%
India	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Mexico	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Russia	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
South America	1	0	1	1.45%	0.00%	1.47%
South Pacific	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
South East Asia	1	0	1	1.45%	0.00%	1.47%
Unted Kingdom	6	0	5	8.70%	0.00%	7.35%
United States	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Other	3	0	3	4.35%	0.00%	4.42%
Origin of victim						
Africa	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Asia	8	0	8	11.59%	0.00%	11.76%
Central America	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Canada	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Eastern Europe	55	24	55	79.71%	100.00%	80.88%
India	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Mexico	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Russia	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
South America	1	0	1	1.45%	0.00%	1.47%
South Pacific	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
South East Asia	1	0	1	1.45%	0.00%	1.47%
Unted Kingdom	1	0	0	1.45%	0.00%	0.00%
United States	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Various	3	0	3	4.35%	0.00%	4.41%
Compensation to state	69	24	68			
Yes	3	9	3	4.35%	37.50%	4.41%
No	52	15	51	75.36%	62.50%	75.00%
Compensation to victim	69	24	68			
Yes	0	9	0	0.00%	37.50%	0.00%
No	55	15	54	79.71%	62.50%	79.41%
Conviction trafficking offense	67	24	66			
Yes	35	7	35	52.24%	29.17%	53.03%
No	13	2	12	19.40%	8.33%	18.18%
Conviction other offense	67	24	66			
Yes	38	4	37	56.72%	16.67%	56.05%
No	14	5	14	20.90%	20.83%	21.21%
Plead guilty to trafficking	54	24	53			
Yes	19	4	19	35.19%	16.67%	35.85%
No	35	5	34	64.81%	20.83%	64.15%
Plead guilty to other offense	54	24	53			
Yes	16	1	16	29.63%	4.17%	30.19%
No	38	8	37	70.37%	33.33%	69.81%
Sentence length (months)	48	9	47			
Max	276	252	276	-	-	-
Min	0	30	0	-	-	-
Mean	75.40	139.33	75.60	-	-	-

1.45% (*n*=1) were Latino, 81.16% (*n*=56) were White, and 6.00% (*n*=6) were of a variety of races.

Asian offenders trafficked only Asian individuals. A similar racial divide occurred for White offenders wherein White offenders trafficked only White individuals.

	Sex trafficking	Violent offender	Consensual sex	Coercion	Geographic Type	Same origin	Age (offender)	Gender (offender)	Race (offender)	Origin (offender)	Migrant (offender)	Origin (victim)	Gender (victim)	Race (victim)	Child (victim)
Sex trafficking	1.0000														
Violent offender		1.0000													
Consensual sex			1.0000												
Coercion				1.0000											
Geographic type					1.0000										
Same origin				0.4117*		1.0000									
Age (offender)						-0.3131*	1.0000								
Gender (offender)								1.0000							
Race (offender)									1.0000						
Origin (offender)				-0.4933*		-0.3419*			0.5459*	1.0000					
Migrant (offender)				-0.4023*	-0.3930*	-0.6035*	0.3671*			0.5089*	1.0000				
Origin (victim)				-0.3441*	-0.3474*	-0.2706				0.7039*		1.0000			
Gender (victim)										-0.3465*		-0.2449	1.0000		
Race (victim)										0.8132*		0.3430*		1.0000	
Child (victim)				0.3264*			0.3387*			0.2397					1.0000

p < 0.05 (printed), * p < 0.01 (if significant)

Latino offenders (*n=2*) trafficked both Latino and a variety of races. Black offenders (*n=2*) trafficked White individuals, and those designated "Other" (*n=5*) trafficked individuals of a variety of races. Migrant status was determined[xv] for all offenders, resulting in a breakdown of sixty-three migrants and six British-born individuals (91.30% and 8.70%, respectively).

The gender of offender was assessed for all cases, resulting in the presence of nineteen females and fifty males (27.54% and 72.46%, respectively); of the nineteen females who migrant status could be determined, 89.47% (*n=17*) were migrants. Of the fifty males whose migrant status could be determined, 92.00% (*n=46*) were migrants. A White male originating from Albania received the longest sentence (276 months).

Of the sixty-nine offenders involved in British sex trafficking cases, 1.45% (*n=1*) engaged in sexual assault of the victim(s). This offender was a 17 years old White male convicted of transnational sex trafficking. Of the fifty-four prosecuted offenders whose arrangements with the Crown could be determined, 35.19% (*n=19*) pleaded guilty to trafficking offenses, and an additional 29.63% (*n=16*) pleaded guilty to other offenses related to the commission of their offense. Of those who pleaded guilty, 13.63% (*n=9*) pleaded guilty to both a trafficking offense and other offenses related to the commission of the act. Of the sixty-nine offenders assessed, 27.54% (*n=19*) engaged in violent acts towards their victim(s).

Table 13 depicts a correlation matrix of pairwise correlations across all British data. The correlation matrix only displays correlations that are statistically significant (p<0.05). Of particular note is that origin of offenders and victims as well as migrant status are all statistically significant with the offender being from the same origin as the

Table 12: Network characteristics of British offenders; n.s. = not statistically significant

	Active Nodes	Ties	Transitivity	Network Central Indegree	Network Central Outdegree	Gender (t-test centrality)*
Matrix 1	14	31	19.63%	16.03%	78.85%	n.s
Matrix 2	10	15	39.51%	20.83%	20.83%	N/A

			Core	Periphery	QAP Value**	QAP Avg
Matrix 1			4 Nodes (**B1** B2 B3 B9)	10 Nodes (**B4** B5 B6 B7 B8 B10 B11 B12 **B13** B14)	N/A	N/A
Matrix 2			5 Nodes (B1 B3 B4 B9 B10)	4 Nodes (B2 B5 B6 B7 B8)	N/A	N/A

* t-tests indicate no significant difference between male network centrality and female network centrality

** QAP results indicate significance of correlations between actors in the network based on two levels of relations

Note: female actors indicated with bold text for core/periphery analysis

victim(s). However, there is no statistically significant relationship between the gender of offender and the gender of the victim(s), nor is there a significant correlation existing between the gender of the offender and whether or not the victim was trafficked for sexual exploitation.

The gender of offender variable allows for development of a better understanding of the role gender plays in human trafficking. Reports pertaining to female offending in the sex trade notes that women often recruit other women by acting as informal brokers (*UNODC* 2013), so the gender of the victim is important. However, female offenders rarely commit offenses against children, especially those of a sexual nature (Allan 1991; Faller 1987; Grayston and De Luca 1999; Matthews, Matthews and Speltz 1989; McCarty 1986; Nathan and Ward 2002; O'Connor 1987; Saradijan 1986; Travin, Cullen and Potter 1990; Vandiver and Walker 2002; Wijkman, Bijleveld and Hendriks 2010). As such, the inclusion of the child variable was to ascertain whether this assumption/assertion is demonstrated by the female offenders included in this study. Any time a female was involved, she was involved in sex trafficking. The SNA results will underline her involvement as a core or peripheral offender.

SNA centrality, transitivity, Indegree/Outdegree, and core/periphery analyses are indicated in Table 16. Matrix 1 (UKM1) consisted of fourteen actors and thirty-one directed ties. Matrix 2 (UKM2) included ten actors and fifteen directed ties. Network transitivity, depicting the number of ties resulting in triads (as discussed in the Australian

Table 13: Characteristics of British networks; Bonacich (1987) and Freeman (1977)

	Node	Bonacich Centrality (- *b*)	Bonacich Centrality (+ *b*)	Power Bonacich Centrality (Beta)	Freeman Betweenness
Matrix 1	B1	2.894	-1.486	1.957	35.043
	B2	-0.334	-1.791	1.734	19.231
	B3	-0.334	-1.791	1.734	0.427
	B4	-1.892	-0.884	0.897	0.427
	B5	0.779	-0.493	0.423	0.000
	B6	0.779	-0.493	0.423	0.000
	B7	0.000	0.039	0.000	0.000
	B8	0.000	0.039	0.000	0.000
	B9	-0.779	-2.026	1.731	0.000
	B10	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	B11	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	B12	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	B13	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	B14	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Matrix 2	B1	2.151	2.114	-0.187	27.778
	B2	-0.291	1.195	0.200	11.111
	B3	0.349	1.103	-0.776	11.111
	B4	2.092	0.551	-0.779	8.333
	B5	0.000	0.000	-0.004	6.944
	B6	0.000	0.000	-0.004	0.000
	B7	0.523	0.276	-1.937	0.000
	B8	0.523	0.276	-1.936	0.000
	B9	0.349	1.103	-0.778	0.000
	B10	0.349	1.103	-0.778	0.000

Note: normalized scores provided for all estimates

results section), is weak for UKM1 (19.63%) and stronger (39.51%), but still lacking cohesive strength, for UKM2. The transitivity scores for these British networks suggest that both lack strong cohesion; a result echoed by the low number of ties in each network relative to the possible number.

Centrality measures were assessed in order to analyse the overall cohesion of the group and members in the network. Indegree and Outdegree measures for UKM1 (16.03% and 78.85%, respectively) suggest that, overall, the network lacks parity in regards to power distribution. UKM2 is more equilibrated than UKM1, possessing a network central Indegree of 20.83% and an identical Outdegree of 20.83%. In order to obtain a sense of the *closeness* (i.e. cohesion and connectivity) of the two networks, the mean of InCloseness and OutCloseness was computed. The means of InCloseness and OutCloseness for UKM1 are 12.577 and 31.050, respectively, suggesting that the network structure facilitates some actors holding dominant positions over others. Scores

computed for UKM2 suggest a lower level of uneven distribution of power than noted in UKM1 (IC 17.376 and OC 20.690).

T-test centrality measures were not calculated for British matrices because of limited network size and distribution of gender. As such, core/periphery analysis was conducted in order to ascertain the actors in each network who held core and periphery roles in regards to network functionality. UKM1 had four actors who occupied core roles (UK1.B1, UK1.B2, UK1.B3, and UK1.B9) and ten actors who held periphery roles (UK1.B4, UK1.B5, UK1.B6, UK1.B7, UK1.B8, UK1.B10, UK1.B11, UK1.B13, and UK1.B14). One of the females in the network, UK1.B1, held a core role and two others, UK1.B4 and UK1.B13, held periphery roles. UK1.B1 was determined by law enforcement and the results of this study as occupying a leadership role. UKM2, an all male network, had five actors who occupied core roles (UK2.B1, UK2.B3, UK2.B4, UK2.B9, and UK2.B10) and four actors who held periphery roles (UK2.B2, UK2.B5, UK2.B6, UK2.B7, and UK2.B8).

Table 17 depicts Bonacich (1987) centrality measures (as discussed in the Australian results section and Endnote iii). In UKM1, UK1.B1 has the highest negative beta coefficient, suggesting his importance as an actor with ties to those who are not well connected. UK1.B4 has the second highest score, followed by UK1.B5, UK1.B6, and UK1.B9. These actors are all relatively well connected to those with weak connections, meaning their importance in the network is rooted in other's reliance on them for connections to dominant individuals in the network. The results change slightly in regards to the positive beta coefficient measures regarding connections to those of importance: UK1.B9 has the highest score, followed by UK1.B2, UK1.B3, and UK1.B1. This suggests that UK1.B9 has the greatest level of connectivity to those in the network that "matter" insofar as power structure is concerned.

The variability of Freeman (1977) betweenness scores (from 35.043 to 19.231 to 0.427 to 0) suggests the presence of hierarchy in the network. In UKM2, UK2.B1, UK2.B4, UK2.B7, and UK2.B8 are the most connected to those with weak connections. In regards to connections to powerful individuals in the network, the results change slightly: UK2.B1, UK2.B2, UK2.B3, UK2.B9, and UK2.B10 (in descending order) have the highest positive beta scores. These actors are all connected to those with the highest

Figure 4: British node size by centrality (1a) and sentence length (1b): Matrix 1

1a) Node size based on centrality measures

1b) Node size based on sentence length
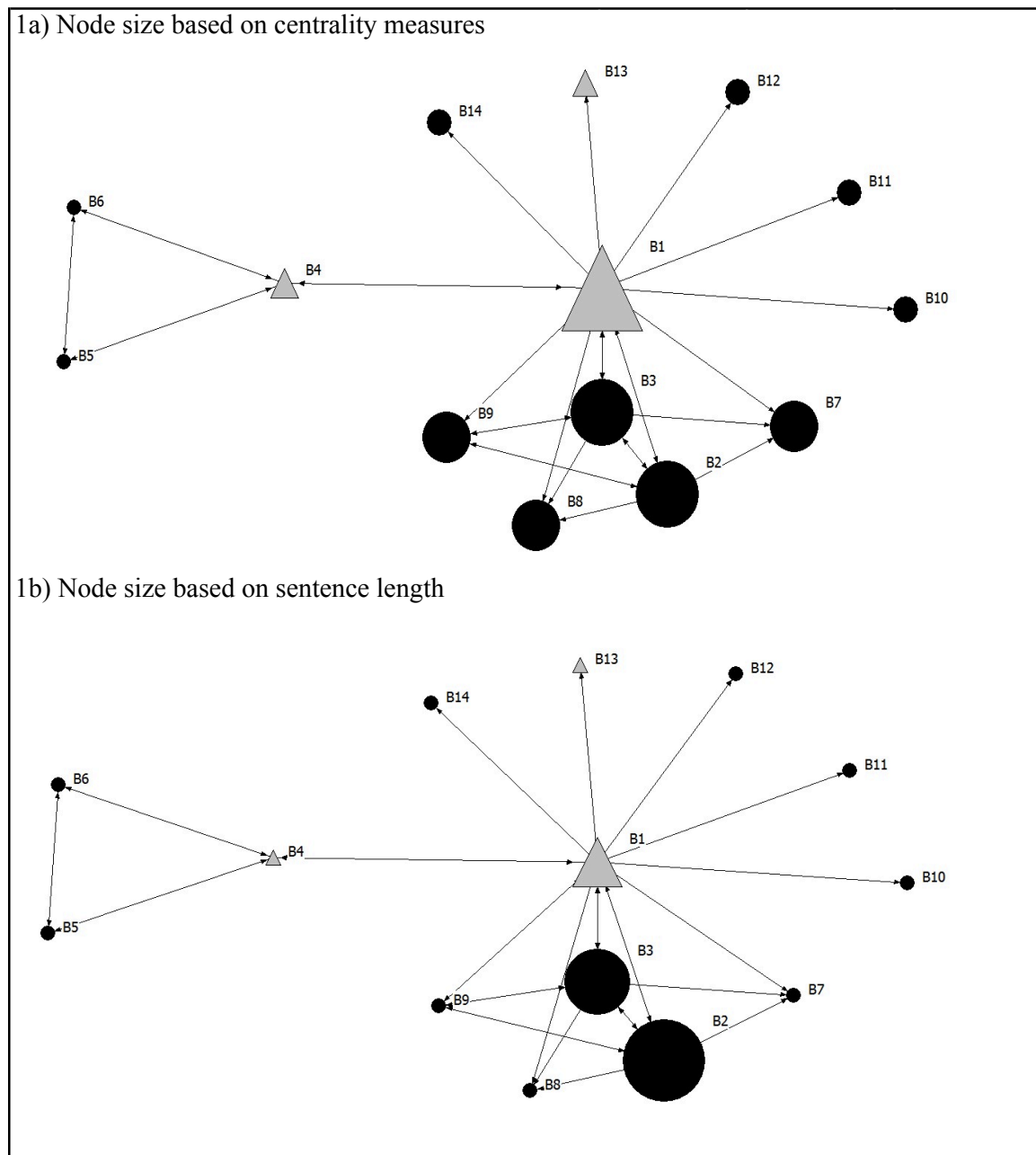
level of importance in the network. They may have fewer ties, overall, but the ties they do have are to those with power. Again, the variability of Freeman betweenness scores (from 27.778 to 11.111 to 8.333 to 6.944 to 0) suggests the presence of a hierarchal network structure.

Figure 4 depicts the variability of each network. For all models labeled *a*, node size is dictated by the offender's calculated centrality in the network. The *b* label

Figure 5: British node size by centrality (2a) and sentence length (2b): Matrix 2

2a) Node size based on centrality measures

2b) Node size based on sentence length
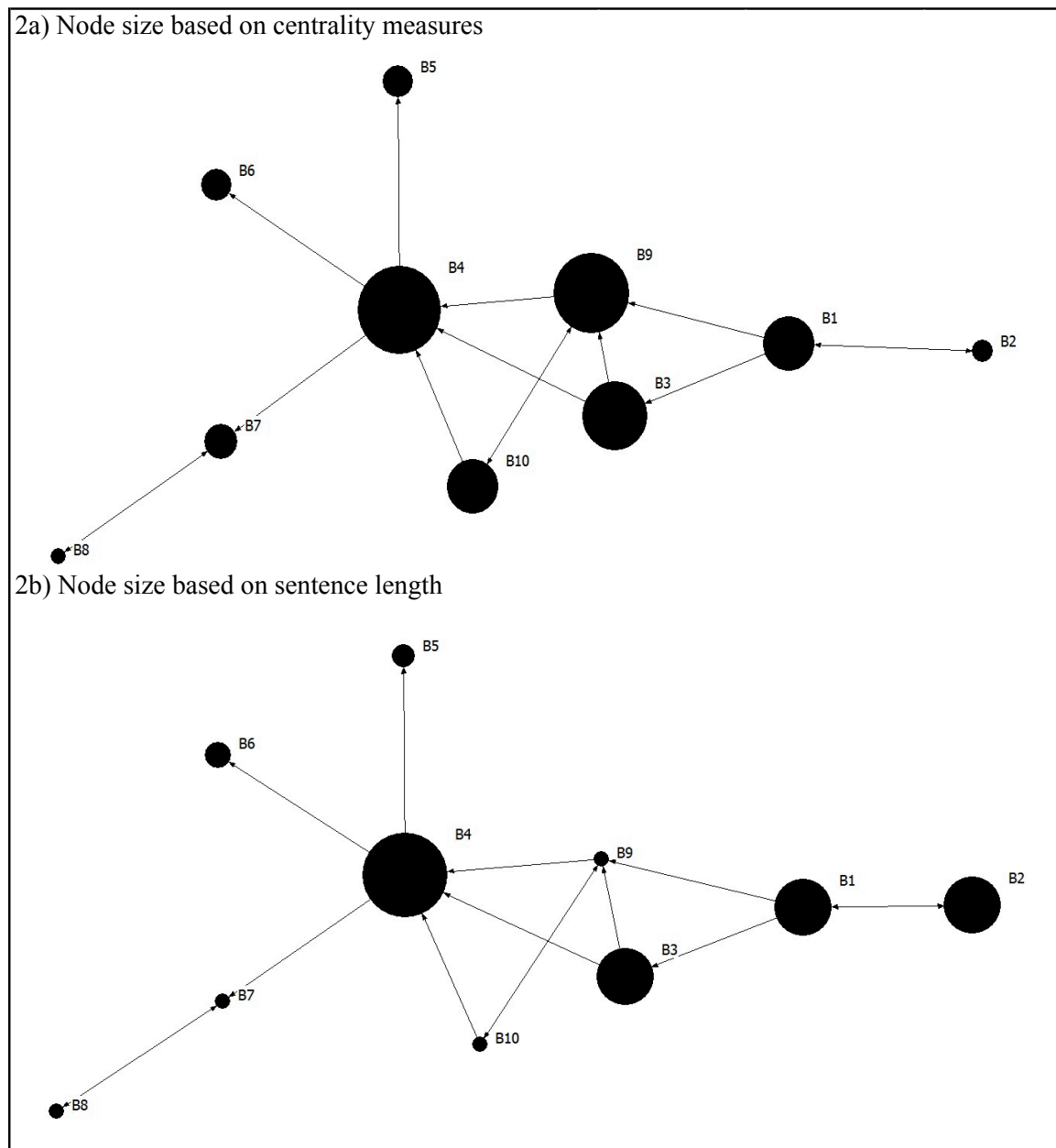
indicates offender node size based on the length of judicial sentence (in months).[xvi] Model 1*a* reproduces the network structure of UKM1 with node size influenced by offender centrality and node colour and shape based on offender gender. Centrality measures in comparison to sentence length suggest that, of those arrested and sentenced (UK1.B1, UK1.B2, and UK1.B3), UK1.B1 received a sentence length that was lower in comparison to her centrality in the network. However, UK1.B3 received a sentence length that was higher in comparison to his centrality in the network. Considering

UK1.B2 was convicted of sexually assaulting one of the trafficked individuals and UK1.B1, UK1.B2, and UK1.B3 were all convicted of violence towards trafficked individuals, UK1.B3's sentence length seems disproportionate.

Additionally, UK1.B1 and UK1.B3 both pleaded guilty to trafficking, whereas UK1.B2 went to trial and was subsequently convicted. It is important to note that sentence length itself was not disproportionate to the crime (UK1.B2 had the longest sentence). The commentary above is in relation to the correlation *between* centrality measures and sentence length. UK1.B1 held three roles in the network (procurer, middleman, and exploiter), whereas UK1.B2 and UK1.B3 both held roles as procurer and exploiter. All three offenders were seventeen years of age at the time of the offense, and none had previous criminal histories in the UK or their countries of birth (UK1.B1: Lithuania; UK1.B2 and UK1.B3: Albania).

Model 2*a* (Figure 5) reproduces the network structure of UKM2 with node size influence by offender centrality. Six of the ten offenders (UK2.B1 to UK2.B6) were arrested and sentenced, though the failure to arrest UK2.B9 and UK2.B10 suggests that law enforcement was unable to remove pivotal individuals (based on centrality measures) from the network. UK2.B1, UK2.B3, UK2.B4, UK2.B5, and UK2.B6 all received sentence lengths comparable to their centrality in the network, but UK2.B2 received a disproportionate sentence length. Of those individuals not arrested, UK2.B7, UK2.B9 and UK2.B10 resided in Britain and UK2.B8 resided in Lithuania, acting as a middleman in the organisation and transport of trafficked individuals.

Tables 18 and 19 depict the correlation measures of sex, sentence length, and centrality of UKM1 and UKM2, respectively. As occurred in the Australian correlation tables, there is a low correlation between sex and centrality (UKM2 involved only males, so centrality rates relating to sex were not computed). Although UKM1 displayed significant correlation between sentence and centrality, the same was not the case for UKM2. This result is partially related to the lack of arrest of those members of the network who were central to its functioning, although the lack of arrest of offenders central to the network presents a possible beleaguered British system of capturing principal offenders.

Table 14: British correlations (Matrix 1)

	Sex	Sentence	Centrality
Sex	1.00		
Sentence	0.01	1.00	
Centrality	0.16	0.73**	1.00

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 15: British correlations (Matrix 2)

	Sex	Sentence	Centrality
Sex	N/A		
Sentence	N/A	1.00	
Centrality	N/A	0.43	1.00

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Network hierarchy was assessed using Krackhardt GTD analysis (Krackhardt 1994) via UCInet. The four parameters of hierarchy measure for UKM1 are close to 1 (connectedness = 1.000; hierarchy = 0.7000; efficiency = 0.8974; least upper bound = 1.000), suggesting the presence of hierarchy in the network. A similar patters emerges in UKM2: all four parameters are close to 1 (connectedness = 1.000; hierarchy = 0.9250; efficiency = 0.9617; least upper bound = 1.000). The latter of the networks displays a greater level of hierarchy, though this is an expected result: law enforcement and case law adequately define/underline UK2.B1's dominant role in the network. He was responsible for recruiting and exploiting trafficked individuals, and asserted leadership and command of those within his network.

