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I, Sharon Doering, hereby submit this original work as part of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Educational Studies.

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Student's name: Sharon Doering

This work and its defense approved by:

Committee chair: Stephen Sunderland, PhD
Committee member: Sharlene Lassiter Boltz, JD
Committee member: Vanessa Allen-brown, PhD
Committee member: Roger Collins, PhD

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Human Trafficking Recovery: Conceptual and Dimensional Considerations in a Stage Model

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Sharon Doering

B.A. Purdue University, 1998
M.A. University of Illinois at Chicago, 2000

Committee Chair: Stephen C. Sunderland
ABSTRACT

The devastating crime of human trafficking affects millions of individuals and communities; therefore deeper understanding of it and its psychological and social impacts is needed. Agencies are interested in strategizing methods that promote protection and assistance while individuals are interested in personal healing – both interested in recovery on various levels from the blight of human trafficking. Survivors, clinicians, and rehabilitative programmers share their ideas through semi-structured interviews about the crime, its sequelae, and important features to recovery called dimensions. This study reveals that existing models of trauma and recovery based in ecological theories are sufficient for conceptualizing the trauma and recovery from human trafficking. Stages are considered in terms of where dimensions might occur implicating practical considerations for aftercare or rehabilitative programming.
Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to Eden. You’ve sacrificed the most time at this young age to let mommy complete what she hopes will inspire you to accomplish anything you want in life.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to all my friends and family who provided overwhelming support to me throughout this journey. Ernie, you have spurred me on with your love, faith, encouragement, and endless, stimulating, intellectual insights. You’ve sacrificed to lift our family and me up in countless ways. Steve, your mentorship and example exceed academic scholarship to include invaluable life lessons, and powerful insights. You constantly helped me to see the bigger picture of learning and growth. Lanthan, your honest feedback, meticulous edits, deep understanding, and support have been remarkable. Vanessa, I have cherished and appreciated your ceaseless support, keen feminist and cultural outlooks, and faith in my studies. Roger, your theoretical understandings, creativity, and helpful feedback inspired me along the way. Sharlene, I benefited tremendously from your vast knowledge of and scholarship on this subject as well as your ability to actively and relentlessly tackle issues involving human inequalities. Thank you all for your wisdom, dedication, refreshing honesty, and commitment to social justice issues.

Thank you to all the brave participants in this study who have honorably decided to share in the burden of carrying contemporary slavery’s many consequences from social marginalization and rejection to personal suffering of trauma or vicarious trauma in order to promote more peaceful world. Thank you, Dad for challenging me to consider all dimensions of an issue and sharpening my mind and heart. Mom, thanks for demonstrating how to listen to silenced populations and for giving me the courage to pursue my dreams. To my mother-in-law, Carol, my sisters, Holly, Natalie, Rebecca, and Amy, and my friends Edite, Songhay, and Mengna for loving, keeping, and entertaining my children often on short notice and without completely stocked diaper bags. Thank you, Ernie, Bill, and Rob, for your technical assistance. I absolutely could not have completed these studies without all of you. I am ever grateful.
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List of Acronyms

APA: American Psychological Association
ATIP: Anti-Trafficking in Persons
BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation
CATW: Coalition Against the Trafficking in Women
CBO: Community-based Organization
CDC: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
CEDAW: Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women
CNDP: National Congress for the Defense of the People
CPTSD: Complex Posttraumatic Stress Disorder
CRC: Convention on the Rights of the Child
CTOC: Convention against Transnational Organized Crime
DESNOS: Disorders of Extreme Stress Not Otherwise Specified
DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo
DSM-IV: *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* Fourth Edition
ECPAT: Elimination of Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Exploitation
FARDC: Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo
FBO: Faith-based Organization
EU: European Union
FBI: Federal Bureau of Investigation
ICD: International Classification of Diseases
ICE: Immigrations and Customs Enforcement
ILO: International Labor Organization

IPEC: International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor

IOM: International Organization for Migration

IPSOFA: Psycho-social Institute of the Family (Institut Psycho-Social de la Famille)

LRA: Lord’s Resistance Army

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

OSCE: Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

PTSD: Posttraumatic Stress Disorder

ROMHP: Recovery-Oriented Mental Health Programs

TVPA: Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 known as the “Trafficking Victims Protection Act”

TIP: Trafficking in Persons

UN: United Nations

UNICEF: United Nations Children’s Fund

UNGIFT: United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Trafficking in Persons

UNODC: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

UPC: Union of Congolese Patriots

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

USDHHS: United States Department of Health and Human Services

USDOS: United States Department of State

USDOJ: United States Department of Justice

VBP: Values-Based Practice

WHO: World Health Organization
Chapter 1
Introduction

The world is full of suffering; it is also full of overcoming it.

-Helen Keller

Tears stream down my face as I hear the international news today. Yesterday, March 13, 2012 in the Hague, the International Criminal Court (ICC) sent a strong message that it would not stand for the impunity of leaders who traffic children through its very first conviction since its inception ten years ago. "The prosecution has proved beyond reasonable doubt that Mr. Thomas Lubanga [Dyilo] is guilty of the crimes of conscripting and enlisting children under the age of 15 years and using them to participate actively in hostilities," said Presiding Judge Adrian Fulford (National Public Radio, March 14, 2012). Lubanga kidnapped, coerced, and forced more than 42,500 children to fight, kill, mutilate, cannibalize, rape, and be raped, under his leadership in the Union of Congolese Patriots1 (UCP) between 2002-2003 (British Broadcasting Corporation, March 14, 2012; Sharnak, 2007). Though this ruling is a landmark victory for freedom and a much needed attention call to the issue of child trafficking through conscription, it does not change the fact that other leaders, such as Joseph Kony2 of Uganda or Bosco Ntaganda3 also in

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1 The Union of Congolese Patriots (UCP) is one of many ethnic militias in the Northeast of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).
2 Founder and leader of the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) in Northern Uganda. It is estimated that he has conscripted over 30,000 children. Kony was the ICC’s first indicted war criminal in July of 2005 (Kirsch, 2008).
3 Military chief of staff of the National Congress for the Defense of the People (CNDP) indicted by the ICC in August 2006. Like the UCP, the NCDP is an ethnic militia in Northeast DRC. It was integrated into the Congolese army (FARDC), which is supported by the UN eliciting
the Congo, are wanted among others on the same counts by the ICC yet still remain at large. Lubanga’s future prospect of life imprisonment is most likely assured, but the lives of thousands of children and adults affected by the tragedies Lubanga promoted remain shattered and uncertain.

The crime is human trafficking and at this time in history it is declared one of the worst forms of crimes against humanity. Trafficking of humans is when one person violates another person to economically or ideologically amass wealth or power for themselves. Generally viewed as using force, fraud, or coercion for economic exploitation (Trafficking Victims Protection Act, 2000), human trafficking has taken on a number of forms and conceptualizations that cause this crime to be as varied and complex as the individuals involved. Individuals must exploit or be exploited to achieve wider goals of producing or saving profits, or in the case of child conscription, to further the ideas of one’s group through the forced or coerced labor of another. Such problems with putting this unspeakable crime into speech are diminished in the admonitions of trauma therapists and activists such as Judith Herman who know the healing effects of proclaiming truth yet still much more needs to be understood about human trafficking, trauma and recovery (1992b).

An old problem, relatively newly defined in international and national legal statutes, human trafficking’s growing notoriety could be linked to this legal operationalization (TVPA, 2000; UNODC, 2000a) and its increasing sensational media coverage (Wallinger, 2010). Such coverage increases awareness, however, it also invokes a psychological reaction that may counter its aim and silence or paralyze the continuation of understanding and therefore involvement. Despite the fact that Lubanga has been responsible for the death, mutilation, and

condemnation by human rights groups and the international community as Ntaganda remains free (Clark, 2011).
tragedy of thousands of people or that he has been on the world’s most wanted list for the past six years, he is widely unknown figure outside of the United Nations circles, and his atrocities are overlooked (Bales, 2005, p. 122). Though justice\textsuperscript{4} may not be what individuals suffering in the DRC need right now, this landmark verdict does put Lubanga’s name and actions on the map. Herman described at the start of her seminal work, *Trauma and Recovery* (1992b) this “dialectic of psychological trauma” (p. 1) where denial and/or proclamation inform operations on all levels when we are faced with atrocities. In public spheres such as in the news media, this looks like a brief unwelcome intruder who quickly passes through only to be forgotten. The classic numbing and avoidance symptoms that present in the diagnosis of Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) also govern the larger societal responses (p. 2). Therefore, it is no wonder why such figures perpetrating exploitation in historically exploited and economically marginalized countries like the DRC or Uganda are also rendered invisible to the collective sensitive psychological and social capacities (Herman, 1992b, pp. 47-50). Regardless of our responses, the results of such abuses remain and potentially perpetuate other abuses. Current DRC conflicts may be effects of the neighboring Rwandan genocide in 1994\textsuperscript{5}, which itself was linked to former European colonialism and ethnic categorization, which itself had economic and social pressures. Though this broad stroke may simplify the many other variables involved in conflict, it nonetheless suggests that the consequences of human abuses of power – either collectively or individually – may be worthy of further examination.

\textsuperscript{4} I will return to this notion of justice later in the research as a possible dimensional aspect of recovery.  
\textsuperscript{5} According to Sharnak (2007), when refugees spilled over into the bordering DRC region due to the Rwandan crisis that killed over 800,000 people, the destabilization was too great for the land, resources, and already ethnically-tense Northeast region. Major groups began to identify with either the Hutus or the Tutsis and skirmishes escalated to widespread violence.
Also remaining is the charge to reveal the truth about exploitation – to make it known so that denial is not given way on a personal or social level. This is a constructive way to regain lost power, however it is not without its risks. Lebowitz, Harvey, and Herman (1993) restated what Herman (1992b) described about the effects of interpersonal trauma – that it robs one of meaning, connection and power (helplessness). This charge leads me on this journey that explores the meanings of trauma and recovery from human trafficking. This research is informed by individuals closely connected to the experience of trafficking as either survivors, clinicians to survivors, or people developing rehabilitative programming through various anti-trafficking in persons (ATIP) organizations.

It was only a year after advising a high-risk documentary filmmaker and friend to relinquish the idea of doing a documentary film about sex trafficking in Kolkata and remarking later to my husband, “I wouldn’t touch that issue [of human trafficking] with a ten foot pole!” that I found myself walking through a Modern Day Slavery exhibition at the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center Museum in 2007. Ironically, at the time we made our paternalistic suggestion to our friend – who has since covered the topic all over the world among other perilous subjects – we were working in Mozambique with families who had been affected by trafficking…but we were not defining it as such and therefore remained ignorant. So the ten foot pole I was symbolically dragging behind me through that museum, gradually started to shorten as the exhibits called my attention to the truths people were proclaiming about current exploitation. I had fooled myself into thinking that I could maintain my psychological distance by merely visiting a museum on slavery, but instead of a ten foot pole in my hand at the end of the day, I found a pen signing my email to receive more information about the topic of human trafficking, or modern day slavery.
I began reading books and learning more about human trafficking. I even found myself working with others who were starting an organization in Haiti to address child trafficking through domestic servitude known as “restavèk” at that time. One of the visions of that organization, like many others I was hearing, was to start a residential “aftercare” facility for people coming out of a trafficking situation. Talk of “aftercare” was burgeoning in anti-human trafficking circles and the passion of those willing to make them happen was ripe. As a therapist and budding activist I shared this fervor but the questions about how to practically go about it remained. Renaming this issue of human exploitation as “human trafficking” and “modern slavery” seems to have allowed people to talk about it and therefore become involved (Bales, 2004, 2005). After establishing an organization and vocational training school in Mozambique and observing other development work, I was aware of some of the pitfalls that belie such eager efforts – especially in foreign countries where cultural misunderstandings are eventualities. As a clinician, I was aware of the complexities of dealing with suffering people and the potential dangers of re-traumatization of the helped and vicarious trauma for the helper. Pondering these things, I am faced with the choice to assimilate to the denial-embracing tendency of this American culture or to awaken to the risks of getting involved with potentially messy and controversial issues both here and abroad. This dissertation is my own humble attempt to support the many voices proclaiming the need for attention to psychosocial post-trafficking services and to understand dimensions important to re/integration of survivors in a recovery framework. Hopefully, the questions this paper raises and the insights contributed by

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6 I was involved in ATIP task forces, meet-ups, and conferences where I would meet people either starting or visioning for the start of “aftercare” organizations.

7 Vicarious Trauma (VT), “is the negative transformation in the helper that results from empathic engagement with trauma survivors and their trauma material, combined with a commitment or responsibility to help them (Caringi & Pearlman, 2009).
participants will not only add to the dialogue, but also serve as considerations when planning for aftercare programming or for involvement in the movement against human trafficking.

**Problem Statement**

“Despite the increased interest in human trafficking, relatively little systemic, empirically grounded, and based on solid theoretical underpinnings research has been done on this issue” (Gozdziak & Bump, 2008). Bales states, “It is a sad thing to point out that there is no developed field of study or practice that concerns the rehabilitation of freed slaves” (2005, p. 67). Without the careful consideration of how people move beyond exploitive experience(s), what is important to them, and whether there are commonalities in the process, then it is difficult to move beyond the tendencies to describe individual suffering only.

The process of trafficking and many of the dynamics of the criminal act have been explored, however the recovery process is under-studied. Recovery as a model in mental health and addictions, with its emphasis on dimensional features, has not to my knowledge been studied in relation to post-trafficking recovery. I am unfamiliar with a specific human trafficking recovery model proffered in the scholarly literature, though models pertaining to health and service provision considerations exist (Zimmerman, Hossain, & Watts, 2011). Literature about cycles of abuse are investigated in realms of child abuse, domestic violence (Walker, 1979), police brutality, gang violence, hate crimes, pornography, and so forth. but sometimes the suggestions or models for recovery are absent. Recovery models related to mental health (Jacobson & Greenley, 2001), addictions (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1983), and trauma (Harney, Lebowitz, & Harvey, 1997; Herman, 1992b; Lebowitz et al., 1993) exist as well, therefore it is fair to explore whether recovery from human trafficking is comparable to such models. I am
interested in sophisticated recovery models that may or may not be related to human trafficking trauma and recovery.

Success of recovery should be studied to be operationalized and measured at all levels. For example, one of the key markers to the success of recovery most likely will be the ability to not be re-trafficked (Aronowitz, 2009, p. 158; Zimmerman et al., 2011). Like Herman discusses the tendency of those with repeated and prolonged trauma are at risk of more trauma exposure (1992a), Aronowitz discusses the susceptibility of trafficked survivors to being re-trafficked (2009, p. 158). Courtois and Ford (2009) explain that self-regulation, self-integrity, and attachment security are compromised when such trauma is experienced, posing risks to individual safety and development (p. 16), while on a societal level human trafficking, “deprives people of their human rights and freedoms, it increases global health risks, and it fuels the growth of organized crime…undermin[ing] the health, safety, and security of all nations it touches” (United States Department of State, Trafficking in Persons Report, 2008, p. 5).

Recovery has historically been conceptualized as an individual process in the realms of mental health (Deegan, 1988; Onken, Craig, Ridgway, Ralph, & Cook, 2007), yet individual traumas collectively become tragedies we all have to bear. The vestiges of trauma from the slavery perpetrated in the American South remain on our collective consciousness (Carter, 2004; Davis, 2006, p. 331) and permeate lives in such ways that could be described as “Post traumatic slave syndrome” (DeGruy-Leary, 2004). Recovery from human trafficking may involve the need for macro level, societal recovery and reform much like the individual manifestations of Post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), however the need to understand the crime of trafficking in persons (TIP), its effects, and the process of healing is needed.

Research Questions
This research aims to answer a number of questions related to conceptualizing terms and exploring recovery phenomenon after a trafficking experience. Since the crime of human trafficking is not as cut and dry as the conceptualizations of crimes such as murder or even rape, it was necessary to look at the sometimes-conflicting legal statutes and scholarly understandings in comparison with the thoughts and experiences of experts in human trafficking. On a similar note, the effects that this crime may produce would inform later recovery practice; therefore, it was necessary to understand how scholars, experts, and survivors described its sequelae. Following this pattern, recovery had to be operationalized in a consistent manner. Therefore, I simply wondered how is human trafficking, human trafficking trauma\textsuperscript{8}, and human trafficking recovery being conceptualized by survivors and service providers involved in the recovery process. Would these understandings influence how service providers interacted with survivors and vice versa? Do these understandings play a part in how former victims of trafficking or service providers go about deciding recovery interventions? Would conceptualizations that reinforce the contrasts between social power levels\textsuperscript{9} be an issue in recovery? Does the legal differentiation between severe forms of sex and labor trafficking play into recovery?

Upon further research into the literature, a number of trauma and recovery models emerged and I wondered if these expert-developed models would apply to human trafficking recovery. Most compelling seemed that of Herman (1992a, 1992b) with its underlying theoretical framework informed by Urie Bronfenbrenner’s Ecological Systems Theory. Herman spurred me to think in heuristic terms such as considering stage models. I began to wonder, are

\textsuperscript{8} The term \textit{trauma} was used after researching the literature and establishing the fact that indeed “trauma” in the clinical and colloquial sense was being applied.

\textsuperscript{9} Such as between victim and social service agencies, micro and macrosystems, men and women, certain ethnic groups, socioeconomic classes or castes, “victims” and “rescuers” or “slave” and “free.”
there stages in human trafficking recovery or observable developments that mark improvement?
What is recovery in terms of human trafficking? What are dimensions that survivors and experts think are important to recovery and where do they lie in terms of general phases? What promotes recovery and what inhibits recovery from human trafficking trauma? Is there a recovery process unique to human trafficking or does it look similar to the recovery in other related areas like prostitution, domestic violence, torture, or child abuse?