Network brokerage was assessed using G&F brokerage analysis (Borgatti, Everett, and Freeman 2002) via UCInet. UKM1 consists of two genders clusters[xvii]: the first cluster (males) is composed of UK1.B2, UK1.B3, UK1.B5, UK1.B6, UK1.B7, UK1.B8, UK1.B9, UK1.B10, UK1.B11, UK1.B12, and UK1.B14; the second cluster (females) is composed of UK1.B1, UK1.B13, and UK1.B4. In the first cluster, UK1.B2 and UK1.B3 each hold the role of *coordinator* on two occasions. No other member of the first cluster occupies a brokerage role. In the second cluster, UK1.B1's importance in the network is exemplified: she acts as a *coordinator* on one occasion, a *gatekeeper* on six occasions, a *representative* on nine occasions, and a *consultant* on fourteen occasions. Across all countries and networks, this female member of UKM1 possesses the highest level of brokerage. Though UK1.B13 holds no brokerage roles, UK1.B4 acts as a *gatekeeper* on two occasions and a *representative* on two occasions.

Brokerage for UKM2 does not result in gendered clustering because all actors in the network are male. Although identified as the "leader" in regards to his propensity for directing others in the network, UK2.B1's only brokerage role is that of two occasions of acting as *coordinator*. UK2.B3's solitary brokerage role is one occasion of *coordinator*, a

role UK2.B7 also occupies on one occasion. UK2.B9 acts as a *coordinator* on three occasions, and UK2.B4 possesses the highest level of brokerage with nine occasions of acting as a *coordinator*. It is important to note that the functionality of a network is not dependent on all roles being filled; rather, brokerage measures are important in that they theoretically define specific interactions among ties in the network that are not necessarily palpable in the physical realm.

Canada

Of the four countries included in this study, Canada's human trafficking arrests and convictions present something of a quandary: in the six calendar years of data included in this inquiry, Canadian authorities have prosecuted eleven cases of trafficking, ten resulting in conviction. Nine of the cases resulting in conviction were cases of regional sex trafficking, and the tenth case was a conviction of a former trafficking victim who engaged in recruitment of individuals transnationally. As of the time of data collection, Canadian authorities had yet to garner a single transnational trafficking conviction involving a network of traffickers. Whether the lack if transnational trafficking arrests implies a dearth of transnational trafficking to Canada remains to be determined. The results of this study, however, suggest some idiosyncrasies that need to be teased out in order to better understand the anatomy of the Canadian human trafficking offense. Perhaps the greatest preponderance is the lack of prosecuted cases of trafficking that involved more than one offender. That is, social network analysis of Canadian human trafficking is, at this time, moot.

Tables 20 and 21 display descriptive statistics of the ten offenders involved in the ten cases captured by this study. The mean age of offender (30.56) of the 90% (*n*=9) of offenders whose age could be established is relatively identical to Britain's mean age of offender (30.55). As noted with the two previous countries, the range in age of offender is widespread (from 50 to 20). The maximum sentence length (84 months) represents the lowest of the four countries; the mean sentence length (43.67) is also the lowest.

Canada does, however, have the highest minimum sentence length (24 months), meaning that all prosecuted offenders were convicted and incarcerated. This result is not apparent in the other three countries of analysis. An additional anomaly: all offenders

Table 16: Descriptive statistics for Canadian trafficking offender data

	N (All)	N (SNA)	N (Transnational)	Percentage (All)	Percentage (SNA)	Percentage (Transnational)
Sex trafficking	**10**	-	**9**			
Yes	10		9	100.00%	-	100.00%
No	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Migrant offender	**8**	-	**8**			
Yes	8		8	100.00%	-	100.00%
No	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Age of offender*	30.56		30.56	(50 / 20)		(50 / 20)
Gender of offender	**10**	-	**9**			
Male	8		8	80.00%	-	88.89%
Female	2		1	20.00%	-	11.11%
Gender of victim	**10**	-	**9**			
Male	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Female	10		9	100.00%	-	100.00%
Male & Female	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Race of offender	**9**	-	**8**			
Asian	2		1	22.22%	-	12.50%
Black	2		2	22.22%	-	25.00%
Latino	1		1	11.11%	-	12.50%
White	4		4	44.44%	-	50.00%
Other	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Race of victim	**5**	-	**4**			
Asian	2		1	40.00%	-	25.00%
Black	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Latino	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
White	3		3	60.00%	-	75.00%
Other	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Variety	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Child involved	**10**	-	**9**			
Yes	5		5	50.00%	-	55.55%
No	5		4	50.00%	-	44.44%
Coercion/threats of violence	**10**	-	**9**			
Yes	6		6	60.00%	-	66.67%
No	4		3	40.00%	-	33.33%
Offender rape victim	**10**	-	**9**			
Yes	2		2	20.00%	-	22.22%
No	8		7	80.00%	-	77.78%
Violence by offender	**10**	-	**9**			
Yes	5		5	50.00%	-	55.56%
No	5		4	50.00%	-	44.44%
Same origin as victim	**10**	-	**9**			
Yes	10		9	100.00%	-	100.00%
No	0		0	100.00%	-	0.00%
Geographic type	**10**	-	**9**			
Transnational	1		0	10.00%	-	0.00%
Regional	9		9	90.00%	-	100.00%
Consensual sex with victim	**9**	-	**8**			
Yes	3		3	33.33%	-	37.50%
No	6		5	66.67%	-	62.50%

previously knew their victims and all offenders originated from the same location as their victim(s).

Frequency distribution results indicate that of the nine offenders whose race could be determined, 22.22% (*n*=2) were Asian, 11.11% (*n*=1) were Latino, 44.44% (*n*=4) were White, and 22.22% (*n*=2) were Black. The race of victim could only be determined for

Table 17: Descriptive statistics for Canadian trafficking offender data (cont.)

	N (All)	N (SNA)	N (Transnational)	Percentage (All)	Percentage (SNA)	Percentage (Transnational)
Origin of offender	10	-	9			
Africa	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Asia	2		1	20.00%	-	11.11%
Central America	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Canada	8		8	80.00%	-	88.89%
Eastern Europe	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
India	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Mexico	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Russia	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
South America	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
South Pacific	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
South East Asia	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Unted Kingdom	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
United States	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Various	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Origin of victim	10	-	9			
Africa	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Asia	2		1	20.00%	-	11.11%
Central America	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Canada	8		8	80.00%	-	88.89%
Eastern Europe	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
India	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Mexico	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Russia	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
South America	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
South Pacific	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
South East Asia	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Unted Kingdom	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
United States	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Various	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
Compensation to state	9	-	9			
Yes	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
No	9		9	100.00%	-	100.00%
Compensation to victim	9	-	9			
Yes	0		0	0.00%	-	0.00%
No	9		9	100.00%	-	100.00%
Conviction trafficking offense	9	-	9			
Yes	6		6	66.67%	-	66.67%
No	3		3	33.33%	-	33.33%
Conviction other offense	9	-	9			
Yes	8		8	88.89%	-	88.89%
No	1		1	11.11%	-	11.11%
Plead guilty to trafficking	9	-	9			
Yes	5		5	55.56%	-	55.56%
No	4		4	44.44%	-	44.44%
Plead guilty to other offense	9	-	9			
Yes	5		5	55.56%	-	55.56%
No	4		4	44.44%	-	44.44%
Sentence length (months)	8	-	7			
Max	84		84	-	-	-
Min	24		24	-	-	-
Mean	45.75		48.86	-	-	-

five offenders: 40.00% (*n*=2) were Asian and 60.00% (*n*=3) were White. All Asian victims were trafficked by Asian individuals, two of the White victims were trafficked by White offenders, and the remaining White victim was trafficked by a Black offender. The

Table 18: Canadian trafficking (all data) Pearson correlations

	Sex trafficking	Violent offender	Consensual sex	Coercion	Geographic Type	Same origin	Age (offender)	Gender (offender)	Race (offender)	Origin (offender)	Migrant (offender)	Origin (victim)	Gender (victim)	Race (victim)	Child (victim)
Sex trafficking	1.0000														
Violent offender		1.0000													
Consensual sex			1.0000												
Coercion				1.0000											
Geographic type					1.0000										
Same origin						1.0000									
Age (offender)							1.0000								
Gender (offender)					-0.6667			1.0000							
Race (offender)									1.0000						
Origin (offender)					-0.6667				0.7743	1.0000					
Migrant (offender)											1.0000				
Origin (victim)					-0.6667				0.7743	1.0000*		1.0000			
Gender (victim)													1.0000		
Race (victim)										1.0000*		1.0000*		1.0000	
Child (victim)															1.0000

p < 0.05 (printed), * p < 0.01 (if significant)

migrant status of offender was determined for all cases, resulting in the first nation-level result of non-migrant offenders out offending migrant offenders: 80.00% (*n*=8) and 20.00% (*n*=2), respectively. This result, however, is expected: nine cases were cases of regional trafficking, a crime depicted by the other countries of analysis as one perpetrated by non-migrants.

The gender of offender was established for all cases, resulting in the distribution of 20.00% (*n*=2) female offenders and 80.00% (*n*=8) male offenders. Law enforcement did not ascertain co-offending occurrences for any cases, meaning that female offenders acted without the assistance/direction of males, and vice versa. One female was a migrant involved in the only successfully prosecuted transnational case; she had previously been trafficking. No males, regardless of migrant status, were involved in transnational trafficking.

Of the ten offenders involved in Canadian trafficking cases, 20.00% (*n*=2) engaged in sexual assault of the victim. Both of these offenders were Black males, one aged 22 and the other 29. Half of all offenders (*n*=5) were physically violent with victims, including one 29 year old White female convicted of sex trafficking. Half of all offenders (*n*=5) trafficked children. Of the nine offenders whose arrangements with the Crown prosecution could be determined, 55.56% (*n*=5) pleaded guilty to both trafficking and other offenses related to the commission of the act. The remaining 44.44% (*n*=4) offenders did not enter pleas, and were subsequently found guilty by a jury.

Table 22 depicts a correlation matrix of pairwise correlations across all Canadian data. The correlation matrix only displays correlations that are statistically significant (p<0.05). As previously stated, there exists a 1.00 correlation between the origin of the

offender and the victim, and an additional 1.00 between the origin of offender and the race of the victim. Additionally, there is a statistically significant ($p<0.05$) correlation between the geographical trafficking type and the gender of offender, the origin of offender, and the origin of the victim. Finally, there is a statistically significant correlation ($p<0.05$) between the race and origin of offender and the race and origin of the victim.

United States

Of the four countries included in this study, the United States represents the country with the most trafficking prosecutions, convictions, and offenders. Tables 23 and 24 display the descriptive statistics of the three hundred and eighty-two offenders captured by this study. The mean age (38.43) of the 61.78% ($n=236$) of offenders whose age could be established is the second highest (after Australia) of the four countries. Even if all one hundred and forty-seven offenders whose age was not established were 18 years of age, the mean age of offender (30.59) would still be higher than that noted for most criminal offending (Farrington 1986). The range in age of offender (from 17 to 75) is the greatest of the four countries. The mean sentence length (126.41 months) and range in sentence length (from 0 to 720 months) is also greater than that of any other country of analysis. The relatively identical offender and victim means of origin (8.13 and 8.72, respectively) and race (2.98 and 3.28, respectively) suggests a similar pattern to that noted by the results of the other three countries: offenders of the same origin and same race, more often than not, trafficked individuals of the same origin and race.

Of the three hundred and thirty-five offenders whose race could be established, 34.93% ($n=117$) were Latino, 27.16% ($n=91$) were Black, 21.79% ($n=73$) were Asian, 8.36% ($n=28$) were White, and 7.76% ($n=26$) were coded as "Other". Of the three hundred and sixteen cases wherein victim(s)' race could be established, 37.97% ($n=120$) were Latino, 24.68% ($n=78$) were Asian, 22.47% ($n=71$) involved individuals from a variety of races, 7.59% ($n=24$) were Black, 3.16% ($n=10$) were White, 4.11% ($n=13$) were coded as "Other".

Cases wherein both offender and victim race was determined ($n=291$) results in the following: 97.27% ($n=71$) of Asian offenders' victims were Asian, and an additional 2.73% ($n=2$) were coded as "Other"; 98.25% ($n=112$) of Latino offenders' victims were

Table 19: Descriptive statistics for US trafficking offender data

		N (All)	N (SNA)	N (Transnational)	Percentage (All)	Percentage (SNA)	Percentage (Transnational)
Sex trafficking		376	43	247			
	Yes	296	31	166	77.49%	72.09%	67.21%
	No	86	12	81	22.51%	27.91%	32.79%
Migrant offender		376	43	241			
	Yes	225	41	217	59.84%	95.25%	90.04%
	No	151	2	24	40.16%	4.65%	9.96%
Age of offender*		38.43	34.66	39.72	(75 / 17)	(53 / 21)	(75 / 19)
Gender of offender		373	43	241			
	Male	252	30	151	67.56%	69.77%	62.66%
	Female	121	13	90	32.44%	30.23%	37.34%
Gender of victim		382	43	247			
	Male	19	0	12	4.97%	0.00%	4.86%
	Female	320	31	197	83.77%	72.09%	79.76%
	Male & Female	43	12	38	11.26%	27.91%	15.38%
Race of offender		335	43	239			
	Asian	73	0	73	21.79%	0.00%	3-.54%
	Black	91	0	18	27.16%	0.00%	7.53%
	Latino	117	31	106	34.93%	72.09%	44.35%
	White	28	2	18	8.36%	4.65%	7.53%
	Other	26	10	24	7.76%	23.26%	10.05%
Race of victim		316	43	247			
	Asian	78	0	78	24.68%	0.00%	31.58%
	Black	24	0	18	7.59%	0.00%	7.29%
	Latino	120	31	114	37.97%	72.09%	46.15%
	White	10	0	7	3.16%	0.00%	2.83%
	Other	13	0	13	4.11%	0.00%	5.26%
	Variety	71	12	17	22.47%	27.91%	6.88%
Child involved		382	43	247			
	Yes	167	31	99	43.72%	72.09%	40.08%
	No	215	12	148	56.28%	27.91%	59.92%
Coercion/threats of violence		378	43	245			
	Yes	360	43	238	95.24%	100.00%	97.14%
	No	18	0	7	4.76%	0.00%	2.86%
Offender rape victim		370	43	244			
	Yes	45	2	21	12.16%	4.65%	8.61%
	No	325	41	223	87.84%	95.35%	91.39%
Violence by offender		363	43	230			
	Yes	159	9	80	43.80%	20.93%	34.78%
	No	204	34	150	56.20%	79.07%	65.22%
Same origin as victim		381	43	246			
	Yes	353	31	214	92.65%	72.09%	86.99%
	No	28	12	32	7.35%	27.91%	13.01%
Geographic type		382	43	247			
	Transnational	247	43	247	64.66%	100.00%	100.00%
	Regional	135	0	0	35.34%	0.00%	0.00%
Consensual sex with victim		372	43	244			
	Yes	40	2	21	10.75%	4.65%	8.61%
	No	332	41	223	89.25%	95.35%	91.39%

Latino, and an additional 1.74% (*n*=2) were from a variety of races; 4.00% (*n*=1) of White offenders' victims were Asian, 8.00% (*n*=2) were Latino, 40% (*n*=10) were White, 4.00% (*n*=1) were Black, and an additional 44% (*n*=11) were from a variety of races and/or "Other"; 42.59% (*n*=23) of Black offenders' victims were Black, and an additional 57.41% (*n*=31) were from a variety of races; 17.39% of "Other" offenders' victims were

Table 20: Descriptive statistics for US trafficking offender data (cont.)

	N (All)	N (SNA)	N (Transnational)	Percentage (All)	Percentage (SNA)	Percentage (Transnational)
Origin of offender	381	43	246			
Africa	22	0	22	5.77%	0.00%	8.94%
Asia	70	8	70	18.37%	18.60%	28.46%
Central America	39	17	39	10.24%	39.53%	15.85%
Canada	1	0	1	0.26%	0.00%	0.41%
Eastern Europe	3	2	3	0.79%	4.65%	1.22%
India	3	0	3	0.79%	0.00%	1.22%
Mexico	65	14	65	17.06%	32.56%	26.42%
Russia	3	0	3	0.79%	0.00%	1.22%
South America	4	0	4	1.05%	0.00%	1.63%
South Pacific	3	0	3	0.79%	0.00%	1.22%
South East Asia	13	0	13	3.41%	0.00%	5.28%
Unted Kingdom	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
United States	155	2	20	40.68%	4.65%	8.13%
Other	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Origin of victim	382	43	247			
Africa	22	0	22	5.76%	0.00%	8.91%
Asia	61	0	61	15.97%	0.00%	24.70%
Central America	47	18	47	12.30%	41.86%	19.03%
Canada	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Eastern Europe	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
India	2	0	2	0.52%	0.00%	0.81%
Mexico	56	0	56	14.66%	0.00%	22.67%
Russia	7	0	7	1.83%	0.00%	2.83%
South America	4	0	4	1.05%	0.00%	1.61%
South Pacific	6	0	6	1.57%	0.00%	2.43%
South East Asia	18	0	18	4.71%	0.00%	7.29%
Unted Kingdom	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
United States	135	0	0	35.34%	0.00%	0.00%
Various	24	25	24	6.28%	58.14%	9.72%
Compensation to state	301	32	178			
Yes	165	20	88	54.82%	62.50%	49.44%
No	136	12	90	45.18%	37.50%	50.56%
Compensation to victim	309	32	182			
Yes	57	2	50	81.55%	6.25%	27.47%
No	252	30	132	18.45%	93.75%	72.53%
Conviction trafficking offense	312	40	185			
Yes	216	14	102	69.23%	35.00%	55.14%
No	96	26	83	30.77%	65.00%	44.86%
Conviction other offense	310	40	185			
Yes	196	36	122	63.23%	90.00%	65.95%
No	114	4	63	36.77%	10.00%	34.05%
Plead guilty to trafficking	339	36	212			
Yes	121	13	63	35.69%	36.11%	29.72%
No	218	23	149	64.31%	63.89%	70.28%
Plead guilty to other offense	339	36	212			
Yes	122	27	93	35.99%	75.00%	43.87%
No	217	9	119	64.01%	25.00%	56.13%
Sentence length (months)	243	22	141			
Max	720	600	600	-	-	-
Min	0	16	0	-	-	-
Mean	126.411	160.682	95.128	-	-	-

Asian, 8.70% (*n*=2) were Latino, 26.92% (*n*=7) were also "Other", and an additional 47.83% (*n*=11) were from a variety of races.

The gender of offender was established for three hundred and seventy three offenders, resulting in a distribution of 32.44% (*n*=121) female offenders and 67.56% (*n*=252) male offenders. Of the 98.43% (*n*=376) of offenders who migrant status could be determined, 59.84% (*n*=225) were migrants and 40.16% (*n*=151) were American-born individuals. Of the 96.08% (*n*=367) of offenders whose gender and migrant status could be determined, 29.41% (*n*=35) of females were non-migrants and 70.59% (*n*=84) were migrants; 44.76% (*n*=111) of males were non-migrants and 55.24% (*n*=137) were non-migrants. Type of trafficking offense was determined for all cases, resulting in a distribution of 77.49% (*n*=296) of offenders involved in sex trafficking and 22.51% (*n*=86) involved in other modalities of trafficking (e.g. labour, domestic, servitude, etc.). Of the 98.43% (*n*=376) of offenders whose migrant status of type of trafficking offense could be determined, 28.44% (*n*=64) migrants were involved in non-sex trafficking offenses and 71.55% (*n*=161) were involved in sex trafficking offenses, representing 54.39% of all sex trafficking offenders; 10.60% (*n*=16) non-migrants were involved in non-sex trafficking offences and 89.40% (*n*=135) were involved in sex trafficking offenses, representing 45.61% of all sex trafficking offenders.

Of the three hundred and seventy offenders whose level of sexual violence could be determined, 12.16% (*n*=45) engaged in sexual assault of the victim(s), disaggregating to 14 Latino offenders, 2 White offenders, and 17 Black offenders. Less than half of offenders [43.80% (*n*=159)] whose level of violence could be determined (*n*=363) were physically violent with the victim(s). The act of violence was distributed across the races, with the exclusion of the two Indian offenders. 11.11% (*n*=8) of Asian offenders, 43.40% (*n*=46) Latino offenders were physically violent, 31.82% (*n*=7) of White offenders, 73.33% (*n*=66) of Black offenders, and 33.33% (*n*=8) of "Other" offenders were physically violent. Of the 339 offenders whose arrangements with the prosecuting office could be determined, 40.12% (*n*=136) declined to enter guilty pleas. 23.89% (*n*=81) pleaded guilty to trafficking offenses, 24.19% (*n*=82) pleaded guilty to other offenses related to the commission of the act, and 11.80% (*n*=40) pleaded guilty to both trafficking and other offenses.

Table 25 depicts a correlation matrix of pairwise correlations across all US data. The correlation matrix only displays correlations that are statistically significant (p<0.05).

Table 21: US trafficking (all data) Pearson correlations

	Sex trafficking	Violent offender	Consensual sex	Coercion	Geographic Type	Same origin	Age (offender)	Gender (offender)	Race (offender)	Origin (offender)	Migrant (offender)	Origin (victim)	Gender (victim)	Race (victim)	Child (victim)
Sex trafficking	1.0000														
Violent offender		1.0000													
Consensual sex	0.1492*	0.4183*	1.0000												
Coercion				1.0000											
Geographic type	0.3329*	0.2391*		-0.1214	1.0000										
Same origin	0.3532*	0.1729*			0.2086*	1.0000									
Age (offender)	-0.1398*				-0.1917*		1.0000								
Gender (offender)		0.1623*	0.2462*		0.1416*	-0.1097		1.0000							
Race (offender)	-0.1818*				-0.1305	-0.3130*		0.1194	1.0000						
Origin (offender)	0.1931*				0.1108					1.0000					
Migrant (offender)	-0.2138*	-0.2634*	-0.1660*	0.1750*	-0.8231*		0.1190	-0.1468*		-0.7828*	1.0000				
Origin (victim)	0.1489*	0.1357*		-0.1489*	0.7235*	-0.1342*	-0.2378*	0.2668*	0.1849*	0.8258*	-0.6680*	1.0000			
Gender (victim)	-0.2344*	-0.1563*	-0.1171		-0.1690*	-0.2974*		0.1485*	0.4651*		0.1991*		1.0000		
Race (victim)	0.1223	0.2973*	0.1401		0.5096*	-0.2273*	-0.3080*	0.2430*	0.6576*	0.4947*	-0.5107*	0.5835*	0.2845*	1.0000	
Child (victim)	0.3589*	0.3626*	0.1563*		0.4418*	0.2394*	-0.2620*			0.3801*	-0.3909*	0.3116*	-0.3410*	0.4115*	1.0000

* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Of particular note is that gender of offender is not statistically significant to sex trafficking, meaning that a presumed relationship between the two may be conjectured rather than rooted in evidence. This result hold true for Australian and British cases assessed by this study.

There is also no statistically significant correlation between the gender of offender and whether or not the offender is violent towards his/her trafficked individual. Though the gender of offender is statistically significant with regards to the gender of the victim, this relationship does not confirm to which each gender is being referred. Additionally, as depicted by the previous three correlation matrices, there is a statistically significant relationship between offender and victim race, origin, migrant status, and geographical type of trafficking (transnational or regional). This result appear to suggest that a pattern is emerging across space and time regarding the relationships between trafficker and trafficking individual.

SNA centrality, transitivity, Indegree/Outdegree, core/periphery, and QAP correlations are indicated in Table 29. USM1 included nine actors and forty-six directed ties. USM2 included twelve actors and forty-five directed ties. USM3 included nine actors and thirty directed ties. USM4 included twelve actors and forty-eight directed ties. Network transitivity depicts the number of ties resulting in triads (i.e. because AB and BC have a relationship, it is likely that AC also have a relationship, though this may be weaker or stronger). The transitivity of a network suggests the overall cohesion and closeness of relationships (Hanneman and Riddle 2005). USM1 has a transitivity percentage of 45.51%, suggesting that of the possible triads, they are completed 45.51% of the time. USM2 has the lowest percentage of transitivity (40.68%), while USM4 has

Table 22: Network characteristics of US offenders; n.s. = not statistically significant

	Active Nodes	Ties	Transitivity	Network Central Indegree	Network Central Outdegree	Gender (t-test centrality)*
Matrix 1	9	46	45.51%	60.71%	58.10%	n.s
Matrix 2	12	45	40.68%	unconnected	unconnected	N/A
Matrix 3	9	30	54.19%	unconnected	unconnected	n.s
Matrix 4	12	48	61.40%	unconnected	unconnected	N/A

		Core	Periphery	QAP Value**	QAP Avg
Matrix 1		4 Nodes (B1 **B2 B7** B8)	5 Nodes (B3 B4 **B5 B6** B9)	N/A	N/A
Matrix 2		6 Nodes (B1 B8 B9 B10 B11 B12)	6 Nodes (B2 B3 B4 **B5** B6 B7)	0.795	0.587
Matrix 3		6 Nodes (**B1 B2 B3 B4** B5 **B8**)	3 Nodes (B6 B7 **B9**)	0.917	0.497
Matrix 4		7 Nodes (B1 B3 B4 B6 B9 B10 B11)	5 Nodes (**B2** B5 B7 B8 B12)	0.864	0.522

* t-tests indicate no significant difference between male network centrality and female network centrality

** QAP results indicate significance of correlations between actors in the network based on two levels of relations

Note: female actors indicated with bold text for core/periphery analysis

the strongest (61.40%). This is interesting because USM2 is a familial network whereas USM4 is a business network, though USM2 includes a central familial core with partners (i.e. boyfriend/girlfriend) on the periphery. USM3 is a familial network with 54.19% transitivity.

Centrality measures were assessed in order to analyse the overall cohesion of the group and members in the network. Indegree measures quantify the extent to which an actor in the network is a reference point for the rest: a go-between or broker of sorts (Hanneman and Riddle 2005). Outdegree depicts an actor's capacity for connecting to others in the network, as well as the overall equality/inequality of power distribution in the network (Hanneman and Riddle 2005). USM1 shows a network central Indegree of 60.71% and an Outdegree of 58.10%. However, the Indegree/Outdegree of the remaining three networks could not be computed because the networks were not connected, resulting from the structure of the directed ties. In order to obtain a sense of the *closeness* of the three disconnected networks, the mean of InCloseness and OutCloseness was computed. This measure provides a geodesic path distance, calculating the sum of the lengths of the shortest paths from ego to ego (Hanneman and Riddle 2005): in other words, the cohesion and connectivity of the network, as well as the balance of power in

regards to giving and receiving information/orders/instructions. The means of InCloseness and OutCloseness for USM2 are 24.645 and 36.531, respectively, suggesting that some actors in the network dominate others in the network because in-distances and out-distances are unevenly distributed. USM3 depicts a similar result (IC 30.913 and OC 54.456), and USM4 depicts an even greater level of uneven distribution (IC 20.180 and OC 49.851).

T-test centrality was measured per network based on the gender of the actor. The centrality of each actor was tabulated, and the mean of each gender's centrality was used in a t-test in order to measure whether an actor's gender was statistically significant in regards to his/her centrality in the network. USM1 and USM3 present non-significant t-test results, suggesting that, within the parameters of these networks, males are no more central to a network than females, and vice versa. This result is further exemplified in the Core/Periphery analysis, indicating that, across all four networks, of the thirteen female offenders, 54.84% (*n*=7) occupied core roles.

Of the thirty (SNA) male offenders, 53.33% (*n*=16) occupied core roles. This suggests that, when involved in the trafficking act, the females captured by this study were not always on the periphery acting in subservience to their male counterparts in the network.[xviii] That females occupied core roles 46.67% of the time illustrates the notion that the gender of trafficker does not dictate one's importance in the power structure of the network. Although female traffickers occupy core roles less frequently than their male counterparts, the difference is only 6.66 percentage points, which points to the viable elimination of traditional gender roles in human trafficking power structures, insofar as this study is concerned.

Table 29 also indicates QAP Correlation values, which measure the correlation in comparison to the probability of randomized correlation between actors in a network based on two different relations. For the purpose of this study, QAP assesses the likelihood that two actors connected in the primary information/goods flow of the network will have a connection based on participation in the same brothel (M2), family-relationship type (M3), and company of employment (M4). The computed QAP values in comparison to the randomized averages of each of the three aforementioned networks (M1: 83% v. 60%; M2: 92% v. 50%; M3: 86% v. 52%) suggest a correlation between the

Table 23: Characteristics of US networks; Bonacich (1987) and Freeman (1977)

	Node	Bonacich Centrality (- *b*)	Bonacich Centrality (+ *b*)	Power Bonacich Centrality (Beta)	Freeman Betweenness
Matrix 1	B1	0.595	-1.027	1.339	13.000
	B2	1.555	-1.027	1.339	6.000
	B3	0.800	-1.352	0.864	4.333
	B4	0.800	-1.352	0.864	2.667
	B5	1.063	0.108	0.542	0.000
	B6	1.063	0.108	0.542	0.000
	B7	0.572	-0.487	1.071	0.000
	B8	1.098	-1.46	1.171	0.000
	B9	1.075	-0.919	0.902	0.000
Matrix 2	B1	2.916	-1.665	1.994	34.091
	B2	-0.735	-1.067	1.059	0.000
	B3	-0.735	-1.067	1.059	0.000
	B4	0.996	-0.939	1.193	1.818
	B5	0.000	-0.000	0.000	0.000
	B6	-0.593	-0.640	0.663	0.455
	B7	-0.593	-0.640	0.834	0.000
	B8	0.379	-1.025	0.834	1.364
	B9	0.379	-1.025	0.834	1.364
	B10	0.379	-1.025	0.834	1.364
	B11	0.379	-1.025	0.834	0.000
	B12	0.379	-1.025	0.834	1.364
Matrix 3	B1	1.919	-1.236	1.333	16.000
	B2	0.640	-1.401	1.332	0.000
	B3	0.640	-1.401	1.332	0.000
	B4	1.919	-1.236	1,333	6.000
	B5	0.000	0.000	0.333	12.000
	B6	0.000	0.000	-0.000	0.000
	B7	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	0.000
	B8	0.640	-1.401	1.332	0.000
	B9	0.640	0.247	0.079	0.000
Matrix 4	B1	3.158	-0.103	1.337	40.000
	B2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	B3	-0.126	-1.408	1.301	0.000
	B4	-0.126	-1.408	1.301	0.000
	B5	-0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	B6	-0.126	-1.408	1.301	0.000
	B7	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	B8	-1.390	0.309	0.222	0.000
	B9	-0.126	-1.408	1.301	0.000
	B10	-0.126	-1.408	1.301	0.000
	B11	-0.126	-1.408	1.301	0.000
	B12	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Note: normalized scores provided for all estimates

primary network construction and the secondary influence of participating at the same brothel, within the same family, and within the same company.

Table 30 shows Bonacich (1987) centrality measures, which decipher the importance of an actor in a network in regards to power and connections to those with power and those with few or "weak" connection.[xix] In USM1, US1.B2, US1.B5, US1.B6, and US1.B9 have the highest negative beta coefficients, implying their importance as actors with ties to other actors who are not well connected. They are, in essence, pivotal to the function of the network insofar as lesser-connected individuals are concerned.

In regards to connections to the "right" actors (i.e. those with power), the outcome changes slightly: US1.B1, US1.B2, US1.B3, US1.B4, US1.B8, and US1.B9 are the actors with the connections to those of importance. The betweenness mean of the network (2.889) displays variance relative to the standard deviation (4.160), but the overall network centralization is low (21%), suggesting a lack of hierarchy in the network in regards to power dominance.

In USM2, US2.B1 and US2.B4 are the most connected to those with weak connections. However, US2.B1, US2.B2, US2.B3, US2.B8, US2.B9, US1.B10, US2.B11, and US2.B12 all have connections to those with the most power/highest level of importance. The betweenness mean of the network (3.485) again depicts variation to the standard deviation (9.253), as does the wide range of individual betweenness (from zero to 34), suggesting a relative level of power in the network (33% overall network centralization).

In USM3, US3.B1 and US3.B4 are the most connected to those lacking connections, and US3.B1, US3.B2, US3.B3, US3.B4, and US3.B8 all hold the "right" connections to those in power roles. Though US3.B5 has a high number of betweenness connections, these connections do not provide US3.B5 with any significant power in the network, meaning he is likely connected to those with strong connections who do not require his tie to make similar connections. Despite the variance between the mean and standard deviation (3.778 to 5.846), overall network centralization (24%) is low, suggesting a lack of hierarchy in the network.

In USM4, US4.B1 is the most importance actor insofar as connectedness and betweenness, though US4.B3, US4.B6, US4.B9, US4.B10, and US4.B11 are all directly

1a) Node size based on centrality measures

1b) Node size based on sentence length
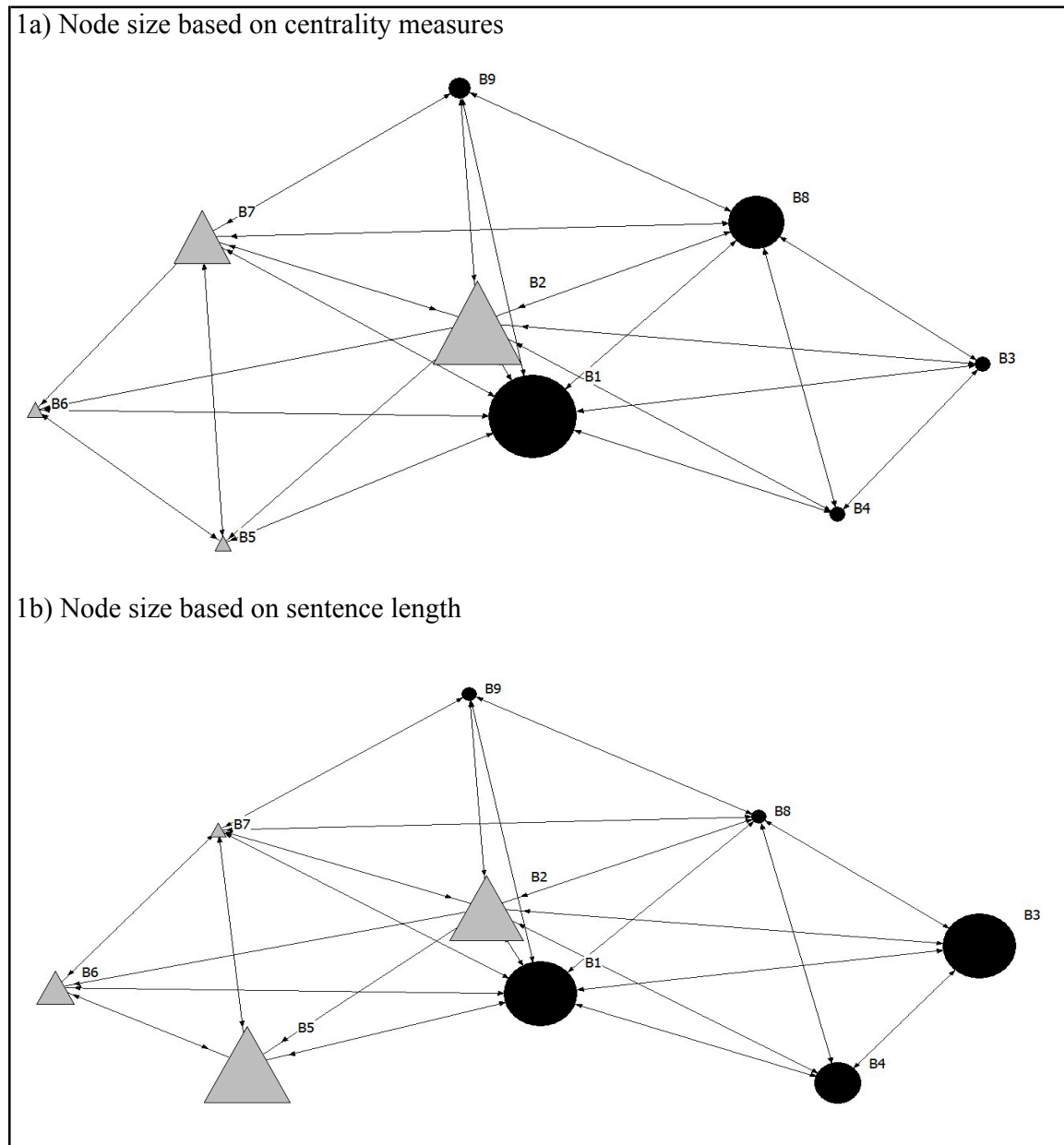
connected to him, displaying their connections to the pivotal individual in the network. Network centralization is the highest for all four networks (36%), and when combined with the other results (including variance in mean to standard deviation: 3.333 to 11.055), suggesting some form of hierarchy is present in the network.

Figure 6 depicts the variability of each network. For all models labeled *a*, node size is dictated by the offender's calculated centrality (influence/importance) in the network. The *b* label indicates offender node size based on the length of judicial sentence

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(in months). Model 1*a* reproduces the network structure of USM1 with node size influenced by offender centrality and node colour and shape based on offender gender (grey triangles indicate node is female and black circles indicate node is male: this holds true for all models). Centrality measures in comparison to sentence length suggest that some of the actors in USM1 received sentence lengths that are incongruent to their position of influence in the network. For example, US1.B3's centrality score indicates that he is not a focal point in the network in regards to sending and receiving information/instructions. His sentence length, however, is second in length only to US1.B5, a female actor whose sentence length was also unbalanced in comparison to her centrality score. The centrality score of US1.B1 also suggests incongruence with sentence length, though his is the reverse: his importance in the network is not reflected in his sentence length.[xx] USM2 and USM3 depict similar centrality/sentencing patterns to USM1.

Figure 7 depicts USM2, highlighting that US2.B4 has the longest sentence (600 months), though his centrality score is smaller in comparison to US2.B1, who received a sentence length of 60 months. Both offenders pleaded guilty to trafficking offences, and US2.B4 did not have a criminal record history that would explain the incongruent sentencing. Figure 8 depicts USM3, highlighting that US3.B5's sentence length does not reflect her centrality score in the network, nor does the sentence length of US3.B3. Figure 9 depicts USM4, highlighting that US4.B1 has the highest centrality score and sentence length, reflecting law enforcement's determination that US4.B1 was central to the network as the leader and owner of the two companies involved in labour trafficking. This was the only network out of the four that displayed balance in regards to offender centrality and sentence length. This was also the only analysed network not involved in sexual exploitation. All offenders were coded for previous criminal history, and though this does reflect some sentence lengths, the vast majority of offenders in the four networks had similar criminal histories.

Tables 31, 32, 33, and 34 depict the correlation measures of sex, sentence length, and centrality of USM1, USM2, USM3, and USM4, respectively. As occurred with the Australian and British correlation tables, there is a low correlation between sex and centrality. The correlation results for all US matrices are intriguing: there is a noted low

2a) Node size based on centrality measures

2b) Node size based on sentence length
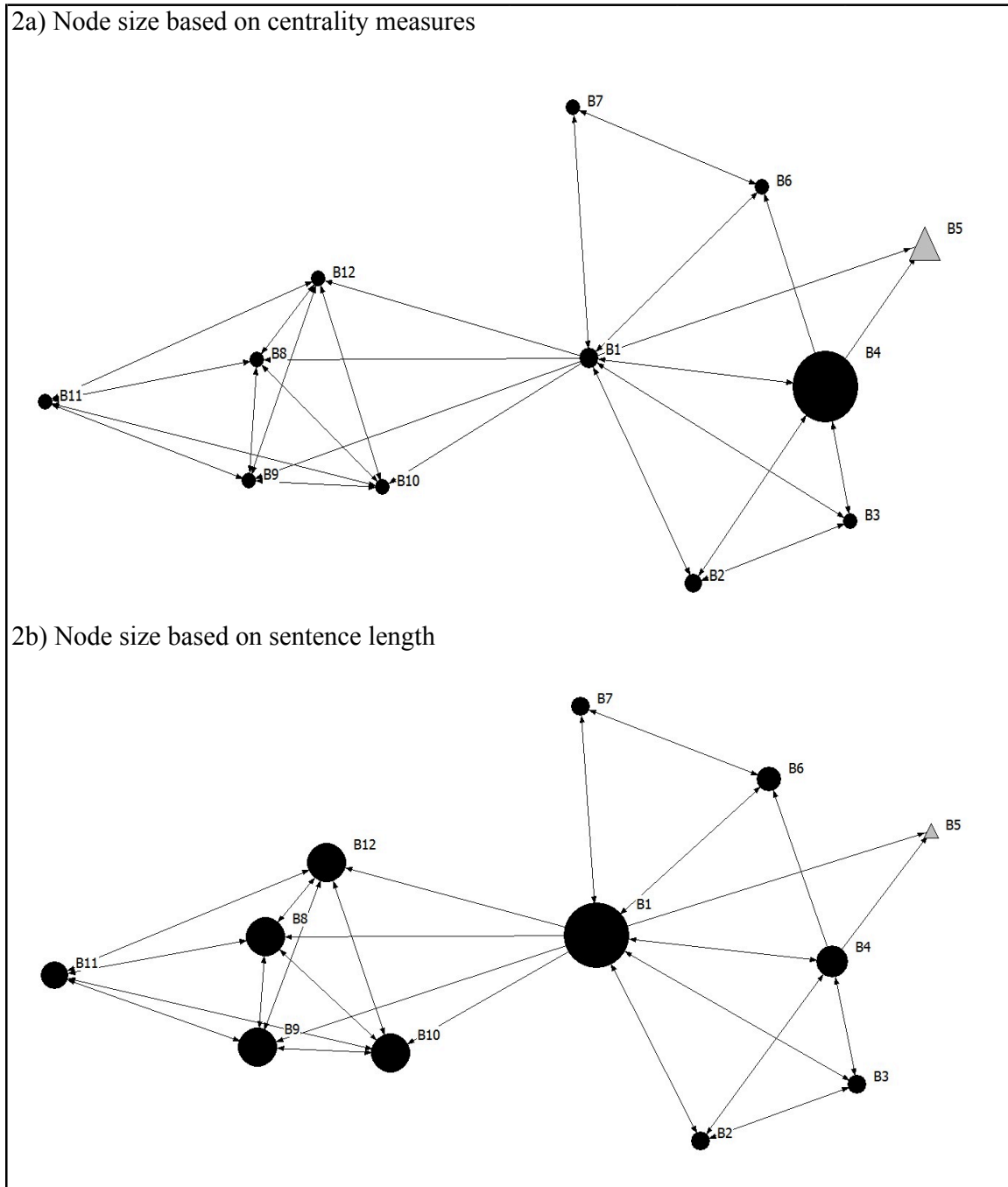
correlation across all models in regards to sentence length and centrality, hinting at a beleaguered American system of adequately sentencing and/or capturing principal offenders. Augmenting the correlation results with the notion of the vast number of US trafficking arrests/convictions, in comparison to Australia, Canada, and Britain, suggests

Figure 8: United States node size by centrality (3a) and sentence length (3b): Matrix 3

3a) Node size based on centrality measures

3b) Node size based on sentence length
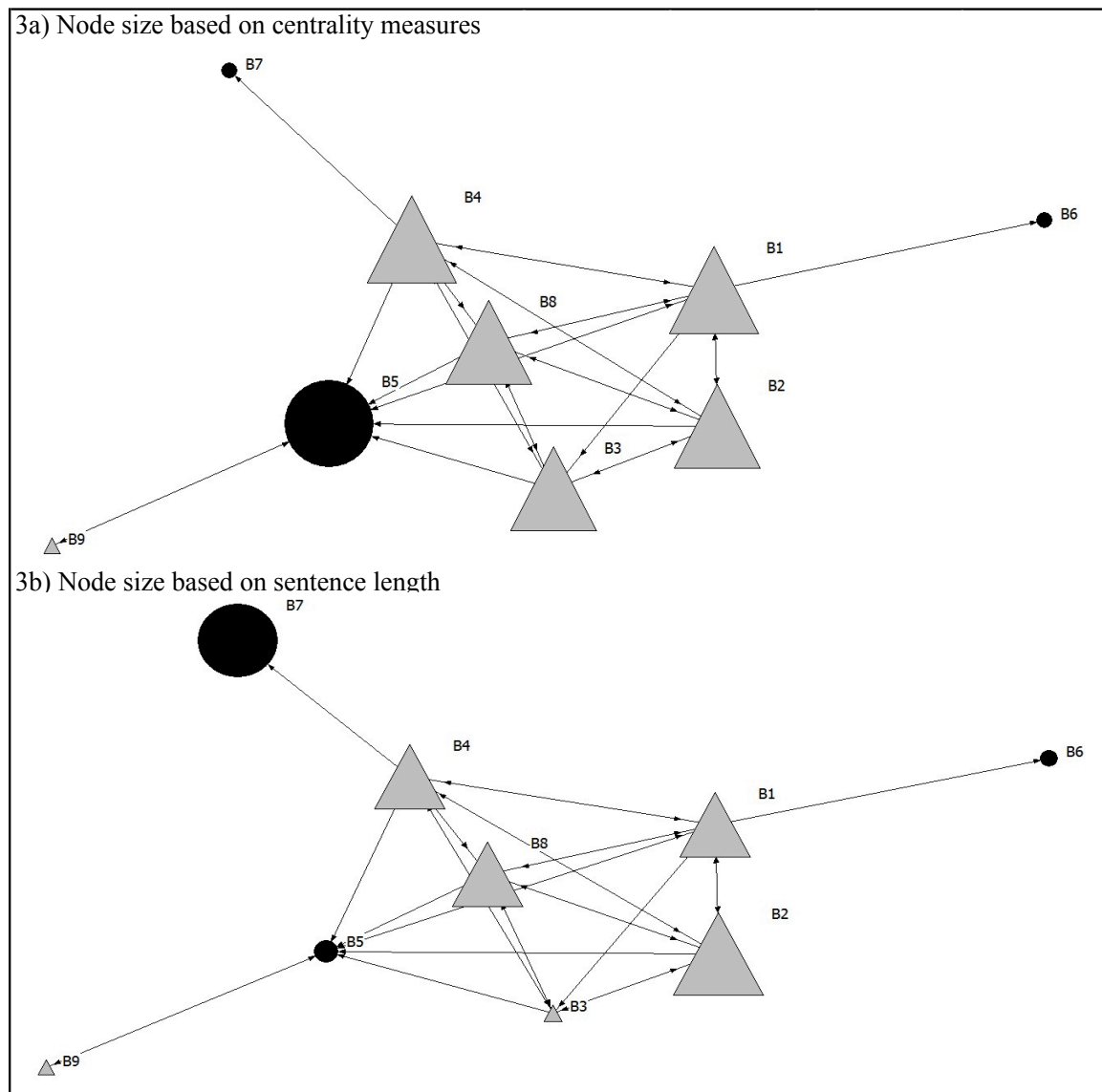
that the US, though *addressing* its trafficking issue, may not be, for a myriad of reasons, adequately *identifying* who does what to whom, and at what capacity.