Though more time was spent devoted to these phenomenological discoveries, I was also interested in the practical interventions being used in social services, especially at various times from exit from trafficking to subsequent years into the recovery process. I studied this by asking questions about what was most important at the beginning middle and end phases of recovery. I also questioned how victims exited their captivity and whether that played a role in their recovery or not. I was curious to know whether volitional exit verses a raid by law enforcement, justice groups, or outsiders had any effect on how a survivor progressed in recovery.

The overarching questions of, how do people understand human trafficking, its impact and its recovery course, served as baseline criterion for choosing preliminary survivor accounts and later participants. I could then delve into the deeper questions about the relationship between conceptualizations and practice and what recovery from human trafficking might entail. Insight might be gained from such questions, but conclusions cannot be drawn, as the ambiguities of this topic are as complex as people themselves.

Through the exploration into the dimensions and stages of recovery, I was very aware of how the dimension of justice moves me upon hearing the verdict for Thomas Lubanga. Though I cannot assume to know how recovery will look for a directly affected, grieving mother in the
Northeast region of the DRC at this time, the responses to these questions give us glimpses into possible patterns and understandings in the human trafficking recovery experience.
Chapter 2

Literature Review

*We as a nation need to be reeducated about the necessary and sufficient conditions for making human beings human.* (Urie Bronfenbrenner, 1978)

Overview of Human Trafficking

![Figure 2.1. Sex Trafficking](image)

Unemployed, drug using, and a deadbeat dad, Sean Gordon decided to make a buck, specifically $20 bucks, for 15 minutes of fifteen-year-olds’ time, innocence, and future. He held her captive in a sleazy motel and sold her out to men for sexual exploitation. ‘My body is infested with another man’s sin…’ she wrote in a poem. Gordon kept a neck down, naked picture of his young victim on his phone for showing “customers.” He brutalized her, threatened to kill her and slice off her fingers, and kept her controlled through crack-cocaine. The victim was able to escape to call her parents. Gordon confessed to the crime and received a life sentence. (The Florida Times, January 2011)

What is “human trafficking?” Researchers, legal codes, and case stories of survivors of this contemptible practice elucidate its meaning. Similar practices and institutions, such as human smuggling, prostitution, and other exploitive labor like sweatshop work, often get confused with human trafficking as they sometimes overlap with it theoretically or legally, though distinctions can be drawn. Using the work of pioneering researchers, journalists, and activists who elicit and study the experiences and stories of survivors as well as the current and
historical legal definitions, I will explore, through the lens of an ecological perspective, what constitutes human trafficking from a micro to macro level. I will define human trafficking as a variety of enterprises, as a moral issue, as modern day slavery, as a crime, as theoretically controversial, as a human rights violation, as different than smuggling, as ecologically multidimensional, as a process, and as an individual and a systemic trauma that is being addressed through the emerging international movement against trafficking in persons.

**Human Trafficking as Diverse Enterprises**

It is a common misconception that human trafficking is confined to only sexual slavery, which includes prostitution, pornography, stripping, exotic dancing, sex tourism/entertainment, servile marriage and other exploitive commercial sex work, usually affecting women and children (Clawson, Small, Go & Myles, 2003; Kempadoo, 2005). Forced or bonded labor, chattel slavery, peonage, debt bondage, involuntary domestic servitude, forced child labor, child soldiering, criminal activity such as couriering illicit substances, trafficking in body parts, begging, exploitive adoptions, and any activity that involves the use of force, fraud, or coercion for economic gain is human trafficking (TVPA, 2000). Trafficked victims have been found in a variety of sectors including restaurant and hotel work, manufacturing, agriculture, construction, marriage, prostitution, domestic service, and even teaching (Freedom Network Institute, 2008). With such a broad array of practices, it is comprehensible why conceptualizing it makes for such debate.

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10 Though there exists contestation about the usage of the term “slavery” versus “human trafficking” along with the term “forced labor” (an ILO preference), I will use these terms interchangeably and elaborate superficially on some of the intricacies these and related terms present throughout the paper. For more in-depth analysis into these terms see Bales, 2005, pp. 40-68.
Human trafficking cases vary and traffickers are creative in their means of exploitation. Given Kachepa was trafficked from Zambia to the United States along with other children to sing in a boys’ choir. Instead of delivering on the promises to fund a school and his family from the singing proceeds, the traffickers made Given and the children hold rigorous schedules and do physical labor while confined to a Texas compound (Bales, 2005).

Though victimization typically occurs to people in poverty, it can happen to anyone at any socioeconomic level (United States Department of Health and Human Services, 2010). Theresa Flores, a former trafficking victim, was a middle-to-upper-class American living in an upscale suburb of Detroit as a teenager when she was trafficked for sexual slavery for two years. Traffickers raped and blackmailed her with explicit photos of the rape and threatened her safety and that of her family in order to keep her captive to perform multiple, often violent, sex acts upon their command (Flores, 2007, 2010). She did not know that she was a “trafficking victim” until years later when she heard the term and explanation (Flores, 2010).

The most common form of modern day enslavement is debt bondage. In debt bondage or bonded labor, a person, family or entire generation is bonded to work for little to no profit to alleviate a small debt incurred; the exploiter sees to it that it never is repaid (Bales, 2004, 2005; Skinner, 2008). Bales states an estimate that 15 million out of the total figure of 27 million slaves worldwide are in debt bondage in India and Pakistan alone (Bales, 2004, p. 9; Batestone 2007, p. 11) while the International Labor Organization puts that number at around 9.3 million in that region (Anti-Slavery International, 2011).

Domestic servitude is another common form of modern day slavery. Jean Robert Cadet recounts in his book, Restavec: From Haitian Child Slave to Middle Class American, his grueling childhood enslaved in domestic service in Haiti (1998). He sheds light on the insidious
“Restavek” system that engulfs at least 225,000 (United States Department of State, 2010) of Haiti’s\textsuperscript{11} children in a second-class existence as slaves in people’s homes. Existing in plain sight in the country that was first to abolish slavery, child servitude operates without laws that criminalize this form of modern slavery (USDOS, 2010). Such a practice is as ironic as anti-immigrant sentiment in countries built on immigration. Domestic servitude not only exists in Haiti, but around the world. Cases have been uncovered in homes of official ambassadors and others with diplomatic immunity, leading to the need of increased accountability in legislation and understanding of this subtle form of trafficking (Bales, 2007).

Others play on vulnerabilities spanning from age, gender, socioeconomic status, lack of education, varying level of abilities, homelessness, all the way to a vulnerability of low self esteem, desire to migrate, or marry. Surtees reports from research in Southeastern Europe “other forms” of child trafficking than the common sexual exploitation, which includes 	extit{begging, delinquency} (i.e., stealing, carrying contraband), and adoptions (2005). This research disclosed how some children forced to beg were purposefully disabled to elicit more sympathy from contributors (Surtees, 2005). A ring of traffickers in the mid-1990s recruited and forced over 50 deaf Mexicans to New York City to peddle trinkets such as key chains and pencils on the streets and in subways, kept them in cramped quarters, sexually and physically assaulted them, required a quota of sales of which they kept from the victims, and punished them severely for not meeting daily quotas (DeStefano, 2008, pp. 6-7). In this case, one victim reported threats that her newborn child would be sold into adoption against her will (Goldstein, 2006).

\textsuperscript{11}Bales describes Haiti as a place of high incidence of slavery and high flow of slave traffic from within it, however, the exorbitant figures of restaveks (240,000, Clesca, 1984; 300,000, IPSOFA, 1998; or 400,000, Aristide, as cited in McCalla & Archer, 2002 and Smucker & Murray, 2004) do not seem factored into his figure of only 150,000 overall slaves in Haiti 2005 (Bales, 2005, p. 184).
O’Neill Richard reports that, “the buying and selling of babies under the guise of an adoption is yet another extension of trafficking” citing examples of “drugging and tricking uneducated mothers” while their babies are abducted and sold (1999, p. 28). Though illegal and forced adoptions play on the vulnerabilities of age, gender, and often socio-economic factors, it is not considered human trafficking unless the child is purposed for exploitation (Aronowitz, 2009).

Similarly, brokered, arranged, or “mail-ordered” marriages are examples of human trafficking when an economic exploitation of the wife occurs and an element of force, deception, or coercion is involved (Aronowitz, 2009). Children sold into servile marriages is considered human trafficking (Singh, n.d.; O’Neill Richard, 1999) though the lines begin to blur when traditional practices such as bride prices or the exchange of dowry are incurred and the woman then becomes forced to perform certain economically exploitive labor such as housework. In such cases, human trafficking is clearer when the wife is prostituted, used for her labor without the financial control or benefit of her earnings, sold, forced, or a minor, however, the distinction between human trafficking and domestic violence, especially within a marriage that elicits any sort of labor, could become very tricky to determine.

12 “When a young girl or woman has no right to refuse being entered into a marriage.” Servile marriage usually involves the exchange of money and young women or children. Prohibitions of servile marriages are found in these UN Conventions:
• Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1999).
• The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1979, stipulates in its Article 16 that: "2. The betrothal and the marriage of a child shall have no legal effect, and all necessary action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify a minimum age for marriage and to make the registration of marriages in an official registry Compulsory."
• UN Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery (1956) (Feminist Sexual Ethics Project, n.d.)
Figure 2.2.

Child Soldering

One boy tried to escape but he was caught. They made him eat a mouthful of red pepper, and five people were beating him. His hands were tied, and then they made us, the other new captives, kill him with a stick. I felt sick. I knew this boy from before. We were from the same village. I refused to kill him and they told me they would shoot me. They pointed a gun at me, so I had to do it. The boy was asking me, “Why are you doing this?” I said I had no choice. After we killed him, they made us smear his blood on our arms. I felt dizzy.

There was another dead body nearby, and I could smell the body. I felt so sick. They said we had to do this so we would not fear death and so we would not try to escape.

I feel so bad about the things that I did…It disturbs me so much – that I inflicted death on other people… When I go home I must do some traditional rites because I have killed. I must perform these rites and cleanse myself. I still dream about the boy from my village who I killed. I see him in my dreams, and he is talking to me and saying I killed him for nothing, and I am crying.

Susan (Abducted by the Lord’s Resistance Army in Uganda at sixteen years old)

(Human Rights Watch, as cited in Aronowitz, 2009, p. 108)

Another contentious\textsuperscript{13} form of human trafficking involves human organs, body tissues, and parts known as \textit{organ trafficking}. Personally, I was introduced to this phenomenon when living in Mozambique. A local friend exhorted me and my husband to disregard the screaming children who were running away from us in fright one day explaining, “Don’t be offended, they

\textsuperscript{13} The Palermo Protocol recognizes organ trafficking along with human trafficking, though other statutes such as the U.S. anti-trafficking law does not (UNODC, 2000).
just think you will take their organs.” Thinking something went horribly wrong in translation, we asked again only to plainly hear, “You know, they see you are foreigners, and so they think you will cut them open and take their organs.” Upon seeing our confusion, our friend responded in surprise saying, “Don’t you tell your children to be careful of strangers because they may take their organs?” Though we dismissed this as urban legend, to our disbelief, others began to tell us, with great confidence, stories about people having their organs stolen. Most said it was foreigners (indicating skin color on their arm and pointing to us), some specifically said “Chinese” or “South Africans,” while others said it was “feticerios” or witches from neighboring countries that use the organs for ritualistic purposes that bring blessings and curses. Many would tout that corrupt police were involved in the trafficking of these organs and that it was a lucrative business. Each time we heard of this practice from various people we marveled at the malignant power of a seemingly xenophobic legend in our ethnocentric opinions and we would continue to disregard it all together. We continued this denial until stories began to surface about allegations of the sort in the country and investigations by national and international human rights groups were occurring. Though not specific to organ stealing for ritualistic purposes, four years later an international declaration against trafficking in organs would be inaugurated revealing similar practices.

The practice of organ trafficking as defined in The Declaration of Istanbul on Organ Trafficking and Transplant Tourism (2008) is:

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15 “The Istanbul Declaration proclaims that the poor who sell their organs are being exploited, whether by richer people within their own countries or by transplant tourists from abroad” (Participants in the International Summit on Transplant Tourism and Organ Trafficking, 2008, p. 1227). It acknowledges the risk and harm involved and prohibits the practice for commercialism. It aims to encourage governments and international organizations to develop laws and guidelines to curb such practices that victimize the poor (2008).
The recruitment, transport, transfer, harboring or receipt of living or deceased persons or
their organs by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of
abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability,
or of the giving to, or the receiving by, a third party of payments or benefits to achieve
the transfer of control over the potential donor, for the purpose of exploitation by the
removal of organs for transplantation. (Participants in the International Summit on
Transplant Tourism and Organ Trafficking, 2008, p. 1228)

The declaration defines transplant commercialism\textsuperscript{16}, travel for transplantation\textsuperscript{17}, and transplant tourism\textsuperscript{18}, as practices often associated with organ trafficking and prohibited under the
declaration. Nancy Schepers-Hughes, anthropologist, professor, and one of four founders of
Organs Watch\textsuperscript{19} reports on organ trafficking investigations in China (state sponsored executions
of prisoners that suspiciously rise with organ transplant demands), India (where poor are
commonly recruited or volunteer to sell a kidney to pay a debt or support a dowry), and Brazil
(where “compensated gifting” of organs, generally by rich to poor occur without accountability)
(Schepers-Hughes, 1998). Schepers-Hughes and others have gone on to uncover organ trafficking
all over the world with complicity from the highest levels of hospital administrations to the

\textsuperscript{16} “Transplant commercialism is a policy or practice in which an organ is treated as
a commodity, including by being bought or sold or used for material gain” (Participants in the
\textsuperscript{17} “Travel for transplantation is the movement of organs, donors, recipients, or transplant
professionals across jurisdictional borders for transplantation purposes” (Participants in the
\textsuperscript{18} Transplant tourism is travel for transplantation that, “involves organ trafficking and/or
transplant commercialism or if the resources (organs, professionals, and transplant centers)
devoted to providing transplants to patients from outside a country undermine the country’s
ability to provide transplant services for its own population” (Participants in the International
\textsuperscript{19} Organs Watch is an organization founded by Nancy Schepers-Hughes and Lawrence Cohen of
UC Berkeley, David Rothman and Sheila M. Rothman at Columbia in 1999 to track allegations
of the sale and theft of human organs and body parts for transplant surgery (McBroom, 1999).
lowest levels of exploiters in both developed and developing nations. Budiani-Saberi and Delmonico report that 5-10% of transplants involve trafficked organs (2008). A study of commercial living organ donors revealed that 94% regretted their donation because it has led to social isolation, continued financial instability, and new medical problems (Budiani, 2006).

As I initially believed, others maintain that organ trafficking is legend (Leventhal, 1994), as it can easily be inflated and used to instill fear. Sumich describes the ultimately discredited Mozambican case (which may have been the very catalyst in the hysteria when I was there) as a “scandal that was crafted by elites for a political effect that was interpreted differently by specific social groups” (2009, p. 11). He goes on to say that he believes the introduction to neo-liberalism in Southern Africa is the culprit of perpetuating such myths of organ trafficking as macro level influences impose ideological or political changes that disrupt micro level functions (Sumich). Individuals at the micro level then try to make sense of such changes through symbolic beliefs – in this case, robbed organs. Despite the suspicions of myth, organ trafficking may be a reality that warrants more research, documentation, and ethical considerations as it would affect poor and marginalized people.

Figure 2.3.

Chattel Slavery

In the scorching capital city of Nouakchott in the police state of Mauritania, many slaves by the name of Bilal can be found. Bilal was the name of prophet Mohammad’s slave.

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20 “Neo-liberalism came to Mozambique as part of a wider package of reforms promoted by the World Bank, the IMF and many of the major donors. The aim went beyond the introduction of a ‘free market’ economic system. The overall goal for the promoters of reform was to dismantle the single-party socialist state that teetered on the brink of economic collapse due to misguided policy decisions and twelve years of devastating civil war, and replace it with a liberal, democratic capitalist polity (Sumich, 2009).”
which he later freed. Slaves in Mauritania resemble slaves of the seventeenth to nineteenth century; deeply established in the culture and minds of both slave and master that it perpetuates without much resistance, violence, or question.

Salma mint Saloum was born into generational slavery as her parents and grandparents slaved for the same family. Since she was a toddler, Salma was expected to work. She awoke each and every morning, regardless of illness, to walk long distances to fetch water and firewood to start breakfast for the master’s wife and fifteen children. She was in charge of all the master’s children in every way from bathing to feeding, while her own children suffered her absence. ‘I didn’t dare help my child, because I had to watch the master’s wife’s children first. If I didn’t, they’d beat me. I was beaten very often with a wooden stick or leather belt.’ (Bales, 2004, p. 84)

Perhaps one of the most gruesome and dreadful forms of modern day slavery is conscription of children as soldiers or “wives”\(^{\text{1}}\) to soldiers during conflict (United States Department of State, 2007; United States Agency for International Development, 2007). As illustrated in the example above, children are often abducted and forced to commit atrocities during times of war or conflict that leave indelible marks of trauma on them (Derluyn, Broekaert, Schuyten, & Temmerman, 2004). A study of 301 former Ugandan children captured by the Lord’s Resistance Army\(^{\text{2}}\) (LRA) revealed an alarming rate of 97% experiencing post-traumatic

\(^{\text{1}}\)“Wives” refers to young women or girls forced to serve as attendants, couriers, cooks, and/or prostitutes to soldiers during a conflict.