Network hierarchy was assessed using Krackhardt GTD analysis (Krackhardt 1994) via UCInet. Hierarchy measures for USM1 (connected = 1.000; hierarchy = 0.000; efficiency = 0.4286; least upper bound = 1.000) indicate a relative lack of hierarchal structure in the network. Three of the four parameters of USM2 are close to 1 (connectedness = 1.000; hierarchy = 0.5902; efficiency = 0.7273; least upper bound = 1.000), indicating the presence of hierarchy in the network. A similar pattern emerges in USM3 and USM4: three of four parameters are close to 1 (M3: connectedness = 1.000;

Figure 9: United States node size by centrality (4a) and sentence length (4b): Matrix 4

4a) Node size based on centrality measures

4b) Node size based on sentence length
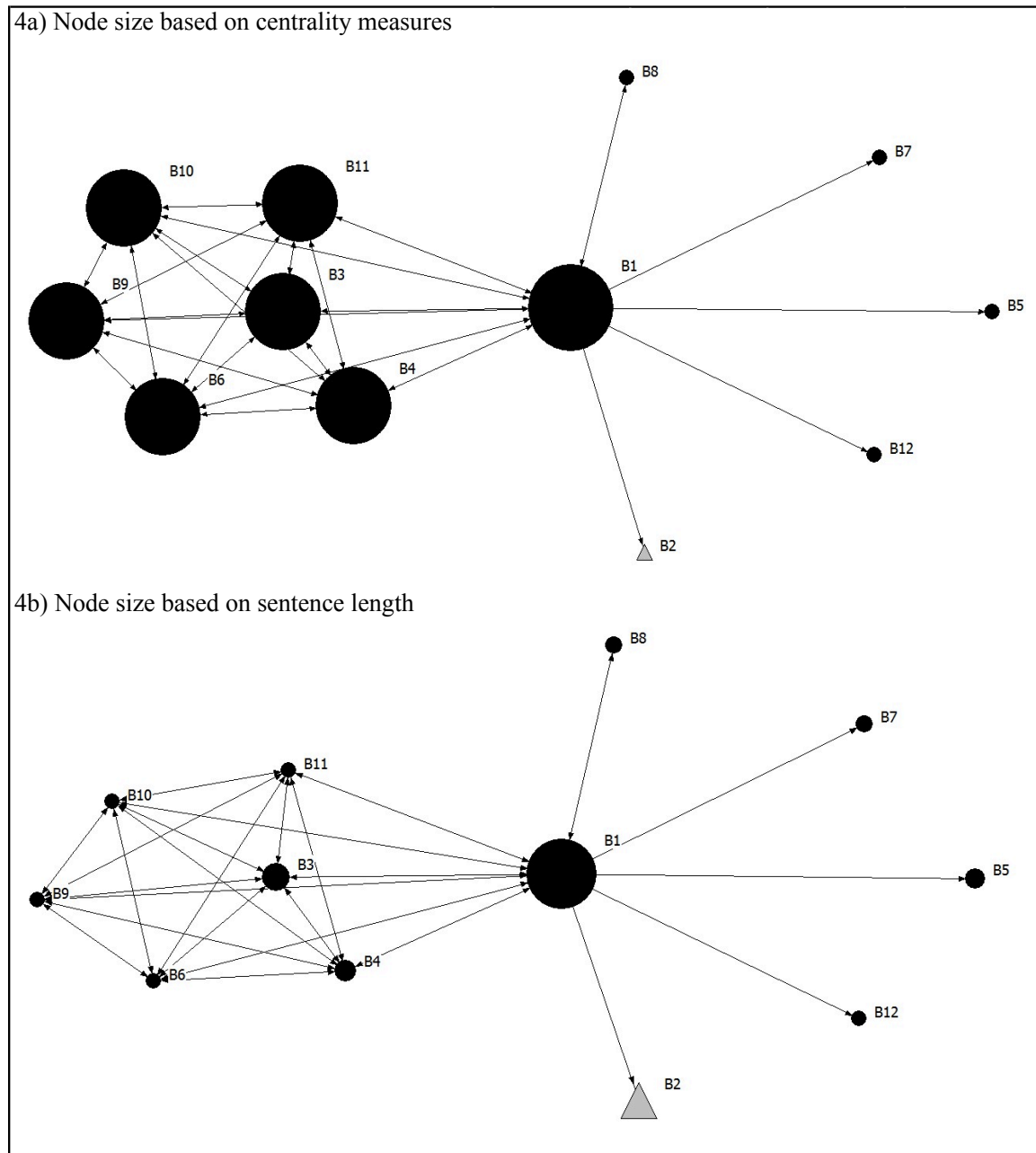
hierarchy = 0.4000; efficiency = 0.6429; least upper bound = 1.000; and, M4: connectedness = 1.000; hierarchy = 0.5333; efficiency = 0.7273; least upper bound = 1.000), though the strength of the hierarchal patterns is less than that of USM2. The network represented by USM1 was the only co-led network (a married couple).

Network brokerage was assessed using G&F brokerage analysis (Borgatti, Everett and Freeman 2002) via UCInet. USM1 consists of two clusters (by gender): the first

Table 24: US correlations (Matrix 1)

	Sex	Sentence	Centrality
Sex	1.00		
Sentence	0.15	1.00	
Centrality	0.07	0.09	1.00

* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table 25: US correlations (Matrix 2)

	Sex	Sentence	Centrality
Sex	1.00		
Sentence	0.20	1.00	
Centrality	-0.38	-0.05	1.00

* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table 26:   US correlations (Matrix 3)

	Sex	Sentence	Centrality
Sex	1.00		
Sentence	-0.25	1.00	
Centrality	-0.49	0.31	1.00

* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table 27: US correlations (Matrix 4)

	Sex	Sentence	Centrality
Sex	1.00		
Sentence	0.27	1.00	
Centrality	-0.36	0.20	1.00

* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

cluster is composed of US1.B1, US1.B3, US1.B4, US1.B8, and US1.B9; the second is composed of US1.B2, US1.B5, US1.B6, and US1.B7. In the first cluster, US1.B1 plays the largest role, acting as *coordinator* on four occasions, *gatekeeper* on ten occasions, and *consultant* on two occasions. The second largest role is that of US1.B8, who acts as *coordinator* on four occasions, *gatekeeper* on two occasions, and *representative* on two occasions. US1.B3, US1.B4, and US1.B9 have minimal roles in the network in regards to brokerage: they only receive directions (are subordinates) from their cluster/group. The second cluster also has two prominent members: US1.B2 acts as *gatekeeper* on ten occasions, *representative* of two occasions, and *consultant* on four occasions; US1.B7 acts as *coordinator* on two occasions, *gatekeepers* on four occasions, and *representative* on four occasions. As occurs in the first cluster of USM1, the two remaining members of the cluster are subordinates.

USM2 is clustered two ways: by gender and by brothel (though the solitary female in the second cluster, US2.B5, is not a broker within the network because she only receives direction from US2.B1 and US2.B4). In the first gendered cluster of males, US2.B1 is the clear leader, acting as a *coordinator* on twenty-eight occasions, a *gatekeeper* on five occasions, and *representative* on two occasions. US2.B2, US2.B3, US2.B7, and US2.B11 are in subversive roles in the network: they, like US2.B5, only receive direction. B4 is the second most important individual in the network, acting as a *consultant* on four occasions. The remaining members of the network, US2.B8, US2.B9,

US2.B10, and US2.B12 all act as *coordinator* on one occasion, and B6 acts as a *gatekeeper* on one occasion.

Clustering by brothel yields similar power structure results, though offenders brokerage roles shift: US2.B2, US2.B3, US2.B7, and US2.B12 all operate out of Brothel 1, with US2.B12 holding the only brokerage position as a *consultant* on one occasion; US2.B6 singly operates out of Brothel 2, acting as a *liaison* on one occasion; US2.B4 and US2.B5 operate together out of Brothel 3, but US2.B5 is the sole holder of brokerage roles, acting as a *gatekeeper* on two occasions and a *liaison* on two occasions; US2.B1, US2.B8, US2.B10, and US2.B11 operate out of Brothel 4, with US2.B8 and US2.B10 each acting as a *coordinator* on one occasion, and US2.B1 acting as a *gatekeeper* on ten occasions, a *consultant* on seven occasions, and a *liaison* on eighteen occasions; US2.B9 singly operates out of Brothel 5, acting as a *consultant* on one occasion.

USM3 is clustered by gender, with three males making up the second cluster. The second cluster represents the males in the network, and only one member of the second cluster, US3.B6, acted in a *brokerage* role, acting as a *consultant* on six occasions. In the first cluster, US3.B1 hold the greatest *brokerage* position, acting as a *gatekeeper* on four occasions, a *representative* on four occasions, and a *consultant* on one occasion. US3.B4 was the only other network member holding a *brokerage* role, acting as a *representative* on four occasions.

USM4 was divided into three clusters based on the separation of the network by company, with one individual, US4.B8, not holding a position in either company. In the first cluster, compiled of US4.B2, US4.B5, US4.B7, and US4.B12, no individual held a *brokerage* role, meaning that they all received direction from a member of the other company. The second cluster involved the established leader of the network, US4.B1. He held the only *brokerage* role, acting as a *gatekeeper* on six occasions, a *representative* on thirty occasions, and a *liaison* on four occasions. The remaining members of the second cluster, US4.B3, US4.B4, US4.B6, US4.B9, US4.B10, and US4.B11, all reported directly to B1 and did not hold *brokerage* roles. Although members of the first cluster cooperated amongst themselves, they did not hold roles that suggested importance in their ties in regards to non-redundant information/direction flows. That is, they all held ties of equal strength and all members within the cluster had symmetrical relationships.

All offenders

Compiling the four countries of analysis into a single dataset allows for a cross-comparison between country of arrest and overall offending patterns of all offenders captured by this study (*n*= 484). Of the offenders, three hundred and ninety-four were sex traffickers and ninety (81.40% and 18.60%, respectively) trafficked individuals for labour, including domestic servitude. Across all offenders, the race of offender was evenly spread: 22.20% (*n*=97) were Asian; 21.74% (*n*=95) were Black; 27.56% (*n*=120) were Latino; 21.28% (*n*=93) were White; and, 6.64% (*n*=29) were coded as "Other" races. Children were trafficked by approximately 48.76% (*n*=236) offenders, many of who are American. Almost half (n=225) of the 484 offenders were prosecuted for regional trafficking, and almost one third of offenders (*n*=281) did not employ physical violence during the commission of their offenses. The mean age of offender was 37, and offenders ranged in age from 70 to 17.

Migrants accounted for 63.87% (*n*=304) trafficking offenders, and of these migrant offenders, 71.38% (*n*=217) were involved in transnational trafficking and 28.62% (*n*=87) were involved in regional trafficking. Non-migrant offenders represent 13.89% of transnational traffickers and 61.16% of regional traffickers.

Of the four hundred and seventy-five offenders whose migrant, origin, and victim origin status could be determined, 6.58% of migrants (*n*=20) were from a different origin then their victim(s) and the remaining 93.42% of migrants (*n*=284) were from the same origin as their victim(s). Of the four hundred and eighty-three offenders whose geographical type of trafficking (transnational or regional), origin, and victim origin status could be determined, 92.44% (*n*=208) of regional traffickers and 88.37% (*n*=228) of transnational traffickers originated from the *same geographical place* as their victim(s). Although 90.62% (*n*=435) of cases were determined to involve coercion and/or threats of violence, recourse to actual force was somewhat less common with only 38.31% of offenders determined to have used physical violence, including sexual assault.

Table 36 depicts a correlation matrix of pairwise correlations across All Offender data. The correlation matrix only displays correlations that are statistically significant (p<0.05). Of particular note is the absence of a statistically significant correlation between sex trafficking and the gender of offender. Although the gender of offender is

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Table 28: Descriptive statistics for All Offender data

		N (All)	Percentage (All)			N (All)	Percentage (All)
Sex trafficking		484		**Origin of offender**		483	
	Yes	394	81.40%		*Africa*	24	4.97%
	No	90	18.60%		*Asia*	82	16.98%
Migrant offender		476			*Central America*	39	8.07%
	Yes	304	63.87%		*Canada*	9	1.86%
	No	172	36.13%		*Eastern Europe*	52	10.77%
Age of offender*	37		75 / 17		*India*	4	0.83%
Gender of offender		475			*Mexico*	65	13.46%
	Male	326	68.63%		*Russia*	3	0.62%
	Female	149	31.37%		*South America*	5	1.04%
Gender of victim		484			*South Pacific*	3	0.62%
	Male	24	4.96%		*South East Asia*	25	5.18%
	Female	415	85.74%		*Unted Kingdom*	6	1.24%
	Male & Female	45	9.30%		*United States*	155	32.09%
Race of offender		437			*Various*	11	2.28%
	Asian	97	22.20%	**Origin of victim**		483	
	Black	95	21.74%		*Africa*	22	4.55%
	Latino	120	27.46%		*Asia*	72	14.88%
	White	93	21.28%		*Central America*	47	9.71%
	Other	29	6.64%		*Canada*	8	1.65%
Race of victim		413			*Eastern Europe*	55	11.36%
	Asian	111	26.88%		*India*	3	0.62%
	Black	24	5.81%		*Mexico*	56	11.57%
	Latino	121	29.30%		*Russia*	7	1.45%
	White	69	16.71%		*South America*	5	1.03%
	Other	11	2.66%		*South Pacific*	6	1.24%
	Variety	77	18.64%		*South East Asia*	40	8.26%
Child involved		484			*Unted Kingdom*	1	0.21%
	Yes	236	48.76%		*United States*	135	27.89%
	No	248	51.24%		*Various*	27	5.58%
Coercion/threats of violence		480					
	Yes	435	90.62%				
	No	45	9.38%				
Violence by offender		465					
	Yes	184	39.57%				
	No	281	60.43%				
Same origin as victim		483					
	Yes	436	90.27%				
	No	47	9.73%				
Geographic type		484					
	Transnational	259	53.51%				
	Regional	225	46.49%				
Consensual sex with victim		473					
	Yes	43	9.09%				
	No	430	90.91%				

Table 29: All Offenders (all data) Pearson correlations

	Sex trafficking	Violent offender	Consensual sex	Coercion	Geographic Type	Same origin	Age (offender)	Gender (offender)	Race (offender)	Origin (offender)	Migrant (offender)	Origin (victim)	Gender (victim)	Race (victim)	Child (victim)
Sex trafficking	1.0000														
Violent offender	0.1256*	1.0000													
Consensual sex	0.1158	0.2922*	1.0000												
Coercion	-0.1044	-0.2174*		1.0000											
Geographic type	0.3709*	0.3802*	-0.2688*		1.0000										
Same origin	0.2555*		0.2662*			1.0000									
Age (offender)	-0.1882*	-0.1743*		-0.2510*			1.0000								
Gender (offender)		0.1498*	0.2180*		0.1058	-0.1017*	-0.1002	1.0000							
Race (offender)		0.2089*			0.1198	-0.2721*	-0.2477*	0.1559*	1.0000						
Origin (offender)		0.1617*			0.2134*					1.0000					
Migrant (offender)	-0.1417*	-0.1297*	-0.1994*		-0.4912*	0.1234*		-0.1369*		-0.3496*	1.0000				
Origin (victim)	0.0988		-0.1216*		0.5174*	-0.1462*		0.2096*		0.3918*	-0.6056*	1.0000			
Gender (victim)	-0.2879*	-0.1854*			-0.2122*	-0.2297*		0.1321*	0.2690*			0.1378*	1.0000		
Race (victim)	0.1848*	0.3237*			0.4536*	-0.1083	-0.4349*	0.2086*	0.7258*	0.2336*	-0.2900*	0.3090*	0.1077	1.0000	
Child (victim)	0.2538*	0.1389*	0.1700*	0.2186*	0.1847*	0.2511*	-0.2477*			0.2587*	-0.3649*	0.2764*	-0.2636*	0.2871*	1.0000

p < 0.05 (printed), * p < 0.01 (if significant)

statistically significant with regards to the gender of the victim, this relationship does not confirm to which offender gender is being referred. Additionally, as depicted by the previous four correlation matrices, there is a statistically significant relationship between offender and victim race, origin, migrant status, and geographical type of trafficking (transnational or regional). This results appear to reinforce the possibility of a pattern emerging across space and time regarding the relationships between trafficker and trafficking individual.

Notes

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[i] Descriptive statistic tables are designed to show all offenders captured by the scope of this study (first column) with those involved only in the SNA component (second column) and transnational trafficking (third column). The purpose of which is to provide a quick and easy method for delineating between the three in order to compare/contrast and make note of any glaring similarities, dissimilarities, or otherwise. Additionally, the "Age of offender" row displays mean ages (first three results columns) and the max and min age for each grouping (last three results columns). The details of this note hold true across all countries descriptive statistic tables.

[ii] Age of victim was categorized into seven groupings (1=under 10; 2=10 to 14; 3=15 to 17; 4=18 to 25; 5= 26 to 35; 6=36+; and, 7=variety of ages). This classification was employed for all four countries of analysis.

[iii] Although difficult to correctly assert why arrests did not occur for these individuals, a number (*n*= 9) were residents of other countries (India, Thailand, and the Philippines) and were not arrested or successfully extradited/identified (i.e. listed by Australian law enforcement as "unknown contact"). One additional offender, an Australian-born male, was found "not guilty" at trial.

[iv] As mentioned in the coding scheme of the Method chapter, the migrant-status of the nine individuals who did not reside in Australia was not coded. As such, the results are entirely representative of the migrant status of all offenders *within* Australia.

[v] For all four countries of analysis, this result is based on whether law enforcement determined the commission of the crime of sexual assault. For all cases, law enforcement's determining of sexual assault was derived from victim statements. This result, however, does not imply that *only* those designated as rape victims by law enforcement were, in fact, sexually assaulted.

[vi] Fifteen variables used for correlation measures: sex trafficking, violence, consensual sex, coercion, geographical trafficking type, same origin, age of offender, race of offender, origin of offender, immigrant offender, origin of victim, gender of victim, race of victim, and child victim.

[vii] The alphanumeric labeling of matrix offenders occurred during data collection stages, and each offender was labeled based on his country of arrest (AU, UK, or US), the matrix with which he was involved (1, 2, 3, or 4), and his appearance/referent in the court case (i.e. chronological appearance).

[viii] The negative beta coefficient measures power in regards to "weak" connections while the positive beta coefficient measures power in regards to "strong" connections (i.e. being connected to the "right" people in the network). The standardized beta measure (third column) depicts the individual's overall importance in the network, which is echoed by the betweenness measure (Freeman 1977), which informs of an actor's relevance in the network insofar as being pivotal to ties in the overall network structure.

[ix] The sentencing scores for actors who were not arrested or sentenced were all computed as equal, and at a size smaller than the sentencing of their network counterparts (i.e. "10" months). This method of coding allowed for node inclusion in the sentencing (*b*) model and does not affect the overall results presented.

[x] Eigenvector centrality measures (Hanneman and Riddle 2005) were employed for this portion of SNA. Eigenvector centrality employs factor analysis in order to measure/locate the most central actors in a network based on the overall structure of the network.

[xi] As a middleman, B7 was responsible for securing travel documents and airplane tickets for the females trafficked from Thailand.

[xii] As an enforcer, B7 was responsible for physically controlling trafficked females while they engaged in the sex trade in Australia. Essentially, B7 was the network's go-to if they needed a dominant individual to threaten violence in order to force compliance among trafficked individuals. As a physical threat with direct interaction with the trafficked victims, B7 occupied a core role in the network, but was not arrested by law enforcement because of his anonymity (i.e. acknowledged only by a first name that could not be determined authentic) in the network. That is, law enforcement could not locate him, but was able to determine his involvement and presence in the network via information from B4 and the trafficked individuals.

[xiii] The purpose of clustering by gender was to establish, aside from centrality and core/periphery measures, whether males were, overall, more important in their networks than females. The results of the *brokerage* measures suggest that males were no more important than females; that is, females did not always hold subservient roles to their male counterparts.

[xiv] Although difficult to correctly assert why arrests did not occur for these individuals, a number (n= 19) were residents of other countries (Southeast Asia, Eastern Europe, Brazil) and were not arrested or successfully extradited/identified (i.e. listed by British law enforcement as "unknown contact"). One additional offender, a British-born male, remains at large in Britain. The resident status of the remaining seven offenders not arrested was not determined by law enforcement.

[xv] See Endnotes iv.

[xvi] See Endnote v.

[xvii] See Endnote ix, as well as the discussion of brokerage in the Method chapter.

[xviii] Results for t-test centrality of M2 and M4 are not listed because only one female is present in each network.

[xix] The negative beta coefficient measures power in regards to "weak" connections while the positive beta coefficient measures power in regards to "strong" connections (i.e. being connected to the "right" people in the network). The standardized beta measure (third column) depicts the individual's overall importance in the network, which is echoed by the betweenness measure (Freeman 1977), which informs of an actor's relevance in the network insofar as being pivotal to ties in the overall network structure.

[xx] Actors denoted as B7, B8, and B9 remain at large in Honduras. As such, their sentencing scores were not recorded and were all computed as equal, and at a size smaller than the sentencing of their network counterparts (i.e. B1=53 months, B2=53 months, B3=53 months, B4=34 months, B5=63 months, B6=27 months, B7="10" months, B8="10" months, B9="10" months). This method of coding allowed for node inclusion in the sentencing (*b*) model and does not affect the overall results presented.

Chapter 5: Comparative Analysis of Countries/Cases

One of the purposes of this study is to analyse whether sex trade laws influence the human trafficking trade. The selection of Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States meant that a broad spectrum (from left to right, politically and figuratively) of sex trade laws were in operation during the arrests and prosecutions that were captured by the scope of this study. The country selection analysis proved fruitful because the results across countries suggest nuances that present the opportunity to discuss whether, as purported by many in the literature, liberal sex laws lead to an increase in human trafficking.

Australia

<u>General</u>

The results of this study depict a consistent nature of Australian trafficking cases resulting in successful prosecution; that is, the majority of offenders were Asian traffickers who trafficked Asian individuals, though seven White individuals were also involved in the trafficking of Asian individuals. However, their involvement, more often than not, was in adjunct to an Asian co-offender who acted as the conduit to the victim's country of origin. Under the interpretation advanced by this study, this result is anticipated, not anomalous. A principal goal of the research design was to determine the importance of race/ethnic-based networks in facilitating the trade. The necessity of involvement of an individual with the ability to catalyze the trafficking event could suggest that the original *connection* between offender and victim would be based on parity in relation to connectedness at a basic level: for some, a connection relating to previous migratory experience or racial/ethnic ties may, indeed, represent the basic connection that facilitates a relationship with trafficking potential.

The lack of offender violence could be the result of a variety of influences, one of which could pertain to the nature of Australian sex trade laws. Legal brothel employment, combined with the notion that many of the trafficking victims in Australia had previously been employed in the sex trade in their countries of origin, suggests that the issue was not one of forced prostitution; rather, the issue was one of debt bondage and violation of labour laws. A comparative analysis of Australian non-sex trade labour laws may assist in

better understanding whether the issue was one of forced sex or forced *employment*. Because the nature of the Australian offense created a different platform for offenders than would be operationalized in the United States, Australian trafficking offenders may not require violence to enforce their authority. Insofar as victimisation is concerned, the trafficking victim in Australia, as represented by the majority, was not a foreign participant in the sex trade; rather, she was a foreign individual in a familiar trade. The results of this study suggest that the issue was a migratory one wherein the trafficked individual participated in the sex trade under exploitative labour conditions, but did so in a trapping situation that positioned the trafficked individual as a foreign labourer inured to a trade some view as undesirable as a means of remaining a member of the host nation.

If this statement represents the "general" Australian trafficking offense, the lack of violence should not be surprising: one need not physically dominate if the foreign labourer, first and foremost, desires membership in the community. The lack of cases of regional offending does not, however, bolster this argument, as it could be the case that Australian law enforcement are more focused on cases of migrant smuggling/trafficking than cases of vulnerable individuals within its population, such as Aboriginals, being forced into a trade that is not of their choosing. It is, however, plausible to interpret the dearth of regional trafficking cases as an offshoot of a lack of necessity of force prostitution in a community wherein legal participation in the sex trade promotes voluntary participation and a lack of profit/motivation for regional offenders looking to exploit from within their borders. The power of migrant desired membership could motivate offenders to engage in transnational trafficking because of profit margins, willing participants, and, more importantly, the factor of control over not only the migrant but also her membership in the host nation.

Insofar as a comparative analysis to the other three countries of this study, Australia is in a peculiar position because it is the only country that permits organisational-based legal employment in the sex trade. Recruitment turns less to trickery, fraudulence, and subterfuge, but is more often an issue of securing willing participants (for sex work) and exploiting said participants by means of inadequate pay and excessive hours of employment: an issue prevalent in much employment involving migrants in peripheral labour trades. Insofar as neoclassical economic micro theory

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suggests, migrants to the Australian sex trade willingly participate in the migratory act because their returns are greater in the Australian sex trade than is offered within their home countries' sex trade (Borjas 1990; Massey *et al* 1993; Todaro 1969, 1976, 1989).

Subsequently, offender level of risk may not be as prevalent as noted in other criminal enterprises because the offender is primarily exploiting migrants within a legal labour market. As such, the cost of avoiding detection is not one of avoiding detection at all levels, but rather avoiding detection in particular circumstances of exploitation within a legal labour market. This does not necessarily suggest that Australia's legal sex trade promotes human trafficking: the number of cases and offenders (if taken as representative of an overall problem) suggests otherwise. If the issue is one of migrants exploiting migrants, as the results imply, then the issue becomes one of the number of migrants owning/operating brothels with the potential or ability to traffic or smuggle individuals. If migrants monopolise a portion of a trade, then it is possible that a proliferation of trafficking could occur. Australia does not necessarily depict this notion, but it would be premature to suggest legalised brothels as promoters of human trafficking.

Social Network Analysis

The SNA component of Australian cases reveals a number of interesting nuances of the trafficking act: particularly, the inclusion of two former trafficking victims, across two groups, within the offending structure of the networks. Such instances were rare in the other countries of analysis. The debt bondage nature of the Australian trafficking act may allow for trafficked individuals to engage in promotions within the business structure after their debt has been repaid. If this notion exemplifies the Australian trafficking act, then the realm of exploitation within the Australian trafficking offense may be less rigid and overly exploitative in comparison to occurrences in the other three countries.

The involvement of women in dominant positions without the control of males is also demonstrated by SNA results. In both networks, she operates a core position in the network, and the only subservient female offender is a member of the second network, which is led by a female. In this case one cannot argue that the subservient female is under the control of a male because the results suggest that the female leader of AUM2 is the *only* dominant member of the network. Although a male is operating within the core

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of the AUM2 network, his centrality and brokerage scores suggest that he occupies a position below that of the female leader, and he does not directly control the operational/network behaviour of the female in the peripheral role.

The results indicated by Figure 2 highlight the relative parity between an actor's importance in his network in comparison to his sentence length. Aside from offenders who evaded law enforcement, most of the offenders received sentence lengths that were representative of their role in the network. It is important to note that the measure of parity does not necessarily hold across networks; that is, the claim is not that offenders received a preconceived scaled sentence length based on what it is to be a trafficking offender; rather, their sentence lengths are analysed *within* the structure of their network. The claim, then, is that *within* the network, the more dominant/directing offenders received longer sentence lengths *in comparison* to other, less important members in their network. Correlation measures demonstrated in Tables 4 and 5 echo this notion. These measures do not, however, demonstrate a correlation between sex and centrality, suggesting that an offender's sex does not determine her importance or hierarchal positioning within her network.

Case Study

AUM1 involved seven offenders, six of who were male and one who was female. The age of three offenders, Kam Tin Ho, 40, Ho Kam Ho, 39, and Sarissa Leech, 37, was established. The remaining offenders in the network, Chee Fui Hoo, Slamet Rahardjo, Ba Phuc Tran, and "Ben" were of an undetermined age, though investigators suggested all were over the age of 25. All offenders were determined to have resided in Australia at the time of offense, and all were determined to be migrants ("Ben" was the only offender in the network whose migrant status could not be determined. He was not arrested nor prosecuted; Ba Phuc Tran, a migrant working as a migration agent in Australia, was also not arrested nor prosecuted because, as occurred with "Ben," he eluded law enforcement). All victims were over the age of 18 [DPP (Cth) v Ho & Leech [2009] VSC 495].

Law enforcement concluded that Kam Tin Ho and his brother Ho Kam Ho were the leaders of the network, with older brother Kam Tin Ho holding the foremost position of leader. Kam Tin Ho acted as a middleman, shuttling women from Thailand to his co-

owned brothels in Melbourne, and also exploited the women upon arrival in a debt-contract scheme that forced women to remain under his employment until they had repaid the debt (para. 28). Kam Tin Ho and his co-offenders were charged, convicted, and sentenced based on their holding of six Thai females in the aforementioned debt-contracts. Ho Kam Ho acted as an exploiter alongside Chee Fui Hoo and Slamet Rahardjo, the latter pair acting as brothel owners. Sarissa Leech, a former trafficking victim of Kam Tin Ho, acted as a recruiter for women from Thailand, as well as a middleman. "Ben" acted as an enforcer in the brothels, ensuring the Thai women were engaging in the acts required to repay their debts. Although law enforcement was unable to confirm physical violence towards the six trafficked Thai females, "Ben" was responsible for enforcement through coercion and threats of violence [DPP (Cth) v Ho & Leech [2009] VSC 495].

Each of the six trafficked women were chaperoned into Australia on a three-month tourist or business visa and handed over to their traffickers upon arrival (para. 27). Kam Tin Ho established a protocol for controlling his victims that involved their voluntarily signing a Protection Visa application claiming persecution in Thailand. This act was facilitated by migration agents who claimed to be unaware of the trafficking (para. 27). Each woman was purchased by a brothel owner before being placed into a debt-contract, wherein she was required to perform between 650 and 750 sex acts lasting thirty minutes each (para. 28). The licensed brothels charged clients 125AUD for each act, thereby placing each woman's work at a gross value of 81,000AUD to 94,000AUD (para. 28). The length of contract was fluid: the duration would depend on how quickly they serviced the number of clients required to erase the debt. The mean length of time required for the six women to eliminate their debt was three to four months, equating to six days of work per week. During those six days, the women were paid 5AUD for each act, and on the seventh day they could choose whether or not to work, earning 50AUD for each act (para. 28). The arrangement of monetary payment to the women was a pivotal component for the prosecution: essentially, this established their being held in a condition of slavery. Augmented with the seizure of each victim's passport and her being kept in shared residence without the ability to leave unsupervised, the evidence at trial established that, under Australia's human trafficking law, Kam Tin Ho and his co-

offenders were guilty of a number of offences relating to the commission of the trafficking offense.

Sarissa Leech, the former trafficking victim, was convicted based on her involvement in the procurement, transportation, and subsequent exploitation of the sixth Thai female, known as K.W. in the legal case record. From the age of fourteen, the victim allegedly worked in the sex trade in Thailand and was purchased in Thailand by Ms. Leech. Her transportation, including travel documents and airfare, was arranged by Ms. Leech [DPP (Cth) v Ho & Leech [2009] VSC 495]. "Ben" acted as the enforcer of the sixth victim, supervising her repaying of the debt while working in a brothel in South Melbourne. After her debt was repaid, K.W. was allowed to leave the apartment unsupervised where she was previously being held (para. 11). Although she was not permitted to work fewer than the previously designated six days, K.W. was able to earn between 50AUD and 125AUD during her remaining tenure at the brothel.

Chee Fui Hoo and Slamet Rahardjo, both brothel owners, were found not guilty because the judge determined they had not tangibly held women in debt-bondage, and, subsequently, were not active participants in the scheme, though they did profit substantially from the sex work of the trafficked Thai females. Kam Tin Ho was sentenced to 14 years in prison, Ho Kam Ho was sentenced to 10 years in prison, and Sarissa Leech was sentenced to 6 years in prison. Ms. Leech's being a former trafficking victim did not influence her sentence because it was determined that she was not physically under the control of her co-offenders during her criminal actions.

AUM2 represented Australia's first successful prosecution of a transnational human trafficking ring. This case, similar to AUM1, also involved a former trafficking victim of the lead co-offender working alongside her former trafficker. In total, three offenders were charged, Wei Tang, Paul Pick, and Donporn Srimonthon, two of who were found guilty, Tang and Srimonthon. An additional two offenders, an unnamed Thai contact and "Sam" eluded law enforcement and were not arrested, though law enforcement was able to locate their positions in the network. Tang and Srimonthon were female and the remaining members of the network were male. Law enforcement determined Wei Tang to be the leader of the network [R v Wei Tang (2007) 16 VR 454; R v Wei Tang (2008) 238 CLR 1].

Ms. Tang, Mr. Pick, and Ms. Srimonthon were accused of having purchased five Thai women to work under debt-contracts at a legal brothel called Club 417 in Melbourne, Australia. The women had all previously worked in the Thai sex trade industry and were aware that they would be employed by Australian brothel owners. Each arrived separately in Australia between August 2002 and May 2003 on a validly obtained tourist visa. Victims were flown from Bangkok to Sydney and usually accompanied by an elderly couple for the purpose of avoiding detection. Upon arrival in Sydney, the escorts were paid, and the woman would be transported to a hotel after which a decision was made in regards to the brothel where she would be employed. The women testified that they knowingly agreed to enter debt-contract agreements with recruiters in Thailand, and each understood that she owed between 40,000AUD and 45,000AUD to the owner of the contracts.

Ms. Tang purchased the debt contracts of four of the five trafficked Thai women for 20,000AUD, and the women were held in a debt-contract with Ms. Tang to repay the overhead cost. The fifth trafficked female worked in another brothel before moving to Club 417 [R v DS (2005) 153 A Crim R 194]. To repay the debt, the women were required to work six days a week over a period of four to six months, serving up to 900 clients in the duration. Clients were charged a fee of 110AUD, and Ms. Tang retained 43AUD for her capacity as owner, as well as 70 percent of the remaining 67AUD for her investment in the syndicate of debt-contracts, subsequently collecting the money "owed" by the trafficked women. The remaining 30 percent of the 67AUD was split among Ms. Srimonthon and her associates. On the seventh day, victims were offered the opportunity to work and keep the 50AUD otherwise used to pay the debt [R v DS (2005) 153 A Crim R 194].

Ms. Tang owned the license to the Club 417 and held a seventy percent interest in a syndicate that bought four of the five trafficked Thai women. Ms. Srimonthon held the remaining thirty percent and was responsible for negotiating with recruiters in Thailand for her associates and co-offenders. Ms. Tang had previously held Ms. Srimonthon in a debt-contract, and Ms. Srimonthon had chosen to remain an employee of Ms. Tang's once her debt had been expunged. Ms. Srimonthon was responsible for supervising the

contract workers at Club 417, and also moved money between Ms. Tang and an organizer/recruiter in Sydney known as "Sam" [R v DS (2005) 153 A Crim R 194].

Mr. Pick, the second co-accused, acted as a driver, but was found not guilty because he did not directly profit from the scheme, nor could it be determined that he was involved in the procurement or exploitation of the women. Although Mr. Pick transported women between brothels, he acted in the capacity for all females working in the brothels, and his actions were not specific to the five trafficked women. There was no evidence of physical maltreatment of any of the women employed at the brothels owned/associated with any of the offenders. Ms. Tang pleaded not guilty and was convicted and sentenced to 9 years in prison. Ms. Srimonthon pleaded guilty to possessing a slave and was sentenced to 6 years in prison [R v DS (2005) 153 A Crim R 194]. No additional offenders were prosecuted or convicted for their involvement in the debt-bondage scheme.

Both the aforementioned Australian cases resulted in convictions of the primary members of the trafficking ring. Although unsuccessful in its attempts to actuate the arrest, prosecution, and conviction of all offenders, Australia's court system does appear to have, as the correlation and SNA results suggest in the previous chapter, successfully convict and sentence vital offenders in the network who acted as dominant characters in transnational sex trafficking rings.

The notion of Australia's trafficking cases involving legal brothels holding individuals in debt-bondage need not necessarily suggest that the sex trade is the reason for the trafficking offenses. It is plausible that individuals employed in restaurants, hotels, etc. could also be held in debt-bondage when in positions of vulnerability. This often occurs with migrants in a host nation with little contact outside the periphery of their new employment structures. Two of the thirty-two trafficking offenders captured by the results of this study were involved in trafficking migrants transnationally and regionally for employment in restaurants. They were held under similar conditions described above, though the significant difference was the *type* of work they were forced to endure. Exercising criticism of Australia's sex trade laws because of trafficking cases like the aforementioned may not address the palpable issue at hand: abuse of migrant workers engaged in the sex trade or otherwise.

Britain

<u>General</u>

As discussed in the Australian section, the lack of variability in case typology is further exemplified by the British results. The British trafficking offender, as captured by this study, is sex trafficker who is predominantly Eastern European. His trafficked individuals are predominantly Eastern European young females who are fraudulently and coercively inducted into the British sex trade upon arrival. As noted with Australia, the British trafficked individual is predominantly employed in brothels, though unlike their Australian counterparts, brothel operations in Britain are illegal. As such, victims were able to alert law enforcement at a higher rate than seen in Australia, and the fear of losing membership in a host community does not appear as pertinent to the victim as noted in the Australian cases.

The involvement of female traffickers in leadership roles is also noted in the British results. As exemplified by the correlation results, the female offender is less likely to be involved when a child victim is trafficked. Although this result may point to an inherent female trait involving the care of children, such conclusions are impossible to verify because of the lack of child victims and the lack of adequately understood motivations for female offenders. What the results of the study do suggest is that the British female trafficker engaged in an often coercive, fraudulent, and threatening manner in order to profit from victims' forced inclusion in the British sex trade. When located in Britain the female trafficker was often a migrant, though other females from the trafficking victims' originating countries were frequent catalysts in the forced movement of individuals into the British sex trade.

Unlike the Australian situation, British trafficking cases involved individuals willing to engage in subterfuge in order to effect a victim's migration to the UK. The confirmed sexual assault of one victim likely does not represent all occurrences of offender sexual violence against victims. It would be misrepresentative to suggest that victims forced into the sex trade were not sexually abused/assaulted: the nature of the forced sex work belies this notion. Whether victims were frequently sexually assaulted by their traffickers is not clearly distinguished by the results of this study.

Though the Australian cases turned out to be, more often than not, ones of labour violations in a licit market, the British cases conformed to the conventional beliefs of what it is to be a trafficking victim. The victims of British traffickers[i] were procured, transported, bought and sold amongst networks of individuals seeking profit in their brothels and sex work rings.

The *UNODC* (2013) reports the proliferation of African trafficking victims in forced prostitution rings in Britain: this is not demonstrated by the results of this study. It is likely that the cases captured by this study exemplify a portion of a larger problem, though this does not negate the overall value of this research. Regardless of overall representation, the results of this study indicate that, for the collected and analysed cases, networks matter, and they matter much more than gender.[ii] This result challenges traditional depictions of human trafficking.

Social Network Analysis

The same pattern found in the SNA of the other countries is repeated in Britain. Females are no more or less centralized in their networks than their male counterparts, and there is little, if any, correlation between female and centrality rates. As such, females in British networks are no more and no less important than males in their networks. When a female is involved, she has the potential to occupy a core or periphery role, just as her male co-offenders, and her potential often relates to her value to the network in relation to skills and abilities within the operational frame and functionality of the trafficking network. As the Australian cases exemplified, British female offenders operated in dominated roles where they directed their male co-offenders. At times, female offenders operated in subservient roles to their male counterparts. The results of this study offer the notion that the issue of network role is not one of gender, but rather of skill and ability to promote successful functionality of a profit-driven network.

British correlation results depict a significant correlation between centrality and sentence length in the first matrix but not the second. The offender, B2 (Edward Facuna) received a sentence length greater than his centrality measure, but this was likely because of his direct involvement with the four primary offenders, who received sentence lengths greater than or equal to his sentence length. An interesting issue of British trafficking networks is the centrality measures of network members in comparison to law

enforcement's lack of arrest: that is, British trafficking cases involved individuals in host nations and the victim's country of origin. The individuals in foreign countries were often pivotal members of the network because they acted as suppliers and facilitators of the movement and covert transport of trafficked individuals.

The geographical location and history or Britain and the European Union may be a plausible explanation for the structure of British trafficking networks. Out of the four countries of analysis, British trafficking networks had greater levels of multi-national operations than its study's counterparts. Again, this is likely a nature of the geographical and geopolitical structure of Western and Eastern Europe. Whether the ease with which individuals can navigate European borders is a catalyst in the human trafficking trade remains to be determined.

Case Study

UKM1 was a cross-national sex trafficking network that involved fourteen individuals. Three offenders were female, including the co-leader, and the remaining eleven were male. UKM1 represents the only case captured by this study with offenders under the age of 18: three co-offenders who led the network were all seventeen during the commission of offenses (these three individuals were also the only offenders arrested, prosecuted, and convicted for their offenses). Four of the fourteen offenders were located in Lithuania during the trafficking activities of the network, and the majority of the offenders were from either Albania or Lithuania. Six of the offenders were not formally identified by law enforcement, though all are separately and numerically identified in the case files based on their interactions with the primary offenders [Kizlaite & Anor, R. v (2006) EWCA Crim 1492].

The three primary offenders, Emiljab Beqirat, Tasim Axhami, and Vilma Kizlaite (Beqirat's girlfriend) became acquainted approximately one year prior to their offenses. Ms. Kizlaite worked in the British sex trade throughout her relationship with Mr. Beqirat, and met Mr. Axhami in October 2004. Ms. Kizlaite was in contact with a woman in Lithuania, Jolanta, who was in the business of procuring girls for trafficking to the United Kingdom. Ms. Kizlaite, prosecutors believed, had been trafficked in a similar way [Kizlaite & Anor, R. v (2006) EWCA Crim 1492]. The three offenders moved into the same apartment in Sheffield, England, and Ms. Kizlaite and Mr. Beqirat suggested to Mr.

Axhami that he procure a girl from Jolanta to run as a sex worker in Britain. He agreed, and Ms. Kizlaite contacted Jolanta to send a girl. Jolanta procured and trafficked "R" to Sheffield; however, upon the girl's arrival the three defendants discovered that "R" was 15, and she was returned to Lithuania. Jolanta refused to refund the money sent to her by the defendants, but offered a replacement: "V", who was 18 [Kizlaite & Anor, R. v (2006) EWCA Crim 1492].

V and a 20 year old "E" arrived at Heathrow Airport on November 6, 2004, accompanied by two Lithuanian men, Arnoldas and Rokas. Arnoldas had funded the trip and paid for the trafficked girls' airfare, although Arnoldas's subterfuge led V and E to believe that the trip was for the purpose of collecting money owed to Arnoldas's father. Upon arrival, Rokas informed the girls that they would be required to work in order to repay their airfare. At this point, V and E were no longer in possession of their passports, and V noticed her passport being handed to Mr. Axhami, who, alongside Mr. Beqirat and two additional Albanian's, had come to the airport to collect the girls [Kizlaite & Anor, R. v (2006) EWCA Crim 1492].

V and E were driven to Sheffield, and they entered the offenders' apartment where Ms. Kizlaite was waiting. Ms. Kizlaite informed V and E that each had been purchased for 3,000GBP and each were to repay the debt by working in the sex trade. Another Albanian man, Samir, arrived at the apartment and transported E to a brothel in London. Over the next week, E was moved among three brothels and eventually escaped and was assisted and taken to the police by a local resident [Kizlaite & Anor, R. v (2006) EWCA Crim 1492].

V remained at the apartment shared by the three primary offenders, and was raped by Mr. Axhami while Ms. Kizlaite and Mr. Beqirat were in the room. Ms. Kizlaite acted as language interpreter for the victim so V could understand the threats and demands Mr. Axhami made during the commission of the rape. Mr. Axhami raped V again the following night, and V was then forced to engage in sex work alongside Ms. Kizlaite at a fee of 20GBP for sexual intercourse. Any money earned was subsequently collected by Ms. Kizlaite or Mr. Axhami. Throughout her eleven days with the three offenders, V was raped and physically assaulted. V escaped when Ms. Kizlaite was physically assaulting

her in a public park and a passer-by intervened, contacting the police [Kizlaite & Anor, R. v (2006) EWCA Crim 1492].

Ms. Kizlaite had also been involved in the trafficking of another girl, S, who was a distant relative. In a separate indictment, Ms. Kizlaite was alleged to have contacted S, offering her an airline ticket to London as a present for her eighteenth birthday. Ms. Kizlaite's boyfriend in Lithuania, Sigis, contacted S and informed her that she could repay Ms. Kizlaite via employment at a hotel in London that Ms. Kizlaite had organised. Law enforcement alleged that Ms. Kizlaite lured S into travelling to London knowing that upon arrival S would be collected at the airport by individuals with the intention of forcing S into the sex trade. S arrived at Heathrow Airport on May 30, 2004, where she was met by three men and one woman. She was first taken to an apartment and then to a brothel where she was forced to engage in sex work. She, too, escaped and alerted police, though, at that time, law enforcement failed to ascertain Ms. Kizlaite's involvement in the scheme [Kizlaite & Anor, R. v (2006) EWCA Crim 1492].

Ms. Kizlaite and Mr. Axhami were convicted of trafficking, false imprisonment, forced prostitution, causing or inciting prostitution for gain, and controlling prostitution for gain. Ms. Kizlaite received a sentence of 11 years detention in a Young Offender Institution, and Mr. Axhami received a sentence of 21 years detention in a Young Offender Institution. Both appealed their sentences and both appeals were dismissed. Mr. Beqirat pleaded guilty to one count of trafficking and was convicted at trial of the aforementioned counts of his co-offenders. He was sentenced to 16 years detention in a Young Offender Institution and did not appeal [Kizlaite & Anor, R. v (2006) EWCA Crim 1492]. Ms. Kizlaite's sentence was lower than her co-offenders because the sentencing court was made aware of her prior sex trafficking victimisation.

UKM2 involved ten offenders, all of who were male. Six of the ten offenders were arrested, prosecuted, and convicted; Law enforcement was unable to apprehend the four other members of the network (one Albanian, one Lithuanian, and two additional offenders residing in England). Roman Pacan, 39, Edward Facuna, 55, Martin Doci, 30, Ali Arslan, 44, Mesut Arslan (nephew of Ali Arslan), and Valmir Gjejta were arrested in Southwark, England after they were discovered trafficking women and young girls from Eastern Europe to work in brothels in East London. Their convictions were in relation to

two trafficked females, and only Ali Arslan was convicted in regards to the second female, who was trafficked from Lithuania, sold to Albanian men, and forced to work in a brothel owned by Ali Arslan. Half of her earnings went directly to him, and the remaining was split among the men who had trafficked her. Throughout her tenure at Arslan's brothel, she was bought and sold by different Albanian men. Eventually, Arlsan launched operations at another brothel, and it was at this location that he and his co-offenders engaged in the trafficking and forced prostitution of a 16 year old Slovakian female [Pacan & Ors, R. v (2009) EWCA Crim 2436].