\(^{\text{2}}\)The LRA was established by Joseph Kony in 1987 as a rebellion movement in Northern Uganda fighting against the government. Notorious for massive human rights violations, the LRA has abducted over 20,000 children in the 20 year conflict that has displaced and destabilized people and economic activities while leaving tens of thousands massacred or mutilated (Derluyn et al., 2004).
stress reactions of clinical importance as 77% of them had witnessed killings, 39% of them were forced to kill someone else, to live in conditions that forced them to have to drink their own urine (27%), to abandon their children or family, to abduct and conscript other children and to carry out a number of other horrifying tasks (Derluyn et al., 2004).

Kevin Bales, one of the leading theorists and researchers on this topic, explores such forms of human trafficking and related crimes and posits delineations using his three “core attributes” to define trafficking in persons as modern slavery in terms of 1) “control over another by violence or the threat of violence, 2) lack of payment beyond subsistence and 3) taking labor or other qualities for another for consumption or economic gain” (2005, p. 9). He goes on to use these criteria to look at former International Conventions that mention slavery practices (see Table 2.1) such as forced labor, child prostitution, sexual slavery, forced marriage, apartheid, incest, organ harvesting, and so forth, to determines whether they could constitute modern slavery. Others might evaluate domestic violence, torture, kidnapping and other crimes in a similar manner to arrive at the conclusion that they are not slavery unless the criteria are met. Benjamin Skinner, journalist and writer opened many eyes to the reality of human trafficking with his 2008 book entitled, *A Crime So Monstrous: Face to Face with Modern Day Slavery*. After traversing the world to document stories of modern slaves, he adopts Bales’ definition that slaves are “compelled to work through force or fraud, for no pay beyond subsistence” (p. xvii, Bales, 2005, p. 9).

Similar to Skinner’s methods, Siddharth Kara, traveled the world to systematically narrate his discoveries of the sex trafficking industry, which compelled him to devote more energy to the greater task of abolishing modern day slavery. Much like Bales, he views slavery
from an economic perspective of supply and demand. Kara (2010) offers two definitions to serve as frameworks for policy-development.

‘Slave trading’ is the process of acquiring, recruiting, harboring, receiving, or transporting an individual, through any means and for any distance, into a condition of slavery or slave-like exploitation. And ‘slavery’ is the process of coercing labor or other services from a captive individual, through any means, including exploitation of bodies or body parts. (p. 5)

Kara believes sex trafficking encompasses both slave trading and slavery with the former representing supply and the latter demand and both incorporating three stages of acquisition, movement and exploitation (2010, p. 6).

Gilbert King, author of *Woman, child for sale: The new slave trade in the 21st century*, defines human trafficking as: “…the movement of people to places for the purpose of forced labor, such as prostitution or migrant and domestic work” (2004, pp. 19-20). King considers human trafficking as slavery because elements of “deception, violence, threats, and other forms of coercion to force their victims to meet the high demand for commercial sex and cheap labor” exist (p. 20).

Unlike King’s definition, not all conceptualizations of human trafficking make movement requisite despite the misleading term “trafficking.” Labor and sexual exploitation can happen to an individual while living in his or her own home. For instance, someone may force a relative to remain captive in their home, solicit “customers” to exploit the captive for their unwilling labor and keep profits for themselves. Though movement is generally a characteristic feature of human trafficking, whether transnational or internal, it is not always the case (Bales, 2005, p. 126; UNODC, 2000a). As all of the above-mentioned authors as well as most literature on
human trafficking, the acknowledgement of human trafficking as slavery further defines this practice.

Table 2.1.

Practices Defined as Forms of Slavery in International Conventions (Bales, 2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practice</th>
<th>Loss of Free Will</th>
<th>Appropriation of Labor Power</th>
<th>Violence or the Threat of Violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Slavery</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced labor</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debt bondage</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child prostitution</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced prostitution</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual slavery</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abusive treatment of migrant workers</td>
<td>√/X</td>
<td>√/X</td>
<td>√/X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution</td>
<td>√/X</td>
<td>√/X</td>
<td>√/X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced marriage</td>
<td>√/X</td>
<td>√/X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartheid</td>
<td>√/X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incest</td>
<td>√/X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organ harvesting</td>
<td>√/X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√/X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caste</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prison labor</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√/X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: √ = present in the practice; X = not a necessary condition of the practice; √/X = sometimes present, sometimes not

**Human Trafficking as a Moral issue**

Author, scholar, and modern anti-slavery activist, Kevin Bales, resurrected the term modern day “slavery” to describe current “human trafficking” in a manner much like it was being used in the early nineteenth century in relation to involuntary prostitution\(^{23}\) of women

\(^{23}\) Josephine Butler, an early nineteenth century feminist introduced the term “White Slave Trade” to describe “involuntary prostitution” which then catalyzed widespread campaigns, national, and international laws against it, and organizations developed for its abolition. (Derks, 2000 and Doezeema, 2002 as cited by Gozdziai & Collett, 2005) Though women of color were being enslaved in this manner, the outrage began when “white” women were discovered to be
described as slavery in the 1910 White Slavery Convention (Bales, 2005, p. 62; Derks, as cited in Gozdziak & Collett, 2005). Bales compares and contrasts slavery of the antebellum period to the slavery of today and concludes that control over another via force or the threat of force for economic gain warrants contemporary human trafficking to be called slavery. Modern day slavery differs from slavery of the past in the following ways: legal ownership is rare; a price of a person is dramatically lower yet the yield for their labor is higher; there is a glut of potential or at-risk slaves; the ethnic or racial differences are not as important and the relationship with a trafficker or slaveholder is short-term, making the new slaves more expendable (Bales, 2004, p.15). Kempadoo (2007) discusses a controversial comment out of the Vatican that asserted the new slavery “was worse than” the African slavery. Though the differences are apparent, no slavery is better or is worse than the other. Comments such as this minimize the hardships slaves of the past endured and the difficulties their progeny continue to endure due to the stain of slavery as well as diverts focus from utilizing the lessons of the past for application to the present (Kempadoo, 2007).

Bales recognizes the strategic impact morality plays in this anti-trafficking in persons or ATIP movement and the moral implication of calling human trafficking “slavery.” He likens this taxonomy to the moral shift that happened in the British Abolitionist Movement, which propelled the public to connect with the issue (Bales, 2005, pp. 70-74). As director of Free the Slaves International, Bales, does not hesitate to use this classification to elicit public action and support. On the other hand, authors like Kempadoo, liken this to propaganda that incites “moral

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forced into such an egregious practice shedding light on the component of racism (Bales, 2005, p. 126; Kempadoo, 2007).

24 FTS or Free the Slaves International is the American branch of the oldest anti-slavery organization out of Britain which was originally called, The Anti-Slavery Society and currently named Anti-Slavery International (Bales, 2005).
panic” and erodes the injustice of the former slavery (2007). Nonetheless, major governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have put human trafficking or modern slavery on their agendas and speak in similar terms of “abolition,” “freedom,” and “emancipation” (Bales & Soodalter, 2009)

**Human Trafficking as Modern Slavery**

The definition of slavery has and continues to be ambiguous, (notwithstanding legalized sanctioning) though most agree to its exploitive and inhumane nature. Davis asserts in his book, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (2006) that definitional controversies exist though “…most people assume they know what slavery is…” (p. 30). He notes the origins of slavery may have been reproduced upon the template of the domestication of animals (particularly “beasts of burden” such as livestock) as the Medieval Latin word *capitale* results in the words “cattle,” “capital,” and “chattel” (the word often used when people are seen as *property*) (p. 30) (See Table 2.1). The imbalanced nature of the relationship between animal and human served to archetype the slave and slave-holder relationship where inequality is acquired through force or coercion where the former becomes the “chattel property” of the latter and sub-human treatment continues – usually for the labor or services of the slave for the gain of the “master”–much like a domesticated animal is used in agricultural work and how these unfortunate men in Evan’s Florida orange groves were treated (Davis, 2006, p. 30).

“Traditional” chattel slavery, though the rarest modern form of slavery still exists widely in countries like Mauritania, a very closed political dictatorship where Hassaniya Arabs or White Moors retain power and “own” others as slaves. Mauritania has outlawed slavery, however, slaves are fetched for prices ranging from $500 to $1000 and live and work for their masters.
Mauritanian ulemas\textsuperscript{25} maintain that chattel slavery is legal according to the Koran and most good Muslim Mauritanian slaves do not question their position (possibly out of a lack of understanding of human rights) nor would want to face the consequences of hunger or poverty that freedom would hold (Bales, 2004 pp. 19, 80-120). In sex trafficking, pimps will often refer to “their” prostitutes as a “stable” of women like horses and in Haiti children in domestic servitude are referred to as “animals” (McCalla, 2002, p. 3).

Orlando Patterson defines slavery as, “the permanent, violent, and personal domination of natally alienated and generally dishonored persons” (1982, p. 13). He describes the constituent elements in the definition of slavery as, “social, psychological and cultural impositions of power to control via violence or the threat of violence, influence or persuasion to control another, and the use of authority to enable the societal sanction of the practice” (pp. 1-6). Patterson recognizes that slavery is not only a social dynamic between slave and slave-holder manifested in the individualistic and psychological measures one takes to control another, but is communally perpetuated via the insidious forms of authority that burgeon to become societal norms. This viewpoint recognizes the broader systemic ill of slavery as well as the elements of force, violence, and coercive contexts.

Numerous works are devoted to the exploration of the definitional controversies that exist throughout history on the topic of slavery. Many slavery scholars only recognize ancient slavery and/or slavery of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when slavery was legal and abolition through the enactment of laws was clear. However, demarcations of modern slavery are emerging, yet not always compatible (Bales, 2005, p. 40). Due to this dynamism, I will remain focused on the major international and (U.S.) national legal instruments, cases of human

\textsuperscript{25} Ulemas are authorities on Islam and Islamic law.
trafficking, as well as the frameworks tendered by leading modern anti-slavery scholars to paint a picture of modern day slavery or human trafficking.

**Human Trafficking as a Crime**

Established legal codes have supported the understanding, elucidation, and elimination of human trafficking. After years of evolving conventions addressing slavery and practices similar to slavery, the most widely used legal definitions were: the United Nations’ *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children* (2000) and the United States *Trafficking Victims Protection Act* (2000) or the TVPA. Regardless of differences between these legal definitions in comparison to one another, their delineations of human trafficking have persisted for the past ten years and serve as the standards to measure trafficking in persons globally. Other authors, researchers, and organizations – international, governmental, and non-governmental – have informed these definitions and continue to refine and influence the general understanding of trafficking in persons.

Despite a number of international conventions and subsequent treaties against the exploitation of persons throughout the last two centuries, the most comprehensive definition, to date, is a result of a supplement from a United Nations [UN] Convention against Transnational Organized Crime held in Palermo, Italy in 2000. Under the auspices of the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, this Convention established three major protocols: *The Protocol Against the*

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26 “A ‘convention’ is a formal agreement between States.” The generic term ‘convention’ is thus synonymous with the generic term ‘treaty’. Conventions are normally open for participation by the international community as a whole, or by a large number of States. Usually the instruments negotiated under the auspices of an international organization are entitled conventions (e.g. the Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1989) (UNICEF, n.d.).”

27 Over 300 international agreements have been crafted since 1815 against slavery (Fitzpatrick, 2002, p. 1143). A noteworthy agreement was the UN Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery in 1956.
Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish
Traffic in Persons, especially Women and Children, and The Protocol Against the Illicit
Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition.

The UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and
Children sometimes known as the “Palermo Protocol,” “Trafficking Protocol,” or “Anti-
Trafficking Protocol” [hereinafter referred to as the “Trafficking Protocol,”] is an international,
legally binding instrument against the traffic of persons adopted on 15 November 2000 by the
UN General Assembly and entered into force on 25 December 2003. It currently has 142 Parties
and 117 signatories (UN, 8 November 2010). It defines trafficking as:

The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the
threat or use of force or other forms of coercion\(^\text{28}\), of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of
the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of
payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another
person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the
exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced
labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of
organs. (UNODC, 2000a, p. 2)

Structure of the UN Trafficking Protocol (Act, Means, Purpose)

\(^{28}\)“Coercion and force include, physical, legal, psychological, and mental coercion or the abuse
of authority to obtain or maintain labor, services, or other activities. It can include one’s
reasonable belief that he or she has no viable alternative but to perform the work, service or
activity, whether objectively correct or not. The definition also includes an extortionate
extension of credit and debt bondage; threats of force, harm or violence to the victim or the
victim’s family; or unlawful restriction of movement and liberty, though this is not a necessary
element (O’Neill Richard, 1999, p. vi).”
This international definition highlights three “constituent elements” of human trafficking: “the act (what is done), the means (how it is done), and the purpose (why it is done)” (UNODC, 2000a). The first five acts of recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receiving individuals delineate the mechanics of human trafficking while the next elements (force, coercion, fraud, abduction, deception, abuse of power over a vulnerability, and/or controlling another fiscally) involve the techniques by which individuals fall prey to the final, and criminal element of exploitation. Within most definitions of human trafficking, it is generally observed that the broad exercise of “exploitation” – usually for economic gain – is the ultimate goal. There are limited cases where it could be argued that economic gain is not the ultimate goal – as in the case of rare forms of sex or organ trafficking – however, these forms could still fall under this broad UN definition outlined in the Trafficking Protocol.

**Human Trafficking as Theoretically Controversial**

The UN Trafficking Protocol is deliberately broad, not only to cover the multiple manifestations of human trafficking (which will be discussed later), but also to conciliate the various parties that conceptualize (d) trafficking in theoretically divergent ways. These parties were influential in the development of the UN trafficking protocol and continue to be prominent voices in the advancement of the understanding of human trafficking. Anthony DeStefano describes the history of drafting the UN trafficking protocol as:

Certain feminist groups had pressured diplomats to include language that would prohibit prostitution. After a number of western governments threatened to withdraw support for the protocol if it took such an overt abolitionist stance, negotiators softened the final language to condemn only sex work that had been procured by force, fraud, or duress. (2008, p. 108)
Lobbyists from various groups such as the religious right and radical feminist groups surprisingly aligned themselves on this issue to counter human rights-leaning caucuses to finally champion this compromising definition that leans more toward the human rights consensus (Gozdziak & Collett, 2005).

**Slavery and Agency**

Disparate views at their extremes embody theoretical arguments that directly pertain to the definition of human trafficking, which I refer to as the *trafficking spectrum debate*. Though such views sometimes become heated arguments within the anti-trafficking in persons (ATIP) circles when the extremes are emphasized, it seems possible that post-trafficking rehabilitation work could straddle such extremities and still effectively move toward a defined understanding of “recovery.” The trafficking spectrum debate essentially goes as follows; one caucus equates all prostitution as trafficking whereas the other emphasizes the agency of a prostitute as a willing participant; differentiating between “forced prostitution” and “prostitution,” where the former is believed to be human trafficking. Designations for the position of *prostitution as trafficking* vary from how DeStefano (2008) refers to it and later Bales & Soodalter represent as the “Abolitionist” position or the “Anti-Prostitution” position (2009). The other camp may be described as the “Human Rights” (DeStefano, 2008, Bales & Soodalter, 2009) caucus or the “Pro-Prostitution” party. These labels are convenient and possibly necessary for discussion, however, they are also misleading, as the exact position of such groups can be confused; especially when both are using the terms “abolitionist” and/or “human rights.” For instance, individuals from both sides may call themselves abolitionists – especially as human trafficking is often called “slavery” –they may say they work for the “human rights” of all but have leanings toward the theoretical models that would place them in the “anti-prostitution” camps. CATW or
the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, an organization that claims to be one of the first non-governmental organizations (NGO) to address trafficking, especially sex trafficking, holds the philosophy that:

[S]exual exploitation is a practice by which person(s) achieve sexual gratification or financial gain or advancement through the abuse of a person's sexuality by abrogating that person's human right to dignity, equality, autonomy, and physical and mental well-being [as well as,] all prostitution exploits women, regardless of women's consent. (2010)

Though an abolitionist organization, CATW uses the terminology of “human rights” in the manner of their conviction, illuminating the debate on the ubiquitous nature of such a term. As an NGO with status to consult the UN, CATW has influenced this conceptualization of human trafficking. For the purpose of this paper, I will continue to use these terms (abolitionists versus human rights) to mark the ends of the spectrum debate, for the mere sake of continuity and the lack of better delineations. Overall, it seems clear that all of these ATIP groups are against the forced, coerced, or fraudulent exploitation of a person for another’s economic gain, however, it is worth delving deeper into these theoretical models as they will resurface in later discussions on trauma and recovery.

The Abolitionist group embraces a radical feminist outlook that views human trafficking as primarily the oppression of women by a patriarchal society (Dworkin, 1993; Farley, 2003; MacKinnon, 1989). This patriarchy manifests individually when a man uses a woman as an object of his sexual pleasure or as a means of service to or for him, collectively when a region allows, condones or tolerates such practices such as prostitution or low or no paid wages for women, and systemically when the results of the former compile to create the current economic inequality that forces women to fall victim to objectifying and dehumanizing roles in society.
Abolitionists argue that prostitution—an arena fraught with human trafficking (or “forced prostitution”) even in terms of the “human rights” definition—is a prime example of this overall gender exploitation. Generally drawing from research on the population of prostitutes, Abolitionists operate on the basis that prostitution is human trafficking and the two cannot be separated.

Elvira Novikova, a former UN committee member for the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) writes of her struggles with this definitional dilemma, which ultimately led her to resign from the human rights-biased committee. She attributes the feminization of poverty and migration as culprits to pushing women into prostitution. She cites that economic reforms in places such as Russia yield daunting realities such as a female unemployment rate of 70.1% among those with a university degree and 69.5% of women with a secondary education (Schöpp-Schilling & Flinterman, 2007, p. 126). She believes human trafficking presents a unique challenge, “that cannot be resolved in traditional national liberal-democratic frameworks” (p. 138). These realities coupled with the lack of economic opportunities, structural or governmental protections, and the absurd demand for sex “services” in nearby regions, she concludes that there is no room for volition and agency on a woman’s part when it comes to sex trafficking, as these greater forces coerce her into the undesirable domain of prostitution which is a key legal element of human trafficking.

**Human Trafficking as a Human Rights Violation**

Slavery was, in a very real sense, the first international human rights issue to come to the fore. It led to the adoption of the first human rights laws and to the creation of the first human rights non-governmental organization. And yet despite the efforts of the

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29 CEDAW is an international, legally binding, human rights treaty, adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly and marks a significant historic victory for women’s rights.
international community to combat this abhorrent practice, it is still widely prevalent in all its insidious forms, old and new. The list is painfully long and includes traditional chattel slavery; bonded labour; serfdom; and forced labour, including of children, women and migrants, and often for the purpose of sexual exploitation, domestic servitude and ritualistic and religious reasons. (Message from former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan on the International Day for the Abolition of Slavery, December 2, 2002.) (United Nations, 2002)

In the spectrum debate of conceptualizing sex trafficking, the human rights caucuses – again, not necessarily always operating out of the essence of a “human rights perspective” – employs different vocabulary to accommodate the understanding. Instead of *prostitution* as *trafficking* or *violence against women*, it becomes *commercial sex work*, *entertainment*, or an *industry* to align with the domain of labor or work (Farley, 2004). Since human trafficking is often viewed through economic lenses, labor terminology is suitable though it may subtly dismantle the humanity of a prostitute in terms of vocation; normalizing commodification of women as “merchandise,” promoting the invisibility of common violence, or mask the true misogynist perspectives behind the practice (Farley, 2003) and playing on gendered stereotypes like women are for mens’ pleasure, property, or service (O’Neill Richard, 1999). To protect the rights of the rare adult who chooses prostitution as work though she has other options, human rights camps differentiate prostitution (labor) and forced prostitution (human trafficking) and create legal standards based more in the micro and mesosystemic realms honoring individual agency.

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30 Though prostitution includes men, women, and children, I will refer to it in the feminine as the majority of literature suggests there is a higher female prevalence in prostitution.
Still recognizing the economic gender disparities, liberal feminists and others would argue that prostitution is an empowering profession for women as it allows a woman to compete economically in a male dominated marketplace as well as exert individual sexual power over men (Doezema, 1999; Kempadoo, 2005). Generally, laws tend to criminalize prostitution, so if a woman happens to be trafficked or forced into prostitution and caught, her trafficker and john usually receive relative impunity while she is arrested for a crime. This perfectly reinforces traffickers’ common psychological conditioning of victims as they normally tell them that law enforcement will arrest them, deport them, and expose them for the so called “whore” that she is. Traffickers distort victims’ identities in order to achieve compliance and submission (Farley, 2003; Freed, 2004; Ross, Farley, & Schwartz, 2004; Shigekane, 2007). This insidious practice later results in a person’s difficulty to self-identify as a former victim as they may feel complicit in the crimes they were forced to do; gratification, in one way or another – financially, emotionally, relationally, or sexually – also distorts the acceptance of a victim identity and later recovery from a brainwashed self-view.

Sweden developed novel law to address the human rights violations that frequently occur in prostitution and the historical victim-blaming that legally happens via criminalization of the institution. Essentially, it is illegal to buy sex in Sweden, not necessarily sell sex (Ekberg, 2004). This paradoxical law addresses the market demand that buyers of sexual services create and penalizes them versus individuals who, in the majority are the “weaker partner who is exploited by those who want only to satisfy their sexual drives” (Ekberg, 2004, p. 1188). Swedish law

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31 “John”- refers to someone buying sex. Also “punter,” “client,” “trick,” or “buyer” (Estes & Weiner, 2001, p. 12).

32 Specific books such as The Pimps Bible: The Secret Science of Sin exist to instruct traffickers how to psychologically control and manipulate another human being for exploitation (Gholson, 2001).
purports to operate out of a “human rights perspective” though it cleverly removes itself outside of the polarized spectrum debate by respecting both the likely coercion women face toward prostitution, while honoring individual agency to sell sex.

As illustrated in this debate, an attempt to fashion a blanket definition for human rights, would be another multivolume series and perhaps an impossible task to achieve. The closest we have come to this endeavor is the crafting of the historical Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948. The UDHR continues to serve as the most all-embracing standard for human rights and broadly condemns any unfair personal violations. It directly addresses slavery stating, “No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms” (UN, 1948, Article 4). Articles 3 – 6 speak to the rights of life, liberty, personal security, legal recognition as a person, safety from torture, cruelty, inhumane and degrading treatment or punishment; any of which present in cases of modern human trafficking.

Another popular delineation of human trafficking is the US Trafficking Victims Protection Act or TVPA developed in 2000. Like the UN Trafficking protocol, it stands on a framework of what is commonly known as the “3-P” system; a three pronged approach for prosecution, protection, and prevention (Clawson et al., 2003; Oxman-Martinez, 2005). The US Trafficking Protocol gives clear and concise boundaries, which may be why it is widely cited and used as another leading definition in the literature. It gives substance to the definition of human trafficking and defines "severe forms of trafficking in persons" as:

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(a) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or
(b) the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery. (TVPA, 2000)

Figure 2.4

Domestic Servitude

Marlena believed that she would receive the promised $200 per week, with decent living conditions, fair treatment, and freedom of movement while serving as a housekeeper in a wealthy Middle Eastern home. She willingly migrated from her impoverished Asian country in the hopes to send money back home to her family. Her reality was far from her expectations as she was forced to relinquish her passport, remain locked in the house, work 20 hours a day, sleep on the floor, and receive no payment. She was regularly degraded, criticized, and beaten. Marlena attempted to run away after eight months of abuse and was arrested by police for leaving her employer. She spent two years in a deportation center (United States Department of State, 2007 Trafficking in Persons Report, p. 13).

Though fairly comprehensive, this legislation is not without its gaps. Opposition, generally from sex-worker groups, argues that the criminalization and sentencing [for traffickers] does not fit the crime and it punishes sex workers who are merely providing a service for a large societal demand (Spice, 2007). They generally believe this legislation deprecates their agenda to protect sex worker rights (Gozdziak & Collett, 2005). Cynics suspect this legislation is driven by
extremes – discussed earlier in the trafficking spectrum debate – such as fundamentalist ideologies that oppose the institution of prostitution in general because it is a “moral indignation” (Kempadoo, 2007). Others argue that the division between sex and labor is unnecessary (Bales & Soodalter, 2009). Kara reports that a third of all trafficking victims fall into the category not covered by the TVPA: illegal immigrants who cross the border and adults trafficked for sex who were not forced, coerced, or fraudulently obtained, “albeit under false promises of rosy conditions that turned out to be slavery” (2010, p. 194).

**Human Trafficking as Differentiated from Smuggling**

Kara’s (2010) recognition of the gap in the TVPA legislation demonstrates the blurred line between trafficking and smuggling of humans, which may seem one in the same, though differentiations can be drawn. Both trafficking and smuggling are considered “irregular migration patterns” (Aronowitz, 2009, p. 6). An oft-quoted annual estimate of “trafficked” persons across international borders is 800,000. According to the Migration Policy Institute, this figure describes people being “smuggled” (Bhabha, 2005). Though ATIP activists are quick to flaunt that number to elicit needed attention to the topic of modern day slavery, they may fail to recognize that it applies to the word “trafficking” as movement, not necessarily with the implied exploitation of a person which would make it “human trafficking.” In this sense, smuggling and trafficking become much like the sex trafficking debate in that one of the elements of force, fraud, or coercion comes into question, usually in regard to a macro level force such as the “push” factor of poverty. Nonetheless, the amount remains regarding irregular migration and

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34 Based on Lee’s *Theory of Migration*, factors exist in (Lee, 1966) countries of origin, countries of destination, as well as personal factors and intervening obstacles that influence one’s decision to migrate. Factors that attract one to a country or repel one away from their own country have commonly become known as “Push” (poverty, lack of employment, war, loss of land, etc.) and “Pull” (economic opportunity, education, healthcare, etc.) factors. Study of human trafficking
surely victims of trafficking are apart of that large estimate.

Many argue that a nation’s economic hardship in a country forces one to illegally cross a border in search of brighter futures, while others argue that this overall economic force is not sufficient enough to warrant it as trafficking without considering the elements of agency, exploitation, and coercion. The Trafficking Protocol (2000) mentions the “abuse of a position of vulnerability” making it reasonable for people like Bhabha (2005) to argue that, “[T]his can potentially encompass a very broad range of situations, since poverty, hunger, illness, lack of education, and displacement could all constitute a position of vulnerability” and “abuses” could likely occur in the business of migration services (p. 3). In addition to macro level force, fraud is commonly used in smuggling as documents are falsified and forged to dupe immigration officials. Fraud may occur, not only in the service of migration for an individual, but against an individual in the form of false advertising about types of job placements by dishonest placing “agencies” (Aronowitz, 2009, p. 29; Waugh, 2006, p. 12). Despite the force, fraud, and coercion tenable in both smuggling and trafficking arguments, there does exist differences in the international laws (UNODC, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c) describing each. The acts of harboring, transporting, transferring, recruiting or receiving persons could occur with both trafficking and smuggling, however the distinctions become clearer when considering the means by which this is done and/or the purpose for exploitation. Smuggling is defined in international law 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 national or a permanent resident" (UNODC, 2000b, Article 3). This concise policy emphasizes a border crossing where patterns often use this theory to classify countries in terms of “origin” or “source” (where slaves come from), “transit” (where slaves travel through), and “destination” (where slaves end up) countries.
two parties are involved; one benefits materially (the smuggler) and the other enters illegally in collusion with the smuggler. The reason(s) why one migrated is where controversies arise as well as what happens after the smuggling experience to an individual. If ill-treatment occurs before the smuggling experience, such as those described in the Trafficking Protocol (i.e., abduction, force, threat of violence, etc.) then the red flags for trafficking rise, especially if the material gain is secured through the exploitation of the individual. Most plainly described by an ATIP activist, “smuggling is a crime against a border, whereas trafficking is a crime against a person (M. Ritchie, personal communication, 2007). In Figure 2.4, Marlena may have knowingly paid someone to smuggle her to the destination country, but it is unlikely she willingly decided to be exploited. The crime of human trafficking, of which she was not complicit, happened after the crime of smuggling, in which she was complicit.
Figure 2.5.

Human Trafficking as a Process embodying other crimes (Aronowitz, 2003, 2009)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recruitment</th>
<th>Transportation/Entry</th>
<th>Exploitation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Smuggling Trafficking</td>
<td>Smuggling Trafficking</td>
<td>Trafficking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document forgery</th>
<th>Document forgery</th>
<th>Corruption of government officials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corruption of government officials</td>
<td>Corruption of government officials</td>
<td>Abuse of immigration laws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Fraudulent promises</td>
<td>* Threat</td>
<td>* Threat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Kidnapping</td>
<td>* Assault</td>
<td>* Assault</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* False imprisonment</td>
<td>* False imprisonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Theft of documents</td>
<td>* Theft of documents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Sexual Assault</td>
<td>* Sexual Assault</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Aggravated Assault</td>
<td>* Aggravated Assault</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Rape</td>
<td>* Rape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Death</td>
<td>* Death</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Offences in violation of the Criminal Code in many countries. The victim is the Government. *Offences in italics preceded by an asterisk indicate that the offences are perpetrated against the individual victim.*

**Human Trafficking as Multidimensional**

Figure 2.5 illustrates typical phases of trafficking and crimes traffickers employ to enslave victims. Though the methodologies vary, traffickers generally recruit, move, and exploit individuals. Aronowitz explains trafficking as a “process” citing stages of abduction or recruitment, then transport to a certain place, and finally exploitation (2003, 2009). Aronowitz goes on to account for additional stages, not seen in the above Figure 2.5, that may involve criminal activities and benefits to offenders such as money laundering, tax evasion, corrupting government officials, and so forth (2003). Others allude to phases for victims after exit from exploitation such as rescue, rehabilitation and re/integration (Bales, 2007; Gozdziak & Bump, 2008; Surtees, 2005; Zimmerman et al., 2011). Aronowitz explains predictable activities in the
initial phase such as making fraudulent promises and abducting persons while the transportation phase usually entails violence, document forgery, and abuse of immigrant laws. Common activities in the last phase include increased or sustained violence, coercion, threats, and forced labor and sexual acts among others (Aronowitz, 2003, 2009).

Louisa Waugh accounts interviewing Madeleine Rees, a former employee for the UN Mission in Bosnia (a country notorious for trafficking in Eastern European women for sexual exploitation) where she observed the connection between prostitution and military involvement (2006). Rees explained, how women were being recruited and driven across the permeable Bosnian borders, auctioned in bars and open-air markets, and enslaved in brothels or other sexually related industries (Waugh, 2006). After describing this process, she described what traffickers do in the exploitation phase:

The trafficker’s methodology was simple and effective. Extreme violence works for a short while. You terrify the women into complying; threaten to kill their kids and so on. As soon as you have them cowed into submission, you set up a bar or café, get them officially employed as a waitress and pay them a stipend. You create economic dependency. The women are registered and apparently legally employed, and the industry enters the mainstream. It becomes normalized, which makes it far more difficult to combat…. if a trafficked woman was found in a brothel, she would be immediately arrested for prostitution…imprisoned or dumped… [usually to be trafficked again or deported]. (Waugh, 2006, p. 48)
Human trafficking is a crime in its own right, however, the number of other crimes\textsuperscript{35} that occur in conjunction with it, constitute human trafficking as a multifaceted criminal process. Though the process may occur only between exploiter and exploited, it often entails cooperation of a criminal network (Aronowitz, 2009; O’Neill Richard, 1999). Not only criminal networks of individuals and their affiliated institutions comply, but larger, non-human dimensions such as laws (or lack thereof), societal structures, values related to work, gender, and morality, globalization and attitudes about class affect the dynamics of human trafficking – its etiology, continuation, and its ultimate elimination. This ecological viewpoint suggests that the interaction, not only between humans but also between humans, their environments and time contributes to the understanding of human trafficking.

\textsuperscript{35} Kidnapping, falsifying documents, alien smuggling, assault, rape, forced prostitution, threatening, endangering, money laundering, tax evasion, extortion, manslaughter, bribing, and so forth (Aronowitz, 2009).
their extreme vulnerability as homeless black men (Office of the United States Attorney Middle District of Florida, 2007).

When police raided the East Palatka, Florida, camp in June 2005, they found 148 individually wrapped crack cocaine rocks – one night’s supply. Evans was sentenced to 30 years in federal prison. (Aronowitz, 2009, p. 46)

Urie Bronfenbrenner, a developmental psychologist, developed the Ecological Systems Theory in 1979 (See Figure 2.7), which embeds the understanding of human development in the contextual environments of an individual. Individual interactions with one’s own biology and immediate surroundings such as family, school, and community (micro and meso systems) to the interactions with larger influences of social settings like social welfare, religious institutions, and parental networks (exo system) as well as interactions with a larger system (macro system) comprising cultural values, laws, customs and resources explain one’s development (Berk, 2010, pp. 20-21; Bronfenbrenner, 1979). All of these nested and interacting systems along with a temporal dimension of “ecological transitions” of time and history, which Bronfenbrenner later called “the chronosystem” (1994), shape the development of an individual. When studying survivor recovery from human trafficking, the age and/or the speed of exit from a trafficking situation (i.e., if a young child is quickly removed and offered prompt intervention versus another who languishes between rescue and services) may affect (M. Malstead, personal communication, 2008) the microsystemic progress of one’s recovery and could be considered fixed in Bronfenbrenner’s chronosystemic understanding. Hodge and Lietz (2009) believed that

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36 Ecological transitions are “shifts in role or settings;” turning points in development over the lifespan, such as getting married, having a child, moving to a different location, retiring, embarking on a new life course, and so forth (Berk, 2010, p. 21; Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 6).
the complex nature of sexual trafficking – specifically social work interventions – warrants a multilevel ecological response that addresses all levels and dimensions of interaction. Both human trafficking – as a phenomenon affected by personal and relational vulnerabilities, by exo and macro level forces of corruption, by the absence of laws (ignorance), and by attitudinal acquiescence or complicity in the practice – and the recovery from human trafficking’s detrimental effects – from economic and shifts in moral attitudes to individual trauma – human trafficking can be viewed as implanted in multidimensional, contextual, and interrelated dimensions.

Figure 2.7.
Conditions such as the valued work ethic, self-autonomy, and emphasis on agriculture in the South possibly led to the climate where unemployed, homeless men in a region with an abundance of low skilled labor demands, mark the macro and exosystemic level circumstances that could foment such exploitation. Also situated in the macro system as well as the chrono system where systems intersect with history and time, are racial attitudes. Florida and North Carolina were historically a part of the U.S. Confederacy located in the slave-owning South. Though slavery in the Confederacy was outlawed when Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation and abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1865, this did not erase the cultural indoctrination of racist mentalities and practices that continue to persist. The fact that these were black, impoverished men in the South in such a context may have led the traffickers and others to erroneously believe that they could treat them unequally and inhumanely.