At 16 years of age, Martina was trafficked from her home in Slovakia by Roman Pacan and Edward Facuna. She was transported by a car driven by Pacan and Facuna in which another young woman, Zofia, was also transported. Pacan and Facuna informed Martina that she would be employed at a public house in Peterborough, England. After one week, Pacan and Facuna sold Martina to an Albanian man known as Claude, who had an accomplice named Kevin. Claude and Kevin forced Martina into the underground sex trade in East London, and both were alleged to have regularly raped and physically assaulted her. After some time, Claude and Kevin, with the assistance of Martin Doci, trafficked Martina to Ali Arslan's newly opened brothel in Luton. Doci had been present when Claude and Kevin purchased Martina from Pacan and Facuna, and Doci acted as her primary controller when Martina was at Arslan's brothel. Eventually, Doci sold Martina to Arslan. Mesut Arslan was employed at his uncle's brothel, and was convicted of controlling a child prostitute and keeping a brothel [Pacan & Ors, R. v (2009) EWCA Crim 2436].

Pacan, Facuna, Doci, and Ali Arslan were all convicted of offenses relating to their trafficking of Martina (including regional trafficking convictions for the latter two offenders). Pacan received a sentence of 11 years imprisonment; Facuna's indictment and sentence were identical to those of Pacan; Doci was convicted of trafficking Martina within the United Kingdom and was sentence to 11 years imprisonment; Ali Arslan pleaded guilty to two counts of keeping a brothel for prostitution and was convicted by jury on three additional counts (controlling for prostitution, regional trafficking, and controlling a child prostitute), receiving a total sentence length of 14 years imprisonment; Mesut Arslan was convicted of controlling a child prostitute and keeping a brothel and

was sentence to 30 months imprisonment. Law enforcement and prosecutors determined that Mesut was under the control of his uncle for much of his offending period, and was an adjunct to the network rather than an instrumental component [Pacan & Ors, R. v (2009) EWCA Crim 2436].

The two aforementioned British cases are intriguing because they exemplify the orthodox view of what constitutes a trafficking offense: they depict the verisimilitude of a human trafficking feature film, yet are firmly rooted in reality. Both involved Eastern European migrant trafficking Eastern European individuals, and their network structures are paralleled: individuals with firm roots in Albania/Lithuania connecting to fellow nationals in Britain in order to actuate and facilitate the operation of underground brothels and sex trade enterprises. Both networks employed brute force and sexual assault as a means of coercion/control, and both involved offenders who manipulated their victims by presenting himself as a talisman to individuals with a dire want for new lives in Britain. The two cases exemplify the sensationalism of human trafficking, but, in doing so, they embody the notion of this research: networks matter when pooling resources, and matter even more greatly when dipping into a pool of individuals with enough desperation and vulnerability to trust a fellow national and his promise of a new opportunity in a foreign nation.

Canada

General

To generalize Canada's human trafficking situation, or possible lack thereof, would be to say too much based on insufficient evidence. Whatever the Canada trafficking situation may be, it is likely that, in comparison to the other countries of analysis, the cases captured by the results of this study (to be read: those successfully prosecuted) are not representative of the potential trafficking situation within Canada. Perhaps the contentious debate in Canadian courts regarding legalities (Bedford v. Canada 2012; van der Meulen and Durisin 2008) of the sex trade are muting law enforcement's efforts to combat trafficking. On the other hand, perhaps the human trafficking problem is not as prevalent in Canada as it is in other developed nations.

A pattern does, however, emerge from the Canadian cases collected and analysed by this study: regional sex trafficking cases wherein offender and victim have an intimate relationship that leads to exploitation and forced prostitution. An additional pattern is the lack of networks involved in Canadian cases, though regional cases from the other countries of analysis depict a similar pattern. If Canada shares this pattern with its study's counterparts, perhaps the transnational trafficking problem is larger and, more importantly, remaining undetected.

Case Study

Laura Emerson received the highest sentence length (7 years) of any Canadian offender convicted of trafficking (Royal Canadian Mounted Police Criminal Intelligence 2010; UNODC Human Trafficking Database 2013). She pleaded guilty to trafficking in persons, living off the avails of prostitution, assault, unlawful confinement, sexual assault, and procuring prostitution from minors (S. 279.01 Canadian Criminal Code).

Operating out of Ottawa, Ontario and Gatineau, Quebec, where she eventually pleaded guilty, Ms. Emerson recruited three victims into prostitution, two of which were underage at the time of the offense. At least one of the victims was recruited in the vicinity of a women's homeless shelter in Ottawa where Ms. Emerson was employed. It was alleged by prosecutors that Ms. Emerson received one of the three women during a swap/exchange with another pimp (Royal Canadian Mounted Police Criminal Intelligence 2010; UNODC Human Trafficking Database 2013).

Ms. Emerson confined the victims inside a Gatineau apartment, and forced each to work in the sex trade. Ms. Emerson also transported victims to hotels and area homes to service clients. All earnings were surrendered to Ms. Emerson, and law enforcement was able to conclude that physical violence and threats of violence were employed towards the victims as a means of control and domination. It was also alleged that Ms. Emerson forced victims into drug dependency to further ensure their compliance. Two victims claimed to have attempted to escape and were caught and physically beaten by Ms. Emerson and forced to return to the sex trade.

An intriguing component of the Canadian Criminal Code's description of trafficking law presents somewhat of a quagmire: the *physical movement* of an individual is not required for a trafficking conviction. As such, the issues of force and maltreatment

of sex workers by pimps/employers are the dominant strands of behaviour that lead to trafficking convictions. Canada has few trafficking convictions, and, of those, the vast majority are cases of regional trafficking wherein victim, in general, knew her offender. Whether the dearth of Canadian trafficking convictions implies a lack of trafficking in Canada is questionable. The human trafficking problem may be far broader than the Canadian conviction rate suggests.

Issues pertaining to the number of Aboriginal individuals involved in forced prostitution may be on the periphery of the scope of Canadian investigators managing trafficking cases in Canada. Sikka (2010) and Shannon et al. (2009) discuss the prevalence of Aboriginal sex workers in Canada and note the lack of governmental discussion of rights violations and abuses experienced by these marginalized individuals. Although the Aboriginal trafficking issue may suggest an under-representation of those involved in regional trafficking, the lack of transnational convictions implies that Canada either has a smaller transnational trafficking issue than the other nations captured by this study or, more inherently problematic, Canada is failing to detect, arrest, prosecute, and convict those involved in cases of transnational trafficking.

United States

General

Of the four countries included in this study, the US-focused case analysis gave rise to the most information. This is likely because of volume differential. The United States successfully prosecuted almost four times as many offenders as did its closest study counterpart (Britain). As such, the information available allowed for a lengthier and more pointed analysis of the network structures, ties, and bonds that facilitated much of the US trafficking cases.

The descriptive statistic results depict findings that echo the results of the other countries of analysis. Essentially, traffickers traffic individuals from their same country of origin at a higher rate than they do individuals from regions foreign to them. As such, the origin of the victim matters, as does her race and/or ethnicity. The high proportion of migrant trafficking migrants further exemplifies this notion, adding the significant importance of geographic type in regards to offending typology. That is, the results

suggest that regional offenders are rarely migrants and migrants are rarely regional trafficking offenders. This could suggest that if a migrant is to become a trafficker, he will do so transnationally whereas a non-migrant will traffic within his own region and within his own community. Insofar as regional trafficking is concerned, the issue of offender and victim same race/ethnicity is moot: regional traffickers seem to traffic based on convenience within their community, and this does not necessitate a victim of the same race or ethnicity, but does suggest a similar geographic profile.

Social Network Analysis

To avoid redundancy, the SNA discussion of US cases focused on correlation measures and sex/sentence versus centrality rates. The United States depicts the lowest levels of correlation between centrality rates and sentence lengths of all analysed countries. Additionally, the United States depicts low correlation results between offender's sex and sentence length, which could be viewed positively in regards to leniency by gender. USM1 and USM2 depict drastically low correlations between sentence length and centrality, with the imbalance relating to non-vital network members receiving longer sentence rates than those in the network who occupy roles that strongly influence the operation, function, and success of the network. Although a portion of the sentence length/centrality differentials are related to plea bargains in comparison to trial convictions, the issue is not one of how the conviction is garnered, but rather whether the network structures are significantly detected and dismantled.

Case Study

USM1 involved nine offenders (five females and four males), six of who were arrested, prosecuted, and convicted. The remaining three offenders are still at large in Honduras. All offenders were from Honduras, and the convicted six were illegal migrants who face deportation after they have served their sentences. USM1 was a familial-trafficking network co-led by a husband and wife, Dino Antonio Molina and Delicia Suyapa Aguilar-Galindo. Aguilar-Galindo's sister, Ena, mother, Maria de Los Angeles Galindo-Carrasco, and sister-in-law, Marlene de Jesus Aguilar-Galindo were all involved in the trafficking of women and children from Honduras. In total, prosecutors alleged that six Honduran children between the ages of 13 and 15 and nineteen adult females were

trafficked by the trafficking network. Prosecutors also alleged that the offenders lured their victims with the promise of employment in restaurants and as domestic help (*UNODC* Case Law Database 2013).

The trafficking network transported its Honduran victims to Fort Worth, Texas and, as prosecutors alleged, forced the victims into indentured servitude as a debt-contract to repay the cost of transport. Marco Antonio Sanchez and Steven Flores acted as middlemen, transporting the victims through Mexico and into the United States. A Mexican immigration official was alleged to have sexually assaulted one of the victims as a collection of "payment" from Sanchez for permitting the undocumented migrants to transit through Mexico. Roger Galindo-Zepeda, Marlene de Jesus Aguilar-Galindo, and Maria Isabel Cruz remain at large in Honduras, and are believed to be responsible for recruiting the trafficking victims from the leaders' hometown of Choluteca, Honduras (*UNODC* Case Law Database 2013).

Prosecutors and defense attorneys were sharply divided in regards to allegations of forced labour and debt-bondage; defense attorneys claimed that the accused were assisting migrants and had not forcibly required any service in return. The defense did, however, acknowledge that the offenders knowingly transported undocumented workers, but suggested that this was the offenders only means of assistance to the migrant labourers. Prosecutors alleged that the victims were forced to work in bars owned by the husband and wife co-leaders. However, prosecutors were hindered in their attempts to convict the offenders on charges of forced labour because no victim was willing to testify against the defendants, which prosecutors alleged was a fear-induced result of the victims originating from the same hometown as the offenders. The lack of victim testimony diminished the state's case, and each of the six offenders was permitted to plead guilty to human smuggling charges (*UNODC* Case Law Database 2013).

All six defendants pleaded guilty to conspiracy to smuggle, transport, and harbour an illegal alien: Delicia Suyapa Aguilar-Galindo, Dino Molina Antonio, and Ena Susana Aguilar-Galindo were all sentenced to 4 years and 5 months imprisonment[iii]; Maria de Los Angeles Galindo-Carrasco was sentence to 2 years and 10 months imprisonment; Marco Antonio Sanchez the longest sentence length (5 years and 3 months, with an additional 36 months supervised release) because of his involvement in the alleged rape;

Steven Flores received a sentence of 2 years and 3 months, with an additional 36 months supervised release).

USM2 involved twelve offenders (eleven males and one female) extending across five brothels in Tennessee. Most of the offenders were related, and all but one were arrested and prosecuted. The offenders acted recruited, transported, and forced women and children from Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Columbia, and the United States to engage in sex work at their co-owned and operated brothels. At least two minor children and more than twenty-five women were trafficked, and all were sexually exploited. This case involved transnational and regional trafficking, and though located in different brothels throughout Memphis and Nashville, the offenders were alleged to have aided and abetted one another, knowingly using force, fraud, and coercion to affect victims' participation in commercial sex acts [USA v J. Mendez, C. Andres Perfecto, R. Santillan-Leon, R. Flores, F. Reyes-Santillan, R. Sanchez-Garcia, D. Cortes-Barrientos, R. Cortes-Barrientos, M. Moreno, E. Cortes-Barrientos, R. Cortes-Barrientos, and C. Flores Angeles (2006) Case 2:06-cr-20387-STA].

Raul Santillan-Leon, 31, Raymundo Flores, Fernando Reyes-Santillan, and Ramiro Sanchez-Garcia operated out of a Memphis, Tennessee brothel together (designated "Brothel 1"), with the assistance of Raul Santillan-Leon and Cristobal Flores-Angeles, 24, who in turn operated his own brothel in Memphis, Tennessee (designated "Brothel 2"). Juan Mendez, 30, and Cristina Andres Perfecto, 24, co-owned and operated a brothel in Nashville, Tennessee (designated "Brothel 3"). Perfecto acted as recruiter for Mendez, and was dispatched to Mexico to recruit girls under the age of 18 for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Diego Cortes-Barrientos, Rafael Cortes-Barrientos, and Eliseo Cortes-Barrientos, along with Martin Moreno co-owned and operated a brothel in Memphis, Tennessee (designated "Brothel 4"). Rodolfo Cortes-Barrientos operated a brothel out of an apartment in Memphis, Tennessee (designated "Brothel 5") and, along with his brothers, regionally trafficked women from New York and Georgia [USA v J. Mendez, C. Andres Perfecto, R. Santillan-Leon, R. Flores, F. Reyes-Santillan, R. Sanchez-Garcia, D. Cortes-Barrientos, R. Cortes-Barrientos, M. Moreno, E. Cortes-Barrientos, R. Cortes-Barrientos, and C. Flores Angeles (2006) Case 2:06-cr-20387-STA].

All the captured offenders pleaded guilty: Raul Santillan-Leon, Fernando Reyes-Santillan, Juan Mendez, and Cristina Andres Perfecto pleaded guilty to child sex trafficking, the latter two offenders pleading guilty to two counts each; Cristobal Flores-Angeles pleaded guilty to enticing an individual to travel in interstate commerce to commit prostitution and money laundering; the Cortes-Barrientos brothers who operated Brothel 4 all pleaded guilty to the same offence as Flores-Angeles, as well as pleading guilty to failure to file a factual statement about an alien. The pleas of the remaining offenders were not available for specific offenses, though the US Department of Justice press release (2006) notes that all captured offenders pleaded guilty. Raymundo Flores remains at large [USA v J. Mendez, C. Andres Perfecto, R. Santillan-Leon, R. Flores, F. Reyes-Santillan, R. Sanchez-Garcia, D. Cortes-Barrientos, R. Cortes-Barrientos, M. Moreno, E. Cortes-Barrientos, R. Cortes-Barrientos, and C. Flores Angeles (2006) Case 2:06-cr-20387-STA].

Raul Santillan-Leon was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment, 10 years supervised released, and was required to pay a fine of 100USD to the state. Fernando Reyes-Santillan was sentenced to 3 years and 5 months imprisonment, 10 years supervised released, and was required to pay a fine of 100USD to the state. Cristobal Flores-Angeles was sentenced to 1 year and 4 months imprisonment, 3 years supervised release, and was required to pay a fine of 200USD to the state. Juan Mendez was sentenced to 50 years imprisonment, 10 years supervised released, and was required to pay a fine to both victims and state: 100,000USD and 200USD, respectively. Cristina Andres Perfecto was sentenced to 15 years and 10 months imprisonment, 10 years supervised release, and was required to pay a 200USD fine to the state. The sentencing of Mendez and Perfecto was likely higher than that of their co-offenders because each pled guilty to two counts of child sex trafficking, and their trafficking was transnational rather than regional. No previous US criminal record existed for any offender [USA v J. Mendez, C. Andres Perfecto, R. Santillan-Leon, R. Flores, F. Reyes-Santillan, R. Sanchez-Garcia, D. Cortes-Barrientos, R. Cortes-Barrientos, M. Moreno, E. Cortes-Barrientos, R. Cortes-Barrientos, and C. Flores Angeles (2006) Case 2:06-cr-20387-STA].

USM3 was a Los Angeles-based familial sex trafficking network comprised of nine offenders (six females and three males). All nine offenders were of Guatemalan

origin, though one, Maria de Los Angeles Vicente, was a Mexican citizen. Prosecutors alleged that the offenders lured Guatemalan females, including minors, to Los Angeles, promising legitimate employment in Los Angeles, California. The federal indictment related to twelve trafficked individuals, including five minors, and alleged that, upon arrival in the United States, the offenders forced their victims into the Los Angeles sex trade by means of force, fraud, and coercion. Specifically, the trafficked individuals were themselves threatened, as were their families in Guatemala. Prosecutors also alleged that victims who did not comply with their sex traffickers were physically assaulted, sold to other members of the trafficking network, and jointly threatened and assaulted in order to motivate compliance. The offenders collected all money victims earned as a debt payment for the smuggling fees (20,000USD per victim, as determined by the offenders) [Department of Justice 2007 (07-597); US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) 2009]. All offenders were illegal migrants.

The trafficking network was dismantled after a source contacted authorities in October 2006, actuating the liberation of two victims in November. Additional victims were located the following month, and the first seven of nine defendants (Gladys Vasquez Valenzuela, 38, Albertina Vasquez Valenzuela, 48, Mirna Jeanneth Vasquez Valenzuela, 27, her boyfriend Gabriel Mendez, 34, Maria de Los Angeles Vicente, 29, her boyfriend Pablo Bonifacio, 30, Luis Vicente Vasquez, 31, his girlfriend Flor Morales Sanchez, 33, and Maribel Rodriquez Vasquez, 29) were arrested. Maribel Vasquez and Flor Sanchez were fugitives until 2007 and 2008, respectively [Department of Justice (07-597) 2007; US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) 2009]. Gladys Valenzuela is sister to Albertina and Mirna, mother to Maria Vicente and Luis Vasquez, and aunt to Maribel Vasquez.

Gladys Valenzuela was found guilty by a federal jury of charges of concealing and harboring an illegal alien, conspiracy to engage in sex trafficking, sex trafficking of children by force, fraud, and coercion, transportation of minors for purpose of prostitution, and importing, employing, and harboring of aliens for purposes of prostitution; she was sentenced to 40 years imprisonment and required to pay a fine of 1200USD to the state (*UNODC* Human Trafficking Database 2013).

Maria Vicente was found guilty by a federal jury of charges of conspiracy, importation and harboring aliens for purposes of prostitution, and sex trafficking of children by force, fraud, and coercion; she was sentenced to 30 years imprisonment, 5 years supervised release, and was required to pay a fine of 500USD to the state (*UNODC* Human Trafficking Database 2013).

Mirna Valenzuela was found guilty by a federal jury of charges of conspiracy, sex trafficking of children by force, fraud, or coercion, and importation and harboring aliens for purposes of prostitution; she was sentenced to 30 years imprisonment, 5 years supervised release, and required to pay a fine of 800USD to the state (*UNODC* Human Trafficking Database 2013).

Gabriel Mendez was found guilty by a federal jury of charges of conspiracy, sex trafficking of children by force, fraud, or coercion, and aiding and abetting, importing, employing, or harboring aliens for prostitution; he was sentenced to 35 years imprisonment, 5 years supervised release, and required to pay a fine of 500USD to the state (*UNODC* Human Trafficking Database 2013).

Maribel Vasquez was found guilty by a federal jury of charges of conspiracy, sex trafficking of children by force, fraud, or coercion, aiding and abetting, importation, and harboring of aliens for purposes of prostitution, and knowing and intentionally harboring, concealing, and shielding aliens in the United States; she was sentenced to 30 years imprisonment, 5 years supervised release, and required to pay a fine of 400USD to the state (*UNODC* Human Trafficking Database 2013).

Albertina Vasquez Valenzuela pleaded guilty to importation and harboring aliens for the purposes of prostitution and was sentenced to 2 years and 9 months imprisonment, and required to pay a fine of 100USD to the state (*UNODC* Human Trafficking Database 2013).

Pablo Bonifacio pleaded guilty to harboring illegal aliens, and was sentenced to 2 years and 9 months imprisonment, 3 years supervised release, and required to pay a fine of 200USD. Flor Sanchez pleaded guilty to charges of aiding and abetting the transportation of minors into prostitution, importation and harboring aliens the purpose of prostitution, and conspiracy; she was sentenced to 2 years imprisonment, 3 years

supervised release, and required to pay a fine of 300USD to the state (*UNODC* Human Trafficking Database 2013).

USM4 was a forced labour trafficking network, involving twelve offenders (eleven males and one female) spread across three Uzbekistani-owned companies in the United States. Prosecutors charged: Abrorkhodja Askarkhodjaev, 30, Nodir Yunusov, 22, and Rustamjon Shukurov, 21, citizens of Uzbekistan residing in Mission, KS; Kristin Dougherty, 49, of Ellisville, MO; Ilkham Fazilov, 44, and Nodirbek Abdollayev, 27, both citizens of Uzbekistan residing in Kansas City, MO; Viorel Simon, 27, and Alexandru Frumusache, 23, both citizens of Moldova residing in Kansas City, KS; Andrew Cole, 53, of St. Charles, MO; Sandjar Agzamov, 27, and Jakhongir Kakhkarov, 29, both citizens of Uzbekistan who had left the United States and were living abroad; Abdukakhar Azizkhodjaev, 49, a citizen of Uzbekistan residing in Panama City, FL; and, three companies owned by Askarkhodjaev: Giant Labor Solutions, LLC (headquartered in Kansas City, MO, Crystal Management, Inc. (headquartered in Mission, KS), and Five Star Cleaning, LLC (headquartered in Overland Park, KS), with offenses relating to labour trafficking [Department of Justice (09-517) 2009; United States v. Askarkhodjaev (Case No. 09-00143-01-CR-W-ODS) 2010].[iv]

Federal prosecutorial charges related to racketeering, forced labour trafficking, and immigration violations in a scheme to employ illegal aliens in fourteen states. The indictment alleged that, since January 2001, Askarkhodjaev had been the leader of a criminal enterprise, directing his co-offenders in the commission of unlawful activities to benefit his enterprise. Racketeering charges related to forced labor trafficking, identity theft, harbouring illegal aliens, mail fraud, conspiracy to commit money laundering, transporting illegal aliens, visa fraud, extortion, interstate travel in aid of racketeering, wire fraud, and inducing the illegal entry of foreign nationals. The majority of trafficked individuals were employed as cleaners at hotels in the Kansas City area and in Branson, MO. The offenders charged within this specific trafficking network were associated with two of the companies, and one offender, Abdukakhar Azizkhodjaev, of Panama City, FL, was not directly tied to a Askarkhodjaev-led company [Department of Justice (09-517) 2009; United States v. Askarkhodjaev (Case No. 09-00143-01-CR-W-ODS) 2010].

It was alleged that Askarkhodjaev owned, operated, controlled, or associated with and at least a dozen companies in the United States, securing fraudulent labour leasing contracts from clients in the hotel, resort, casino, and construction industries in Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Kansas, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, South Carolina, and Wyoming. Askarkhodjaev's workforce was comprised primary of foreign labourers who had either entered the United States illegally, overstayed their visas, or did not have legal authorization to reside or work at their employment locations. Federal prosecutors also alleged that Askarkhodjaev, Yunusov, Shukurov, Fazilov, Simon, Cole, and Frumusache aided and abetted each other to obtain the labour and service of a person by means of serious harm, threats of serious harm, and the abuse and threatened abuse of law and legal process. The foreign nationals originated from a variety of locations, including Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, and the Philippines [Department of Justice (09-517) 2009; United States v. Askarkhodjaev (Case No. 09-00143-01-CR-W-ODS) 2010].