**Meso and Micro Contexts of the Labor Trafficking Case**

This imbalance in the perception of a person or group of peoples’ inherent value inevitably results in an unequal relationship, which is an essential keystone feature to human trafficking and its conceptualization. Kevin Bales discussed in his book, *The Slave Next Door*, how the idea that another has less value is directly linked to the downward spiral of becoming a slaveholder (2010). He contemplated the question of how educated, financially stable, people living in an orderly society could come to enslave another in these modern times. His simple

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37 The 13th Amendment asserts, “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction” (13th Amendment, December 18, 1965). Though slavery is clearly condemned in this amendment, it did not fully elucidate the understanding resulting in the continuation of exploitation as the “except” clause was regrettably abused to re-enslave former slaves in different ways (Davis, 2006, p. 30) and metamorphosed into Jim Crow laws and other formal and informal measures that kept freed slaves suppressed and influence racist practices today.
answer is economic gain (Bales, 2010). However, where does this desire for economic gain come from? Perhaps the explanation lies in the influences of macro systems on micro systems. Kara believes that, “structures of Western capitalism, as spread through the process of economic globalization, contribute greatly to the destruction of lives this profitability [of human trafficking] entails” (2010, p. 4).

**Human Trafficking as spurring a Movement**

Human trafficking is a multisystemic phenomenon that can be approached in an organized way. Much like movements of the past, such as the Abolition Movement, which overthrew the legal ownership over another human being, the Civil Rights Movement, which legally terminated institutional segregation between blacks and whites in the United States, or the Women’s Rights Movement, which granted recognition and entitlements to women, the anti-human trafficking cause is being adopted and promulgated by a variety of disciplines, organizations, institutions and governments resulting in a kind of movement. Though there is a long way to go in the goals of all the aforementioned movements and by no means are they complete, the ATIP movement seems to be reaching a tipping point of recognition and concern as evidenced by the burgeoning literature (Gozdziak & Bump, 2007), groups dedicated to the cause and media attention (Potts, 2003).

The fact that the crime of human trafficking has evoked a modern abolitionist movement conveys that critical masses are interested in seeing it addressed. Most leading theorists and activists include recommendations on how to “fight” or “combat” this modern day slavery in their writings (Aronowitz, 2009; Bales, 2007; Batstone, 2007; Doezema, 1999; Hunter, 2007; Kara, 2010; Kristof & WuDunn, 2009; Skinner, 2008), NGO’s are burgeoning to address this topic, international, inter-governmental agencies and States’ administrations are demanding the
development of specific ATIP offices and task forces to respond address the issue, National Action Plans that implore the implementation and monitoring of ATIP measures, wide-spread campaigns (Rescue and Restore Campaign, Red Flag Campaign, Blue Heart Campaign) to spread awareness about it, and even a month and day set aside to commemorate National Anti-Human Trafficking Day (January 11th), and National Slavery and Human Trafficking Prevention Month (January) (US Office of the Press Secretary, January 4, 2010).

Human trafficking is a multidimensional issue, a form of modern slavery, a crime or series of crimes and human rights violations, a theoretically divergent controversy, a relative to smuggling and other disparate crimes (but not an identical twin), and takes on a variety of forms. The collective anti-human trafficking sentiment is erupting into a promising movement that will

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38 "The United States Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons was established after the US TVPA 2000 legislation was enacted. It leads the United States’ global engagement on the fight against human trafficking, partnering with foreign governments and civil society to develop and implement effective strategies for confronting modern slavery. The Office has responsibility for bilateral and multilateral diplomacy, targeted foreign assistance, and public engagement on trafficking in persons” (USDOS, 2011). “United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Trafficking in persons (UN.GIFT) was established out of the UN Office of Drugs and Crime in 2007 as the first global inter-agency initiative made up of the International Labour Organization (ILO), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights (OHCHR), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), aimed at combating human trafficking. The United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking (UNGIFT) is based on a simple principle: human trafficking is a crime of such magnitude and atrocity that it requires a global, multi-stakeholder strategy to address it” (UNGIFT, 2011).

39 “The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services is designated as the agency responsible for helping victims of human trafficking become eligible to receive benefits and services so they may rebuild their lives safely in the U.S. As part of this effort, USDHHS has initiated the Rescue & Restore Victims of Human Trafficking campaign to help identify and assist victims of human trafficking in the United States” (USDHHS, 2011).

40 Local chapters of the USDHHS’s Campaign to Rescue and Restore victims of human trafficking have started campaigns like the “Red Flag Campaign” in Northern Kentucky (2010).

41 The Blue Heart Campaign is an initiative under the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime to increase awareness on human trafficking, encourage involvement and inspire help to stop this crime, as well as allow people to show solidarity with victims of human trafficking (Blue Heart Campaign Against Human Trafficking, 2011).
hopefully set the stage for greater understanding of human rights, wider compassionate action, and systemic and individual interdependence on one another. There is hope in the movement against human trafficking, according to researchers and writers. Bales said, “We can kick this” citing that “there is optimism in the fight against slavery” (2005, p. 125). He described that no economy would be disrupted by its end, “as was the case [of] American [slavery] in the 1850’s, …this is the first generation to have developed a general consensus against slavery, and the first generation that has the opportunity to develop global mechanisms to root out and eradicate slavery…” (Bales, 2005, p. 125). Later, Bales wrote a book entitled, “Ending Slavery: How We Free Today’s Slaves” (2007) and suggested practical measures such as creating robust enforceable laws, using diplomacy, trade, and aid strategically, protecting and supporting freed slaves, targeting demand, ending the product chain of slave-made goods, and so forth. Kristof and WuDunn suggested preventative measures such as educating girls, providing microcredit loans to women, targeting specific health issues related to women, as well as using former abolitionist leaders – William Wilberforce’s and Thomas Clarkson’s – methods of campaigning against slavery by exposing people to what conditions are like for a slave (2009, p. 235). Kara constructs a four step “framework for abolition,” which suggests economic intervention against the business of modern day slavery is best (2010, pp. 200-219). He suggested such measures as establishing unified, coordinated, and inter-disciplinary coalitions, raising operation costs for industries that use slaves, increasing penalties to slavers via higher prosecutions and fines, among other sound strategies (Kara, 2010). As such theories and actions are developed and implemented, people will have the tools to not only comprehend human trafficking, but to engage in the movement against it.
As some researchers call for more precise definitions of human trafficking (Aromaa, 2007; Laczko & Gramenga, 2003), the ideas and theories proffered by current ATIP legislation, human trafficking cases, scholars, journalists, and activists provide a working understanding of human trafficking. Though abuses of representation of issues and/or people may occur within the anti-trafficking discourse (Doezema, 1999; Kempadoo, 2007; Price, 2008; Spice, 2007), there exists a general agreement that individuals who are exploited via the use of force, fraud or coercion (TVPA, 2000) without pay beyond subsistence (Bales, 2004) are victims of human trafficking. Human trafficking or modern slavery is a crime against people that encompasses a diverse range of economic enterprises and practices that often involves movement in a process to exploit an individual, and it begs macro to micro level moral controversies related to human rights and human agency.

Overview of Human Trafficking Effects

Human trafficking commodifies individuals for their labor or services to economically benefit another; treatment as a commodity, or non-human likely yields trauma. Originating from the Greek term for *wound, trauma* has been endeavored to be defined in various ways from Briquet’s “first empirical investigation of *hysteria*” – a condition related to exposure to extreme stress – in 1859 (van der Kolk, 1996) to the current day understanding of trauma as a vague impression of something negative (Fassin & Rechtman, 2009). Cynics of the concept of trauma in earlier scrutiny of war combatants suspected malingering presuming soldiers’ used it to avoid combat (Fassin & Rechtman, 2009, p. 42, Herman 1992b, p. 21). Similarly, some have regrettably made claims that trauma is a “transient stress reaction” to be inflated and exploited merely for compensation (Gleser, Green, & Winget, 1981, p. 13). Considering Lenore Terr’s work, Courtois and Ford, in their book, *Treating Complex Traumatic Stress Disorders,*
mentioned Terr’s two types of event trauma: “Type I” – usually unexpected, single-event trauma – and “Type II” or “Complex trauma” – the more common, repetitive trauma that can alter one’s “psychobiological and socio-emotional development when it occurs at critical developmental periods” (2009, p. 15; Terr, 1995). A “Type III” trauma has been proposed by Solomon and Heide as an extension of the severity of extreme, ongoing, pervasive, and violent stress experienced at an early age, which results in emotional numbing, dissociation, poor or fragmented sense of self, common feelings of suicidal ideation, no future-orientation, and extreme impairment in relational trust (1999). Robert Lifton coined the term “survivor syndrome” that describes trauma embodied in survivors of man-made disasters such as Hiroshima and manifests five characteristics (as described in Gleser et al., 1981, pp. 14-15).

Courtois and Ford explain a difference between traumatic stressor events – including individual’s experience during exposure to the stressor(s) – and the individual’s response during or shortly after the event (peritraumatic) or weeks, months, or years afterwards (posttraumatic) as conceptualizations of trauma (2009, p. 15). Trauma can be separated into the categories of man-made (inflicted by another) and acts of god (natural disasters and accidents). Man-made events have greater symptomology and negative affects than “acts of god” trauma (Terr, 1991). Just as trauma is an event as well as a manifestation of what that event initiated, human trafficking is a man-made event seemingly awash with violence and cruelty that may dramatically affect human beings. It is often referred to as a “multi-billion dollar industry” (economically speaking) (Heyzer, 2002), human trafficking ultimately seems to be a human rights violation, a crime and a series of crimes that breaks down individuals, relationships and societies. Not only is one’s

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42 Manifestations of the “survivor syndrome” include 1) the death imprint, 2) survivor guilt, 3) psychic numbing, 4) conflict over nurturance needs, and 5) impairment in the formulation of the meaning of the death encounter (Gleser et al., 1981).
labor pilfered, but also their very sense of humanity, safety, and basic trust is violated. In a similar sense, prostitution is often viewed as an “industry” as well as plainly “violence against women” (Farley, 2004; Raymond, 1998). Without rehearsing the trafficking spectrum debate, both remain true depending upon one’s viewpoint. The sequelae of negative effects on an individual from traumatic events such as prostitution is well documented and can shed light on sequelae associated with human trafficking (though I am not arguing they are definitionally the same).

Arguing from a clinical perspective, psychologist and leading researcher on prostitution, pornography, and sexual violence, Farley asserts alarming findings on the negative consequences of prostitution from her extensive studies with prostitutes (2003, 2004; Farley, Cotton, Lynne, Zumbeck, Spiwak, & Reyes, 2004). From her research findings, particularly from a substantial nine-country study where 854 interviews of (current or recent) prostitutes were conducted, she found alarming rates of sexual violence in such a “profession.” It should be noted that Farley would oppose the connotation of prostitution as a “profession,” “industry,” or “work,” as all of these descriptions normalize the institution that her research proves to be violence against women and equivalent to trafficking, a crime (2003, 2004; Farley et al., 2004). Among other findings, the nine-country study revealed that, “prostitution is multi-traumatic (71% were physically assaulted in prostitution; 63% were raped; 68% met the criteria for PTSD),” gender undifferentiating (“affects men and boys in a similar way as it does women and girls”) and qualitatively similar to trafficking (“89% wanted to leave prostitution but could not due to lack of other options for survival; 75% had been homeless at some point in their lives, and most prostitutes do not freely consent to being in it.”) (Farley et al., 2003).
Herman, a leading trauma researcher, confirmed that victims of prostitution she has seen clinically constitute some of “the most cruelly abused people” she and her colleagues have ever treated at a major hospital specializing in violence (Farley, 2003, p. 3). She went on to discuss how she broached this topic – to the chagrin of the conference organizer – at a national conference on traumatic stress finding that, even to her and the attendees’ surprise, 75% of the 600 attendees at her lecture had clinically treated prostitutes (Farley, 2003, pp. 2-3). This not only reveals the need for psychosocial intervention for this population but the need to acknowledge the damage of this allegedly “victimless crime.” She reported prostitutes commonly suffer from, “serious neurobiological and personality disorders that hinder the formation of a cooperative working relationship…self-harm, suicidality, extreme social problems, precarious and dangerous everyday realities that lead to complex forms of trauma, injury and death” (Farley, 2003, pp. 1-12).

Besides this, murders against prostitutes are more common than against the general population. A study revealed that women, “in street prostitution are 60 to 100 times more likely to be murdered than are non-prostitutes” (Salfati, James, & Ferguson, 2008). Potterat, Brewer, Muth, Rothenberg, Woodhouse, and Muth found in an open cohort of prostituted women the homicide rate of 229 in 100,000 accounted for at least 50% of the deaths of prostitutes (2004). Samples from prostitutes from two cities in the United Kingdom, Nariobi, and Vancouver revealed 29% to 100% of prostitute deaths are murders (Potterat et al., 2004). Another study exposed the victimization and violence street level sex workers endured, not only while “working” but also throughout their life span in various contexts (Dalla, Xia, & Kennedy, 2003). This may account for why Sanger, a physician studying the health of prostitutes in 1858, found that in a sample of 2000 prostitutes in New York that symptoms included premature old age,
despair, degradation, decline, and early death – on average a prostitute lived only 4 years after entry into prostitution (as reported in Benjamin & Masters as cited in Farley, 2004).

In a similar vein Bales argued that slaves today are “disposable,” and “expendable” as they are cheaper and more abundant than at other times in history (Bales, 2000, 2004). If prostitutes are generally abused, mistreated, disposable, cheap, and abundant, it is no wonder that the broader community would develop negative perceptions about such individuals. If communities disregard this population, then it is likely that even broader institutions will not pay heed in the development of pertinent laws, institutions (i.e., social services or educational systems), and other resources that could provide a positive contextual framework for these individuals to potentially shift their life trajectory. Though it may be socially, politically, or morally taboo to explore the violence perpetrated on prostitutes, more serious consideration of the research on prostitution and its links to trafficking, exploitation, and violence needs to occur and affect intervention versus the unrelenting maintenance of trite theoretical differences that draw attention away from the difficulties this population experiences and the immediate needs they have. Though most prostitution research shows alarmingly high adverse effects of prostitution on those engaged in it – that prostitutes generally desire exit from this “work” (Farley et al., 2004), that some level of rehabilitation or total identity restructuring may need to occur after leaving in order to reintegrate back into society (Farley et al., 2004; Hopper, 2004, 2008), and again, the violence that occurs within it – to call it all trafficking would not satisfy the argument of individual agency and self-determination (Doezema, 1999; Kempadoo, 2005) under the assumption that everyone has it or is entitled to it.

**Overview of Recovery**
Though some research can be found on the effects of human trafficking on mainly personal levels and very little at the macro level, the literature about the course of recovery from human trafficking is scarcer. More available are sources about recovery from other crimes or experiences resulting in similar trauma that human trafficking may evoke, however the state of theories of recovery is fraught with ambiguity about definition, application, and validity. I will set out to explore some of these themes of recovery—some related or overlapping, others distinct and unrelated. Acting both as a researcher and practitioner, I will select those theories and applications that appear 1) grounded in empirical research and/or 2) heuristic in practical use. Theoretical frameworks specifically related to the trauma and recovery of human trafficking are currently being investigated in the literature (Zimmerman et al., 2011) and deserve more appraisal to move the understanding and healing from this crime on all levels. My research attempts to emphasize those studies that stand alone as major models that may have relevance. I make no claim to verify, validate, or suggest high validity of any particular model. Instead, I am trying to set up reasonable boundaries for future research and action.

Before understanding the impact of any factor on the recovery of trafficked survivors, we must attempt to understand and operationalize recovery. I use this term synonymously with related terms such as rehabilitation, healing, or re/integration. Though many choose to make distinctions between these terms, the distinctions themselves lead to extensive epistemological difficulties. I will attempt to present a number of current theories that address recovery from sequelae often associated with human trafficking. It should be noted that I am presenting an expertise-oriented model to defining recovery, meaning I draw upon theorists, research, and models developed by those “experts” working within the field of trauma, as well as victim-centered models, which draw on the voices of survivors in describing what they believe true.
recovery means from their experiences (Patton, 2002, p. 495). Understandably, comprehensions of recovery will differ depending on who defines its constructs, and I maintain that the description and measure of recovery from trauma experts and survivors serves as a standard that must be adhered to when engaging in rehabilitative services for trafficked survivors. That said, I am not opposed to appraise constructs proffered by non-survivors and non-experts in the gestalt of the larger society in a sort of heterophenomenological\(^{43}\) approach to the conceptualization of recovery and its influence on application. Common expert-views on recovery include overall biomedical, psychosocial, and functional improvements as measured on the individual level.