During the investigation, law enforcement uncovered the multifaceted scheme as one that was structured, and subsequently functioned, to force foreign labourers to remain under the employment of Askarkhodjaev's companies: the enterprise forced workers to work where assigned, and threatened to cancel the immigration status of any who contravened; the enterprise charged the foreign workers numerous unwarranted fees, furthering profiting from its workers by forcing them to reside in exorbitantly priced rental apartments exclusively secured and controlled by the enterprise; and, the enterprise frequently underpaid workers, often resulting in their receiving a paycheck with negative earnings [Department of Justice (09-517) 2009; United States v. Askarkhodjaev (Case No. 09-00143-01-CR-W-ODS) 2010].

In October 2010, Askarkhadjaev pleaded guilty to charges of racketeering conspiracy, fraud in foreign labour contracting, evasion of corporate employment tax, and identity theft; he was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment, 3 years of supervised release, and required to pay 172,000USD in restitution to state and his victims. Kristin Dougherty pleaded guilty to charges of racketeering, racketeering conspiracy, and wire fraud; she was sentenced to 5 years in prison. Ilkham Fazilov pleaded guilty to charges of racketeering conspiracy; he was sentenced to 3 years and 5 months imprisonment. Viorel

Simon pleaded guilty to racketeering conspiracy and fraud in foreign labour contracting; he was sentenced to 2 years and 1 month imprisonment. Nodirbek Abdollayev pleaded guilty to racketeering; he was sentenced to 1 year and 9 months imprisonment. Jakhongir Kakhkarov, Alexandru Frumusache, and Abdukakhar Azizkhodjaev pleaded guilty to racketeering conspiracy; all were sentenced to time served. Andrew Cole pleaded guilty to charges of transporting and housing illegal aliens; at the time of this research, his sentence was not available. The remaining offenders fled the country prior to arrest and have since eluded capture [Department of Justice (09-517) 2009; United States v. Askarkhodjaev (Case No. 09-00143-01-CR-W-ODS) 2010].

The SNA component of US cases allowed for an interesting comparison of leadership-types and familial vs. non-familial network development. The US results are not, however, tremendously different from those displayed by its study's counterparts. This notion does not, however, hold true in regards to US sentencing patterns, which is likely simply explained with a comparison of US imprisonment rates and lengths across all crimes to those of other developed nations.

Notes

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[i] Note that the use of the term "British traffickers" is used to separate the traffickers among the countries of analysis. This is not to suggest that the traffickers were British individuals: the results contradict this notion. Within the scope of this study, a "British trafficker" is an individual who engaged in trafficking cases geographically occurring in Britain.

[ii] Claims of the importance of gender in regards to victimisation are moot: sexual crimes and sex work are the mores of the female gender. The issue at hand is the notion of voluntary female participation in the sex trade economy as offender and, when pertinent, as victim.

[iii] The three offenders pleaded guilty, but subsequently appealed their sentence lengths based on the claim of a lack of severity in offending to warrant the sentence lengths dictated by the court. Pursuant to U.S.S.G. 2L1.1(b)(5), the court included a two-level increase in sentence length because of the specific offense characteristic of intentional recklessness during the commission of the smuggling offense. Defense attorneys argued that the two-level increase was errant and invoked specifically because prosecutors failed to achieve a trafficking conviction. All three appeals were dismissed and the initial judgement of the district court was affirmed.

[iv] Askarkhodjaev appealed his indictment, arguing that the phrases "serious harm" and "threatened abuse of the law of the legal process," as used in 18 U.S.C. § 1589, are too vague to support criminal liability. The Supreme Court denied his motions to dismiss the charges.

Chapter 6: Discussion

Previous studies of human trafficking have focused primarily on two factors: the male/female dichotomy in relation to sexual exploitation and the developing/developed dichotomy wherein the West (developed nations) acts as the demand side of the trade and the non-West (developing nations) acts as the supply side. Although portions of this line of argument are represented by the results of this study, discussions focusing primarily on these two dichotomies under-represent important components and characteristics of the anatomy of the trafficking offense. The issue is not merely that human trafficking researchers need to incorporate more quantitative analysis of *actualized* occurrences of trafficking, though that is a part of the problem. The issue, however, is much larger than the lack of quantitative research, muddling of global estimates, lack of detection, lack of access to victims and so on. Perhaps the greatest issue impeding trafficking researchers is the framework that describes human trafficking is little more than an overwrought repetition of a sensationalized act. At its core, human trafficking may not be fundamentally about patriarchal structures, male dominance, and rape.

At its core, human trafficking is not functionally an issue of offenders perpetrating the history of gender discrimination; rather, trafficking involves coteries of individuals utilizing the vulnerability of others as a mode of financial gain/profit. Ancillary exploration of the root of the migratory act is important, as is understanding the demand side of the trade, though perfunctory rehashing of gender blame, at some point, becomes moot. Additionally, it is necessary to sift through ideologies that suggest the demand side is to blame. That is, males wishing to purchase sexual acts are not immediately responsible for the trafficking trade. The results of this study strongly suggest that the sequence of migrant to sex trade worker and/or sex trafficker is far more muddled than suggested in the literature.

The results of this study strongly support the importance of studying networks in relation to the human trafficking act. As depicted by this study, in a criminal sense human trafficking is unlike other types of crime in a variety of ways (Agustin 2003b, 2006; Author 2010; Chin 1999; Pastore et al. 2006; Pickup 1998): traditionally, migrants to/in host nations do not commit crimes at a higher rate than the general non-migrant

population (Inda 2013), though, tautologically, they represent the vast majority of migration-related offenses; the onset age of engaging in trafficking is higher than other types of crimes (Farrington 1986; Piquero, Farrington and Blumstein 2007), such as property and violent crime, though it remains undetermined the extent to which individuals engage in criminal activity prior to the trafficking offense; there is a higher level of female involvement as offenders than is noted in other forms of criminal behaviour (aside from the sex trade) (Fagan 1994); there is a high level of organisation suggesting organised crime is involved, though the fluidity and structure of trafficking (Neske 2006; Pastore et al. 2006) suggests otherwise; in many cases (Agustin 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2006, 2007; Author 2010; Chin 1999; Pastore et al. 2006; Richards 2004), the trafficked individual (or victim) approaches the trafficker[i] for assistance often, but not invariably, knowing the possibilities of what lay ahead; finally, large portions of the human trafficking literature embrace popular and sensationalized media representations of human trafficking unjustifiably setting this apart from much of criminological literature and theory. These difficulties compound with the circumstance that human trafficking largely operates in a grey area. More importantly, these differences, especially relating to the age of trafficker and the fluidity with which those who engage in the act operate, present areas of study that could greatly benefit from a network analysis.

The frequent lack of clear distinction between *victim* and *offender* sets the stage for including concepts regarding migration in the sex trade. The distinction between those who willingly migrate for the purpose of sex work and those who migrate in hope of obtaining work only to find themselves trapped in debt bondage or other forms of exploitation is central to developing stronger more coherent trafficking legislation. Placing all migrants who engage in sex work into the category of "victim" not only belittles the migrant (Agustin 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2006, 2007; Pickup 1998; Pastore et al. 2006), but also creates a problematic situation wherein regional sex trafficking may go unnoticed or undetected.[ii] Additionally, it creates a situation wherein individuals trafficked for the purpose of non-sexual exploitation, such as labour exploitation, receive less attention and less protection than their sex trafficking counterparts (Richards 2004). Much of the literature suggests that the majority of trafficking offenses are related to the perpetuation of male domination in society and, more specifically, rape (Agustin 2002,

2003a, 2003b, 2006, 2007; Pickup 1998; Pastore et al. 2006, to name a few[iii]). This notion is contradicted by the results of this study. Such suggestions and manipulations of tales of trafficking make difficult the creation of anti-trafficking legislation that could adequately address with any frequency what takes place; yet questions regarding the lack of detection of trafficking continue to be raised by the same individuals who advocate this traditional position (Bertone 1999; Chapkis 2003; David 2010; Derks 2000; Di Nicola and Cauduro 2007; Doezema 1998, 1999, 2002, 2003; Farrell et al. 2010; Goodey 2008; Gozdziak 2010; Gulcur and Ilkkaracan 2002; Jeffreys 1999, 2009; Kangaspunta 2010; Kelly 2005; Kelly and Regan 2000; Shannon 1999; Wijers 2002, 2007; Williams 1999, among others).

The results of this study indicate that a significant number of sex trafficking cases occur in a regional sense, and though these cases were detected by the data collection strategy of this study, it is possible that more go unnoticed. Because human smuggling cannot, by definition, occur regionally, all cases of regional trafficking are cases of trafficking for the purpose of exploitation. It is possible that regional network structures within nations are more easily navigated than international networks, thus presenting different opportunities for both trafficker and trafficked individual. Trafficking at the international level requires a high level of skill and effort, and financing such an endeavour is unlikely to be as problematic in regional cases.[iv] Investment at the international level would likely far outweigh investment at the regional level, making it more profitable to engage at the regional level. Regional traffickers can turn a profit with the relatively minor investment of trafficking and repeatedly exploiting one individual. The profit margin may be even larger for individuals who traffic from within their own communities (such as large urban cores).

Different structures correspond to different networks and different ties to individuals. As Pastore et al. (2006) contend, human trafficking at the international level relies heavily on cooperation between and among traffickers and trafficking rings in order to navigate the global community. Regional trafficking does not necessitate these types of social ties. As such, an exploration of network structures could uncover failures in legislation that seeks to capture offenders at vastly different scales and levels and among functionally different structures. The results of Zhang and Chin's (2002) study of Chinese

human smugglers suggest that these smugglers occupy clearly defined roles based on their skills and expertise. The results of this study suggest looser structures: more often that not, the offenders involved in this study occupied roles that were multi-dimensional, meaning they occupied a multitude of roles across space and time.

Although, at the surface, this study's results seem to contradict/conflict with those of Zhang and Chin's (2002) work, fundamentally, each study captured a different portion of the offense. Zhang and Chin interviewed Chinese smugglers in New York, Los Angeles and China, none of who were imprisoned. The interviews relied on the reliability of self-reporting, and, more importantly, the smugglers were not *traffickers* in the legal sense of exploiting the smuggled individual. Of interest to the SNA researcher, Zhang and Chin's interviewees were accessed via community contacts with previous relationships to the community and, at times, the smugglers. Finally, SNA researchers (Bouchard and Konarski 2012; Morselli 2009) often posit the connection between a lack of structure (e.g. clearly defined roles) and law enforcement detection of offenses. Perhaps the lack of traditional structured organisation led to law enforcement's detection of the offenders included in this study. A comparable result between this study and Zhang and Chin's is the apparent lack of exclusivity in the network of offenders, meaning that "just about anyone with the right connections…could participate" (p. 747). It appears that the anatomy of the trafficking offense lends itself to an inclusive network of individuals with the means to engage in the act.

The age and gender of trafficker highlight the necessity of understanding the various modalities and methodologies with which traffickers operate. Additionally, the mean age of offending across the four nations of analysis combined with the lack of (law enforcement quantified) involvement of individuals under the age of seventeen suggests that opportunity structures for traffickers are different than those necessitated by other forms of criminal behaviour. Gottfredson and Hirshi (1990), Moffitt (1994), and Nieuwbeerta et al. (2010), Piquero et al. (1999), among other criminological theorists, stress the importance of opportunity in regards to criminal behaviour and, consequently, types of offending.

Characteristics of traffickers

Migrant offenders

Network ties that exist between migrants in host nations, either legal or illegal, often provide opportunities for those from other countries who wish to migrate. A network connection within the context of illegally migrating to another country could create situations of human trafficking. The results of this study suggest this notion based on the volume of migrants involved as both victim and offender.

Ruggerio (1995, 1996) argues that immigrants in developed nations often lack access to conventional criminal enterprises, meaning their network structures do not contain ties that allow them to navigate into the dominant criminal economy of the host nation. With their network structures strongly tied to their home nations and those in the host nation with similar ties, it could be suggested that migrants have a greater likelihood of engaging in trafficking offenses because they have the most important network ties for the act: individuals who wish to migrate. Although migrants may not possess the skills and techniques necessitated by the trafficking act, they do possess the pivotal network tie that presents the opportunity to create new ties to the underground trafficking economy in their host nation. This notion may explain their lack of involvement in regional sex trafficking.

Sassen (2000) posits a restructuring of globalized markets in the (un)employment realm that has led to structural conditions that promote "revenue-making circuits developed on the backs of the truly disadvantaged" (p. 503) and informal labour markets. Conceptualizing these circuits as "counter-geographies of globalization" (p. 503), Sassen suggests that these shadow economies operate informally, but invoke portions of the typified institutional infrastructure of licit economies. Migrants involved in these shadow economies, as described by Sassen, are navigating these alternative circuits for survival and profit making. Essentially, Sassen suggests that females, especially migrants, are the "systemic equivalent of the offshore proletariat" (p. 510), emerging as a service class for those in developed nations whose profit margins are large enough to incorporate the offshore proletariat's wage. Sassen views trafficking as profitable in former Soviet republics and Asia, though she does not circumnavigate the argument in its potential entirety: she addresses globalization and poverty as a motivator for human trafficking-

focused criminal gangs in the developed and developing world, but she does not connect the her concept of cross-border ethnic networks as pivotal in the sustainability of the human trafficking industry.

The notion of migrant workers' macro-level involvement in the act of remittances is another interesting component in the human trafficking trade. Although the legal case files did not specifically address the notion of migrant labour for the purpose of remittances, it is plausible that, at the very least, some individuals captured by the scope of this study were willing to migrate in order to send portions of their wages to their families remaining in their countries of origin. High levels of poverty and unemployment in developed nations does not appear to have assuaged labour migration, and it is possible that these shrinking employment opportunities further force migrant labourers to the periphery, thereby adding to their vulnerability and their willingness to engage in illicit labour. Whether acting as trafficker or trafficked individual, a migrant may involve himself in an underground economy when faced with economic structural restraints in a host nation. His option for entrance into said economies may be based on his network connections within his host country and could conceivably extend back across the border to his country of origin. The results of this study suggest that such conclusions are neither spurious nor specious.

If network ties matter, as the results of this study suggest, then who does what to whom hinges on who *knows* and *is connected* to whom. This notion is supported when considering the lack of migrants involved in regional trafficking combined with their involvement in the trafficking act only when other migrants are regionally trafficked. That is, the underpinning notion of network ties and bonds remains the crutch of the trafficking offender, regardless of migrant status. Although being a migrant does not a trafficker make, being a migrant may dictate how one could potentially access trafficking victims if one was to actively become involved in human trafficking.

Based on the conception that individuals migrate to communities of collective immigrants from similar ethnic and racial backgrounds (Borjas 2006; Chiswick 1988, 2005; Clemente et al. 2008; Espenshade and Hu 1997; Massey 1987; Waldinger 2001), it is very likely that traffickers and trafficked individuals functioning within the same (or similar) network(s) are likely of a similar ethnic, racial, or national background. The

results of this study suggest that migrants play a key role in the trafficking offense. Migrants are central to networks and are well-represented in transnational trafficking. Additionally, the inclusion of non-migrants in their networks is a rarity. Such examples of trends in the migratory aspect of human trafficking highlight the importance of understanding how the network-phenomenon of migration impacts human trafficking.

That trafficking appears to operate endogenously in regards to nationality is not necessarily a result that should appear surprising: this is true of much criminal enterprises that are rooted in the familial. However, the idiosyncrasy of endogenic trafficking offending is, arguably, no longer moot when the discussion becomes one of nationals indulging in the subterfuge of their own kind, so to speak, for the purpose of material gain and profit. Much of the migrant labour market literature reads as though the diasporas and ethnic enclaves of the modern world are systems of collective support (Borjas 1992, 2006; Chiswick 1988, 2005; Clemente et al. 2008; Espenshade and Hu 1997; Massey 1987; Munshi 2003; Waldinger 2001). In regards to trafficking, the notion of a collective ethnic brotherhood/sisterhood in a host nation may be an ideal that facilitates the trafficking act, at least insofar as garnering trust of a trafficking victim is concerned.

Female offenders

Since the late nineteenth century, a belief has existed in the global community that human trafficking, specifically of women and children, has continued as an underground slave trade (Chuang 1998; Doezema 2002; Friman and Reich 2007; Williams 1999). Currently, there is little debate that the global sex trade drives the trafficking of persons for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Whether this consensus is accurate remains to be determined because the extent of willing involvement by individuals migrating within the sex trade has not been assessed in the human trafficking literature. The extent to which the criminalizing and stigmatizing of the sex trade has further fuelled the underground economy of human trafficking is, on the other hand, highly contested (Derks 2000; Gulcur and Ilkkaracan 2002; Jeffreys 1999; Kelly 2003; Turner and Kelly 2009).

The primary argument in the literature supporting the notion that all forms of sex work, whether coerced or not, are sexually exploitative is that female sexuality as a commodity is a result of patriarchal structures in society (Bertone 1999; Jeffreys 1999,

2009; Savona et al. 1996). Jeffreys (1999, 2009) contends that women cannot choose prostitution as 'work' because sex work is an act that requires only a woman's body to be present. The woman is not working; rather, she is facilitating the sexual desire of a man be disassociating and offering her body (Jeffreys 1999). Kelly (2003) suggests that the argument of whether or not prostitution can be considered 'work,' is the wrong approach. Instead, she recommends that the focus should be on the perceived possibility of women from a poor country with little or no income travelling between or across continents. Although Kelly's approach does highlight the issue of the trappings of debt-bondage, discussions pertaining to whether or not a women chooses sex work in order to repay those who funded her migration are rare, from Kelly or others.

The notion that a woman would agree to sex work or sex trafficking, without force of coercion, in order to acquire financial stability, is taboo. Discussions involving such inference are often avoided in the literature. One indulgence of this rarity is located in a study conducted by Bruckert and Parent (2004) wherein the results of their study indicate that a number of women are aware that they are smuggled for the purpose of sex work. Additionally, Bruckert and Parent contend that the women involved in their study engaged in sex work in the destination country (Canada) because employment in the sex trade permitted financial stability.

The network centrality results of this study contradict the dominant notion in the literature that males coerce their female counterparts into engaging in trafficking (e.g., Doezema 1998, 1999, 2002, 2003; Gulcur and Ilkkaracan 2002; Jeffreys 1999, 2009; Shannon, 1999; Wijers 2002, 2007; Williams 1999). By denying or downplaying the existence of female traffickers who act without the influence of a male trafficker, it is relatively impossible to analyse who these women are, where they come from, and how they access the network of migrants who are willing to migrate, either regionally or transnationally. The results of this study contradict the arguments in the literature that claim that female trafficking offenders are subservient to their male counterparts. Cases of females on the periphery (exhibiting low centrality) of networks were frequently regional, and the female was often a sex trade worker employed by the trafficker to recruit young women into the sex trade. The female migrant, however, often played a pivotal role in the trafficking network: a concept mostly ignored in the trafficking

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literature. The results of this study bolster the most recent *UNODC* trafficking report (2013), which suggests that in thirty percent of its reporting countries female traffickers are the majority.

Networks and trafficking

The human trafficking trade remains rooted in enslavement. The difference, however, between the pre-1865 American/African slave trade and the current human trafficking trade is partially in regards to how the enslavement comes about. Race and ethnicity remain important qualifiers for determining trafficker and trafficked individual, but a significant majority of the enslavement is no longer cross-racial. Presently, the trafficking trade is rooted in interpersonal relationships and network connections that often do not span racial and ethnic boundaries. The results of this study also indicate that, contrary to the trafficking literature's frequent depictions, the trafficking trade may not be rooted in traditional gender dichotomies (read: male as perpetrator, female as victim).

Conclusion

This study examined data on 525 human trafficking offenders across four nations (Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States) arrested, prosecuted, and convicted between January 1, 2006 and December 31, 2001. Although the scope of this study did not capture cases of human trafficking not resulting in arrest/prosecution, this study indicates numerous areas of human trafficking research that require further attention. A recurrent theme is that dichotomous depictions in human trafficking research fail to adequately challenge popular representations of trafficking offenders and trafficked individuals. Additionally, much current research fails to distinguish substantial differences between regional and transnational trafficking. These issues could be addressed through the refocusing of human trafficking research to include social network analysis.

Human trafficking research would greatly benefit from analyses that incorporates migratory behaviour as a backdrop to the trafficking offense. Considering that current United States' immigration policy heavily favours family reunification, skilled workers for employment, and relatively minimal levels of diversity (Reimers 2008), it is not surprising that individuals who cannot actively, and legally, achieve U.S. immigration

visas find themselves tempted to undertake other means of migration. Those who do manage to migrate to developed nations, whether legally or illegally, may find themselves with additional consequences to their migratory act because their human and social capital may not be considered productive to the majority (Poot et al. 2008). That is, their worth in the economy is not considered as profitable as a native individual or an individual originating from another developed nation. Immigration has increased to developed nations that are market-oriented, and continues to do so (Poot et al. 2008). The human trafficking literature posits developed nations as destinations for most trafficked individuals. In considering the motives of those who migrate to developed nations, it is paramount to understand the trafficking act through a network-based, market-oriented migratory framework.

Limitations of the study and directions for future research

The nature of this study, and human trafficking research in general, poses several limitations. Perhaps the most significant limitation is the source of the data: reliance on information garnered from case law/law enforcement reports of trafficking arrests and/or prosecutions. Although attempts were made during the research process to avoid as many limitations as possible, this study has three noticeable limitations: first, this study relied on law enforcement-detected cases of human trafficking; second, the validity of the information contained within the case law is subject to the possibility of partisan reporting favouring the prosecution; and, following from the latter of the first two, law enforcement tactics at garnering arrests may over-focus (i.e. specific profiling) on the activities of migrants in the developed nations. Regarding unreported human trafficking crimes, it is expected that many cases of human trafficking remain unreported: this is true of all crime. Although this study's collection of cases may not represent all human trafficking incidents, they represent a portion of incidents that have occurred within the four countries. The aim of this study was to present quantifiable data of a series of human trafficking incidents resulting in arrest/prosecution: the purpose of which was to offer insight into the trafficking act and highlight the importance of the inclusion of network analysis.

The results of this study clearly indicate a need for future collection and analysis of human trafficking data in order to determine if the specific accounts of this study are

representative of the overall phenomenon of, and responses to, human trafficking. Although some may take issue with the use of case law as a resource, such issues should not dissuade individuals from the notion that the current human trafficking literature includes descriptions of human trafficking that are one-sided and likely inaccurate of the totality of the act. This study indicates the need for future research that focuses on uncovering the specific network-driven aspects of human trafficking. Additionally, the results of this study indicate the need for a stronger focus on understanding the trafficking offender through the use of research analyzing specific incidents of human trafficking. When arguing for a human rights as opposed to homeland security focus (Beare 1999; Friman and Reich 2007), researchers must not lose sight of the presupposing driving force and key component behind the trafficking act: social networks and the ensuing patterns of migration, whether it be regional or transnational, that drive the flow of individuals throughout the modern world.

Notes

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[i] This is also true of drug trafficking in which the buyer approaches the seller, but the results of this study suggest the interaction between buyer and seller and trafficker and trafficked individual appear to be vastly different. Additional research could uncover the particular nuances that separate trafficking/illegal immigration and drug use.

[ii] Cases of regional human trafficking are almost always exploitative by definition, with most victims representing low-income individuals from poor neighbourhoods. These individuals rarely look "out of place" in a sex-trade community dominated by individuals of similar physical and economic characteristics. Essentially, finding a regional trafficking victim who is a black young woman in a sea of black young women willingly employed in the sex trade may prove to be a difficult task.