Recovery has been studied in various areas from addictions to mental health to grief to exposure to trauma and viewed via domains (social, psychological, physical, spiritual, etc.), remission of negative symptoms (clinical view), as the acquisition of new understanding or skills, or thematically via descriptions of features that yield positive outcomes for recovered individuals (Bonney & Stickley, 2008; Deegan, 1988; Onken et al., 2007; Turner-Crowson & Wallcraft, 2002; Wallcraft, 2005). The manifestations of negative medical consequences (Dharmadhikari, Gupta, Decker, Raj, & Silverman, 2009; Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007; Huda, 2006; Ostrovski, Prince, Zimmerman, Hotineau, Gorceag, Gorceag, Flach, & Abas, 2011; Silverman, Decker, Gupta, Dharmadhikari, Seage, & Raj, 2008; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2008, 2010; Zimmerman et al., 2011; Zimmerman, Hussain, Yun, Gajdaziev, Guzun, & Tchomarova, 2008; Zimmerman, Hussain, Yun, Roche, Morrison, & Watts, 2006; Zimmerman, Oram, Borland, & Watts, 2009; Zimmerman, Yun, Shvab, Watts, Trappolin, & Treppete, 2003; Zimmerman & Watts, 2007, 2003) and mental health problems

\(^{43}\) Dennett proposed the concept of heterophenomenology, which assumes authority of first-person accounts yet, considers their validity based on the phenomena of the wider community in conjunction with science and nature; both subjective and objective phenomena are considered (as cited in Radner, 1994).
resulting from human trafficking are documented and may be helpful for comparison to recovery models. Lloyd, Waghorn and Williams propose that recovery in mental health can be conceptualized via the domains of clinical, personal, social and functional recovery (2008) while Turner-Crowson and Wallcraft (2002) look at specific themes in individual cases. They describe recovery from mental illness as a “complex individual and self defined process concerned with regaining hope and independence” (as quoted in Wallcraft, 2005, p. 3). They found in their studies broad themes of individuals acquiring hope, perspective on the past, control, relationships, social roles, and purpose facilitated recovery while stigma, discrimination, racism, unemployment, poverty, iatrogenic effects of treatment, damaged or poor relationships, isolation unsafe environments, and substance or alcohol abuse inhibited the “ongoing process” of recovery (Turner-Crowson & Wallcraft, 2002; Wallcraft, 2005). Green proffered a model of the recovery process for mental health that includes environmental, behavioral, and motivational components of recovery, yet like the above mentioned authors, agrees that recovery is elusive (2004).

This elusive process of recovery often entails the abatement of symptoms as a common measure of progression towards rehabilitation in a biomedical approach. Again, it is difficult to understand recovery of symptoms unless we understand the trauma symptomatology. Common physical trauma in human trafficking victims and survivors, such as the acquisition of a tuberculosis (Dharmadhikari et al., 2008), sexually transmitted infection (STI) (Dharmadhikari et
al., 2008; Gajic-Veljanoski & Stewart, 2007 Huda, 2006), dental decay due to lack of access to
care, bruises, broken bones, muscle strains, iatrogenic effects of improper interventions such as a
botched abortion (Hyland, 2001; USDHHS, 2010), plainly view recovery in terms of biomedical
improvements in the survivor’s physical conditions and the reduction of further medical
symptoms. In this paper, I will primarily focus on the psychological and social recovery while
only touching on the important physical, spiritual, political, and other factors that influence one’s
progress toward “well-being.”44

Psychosocial symptomatology, which occurs frequently with human trafficking cases,
and psychosocial recovery, are also difficult to define. The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual
for Mental Disorders (DSM-IV) is one of the most common tools for diagnosing trauma in the
United States through its categories of mental illnesses and their respective lists of criteria. A
commonly known and used [among trafficked survivors] diagnosis is Posttraumatic Stress
Disorder or PTSD45. PTSD may occur when someone has intense fear, helplessness or horror
upon confrontation of an event that presents physical threat to others or oneself and manifests in
specifically outlined symptoms of intrusive recollections, avoidance, and hyper-arousal for at
least one month (American Psychological Association, 2000). The international standard used
by the World Health Organization for epidemiology, the ICD-10 or the International
Classification of Diseases, outlines a similar diagnosis for trauma also called PTSD where the
onset of symptoms occur within six months and vary in amount in relationship to the amounts

44 Well-being is often mentioned in the literature that attempts to define recovery, however, it is
itself an elusive and ambiguous topic that I will try to avoid using without operationalizing.
45 PTSD was originally codified in the DSM-III (1980) and differentiated from Adjustment
Disorder – a diagnosis with temporary features (symptoms cessate after 6 months) – which lacks
PTSD’s symptoms of intrusive re-experiencing, avoidance, hyper-arousal and hyper-vigilance
yet shares symptoms of anxiety, dysphoria, and emotionally based behavioral problems.
(Courtois & Ford, 2009, p. 19)
Therefore, clinicians using these medical models, based in trauma theory, will measure recovery by the mitigation of these defined trauma symptoms.

A bio-psychosocial approach to understanding trauma and recovery was conceived and developed by Judith Herman, psychiatrist and Harvard Medical School professor. Herman profiled a unique classification of symptoms related to *prolonged and repeated exposure* to trauma, which she coined Complex Posttraumatic Stress Disorder or CPTSD (Herman, 1992a, 1992b). Despite the unsuccessful advocacy for the inclusion of CPTSD in the DSM-IV as a unique diagnosis (Courtois & Ford, 2009, p. xiii), CPTSD nonetheless served as one of the best models in understanding the distinct blend of dissociation, somatization, and characterological disturbances typical in cases of repeated trauma (Courtois, 2004, 2008; Herman, 1992a, 1992b) and was included in the DSM-IV-TR under the auspices of DESNOS or Disorder of Extreme Stress Not Otherwise Specified (Pelcovitz et al., 1997). Pelcovitz, van der Kolk, Roth, Mandel, Kaplan, & Resick (1997) described the generation of twenty seven symptoms via a systematic literature review in 1989 of the emotional and behavioral sequelae of seven areas: childhood sexual abuse, physical abuse, crime, rape, incarceration in concentration camps, torture, and spousal abuse. Meanwhile, Herman and van der Kolk were generating their own list of

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46 DSM-IV-TR – *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* Fourth Edition (Text Revision) was revised in 2000 and augmented with further text to elaborate information on diagnoses and to improve correspondence with the ICD-10.

47 It is important to remember that the establishment of these diagnoses is a process that historically lies in the hands of those in power (mainly educated, white males in Western countries) because their widespread use and/or acceptance runs the risk of creating or maintaining harmful divides between people or groups. An example in the early eighties is when a group was lobbying for the inclusion of a diagnosis for prolonged trauma particularly associated with domestic violence victims – entitled, “Masochistic Syndrome” that seemed to explain why women would return to abusive relationships. After clear resistance from feminist-minded caucuses, the label was fortunately abandoned (Farley, 2003). Such considerations are essential as the topic of human trafficking is awash in gendered, political, and cultural contentions that could potentially alienate or stereotype entire groups based on biased understandings or ideologies.
symptoms to prolonged and repetitive trauma in 1987 (Pelcovitz et al., 1997). Both parties combined their findings and Herman synthesized these symptoms into eight categories which include: 1) regulation of affect and impulses, 2) attention or consciousness, 3) self perception, 4) perception of the perpetrator 5) relations with others 6) somatization, and 7) systems of meaning (Pelcovitz et al., 1997). Herman’s exemplary contributions in the study and elaboration of this distinct trauma likely form the most comprehensive model in relation to severe human trafficking cases where repetitive abuse and long-term bondage occur.

Christine Courtois, another practitioner and proponent of CPTSD, saw a clear connection between the human trafficking experience and CPTSD as she describes factors that promote its emergence such as recurring, abusive, relational, scenarios such as child abuse (“the prototype trauma for understanding CPTSD” p. 412), domestic violence, attachment trauma, and other traumatic events. (Courtois, 2004, 2008; Herman, 1992a, 1992b; van der Kolk, 1996,).

Likewise, Elizabeth Hopper, a clinician who works directly with trafficked survivors through Project REACH – an organization under the U.S. Department of Justice’s Office of Victims of Crime – subscribes to CPTSD’s representation of trauma for this population as well (2004, 2008). Like others, she believed PTSD does not “capture the full extent of psychological sequelae often experienced by chronic trauma victims” (Courtois, 2004; Herman, 1992a, 1992b Hopper, 2004; van der Kolk, 1996). Hopper attributed CPTSD symptoms of dissociative or “amnestic episodes, chronic shame, difficulty trusting others, and fluctuating moods as barriers to identifying victims of human trafficking,” which in turn affects the likelihood of receiving social services and ultimately forestalls personal recovery (2004). As the case with most disorders outlined in the DSM-IV or the ICD-10, recovery emerges when the management and/or
decrease in symptoms is evidenced in the survivor’s ability to function without impairments in interpersonal, social, and occupational realms (APA, 2000; World Health Organization, 1992).

Bessel van der Kolk took a bio-psychosocial approach to defining trauma and recovery, incorporated CPTSD, and considered developmental theories such as John Bowlby’s attachment theory (1984) for explaining trauma’s etiology and cessation. Bowlby’s ideas, and those of his protégé Mary Ainsworth, of early childhood attachment are integral in the understanding of trauma and recovery. They theorized that early caregiver and child relations result in later manifestations of characterological disruptions or health (Ainsworth & Bowlby, 1991; Bowlby, 1979, 1984). Attachment theory, rooted in ethology and developmental psychology, provides a framework to understanding the origins of trauma and the sequelae that present later in life (Ainsworth & Bowlby, 1991; Bowlby, 1984). If “secure” attachments are not established around 18 months of age with a responsive caregiver, later disruptions in personality and interpersonal functioning emerge (Ainsworth & Bowlby, 1991). Recovery from that trauma, defined in terms of attachment, is ameliorated through the formation of a later healthy attachment – whether with therapist, educator, or other – that serves as a “secure base” that allows the survivor to learn how to trust and engage interpersonally, thus “recovering” from symptoms impeding social and interpersonal functioning (Bowlby, 1979).

Another current perspective on recovery is the ecological theory with foundations in Urie Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems theory and community psychology. The ecological theory of recovery believes an individual (micro system) is nested within external systems (i.e., meso, exo, and macro systems) of relationships, institutions, policies as well as age and historical context (chrono system), each interacting with the others and all affecting one’s development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 25, 2005, p. 83). Considering human trafficking, it is plain to see how
the larger systems of society, which often encompass discriminatory policies that perpetuate or contribute to poverty, gender imbalances, educational disparities, ethnic aversions, and other problematic outcomes may affect an individual’s vulnerability to being forced, coerced, or deceived into an exploitative situation. In terms of post-trafficking trauma recovery, an ecological perspective might say that changes toward wellness in either the person or the environment will mutually enhance one another. For instance, the building of a school in rural Haiti – an exosystemic level – could prevent the trafficking of an individual child – microsystemic level – in that community who would have otherwise migrated to an urban center to seek educational opportunities thus increasing his or her likelihood of ending up as a “restavek” in someone’s home (McCalla & Archer, 2002). Similarly, a human trafficking survivor who learns her rights – individual or micro level – very well may influence larger systems by contributing to ATIP policy-making (macrosystemic level) or communicating her story (exosystemic level). Such examples could be considered rehabilitative gains, not only for the individual, but also gains toward overall abolition of human trafficking (Bales, 2007; Batestone, 2007; Kara, 2010; Kristof & WuDunn, 2009; Skinner, 2008).

Co-founders of the Victims of Violence program, Herman and Harvey employed this ecological perspective to their trauma work at the program. Ecological practitioners describe trauma ecologically in the formula of person x event x environment (Harvey, 1996). This expression forms the “ecosystem” whereby a person experiences and copes with the traumatizing event (Harvey, 1996). As recovery models may ascribe the source of successful recovery to

48 “The Victims of Violence program is currently apart of the Cambridge Health Alliance and serves as the clinical training center for Harvard Medical School. VOV emphasizes clinical care that can facilitate mastery, mobilize resiliency and promote renewed hope and restored self-esteem to clients.” It was co-founded in 1984 by Mary Harvey and Judith Herman. (Cambridge Health Alliance, 2010).
either the persons’ innate or learned skills or to outside intervention (environment) the ecological model recognizes that recovery is not simply either/or, but rather both/and, resulting in recovery or non-recovery with or without the clinical intervention (See Figure 2.8). The ecological model of recovery is not only concerned with the mitigation of symptoms and/or the completion of prescribed psychotherapeutic regimes, but also the interplay of environmental systems on the individual during their recovery such as societal attitudes, availability of accessible community support resources, or the response of family and friends to the trauma (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Figure 2.8.

Adapted from Mary Harvey’s Four Recovery Outcomes (1996).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survivor Receives Care</th>
<th>Survivor does not receive Care</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Survivor Recovers</strong></td>
<td><strong>Successfully Served</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Survivor does not Recover</strong></td>
<td><strong>Inoculated</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Successfully Served</strong></td>
<td><strong>Unsuccessfully Served</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Alone and Forgotten</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Though many clinicians, victims, and theorists have attempted to pinpoint what constitutes individual psychosocial recovery in a number of realms of trauma, few specifically document recovery from human trafficking sequelae in relationship to current models of prolonged or repeated trauma. Operating ecologically, Mary Harvey devised seven multidimensional constructs to define the outcome of recovery for a trauma survivor as: 1) achieving authority over the remembering process, 2) integrating memory and affect, 3) tolerating affect, 4) mastering symptoms, 5) achieving self-esteem and self-cohesion, 6) achieving safe attachment, and 7) making meaning of the trauma (Lebowitz et al., 1993; Harvey, 1996, 2007).
In terms of widespread understanding and acceptance, Herman’s model of CPTSD is relatively new, and therefore recovery constructs – such as Harvey’s recovery criteria – that address the rehabilitation of prolonged trauma, are still developing, it is nonetheless worthwhile to consider areas related to human trafficking such as grief, mental health, intimate partner violence, and torture, which proffer their own theories and models of recovery and may benefit survivors of human trafficking.

**Grief Recovery**

The loss of freedom experienced in human trafficking may be manifest in an individual in ways similar to the grief of any experienced loss. How one responds to the trauma of experiencing loss differs greatly (Eliot, 1932). To my knowledge, no studies have systematically documented grief responses or applied grief models to the recovery process of trafficked survivors. Kübler-Ross’s study of 400 dying older adults revealed a five-stage process of “growth” that she believed started with denial (about ones terminal condition), then anger (about the condition), bargaining (usually with the supernatural for an extension of life), depression, and finally, acceptance. She writes that a knowledgeable physician will promote grief recovery by assisting a patient to pass through each stage while encouraging the patient that they will stay with them until the end (Kübler-Ross, Wessler, & Avioli, 1972). Kübler-Ross’s stages of loss has often been applied to grieving populations in general, though more research needs to be effectuated for different populations in order to generalize these five stages to other groups. Kübler-Ross’s remark to physicians to specifically support the patient in a way that fosters a realization that the physician will accompany him or her until they die speaks to the assurance of companionship or social connectedness, which seems to be a theme of comfort for populations
beyond that of dying patients, such as those diagnosed with a mental illness and possibly human trafficking.

**Mental Health Recovery**

Research on the themes of recovery in mental illness generally include gains in social or relational, vocational or economic, psychological, spiritual, and/or physical areas of well-being\(^49\) including the decrease in negative symptoms. Some theorize linear versus non-linear progressions in such realms, marking measures or “evidenced-based” standards that gauge such changes (Farkas, Gagne, Anthony, & Chamberlin, 2005). Farkas et al. identified four key values to guide ROMHP programs or “recovery-oriented mental health programs” as strategies that are: 1) person-oriented (i.e., acknowledge client strengths, talents, interests and limits) 2) person-involved (i.e., recognizes the right a client has in designing, implementing, and evaluating their recovery services) 3) self-determined (i.e., elicits the full partnership of the client in the recovery process), 4) hope-oriented or “growth potential” meaning hope in the person, process, and outcome are continually assessed and promoted while all aspects of the program— from the mission down to the record keeping—are driven by overall program values\(^50\) (2005). This research has implications for programs that aim to be holistic and recognize that the service delivery does not just depend upon the micro level interaction of client and therapist that lies within a systemic framework of services, practitioners, practices, programs, and values. Ridgway also recognized the importance of hope in recovery, naming the eight emergent themes after studying first-person accounts of psychic rehabilitation (2001). Reawakening hope after despair is the first theme while the subsequent themes are: moving from denial to understanding and acceptance, transitioning from isolation to engagement to active participation in life, actively

\(^{49}\) Well-being as client or clinician-assessed.

\(^{50}\) This is commonly referred to as “values-based practice,” or “VBP.”
coping versus passively adjusting, not only viewing self as a person with a mental illness but achieving a positive sense of self, gaining a sense of purpose, seeing recovery as a complex and non-linear journey, and ensuring that support and partnership accompany one on this journey (Deegan, 1988; Leete, 1989; Lovejoy, 1982; Ridgway, 2001). Similarly, themes related to meaning, hope, and empowerment pervade the mental health recovery literature (Andresen, Oades, Caputi, 2003; Lehman, 2006; Lloyd et al., 2008; Torrey, Rapp, Van Tosh, McNabb, & Ralph, 2005). Others studying recovery of mental health consolidate recovery into four areas of clinical, social, personal, and functional recovery versus a broad definition in their conceptualizing attempts (Lloyd et al., 2008). Some practitioners use such spheres and assess advances within them (Liberman & Kopelowicz, 2005), while others utilize global assessments of functioning or general measurements of overall well-being (APA, 2000, Meehan, King, Beavis, & Robinson, 2008; Slade, Amering, & Oades, 2008). A common theme among theorists conceptualizing recovery is “recovery” as growth, which implies that there is an emphasis on recovery as a process over an outcome.

A common growth and process-oriented model of general recovery with implications toward an outcome is Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs (1943a) (See Figure 2.9). Recovery is “achieved” when one’s needs are successfully met causing them to move through Maslow’s tiers to the highest level of “self-actualization.” This process ties into ecological models of recovery in that the goal to reach such levels is an undertaking undivided from individual, social, and environmental contexts. Just as Kübler-Ross’s stage theory on loss extends from its origins into many other populations and forms of grief, Maslow’s general dynamic theory forming his stage model on human motivation has moved into areas of healing serving as a linear and heuristic model. Maslow’s five-stage model begins with physiological needs (breathing, eating, sex,
homeostasis). It continues to the need for safety in body, vocational, and familial stability and then the need to belong or be loved by family, friends, or partners. The penultimate need in the model is for esteem in the form of self-respect, confidence and respect by and for others. The last of the five needs is the ability to acquire creativity, spiritual or moral standards, and – much like Kübler-Ross’s last stage – acceptance (Maslow, 1943a, 1948). Maslow believes when needs are gratified in increasing levels through these stages, the degree of psychological health improves (1948).