[iii] Laura Maria Agustin (2007) presents a list of over fifty studies that exemplify this and other concepts addressed in this study. She provides this list in the notes of Chapter 2 (in particular, Note 60).

[iv] Specifically in relation to the technicalities of crossing a border either with fraudulent immigration documents or by evading border checkpoints.

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Appendix A

Codebook (Descriptive Statistics & SNA variables)

Variable	Coding Options	Variable	Coding Options
Dependent Variables		***Independent Variables (Cont.)***	
Sex Trafficking	1 - Yes	Race of offender	1 - Asian
	0 - No		2 - Latino
Migrant offender	1 - Yes		3 - White
	0 - No		4 - Indian
Female offender	1 - Yes		5 - Black
	0 - No		6 - Other
Independent Variables		Race of victim	1 - Asian
Age of offender	Numeric		2 - Latino
Age of victim	1 - Under 10		3 - White
	2 - 10 to 14		4 - Indian
	3 - 15 to 17		5 - Black
	4 - 18 to 25		6 - Other
	5 - 26 to 35		7 - Various
	6 - 36 and above	Child involved	1 - Yes
	7 - Variety of ages		0 - No
Gender of offender	1 - Male	Coercion/violent threats	1 - Yes
	2 - Female		0 - No
Origin of offender	1 - Asia	Conviction (trafficking)	1 - Yes
	2 - India		0 - No
	3 - Southeast Asia	Conviction (other)	1 - Yes
	4 - Australia		0 - No
	5 - E. Europe	Plead guilty (trafficking)	1 - Yes
	6 - W. Europe		0 - No
	7 - United States	Plead guilty (other)	1 - Yes
	8 - South America		0 - No
	9 - Brazil	Compensation to state	1 - Yes
	10 - UK		0 - No
	11 - Africa	Compensation to victim	1 - Yes
	12 - Various		0 - No
	13 - Canada	Rape victim	1 - Yes
	14 - Mexico		0 - No
	15 - Central America	Type of relationship	1 - Associate
	16 - South Pacific		2 - Broker
	17 - Russia		3 - Care-taker
Origin of victim	1 - Asia		4 - Employer
	2 - India		5 - Family Member
	3 - Southeast Asia		6 - Friend
	4 - Australia		7 - Stranger
	5 - E. Europe	Violence by offender	1 - Yes
	6 - W. Europe		0 - No
	7 - United States	Sentence length (months)	Numeric
	8 - South America	Same origin as victim	1 - Yes
	9 - Brazil		0 - No
	10 - UK	Geographic type	1 - Transnational
	11 - Africa		2 - Regional
	12 - Various	Consensual sex w/ victim	1 - Yes
	13 - Canada		0 - No
	14 - Mexico		
	15 - Central America		
	16 - South Pacific		
	17 - Russia		

All offenders by case and country

Australia

Case ID No.	Offender ID	Sex trafficking	Same origin	Gender (offender)	Migrant (offender)	Origin (victim)	Origin (offender)	Network	Matrix No.
AU-HT-0001	n335	1	1	Female	immigrant	SE Asia	Asia	Y	AUM1
AU-HT-0001	n336	1	0	Male	non-immigrant	SE Asia	Australia	Y	AUM1
AU-HT-0001	n428	1	1	Female	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	Y	AUM1
AU-HT-0001	n430	1	0	Male	non-immigrant	SE Asia	Australia	Y	AUM1
AU-HT-0002	n337	1	1	Male	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	Y	AUM2
AU-HT-0002	n338	1	1	Male	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	Y	AUM2
AU-HT-0002	n339	1	1	Male	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	Y	AUM2
AU-HT-0002	n340	1	1	Female	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	Y	AUM2
AU-HT-0002	n341	1	1	Male	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	Y	AUM2
AU-HT-0002	n342	1	1	Male	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	Y	AUM2
AU-HT-0003	n343	0	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	N	N/A
AU-HT-0004	n344	1	0	Male	non-immigrant	SE Asia	Australia	N	N/A
AU-HT-0004	n345	1	1	Female	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	N	N/A
AU-HT-0005	n424	1	0	Male	immigrant	SE Asia	Australia	N	N/A
AU-HT-0006	n346	1	0	Male	non-immigrant	SE Asia	Australia	N	N/A
AU-HT-0006	n347	1	1	Female	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	N	N/A
AU-HT-0007	n348	0	0	Male	non-immigrant	SE Asia	Australia	N	N/A
AU-HT-0008	n349	0	0	Male	non-immigrant	SE Asia	Australia	N	N/A
AU-HT-0009	n350	1	0	Male	immigrant	SE Asia	E. Europe	N	N/A
AU-HT-0009	n351	1	1	Female	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	N	N/A
AU-HT-0010	n352	1	0	Male	non-immigrant	SE Asia	Australia	N	N/A
AU-HT-0011	n353	1	1	Female	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	N	N/A
AU-HT-0012	n354	0	1	Male	immigrant	India	India	N	N/A

No. of Offenders in Networks	10
No. of Networks (3+)	2
No. of Networks (4+)	2
No of. Transnational (4+)	2

Britain

Case ID No.	Offender ID	Sex trafficking	Same origin	Gender (offender)	Migrant (offender)	Origin (victim)	Origin (offender)	Network	Matrix No.
UK-HT-0001	n353	1	1	Female	immigrant	Various	W. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0001	n356	1	0	Male	immigrant	Various	W. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0001	n445	1	0	Male	immigrant	Various	W. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0002	n447	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0002	n357	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0002	n358	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0005	n361	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	N	N/A
UK-HT-0006	n362	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0006	n363	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0006	n364	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0007	n365	1	1	Female	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	UKM1
UK-HT-0007	n366	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	UKM1
UK-HT-0007	n367	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	UKM1
UK-HT-0007	n452	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	UKM1
UK-HT-0007	n453	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	UKM1
UK-HT-0007	n454	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	UKM1
UK-HT-0007	n455	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	UKM1
UK-HT-0007	n456	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	UKM1
UK-HT-0009	n368	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0009	n370	1	1	Female	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0009	n444	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0011	n372	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	N	N/A
UK-HT-0011	n373	1	1	Female	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	N	N/A
UK-HT-0012	n374	1	1	Female	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	N	N/A
UK-HT-0013	n375	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	UKM2
UK-HT-0013	n376	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	UKM2
UK-HT-0013	n377	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	UKM2
UK-HT-0013	n378	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	UKM2
UK-HT-0013	n464	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	UKM2
UK-HT-0013	n465	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	UKM2
UK-HT-0013	n466	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	UKM2
UK-HT-0013	n467	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	UKM2

UK-HT-0014	n379	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0014	n380	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0014	n381	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0014	n382	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0014	n438	1	0	Male	non-immigrant	E. Europe	United Kingdom	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0014	n439	1	0	Male	non-immigrant	E. Europe	United Kingdom	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0014	n440	1	0	Male	non-immigrant	E. Europe	United Kingdom	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0014	n441	1	0	Female	non-immigrant	E. Europe	United Kingdom	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0014	n443	1	0	Female	non-immigrant	E. Europe	United Kingdom	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0016	n383	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0016	n384	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0016	n385	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0016	n386	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0016	n387	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0016	n474	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0016	n475	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0017	n388	1	1	Male	immigrant	S. America	Brazil	N	N/A
UK-HT-0018	n389	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United Kingdom	United Kingdom	N	N/A
UK-HT-0019	n390	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	N	N/A
UK-HT-0019	n391	1	1	Female	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	N	N/A
UK-HT-0022	n392	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	N	N/A
UK-HT-0022	n393	1	1	Female	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	N	N/A
UK-HT-0023	n394	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	N	N/A
UK-HT-0023	n399	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	N	N/A
UK-HT-0025	n401	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0025	n402	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0025	n043	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0026	n404	1	1	Female	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0026	n405	1	1	Female	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0026	n406	1	1	Female	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0026	n407	1	0	Female	immigrant	E. Europe	Africa	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0026	n408	1	0	Female	immigrant	E. Europe	Africa	Y	N/A
UK-HT-0027	n409	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	N	N/A
UK-HT-0027	n410	1	1	Female	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	N	N/A
UK-HT-0029	n411	1	1	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	N	N/A
UK-HT-0030	n412	1	0	Male	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	N	N/A
UK-HT-0030	n471	1	1	Female	immigrant	E. Europe	E. Europe	N	N/A

No. of Offenders in Networks	52
No. of Networks (3+)	10
No. of Networks (4+)	5
No of. Transnational (4+)	5

Canada

CA-HT-0001	n413	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	Canada	Canada	N	N/A
CA-HT-0002	n414	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	Canada	Canada	N	N/A
CA-HT-0003	n415	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	Canada	Canada	N	N/A
CA-HT-0004	n416	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	Canada	Canada	N	N/A
CA-HT-0005	n417	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	Canada	Canada	N	N/A
CA-HT-0007	n418	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	Canada	Canada	N	N/A
CA-HT-0007	n419	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	Canada	Canada	N	N/A
CA-HT-0008	n420	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	Canada	Canada	N	N/A
CA-HT-0009	n421	1	1	Male	unknown	Asia	Asia	N	N/A
CA-HT-0010	n422	1	1	Female	unknown	Asia	Asia	N	N/A

No. of Offenders in Networks	0
No. of Networks	0

United States

US-HT-0001	n1	1	1	Female	immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0001	n2	1	1	Male	immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0001	n3	1	1	Male	immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0001	n4	1	1	Male	immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0001	n476	1	1	Male	immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0001	n477	1	1	Female	immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0002	n5	0	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0002	n6	0	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0003	n7	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0003	n8	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0003	n9	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A

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US-HT-0004	n8	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0005	n9	0	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0005	n10	0	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0005	n11	0	1	Female	immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0006	n12	0	1	Male	immigrant	SE Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0006	n13	0	1		non-immigrant	SE Asia	S. Pacific	Y	N/A
US-HT-0006	n14	0	1		non-immigrant	SE Asia	S. Pacific	Y	N/A
US-HT-0006	n478	0	1	Male	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0008	n17	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0009	n18	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	N	N/A
US-HT-0009	n19	1		Female	non-immigrant	Mexico		N	N/A
US-HT-0010	n20	0	1	Male	immigrant	S. Pacific	S. Pacific	N	N/A
US-HT-0011	n21	0	1	Male	immigrant	SE Asia	India	N	N/A
US-HT-0011	n22	0	1	Female	immigrant	SE Asia	India	N	N/A
US-HT-0012	n23	0	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0012	n24	0	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0012	n479	0	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	SE Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0012	n480	0	0	Male	immigrant	Asia	Canada	Y	N/A
US-HT-0014	n27	0	1	Male	immigrant	Africa	Africa	N	N/A
US-HT-0014	n28	0	1	Female	immigrant	Africa	Africa	N	N/A
US-HT-0015	n29	0	1	Male	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	N	N/A
US-HT-0015	n30	0	1	Female	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	N	N/A
US-HT-0016	n31	0	1	Male	immigrant	Africa	Africa	N	N/A
US-HT-0016	n32	0	1	Female	immigrant	Africa	Africa	N	N/A
US-HT-0017	n33	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0017	n34	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0018	n35	0	1	Female	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0018	n36	0	1	Male	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0018	n37	0	1	Male	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0019	n38	1	1	Female	immigrant	Russia	E. Europe	N	N/A
US-HT-0020	n39	0	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0020	n40	0	0	Male	non-immigrant	C. America	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0020	n41	0	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0020	n42	0	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0020	n481	0	1	Male	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0021	n43	0	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	Mexico	N	N/A
US-HT-0021	n44	0	1	Male	immigrant	C. America	Mexico	N	N/A
US-HT-0023	n45	0	1	Female	immigrant	S. America	S. America	N	N/A
US-HT-0024	n46	0	0	Male		Mexico	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0024	n47	0	0	Female		Mexico	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0024	n482	0	0	Female		Mexico	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0024	n483	0	1	Male	non-immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0025	n48	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	C. America	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0025	n49	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	C. America	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0025	n50	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	C. America	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0025	n484	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	C. America	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0026	n51	0	0	Male	immigrant	Various	Asia	Y	USM4
US-HT-0026	n52	0	0	Female	non-immigrant	Various	United States	Y	USM4
US-HT-0026	n53	0	0	Male	immigrant	Various	Asia	Y	USM4
US-HT-0026	n54	0	0	Male	immigrant	Various	E. Europe	Y	USM4
US-HT-0026	n55	0	0	Male	immigrant	Various	Asia	Y	USM4
US-HT-0026	n56	0	0	Male	non-immigrant	Various	United States	Y	USM4
US-HT-0026	n57	0	0	Male	immigrant	Various	Asia	Y	USM4
US-HT-0026	n58	0	0	Male	immigrant	Various	Asia	Y	USM4
US-HT-0026	n59	0	0	Male	immigrant	Various	E. Europe	Y	USM4
US-HT-0026	n485	0	0	Male	immigrant	Various	Asia	Y	USM4
US-HT-0026	n486	0	0	Male	immigrant	Various	Asia	Y	USM4
US-HT-0026	n487	0	0	Male	immigrant	Various	Asia	Y	USM4
US-HT-0027	n60	0	1	Male	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0027	n61	0	1	Female	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0027	n488	0	1	Male	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0029	n62	0	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0029	n63	0	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0029	n64	0	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0032	n65	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0032	n489	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0033	n66	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0034	n67	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0034	n68	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0034	n69	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0034	n70	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0034	n71	1	1	Female	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0034	n72	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0034	n73	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0034	n490	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0034	n491	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A

US-HT-0035	n74	0	1	Female	immigrant	Africa	Africa	Y	N/A
US-HT-0035	n75	0	1	Male	immigrant	Africa	Africa	Y	N/A
US-HT-0035	n492	0	1	Male	immigrant	Africa	Africa	Y	N/A
US-HT-0036	n76	0	1	Male	immigrant	Africa	Africa	Y	N/A
US-HT-0036	n77	0	1	Female	immigrant	Africa	Africa	Y	N/A
US-HT-0036	n495	0	1	Male	immigrant	Africa	Africa	Y	N/A
US-HT-0036	n496	0	1	Male	immigrant	Africa	Africa	Y	N/A
US-HT-0037	n78	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0039	n79	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0039	n78	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0039	n80	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0042	n81	1	0	Male	immigrant	Mexico	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0042	n82	1	0	Male	immigrant	Mexico	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0042	n83	1	1	Female	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0042	n84	1	1	Female	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0042	n85	1	1	Female	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0043	n86	1	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	Mexico	Y	USM3
US-HT-0043	n87	1	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	USM3
US-HT-0043	n88	1	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	USM3
US-HT-0043	n89	1	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	USM3
US-HT-0043	n90	1	1	Male	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	USM3
US-HT-0043	n91	1	1	Male	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	USM3
US-HT-0043	n92	1	1	Male	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	USM3
US-HT-0043	n93	1	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	USM3
US-HT-0043	n94	1	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	USM3
US-HT-0045	n95	0	0	Male	non-immigrant	SE Asia	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0045	n96	0	1	Female	non-immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	N	N/A
US-HT-0046	n97	0	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	N	N/A
US-HT-0046	n98	0	1	Male	immigrant	C. America	C. America	N	N/A
US-HT-0048	n99	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0048	n100	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0048	n497	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0048	n498	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0050	n101	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0050	n102	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0051	n103	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0051	n104	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0052	n105	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0052	n106	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0052	n499	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0052	n500	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0052	n501	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0053	n107	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0053	n108	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0054	n109	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0055	n110	1	1	Male	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0055	n111	1	1	Male	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0055	n112	1	1	Male	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0055	n113	1	1	Male	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0055	n114	1	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0055	n115	1	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0055	n116	1	1	Male	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0055	n117	1	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0056	n118	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0056	n119	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0056	n120	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0056	n121	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0056	n122	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0056	n123	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0056	n124	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0056	n125	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0057	n126	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0057	n127	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0057	n128	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0057	n129	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0057	n130	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0057	n131	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0057	n132	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	USM3
US-HT-0057	n133	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0057	n134	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0057	n135	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0057	n136	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0057	n137	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0057	n138	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A

US-HT-0057	n139	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0057	n140	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0057	n141	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0057	n142	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0059	n143	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0061	n144	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0063	n145	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0063	n146	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0064	n147	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0064	n148	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0064	n502	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0064	n503	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0064	n504	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0065	n149	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0066	n150	0	1	Male	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	N	N/A
US-HT-0066	n151	0	1	Female	immigrant	SE Asia	SE Asia	N	N/A
US-HT-0067	n152	1	1	Male	immigrant	Various	Mexico	Y	USM2
US-HT-0067	n153	1	1	Male	immigrant	Various	Mexico	Y	USM2
US-HT-0067	n154	1	1	Male	immigrant	Various	Mexico	Y	USM2
US-HT-0067	n155	1	1	Male	immigrant	Various	Mexico	Y	USM2
US-HT-0067	n156	1	1	Female	immigrant	Various	Mexico	Y	USM2
US-HT-0067	n157	1	1	Male	immigrant	Various	Mexico	Y	USM2
US-HT-0067	n158	1	1	Male	immigrant	Various	Mexico	Y	USM2
US-HT-0067	n159	1	1	Male	immigrant	Various	Mexico	Y	USM2
US-HT-0067	n160	1	1	Male	immigrant	Various	Mexico	Y	USM2
US-HT-0067	n161	1	1	Male	immigrant	Various	Mexico	Y	USM2
US-HT-0067	n162	1	1	Male	immigrant	Various	Mexico	Y	USM2
US-HT-0067	n163	1	1	Male	immigrant	Various	Mexico	Y	USM2
US-HT-0067	n164	1	1	Male	immigrant	Various	Mexico	Y	USM2
US-HT-0068	n165	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0068	n166	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0069	n167	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0069	n168	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0070	n169	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0071	n170	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0072	n171	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	N	N/A
US-HT-0072	n172	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	N	N/A
US-HT-0073	n173	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0074	n174	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0074	n175	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0075	n176	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0075	n177	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0076	n178	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0077	n179	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0077	n180	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0078	n181	0	1	Male	immigrant	Africa	Africa	N	N/A
US-HT-0078	n182	0	1	Female	immigrant	Africa	Africa	N	N/A
US-HT-0079	n183	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0080	n184	1	1	Male	immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0080	n185	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0080	n186	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0080	n187	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0080	n188	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0081	n189	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0082	n190	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0082	n191	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0082	n192	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0083	n193	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0083	n194	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0083	n195	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0083	n196	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0083	n197	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0083	n198	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0084	n199	1	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0084	n505	1	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0084	n506	1	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0084	n507	1	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0084	n508	1	1	Male	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0084	n509	1	1		immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0084	n510	1	1		immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0084	n511	1	1		immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	N/A
US-HT-0085	n200	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0085	n201	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0086	n202	0	1	Male	immigrant	Africa	Africa	N	N/A
US-HT-0086	n203	0	1	Female	immigrant	Africa	Africa	N	N/A

US-HT-0087	n204	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0088	n205	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0088	n206	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0088	n207	1	1	Female	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0088	n208	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0088	n512	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0088	n513	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0089	n209	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0089	n210	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0089	n211	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0089	n212	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0089	n514	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0089	n515	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0089	n516	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0089	n517	1	1		non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0089	n518	1	1		non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0089	n519	1	1		non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0090	n213	1	1	Female	immigrant	Russia	Russia	N	N/A
US-HT-0091	n214	0	1	Male	non-immigrant	India	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0091	n520	0	1	Male	immigrant	India	India	N	N/A
US-HT-0093	n215	0	1	Male	immigrant	Africa	Africa	Y	N/A
US-HT-0093	n216	0	1	Female	immigrant	Africa	Africa	Y	N/A
US-HT-0093	n217	0	1	Male		Africa	Africa	Y	N/A
US-HT-0093	n218	0	1	Male		Africa	Africa	Y	N/A
US-HT-0093	n219	0	1	Male		Africa	Africa	Y	N/A
US-HT-0094	n220	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0094	n221	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0094	n222	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0095	n223	1	1	Female	immigrant	S. America	Brazil	Y	N/A
US-HT-0095	n224	1	1	Female	immigrant	S. America	Brazil	Y	N/A
US-HT-0095	n225	1	1	Male	immigrant	S. America	Brazil	Y	N/A
US-HT-0096	n226	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	N	N/A
US-HT-0097	n227	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0097	n228	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0097	n229	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0098	n230	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0098	n231	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0098	n232	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0098	n233	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0098	n234	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0098	n235	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0098	n236	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0098	n237	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0098	n238	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0098	n239	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0098	n240	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0098	n521	1	1		immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0099	n241	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0099	n242	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0099	n243	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0099	n244	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0100	n245	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0100	n246	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0100	n247	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0101	n248	1	0	Male	non-immigrant	S. Pacific	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0101	n249	1	0	Female	non-immigrant	S. Pacific	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0101	n522	1	0	Male	non-immigrant	S. Pacific	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0101	n523	1	0	Male	non-immigrant	S. Pacific	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0101	n524	1	0	Male	non-immigrant	S. Pacific	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0102	n250	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0103	n251	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0103	n252	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0103	n253	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0103	n254	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0103	n255	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0105	n256	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0105	n257	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0105	n258	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0105	n259	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0105	n260	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0105	n261	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0105	n262	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0105	n263	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0105	n264	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0105	n265	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0105	n266	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A

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US-HT-0106	n267	1	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	USM1
US-HT-0106	n268	1	1	Male	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	USM1
US-HT-0106	n269	1	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	USM1
US-HT-0106	n270	1	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	USM1
US-HT-0106	n271	1	1	Male	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	USM1
US-HT-0106	n272	1	1	Male	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	USM1
US-HT-0106	n273	1	1	Male	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	USM1
US-HT-0106	n274	1	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	USM1
US-HT-0106	n275	1	1	Female	immigrant	C. America	C. America	Y	USM1
US-HT-0107	n276	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0107	n277	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0107	n278	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0108	n279	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0109	n280	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0109	n281	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0110	n282	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0111	n283	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0111	n284	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0112	n285	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0112	n286	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0112	n287	1	1	Male	immigrant	Mexico	Mexico	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n288	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n289	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n290	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n291	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n292	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n293	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n294	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n295	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n296	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n297	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n298	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n299	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n300	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n301	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n302	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n303	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n304	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n305	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n306	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n307	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n308	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n309	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n310	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n311	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n312	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n313	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n314	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n315	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n316	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n317	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n318	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n319	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n320	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0113	n321	1	1	Female	immigrant	Asia	Asia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0115	n322	0	0	Male	non-immigrant	Russia	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0115	n323	0	0	Male	non-immigrant	Russia	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0115	n324	0	0	Male	non-immigrant	Russia	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0115	n325	0	1	Male	immigrant	Russia	Russia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0115	n326	0	1	Male	immigrant	Russia	Russia	Y	N/A
US-HT-0116	n327	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0117	n328	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	N	
US-HT-0117	n329	1	1	Male	immigrant	Asia	Asia	N	
US-HT-0118	n330	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0118	n331	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0118	n332	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0118	n525	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	Y	N/A
US-HT-0119	n333	1	1	Female	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0120	n334	1	1	Male	non-immigrant	United States	United States	N	N/A
US-HT-0030	n493	0	1	Female	immigrant	Africa	Africa	N	N/A
US-HT-0030	n494	0	1	Male	immigrant	Africa	Africa	N	N/A

No. of Offenders in Networks	302
No. of Networks (3+)	47
No. of Networks (4+)	33
No. of. Transnational (4+)	24