Figure 2.9.
Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs

**Intimate Partner Abuse Recovery**

Needs, such as those Maslow discusses, are often overlooked in human trafficking as the victim’s primary purpose is that of economic gain, just as the victim of intimate partner violence serves as the reminder that the perpetrator has control (Walker, 1979). Human trafficking is sometimes compared to and confused with intimate partner violence (Busch, Fong, &
Recovery for survivors of intimate partner violence (IPV)\textsuperscript{51} – often referred to as domestic abuse, violence, or battering – is another overlapping area with the recovery of mental illness, torture, human trafficking, grief, and a host of other domains that produce atypical responses to extreme stress. Features of recruitment by human traffickers of potential victims often mirror the grooming cycle described by Lenore Walker in her Cycle Theory of Violence of battered women (1979), which looks much like any relationally intimate wooing process. Gifts, kindness, displays of affection, promises, money, and other acts that communicate worth and fill common emotional and physical needs are bestowed to lure someone into an intimate relationship (Aronowitz, 2003, 2009; Bales, 2004, Kara, 2010; Waugh, 2006). In the case of IPV this process may be initially genuine on the part of the later abuser suggesting an initial relational authenticity, whereas trafficking someone for intended economic gain suggests premeditated exploitation. By no means is this to imply that one is better or worse than the other, as both ultimately result in violence and dehumanization. This common feature of wooing explains why IPV and human trafficking are often confused and why human trafficking survivors often present in emergency rooms or battered women’s shelters as victims of IPV versus human trafficking: an intimate relationship exists between them and their trafficker and/or john. According to Walker, recovery from interpersonal abuse is contingent upon leaving the abusive relationship. She believed a battered woman has learned helplessness\textsuperscript{52} and must unlearn this helplessness to prepare her psychologically for the first

\textsuperscript{51} Though contestations exist regarding terminology, I will use “intimate partner violence” as defined by the Center for Disease Control and Prevention, as the, “…physical, sexual, or psychological harm by a current or former partner or spouse” that can include physical, sexual, psychological/emotional violence or the threat of them (2010).

\textsuperscript{52} Walker makes the argument clear that a battered woman learns helplessness, as opposed to being helpless which has elicited reasonable criticism especially from feminists who have devotedly worked to debunk the myth that IPV victims are helpless women (2009).
stage of leaving (1979, 2009). This initial step in recovery is based in Martin Seligman’s theory of learned helplessness (1972). Seligman’s early studies of dog behaviors revealed that dogs exhibited resignation when they were given non-contingent electric shocks, even when they had a means to escape (1972). This was later applied to explain why humans become passive and numb when subject to victimization (Peterson & Seligman, 1983). Some theorize this phenomenon occurs with trafficking victims (Husom, Maganga, Memic, Hansen, Jensen, & Barker, 2008; Team, 2005) as they surrender themselves to traffickers because their attempts to leave have proved futile causing a “psychological paralysis” (Silbert & Pines, 1981). Seligman later explored and affirmed the notion that if helplessness could be learned, than coping strategies, resiliency, or optimism could be learned as well to recover from the immobilizing effects of learned helplessness (1972, 2002, 2006).

**Torture Recovery**

Similar to the ongoing violence and debasement prevalent in IPV and human trafficking, torture survivors also experience related trauma and possibly related recovery, though again, it is often difficult to define. Viktor Frankl, neurologist, psychiatrist, and survivor of extreme exposure to trauma during the Holocaust, concluded that recovery incorporates a tension where suffering is embraced alongside an existential meaning (1984). This conclusion formed the basis of his “logotherapy” which describes the importance of discovering meaning.\(^5\) Recovery is conceptualized as an individual journey that embraces pain and suffering as integral and inevitable rather than minimizing or avoiding suffering in ways similar to most of the previously discussed theories of recovery (1984). Silove constructed a conceptual framework for

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\(^5\) Frankl explains that the discovery of meaning is not via one’s own psyche but more so through self-forgetting 1) action or responsibility to the world which leads to self-transcendence and self-actualization, 2) experience or encounter and 3) attitude toward suffering (1984, p. 115)
understanding torture trauma which he believes lies on a “continuum of stress” (p. 202) and much like Herman’s CPTSD, is complex, and involves threats to safety, attachment, justice, identity-role, and existential meaning for survivors (1999). Goldfeld, Mollica, Pesavento, and Faraone reviewed literature on torture trauma and similar to human trafficking sequelae, find that sexual violence, head injuries and neuropsychiatric consequences occur as a result of torture across the literature (1988). Such symptoms are manifest in children exposed to terror and mass violence, such as child soldiers, yet Mollica, McDonald, Osofsky, Calderon-Abbo, & Balaban (2003) believed that recovery is facilitated when interventions restore “good parenting,” establish safety, and re-establish family and child routines (p. 8). Torture trauma and recovery overlaps with that of human trafficking as victims may experience oppressive environments and abusive relationships that put them at risk for harmful ramifications that require some sort of “recovery.”

The belief that one needs “recovery” from human trafficking is an assumption that needs testing. Utilization of social services by trafficked survivors is minimal compared to the numbers of published victims (Gozdziak & MacDonnell, 2007). Recidivism occurs back into slavery even after people are “rescued,” which is sometimes unwelcomed and patronizing (Price, 2008). There are many reasons why survivors of human trafficking reject social services. Some survivors who embrace common stigmas or suspicions even find it offensive to suggest social services (International Organization for Migration, as cited in Yakushko, 2009). Many cultural or familial beliefs oppose psychosocial treatment (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2007). Many survivors do not even self-identify as former victims of human trafficking (Gozdziak, 2008). Finally, social services themselves may be severely lacking in the survivor’s context (Bales, 2007; Gozdziak & MacDonnell, 2007; Miller et al., 2007; Yakushko, 2009). Though I support institutional interventions and utilization of social services, I believe that recovery is principally
individualized and cannot be imposed or required for an individual. However, considering the basic understanding of human trafficking as the exploitation of a person by another person by means of force, fraud, or coercion (TVPA, 2000), the inherent dehumanization in such a practice, in my opinion, warrants some type of “recovery” whether one choose to access social services or not – at very least, for the restoration of personal dignity and faith in humanity. This understanding of human trafficking recovery may not take the form of generalizable outcomes in this research, but it may lend itself to heuristic considerations for survivors and practitioners engaging survivors of this multifaceted crime.
Chapter 3
Theory and Method

*I hear and I forget. I see and I remember. I do and I understand.*
-Confucius

Research Interests

This research is interested in understanding the recovery process for survivors of various human trafficking, particularly those who have sought or received social services and the social service providers’ conceptualizations of that process. I am curious to know if there are any common recovery themes among the diverse forms of trafficking and if clinicians or rehabilitative programmers due to this diversity in the types of trafficking treat survivors differently. What constitutes successful and unsuccessful recovery in the eyes of those who provide services and those who have undergone the healing process as survivors? With human trafficking as a topic laden with sensitive and controversial issues (migration, gender, sex, insider/outsider status, etc.), a relatively young issue (as in criminal codes of 2000), and a spectrum encompassing a vast range of exploitation (labor, child soldiering, sex, etc.), it is possible that the positions, knowledge about the issue, and both clinical and non-clinical experiences with human trafficking influence the decisions of social service providers. Crediting that a persons’ development is interdependent with their environmental contexts as well as their own experiences and person, it is possible that clinicians’ ecology interacts with the ecology of the survivor to promote or inhibit recovery. Therefore, the research methodology is three-fold, 1) to understand how human trafficking, trafficking trauma, and recovery are conceptualized 2) to discover dimensions of recovery and their importance for this population as understood.
through survivor autobiographies and interviews, and 3) to measure these dimensions in comparison to existing theories to see whether they lie on a continuum of phases relevant to other stage theories.

**Macro Theory - Ecological Systems Theory**

Social service providers often operate out of a paradigm that places enormous responsibility on a client – whether it be to stop their substance abuse, build social networks, “recover” from their mental illness, find a job, integrate into a community, reconcile internal conflicts, “reframe” their negative cognitions, or generally work harder on their “own” healing (Terr, 2003). Sufferers of external trauma are asked to do an enormous amount of internal and personal work. By no means am I advocating a swing of the pendulum to the opposite side of personal passivity in recovery but rather an acknowledgement that the wider environment that encompasses the individual is equally as important. Also important is the individual’s ability to influence that wider environment towards ends that mutually benefit the other. By understanding that societal attitudes, political systems, educational institutions, healthcare policy, laws and historical contexts impact individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1994) recovery as well as need recovery themselves in many ways, shares the healing process. This ecological perspective\(^5^4\) embodies this understanding and serves as the macro theoretical framework from which I view the phenomenon of psychosocial recovery from human trafficking.

**Micro Theories of Trauma & Recovery**

Besides the larger systems theory of ecology, I am influenced by the research of Judith Herman and colleagues who not only employ ecological frameworks to their work with victims

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\(^{54}\) Ecological Systems Theory, influenced by social and historical-cultural psychology, was developed by Urie Bronfenbrenner who purports that individual development is the result of complex interactions between person, environment, and experience (1979).
of violence, but who have developed heuristic models of trauma and recovery. Herman’s model of CPTSD and its DSM-IV-TR counterpart of Disorders of Extreme Stress Not Otherwise Specified (DESNOS), provides an understanding of the concept of trauma in severe cases of human trafficking that involved prolonged and repeated exposure to traumatic experiences (1992a, 1992b). CPTSD is a description of pathology where symptoms extend beyond the typical Posttraumatic Stress Disorder presentation to include a multiplicity of symptoms including: disassociation, somatization, changes in affect, relational and identity disturbances, and a risk for repeated harm whether self-or other-inflicted (Herman, 1992a, 1992b).

Once trauma was operationalized, Herman developed a three stage model of recovery that delineates phases in which survivors of interpersonal trauma generally proceed. The first stage is the restoration of safety, second, remembering the trauma and mourning its consequences, and thirdly, reconnecting with others (1992a, 1992b). The following year, Herman joined Lebowitz and Harvey to present the “Stage-by-Dimension Model” for sexual trauma recovery (1993). This model explores dimensions of recovery and serves to assess how a survivor is progressing via eight areas of functioning (1993). These criteria include: authority over the memory, integration of memory and affect, tolerance of affect, mastery over symptoms, development of positive self-esteem, stability in self-view or “self-cohesion,” creation of safe attachment(s), and ability to make meaning out of their experiences (Harney et al., 1997, Lebowitz et al., 1993). Together, the three stage trauma recovery model by Herman (1992a, 1992b) and the Stage-by-Dimension recovery model from sexual trauma (1993) are juxtaposed to plan survivor treatment (i.e., a survivor may need primary focus on mastery of symptoms in

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55 PTSD is diagnosed when a person has been exposed to a traumatic event that causes intrusive recollections, avoidant or numbing behaviors, and hyper-arousal that lasts for more than a month (DSM-IV, 1994).
the initial safety stage if they are self-harming or emphasize tolerance of their affect in the second stage of remembering and mourning) (Harney et al., 1997). This research aims to explore whether these trauma and recovery theories apply to human trafficking recovery.

**Qualitative Methodology**

Because concepts such as human trafficking, trauma, and recovery are subjective matters in need of constant conceptualization and contextualization, their subjectivity lends themselves to qualitative research questions. What sort of trauma did a survivor of human trafficking experience and how does one recover? What inhibits and promotes recovery for this population? How do social service providers view the phenomenon of human trafficking and does it impact their interventions? Questions that require description versus quantification are compatible with the ecological framework that undergirds this study.

The elusive nature of human trafficking recovery requires a number of methodological considerations (Zimmerman & Watts, 2007, 2003). I considered the inherent exploitation that occurs in human trafficking might make those touched by trafficking sensitive to exploitation in other realms, possibly even research. Since this research includes survivors of human trafficking, therapists and counselors who work closely with survivors, and activists devoted to the fight against trafficking in humans, it was necessary to consider how investigation into this topic would not just advance the knowledge base, but also, how it could benefit such stakeholders who actively seek and promote recovery. In order to value and understand the experiences of the participants in this study, the principal investigators, together with the overseeing doctoral committee, chose to utilize qualitative methodologies that rely on rich participant descriptions to inform the understanding of human trafficking recovery. Though quantitative methods sometimes have the potential to transform abstract concepts into tangible
values, it also holds the potential to reduce unique experiences to mere numbers, making it the subordinate methodological choice for this initial study. However, participants were given surveys that provided numerical weights to the importance of certain recovery dimensions and weights were also given to qualitative data such as excerpts from transcribed interviews in terms of their frequency and emphasis. These weights were not used to quantify personal recovery experiences or the concept as a whole, but rather they were used to assess their significance to the participants and to facilitate visual comparisons. In no way are these weights considered quantitative or even mixed methods data, nor were they analyzed using quantitative methods. Though the same survey was ultimately given to and completed by each participant, the survey was not a standardized instrumentation. Therefore, this study does not claim objective reliability or validity but rather attempt qualitative rigor in through systematic, triangulated analysis, reasonable ethical diligence, and responsible descriptions that aim to amplify the meaningfulness of the experience of human trafficking recovery (Patton, 2002, pp. 93 & 192).

**Sampling**

Another methodological consideration involved the sampling of participants. Since this study was interested in the conceptualizations of human trafficking recovery and whether stages exist in that process, it seemed necessary to include the voices of those intimately involved in recovery from this human exploitation. Three research phases – each with a differing sample – occurred. Before interview sampling could be considered, it was necessary to define human trafficking, so as to determine likely participants who had either experienced human trafficking or who are closely linked with those who had endured it. Methodologically, this first involved a literature review of the topic of human trafficking and legal statutes that address it to explore the definitions and meaning of the exploitation itself and to set the criteria of “human trafficking.”
This ultimately informed participant criteria: those who understood and fit this definition. After the review of the literature – defining the often times ambiguous topic of human trafficking – a pilot study of survivors occurred in order to elicit some basic understanding of dimensions of recovery. This second phase, involved a review and analysis of seven autobiographical accounts of survivors and/or existing interviews with survivors that fit the criterion of having undergone human trafficking.\footnote{Three more autobiographical accounts of human trafficking survivors were analyzed after the initial seven in order to augment the original sample size.} The third phase took these data to create a structured interview and survey aiming to interview twelve participants to collect the final data. Though simple random or stratified random samples of human trafficking survivors or those involved with survivors may have given the research the advantage of generalizability to larger populations, however the participants and resources available made it such that \textit{purposeful sampling} (Patton, 2002, pp. 230-244) would ensue.

A number of purposeful sampling methods transpired to meet the aim of understanding conceptualizations of recovery, dimensions involved in recovery, and potential stages in recovery. The aforementioned combination or mixed purposeful sampling methods of reviewing the literature, autobiographical and existing interviews, and finally personal interviews give the data the ability to be triangulated and compared. For the third phase sample, “recovered” survivors of human trafficking themselves, seemed the most likely candidates to elucidate these understandings, however, a homogenous sampling of only survivors may not account for other valuable knowledge that might lie outside the realm of having undergone such an experience. Therefore, in an attempt to add variation while not compromising the criterion of holding an understanding of human trafficking recovery, clinicians who work closely with survivors of human trafficking and walk alongside them in their recovery process were included. This
population, might also be familiar with trauma and recovery research and could elaborate on whether theoretical positions such as Herman’s model of Complex Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (1992a, 1992b) and Harvey’s Stage by Dimension (1993) models apply to such cases thus making theory-based sampling or operational construct sampling applicable to any grounded theories that emerge in the analysis. In an effort to continue to meet the criteria while adding variation to the sample, a third participant group was added, that of individuals closely linked with survivors of human trafficking who implement or create recovery-oriented programs or measures for specifically human trafficking recovery. I labeled these three groups loosely as survivors, clinicians, and organizational programmers. I started with initial conveniently sampled participants and then expanded to use snowball sampling while maintaining criterion-based as well as maximum variation sampling. This variation includes participants who were trafficked for sexual or labor purposes and clinicians and programmers who work with both labor and sex trafficking survivors to capture and describe central themes and common patterns that emerge from this variation (Patton, 2002, p. 235). Varied sampling also permitted both emic or insider and etic or outsider perspectives.

**Phases of Research**

After the literature review, which appears earlier in this document and explores the criteria of human trafficking, the second phase of the study investigated dimensions of recovery that would inform the interview guide and survey. Seven existing accounts, primarily autobiographical of survivors of human trafficking, were analyzed for themes of recovery. Thirty-nine themes emerged and were ranked according to how many accounts mentioned them.

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57 Three more autobiographical survivor accounts were later analyzed and added to the second phase sample to improve reliability and test the validity of results.
The top sixteen themes are referred to as dimensions. These dimensions were further operationalized and sometimes incorporated into a dimension from the other themes mentioned in the overall 39 themes. For example, a dimension of “justice” emerged and was operationalized to mean that a perpetrator received some sort of legal penalty and/or the survivor received compensation for the crime. Both justice and compensation were originally separate themes, however, they were grouped together under the dimension of ‘justice’ in order to simplify the number of codes. Though a minority from the samples differentiated the role of compensation and legal consequences in their recovery, others seemed to generalize both of these factors as one in the same, therefore alerting the researchers to explore the possibility that they may be related. These sixteen dimensions served as individual items on the survey administered during the interviews. These dimensions structured participants to explore three aspects about the dimension: 1) their overall importance to recovery, 2) whether they might be more important to recovery from sex trafficking or labor trafficking, and 3) at what stage – beginning, middle, or end – they might be most important.

The third phase sample resulted in a total of thirteen interviewed participants. (See Figure 3.7. entitled Phases of Research). Within this group of thirteen, the delineations between the various groups of survivors, clinicians, and programmers proved to be obscured by the fact that many of the individuals would identify themselves in two or more categories. For instance, six of the thirteen participants had a background of human trafficking (two trafficked for sexual purposes and four primarily trafficked for labor purposes), eight of the participants were involved in rehabilitative programming for anti-trafficking organizations or affiliated organizations, and six participants identified themselves as clinicians who have a background in clinical or case management work with survivors of human trafficking. This meant there were
only six participants who fit exclusively into one of these predetermined categories (one survivor, two programmers, and three clinicians). It was expected that the views of each of these cohorts would reveal drastic differences in the conceptualizations of human trafficking recovery, however, the views were quite comparable on certain levels that were important to the researcher, making the sample more homogenous in regards to the like understanding of trafficking in humans and direct experience either as or with survivors.
Figure 3.1.

Phase III Participant Roles
Figure 3.2.

Phase III Area of Expertise of Participants
Participant Demographics

The participants comprise a variety of racial, ethnic, and gender demographics. In the first sample (phase two) of ten accounts, there was a gender ratio of three to seven, males to females. Two of these individuals are Hispanic, one Indian, one Arab, another African American while another is African, one is from Europe while another is an American Caucasian, and one is a bi/racial European-Haitian. They were trafficked in the United States, Yemen, India, Haiti, and Germany. Three of the ten were trafficked specifically for sexual purposes, six were trafficked specifically for labor, and one was trafficked for both sex and labor.

The thirteen participants in the third phase are a gender ratio of three to ten, men to women. Two accounts from the second phase served as participants in the third phase for 1:1 interviews (The American man of Haitian-European descent and the Caucasian, American woman from the Midwest region of the United States.) In terms of race, country of origin, and gender, six others were also Caucasian, American, women while three additional others were Black, with two being Haitian women and the other a Zambian man and lastly a Caucasian British man. All participants were familiar with both types of trafficking (sex and labor) however; some individuals were more familiar with one type or the other. Programmer and clinician participants had worked with a variety of survivors in the context of countries such as the United States, Haiti, Uganda, Rwanda, Kenya, and India, though the sample together had seen clients from most continents.

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58 Most of the six survivors were trafficked for labor purposes, specifically domestic servitude, however, it must be noted that sexual exploitation often happens – especially with women, girls and boys – in labor trafficking situations as well (IOM, 2005) and therefore must be considered in the analysis of the recovery process.

59 These demographics speak only to surface classifications of race, country of origin, and gender while many participants may not personally identify with these classifications as some of them have been raised among or living in cultures different than their current locations due to the trafficking or other experiences.
Figure 3.3.

Phase III Participant Demographics: Sex
Figure 3.4

Phase III Participant Demographics: Traditional Educational Level

Traditional Educational Level (7)
Figure 3.5.

Phase III Participant Demographics: Race
Figure 3.6.

Phase III Participant Demographics: Ethnicity
Data Analysis

After understanding what human trafficking is through the literature, I was able to proceed to phase I of the research where I analyzed ten survivor accounts. These autobiographical accounts were analyzed by using a frequency table. I captured comments – usually in the survivors’ own words – that the survivor deemed beneficial to their success in re/integration after trafficking to generate a list. When others mentioned the same or similar dimensions, then I would record them as mentioned. If new dimensions arose throughout the examination of another account, then preceding accounts were re-examined to see whether such dimensions existed as well. The importance of such dimensions was not analyzed at this point, only whether they were mentioned once or not. When the first seven accounts were analyzed the dimensions were combined (as described above) into more manageable list and then ranked by how many survivor accounts mentioned the particular dimensions. These rankings informed most of what was included on the Phase III survey of the study. Some of the dimensions, though of higher ranking, were not included. Some of these excluded dimensions, were difficult for me to define, or did not lend themselves to surveys, and/or I wanted to make room for other dimensions that I thought relevant for person to person interviews.

Each individually administered (n=13), semi-structured interviews (ranging from one and a half hours to four hours each) was transcribed and coded for themes and patterns. A secure web-based, qualitative and mixed methods application was utilized in the analysis. Besides the initial generation of the recovery dimensions in the second phase of research, the three areas of analysis in the third phase were exploring: 1) how human trafficking and its sequelae are conceptualized in relation to existing trauma and recovery models, particularly those of Herman (1992a, 1992b), Lebowitz, & Harvey (1996) (Lebowitz et al., 1993), 2) whether stages exist in
the human trafficking recovery process, and much like the second phase analysis 3) whether the
previously studied dimensions continued to be valid in the recovery process and where they may
lie in terms of stages.

Like the variation in the sampling, these three areas of exploration were approached
differently theoretically. The first question concerning the conceptualization of human
trafficking took a phenomenological approach to analysis while also comparing the existing
theories of trauma and recovery. It considered how participants described human trafficking
recovery and the phenomena they deemed important to it. These phenomena were then compared
to the elements extant in the theories of Herman, Harvey, Lebowitz, and Bronfenbrenner.

The second area investigated whether patterns exist to portray stages in the recovery
process. Both open-ended questions about stages of recovery as well as close-ended questions
about specific timeframes such as beginning, middle, and end phases were posed to participants
to examine this hypothesis. Stage theories relating to growth and/or recovery such as those
proffered by Herman, Maslow, and Kübler-Ross were juxtaposed with the emergent themes
related to human trafficking recovery stages.

Finally, the third area of analysis questioned whether the sixteen dimensions of recovery
– generated in the second phase of research – continued to be meaningful to these participants.
New themes were either incorporated into existing dimensions and/or new dimensions were
created as new codes. New and existing dimensions gave greater insight into the understanding
of human trafficking recovery as well as served to validate the prior research findings in phase
two. These dimensions were compared and contrasted to Harvey’s Stage by Dimension model
with its seven categories to further explore what aspects are fundamental to human trafficking
recovery.
Figure 3.7.

Phases of Research

Phase I
Literature Review to define human trafficking

Purpose: To operationalize “human trafficking” to set criteria for criterion-based sampling.
Result: Force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of economic exploitation.

Phase II
Existing document analysis
(Autobiographies & Interviews)
N=7, N=10

Purpose: To elicit recovery dimensions from survivors’ perspectives.
Result: 39 themes (later 48) condensed to 16 recovery dimensions to inform survey formation and later theoretical considerations.

Phase III
Structured Interviews & Surveys
N=13

Purpose: To explore conceptualizations and stages of recovery for theoretical considerations and comparison with Phases I and II data.
Result: Grounded theory of Human Trafficking Recovery.
Chapter Four:
Data Analysis and Results

Science cannot solve the ultimate mystery of nature. And that is because, in the last analysis, we ourselves are a part of the mystery that we are trying to solve.
-Max Planck

This chapter analyzes phases II and III research data. It begins with the analysis of phase II data, which were extracted from existing autobiographical accounts and public interviews with survivors. This survivor-only data informed what would later serve as the interview guide for the third phase of research, in which thirteen participants were interviewed. The bulk of this chapter is dedicated to the analysis and findings from the third phase of research. Each analytical method is recounted in its various sections before the findings are described.

Phase II Analysis

Inductive analysis (Patton, 2002, pp. 453-4) was used to develop codes from existing survivor accounts. *Emic* (Pike as cited in Harris, 1976) or *in vivo* approaches, whereby the informants name the categories (indigenous concepts) important to them, were utilized in the analytical process. (Bernard & Ryan as cited in Patton, 2002, pp. 454-5). Whatever a survivor named as important to their post-trafficking “success” I referred to as a “theme” of post-trafficking “success.” A theme was counted as present if it was mentioned at least once as important in the survivor account. A frequency table then revealed how many other survivors also mentioned the same theme. Multiple mentions were not factored into this analysis. These themes later informed the interview guide for the next phase of research (III). The addition of
other factors, later called “dimensions” resulted through an *etic* (Pike as cited in Harris, 1976) approach to later qualitative code development and inductive-holistic analysis (Patton, 2002, pp. 55-56, 58-60, 453-4). Three more accounts were analyzed with the same *emic* criteria and added to the original findings to see if any patterns emerged. It should be noted that a total of 39 themes emerged in the first seven accounts and a total of 48 themes in the addition of three more accounts. Whenever a new theme emerged, every account previously analyzed, was re-analyzed to see if that survivor mentioned in the same fashion (using the same words) that specific and newly emerged theme. When themes were counted and then ranked, categories were consolidated. For example, “writing [public] books or articles,” “speaking to audiences,” and “making a larger impact” became categorized into “activism.” This blended the indigenous concepts with sensitizing concepts (Patton, 2002, pp. 454-458). Similarly, when survivors said that another had faith in them, advocated for them, had a friend or significant other who supported them and they trusted, this became classified under the broad heading “social support.” Though this did not include when survivors specifically mentioned agency or institutional support, it would include if they specifically mentioned a therapist, caseworker, or specific professional affiliated with an organization as in instrumental support. In a similar fashion these 48 themes were condensed (*etically*) to categories called dimensions that were researcher-imposed for Phase III.

**Phase II Results**

The top fourteen themes that emerged in the survivor accounts are listed in Table 4.1. These data are displayed in a spectrum where the theme of safety ranks highest (depicted in pink) and was unanimously mentioned in all accounts. In the accounts safety pertained to physical safety where survivors could have – like Maslow’s first tier on his Hierarchy of Needs – their
physiological needs met (1943a). Again, social support referred to a significant attachment to another person as defined in the theories of Bowlby and Ainsworth (1991) and more recently as a dimensional recovery criteria (Lebowitz et al., 1993). Survivors tended to mention the ability to choose or make decisions that affected their lives verses their prior experiences of having wishes denied by traffickers as both a relief and an invigorating experience. I coupled the term “agency” with this theme. I meant to convey agency in a philosophical sense that a person is an “agent” or capable of influencing their environment through actions they choose to do. “Relief from unrealistic work” and “feeling human or equal” both appeared eight out of ten times quite literally from the words of survivors. They described feelings of relief and happiness that they did not have to do the certain type of work or the amount of work that they had been required to do while exploited. They also mentioned how being an “equal” member of a society or community was conducive to their positive post-trafficking experience. They noticed a shift in self-perception as a “human” and not an animal or other dehumanizing terms that traffickers and enslavers used to control them (Livingstone Smith, 2011).

In the fourth tier or the green section of the spectrum in Table 1, the areas of “sparing children from the same fate,” activism (aforementioned and described), overcoming guilt, institutional interventions, and hope/future orientation ranked at 70% of overall mentions. Survivors were concerned about their own children and the legacy their trafficking might have on them. They specifically mentioned the motivation to protect their children from trafficking, sometimes as a reason for their activism, and sometimes just as an inspiration to remain free. This theme was not included in the survey as it was difficult for me to differentiate it from the other forms of activism, however I left it in this query as the literal mention of it in so many accounts seemed significant to me. The mention of guilt and the experience of its relinquishment
was indicated a number of times. Herman talked extensively of the role of guilt as an obstacle in recovery and the need for social support in “coming to terms with” unrealistic guilt (Herman, 1992b, pp. 68-69). As social support could factor into overcoming guilt, institutional interventions could factor into being a social support. Institutional interventions included the mention of certain NGO’s, social service, community, or faith-based institutional involvement – not individuals involved in the institution, but the institution’s role itself. Hope and a future orientation was documented when the survivor mentioned having hope, feeling hopeful, or stated future dreams or goals.

The last four themes ranked in the top 60% of this literature sample and included skill building, education, ability to financially support family, and helping others. Skill building included any mention of learning a new “skill” such as literacy training, vocational education, job-readiness training, or psychological education, which included trainings in relationship building skills like communication, self-esteem, and coping skills strategy training. This broad theme was later divided into psychological education, vocational education, and constructive coping as different dimensions. Traditional education simply meant that the survivor mentioned enrollment in a traditional educational institution, but excluded vocational or literacy training programs, as this was a part of the former, skill building. Ability to offer financial support for family back home meant that survivors mentioned either the desire to do this or the capacity to do so and a feeling of pride. This theme may have been implied or repeated in the mention of the next theme of “helping others.” Helping others was extracted when survivors specifically mentioned feeling some sort of positive emotion in relation to “helping” others. This dimension could easily overlap with supporting family back home or activism and therefore was later incorporated in Phase III in the overarching dimension of activism.
Table 4.1.

Phase II Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes important to post-trafficking success as stated in survivor accounts</th>
<th>Rank n=7</th>
<th>Rank n=10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Safety</td>
<td>7/7</td>
<td>10/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social support</td>
<td>7/7</td>
<td>9/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choice/Agency</td>
<td>6/7</td>
<td>9/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relief of unrealistic work</td>
<td>6/7</td>
<td>8/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling “human” or equal</td>
<td>5/7</td>
<td>8/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sparing children from the same fate</td>
<td>5/7</td>
<td>7/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activism</td>
<td>4/7</td>
<td>7/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overcoming guilt</td>
<td>4/7</td>
<td>7/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional Intervention</td>
<td>4/7</td>
<td>7/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hope/Future Orientation</td>
<td>4/7</td>
<td>7/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skill building</td>
<td>4/7</td>
<td>6/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Education</td>
<td>4/7</td>
<td>6/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to offer financial support for family back home</td>
<td>4/7</td>
<td>6/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping others</td>
<td>3/7</td>
<td>6/10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Phase III Analysis**

Inductive-holistic analysis was also employed to explore the thoughts about human trafficking, trauma and recovery from trafficking, and stages of recovery after trafficking.
Transcribed interviews, field notes, and surveys from thirteen participants – either survivors or social service providers to survivors or both – were coded primarily using the dimensional framework informed by Phase II findings (see survey under interview guide in Appendix A). Other codes emerged and were added to the overall analysis. Typologies (Patton, 2002, pp. 456-461) were established from the trauma and recovery models proffered by Judith Herman (1992a, 1992b) and served as additional codes for analytic induction (Patton, 2002, p. 454).

When these experts were asked, “Do you think recovery is possible for this population [of human trafficking survivors]?” a resounding, “Absolutely!” prevailed from most participants in this study. There was no doubt in the minds of these professionals that this notion of “recovery” was possible. But before embarking on the exploration of the concept of recovery it was necessary to understand the concept of human trafficking and its trauma. Just as “naming the problem” must precede “solving the problem,” or a diagnosis must be made before a treatment can be planned (Herman, 1992b, p. 156), conceptualizations of the crime of human trafficking and its effects had to be established. Later, recovery could be considered and it was done so via dimensional domains. This dimensional conceptualization characterizes the original recovery approaches (Satcher, 2000) as well as some of the other theories that influenced this research (Harvey, 1996; Lebowitz et al., 1993)

**Human trafficking conceptualizations**

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60 The majority of this analysis was organized “by hand” utilizing colors, cards, Post-it notes, and highlighters the good old fashion way, however, surveys and Phase II data were organized by frequency tables in Excel® spreadsheets and transcribed interviews were downloaded into a secure web application for qualitative and mixed methods research called Dedoose®. The data were then re-coded in the application in order to triangulate and verify my inductions at differing times.

61 The participants in this study had a cumulative affiliation with human trafficking experience (either through lived or professional experiences working with survivors) of over 175 years, therefore, they are sometimes referred to as “experts” in this document.
Based on the literature analysis in Phase I, a conceptualization of human trafficking emerged. Human trafficking is a crime of modern slavery that is multisystemic—affecting both individuals and societies—and multidimensional in that it takes the form of a variety of enterprises for the exploitation of individuals. Overall, participants conceptualized human trafficking in much the same ways as described in the literature, usually subscribing to the United States federal statute (2000) that emphasizes the tripartite means of force, fraud, or coercion as means to exploit. In fact, nine of the thirteen participants specifically defined human trafficking using those very terms, “force, fraud, and coercion” in that same order, which is how it is referred to in the federal law (TVPA, 2000).

All participants confidently spouted a trafficking definition. However, when it came to areas such as whether movement is requisite, sexual exploitation in labor trafficking, or whether prostitution and sex trafficking are the same thing, some acknowledged that, this is where “it gets hard.” A clinician recognizes the legal and clinical implications in the conceptualization of trafficking in saying:

I think there are limitations to force, fraud and coercion. So when we talk about adults, maybe that we would say are ‘willing prostitutes’, and we can’t demonstrate any type of force, fraud or coercion, I think circumstances can be forced in a way, and I think limited opportunities, limited access, limited resources, and so on. That’s not a type of force that you can fight in a court, but I don’t think there’s any difference when someone feels like, ‘I have no other option.’

Human trafficking conceptualizations became clearer when considerations of age, promises, or money were involved. Since legal statutes generally mention that the age of consent for any legal commercial sexual activities is 18, most participants familiar with both
labor and sex trafficking laws, would immediately point out that anything involving a minor and commercial sex was trafficking regardless of whether force, fraud, or coercion was/were concerned. “[I]f you’re under 18, definitely, or if you have a pimp, definitely, it’s human trafficking, without a doubt!” Money exchanged would signal a commercial sex act and/or a coercive means to exploit someone. When promises were made and then not carried through for the purpose of economic exploitation, then human trafficking was also conceived.

**Human Trafficking as Slavery**

Participants unanimously described human trafficking as “modern day slavery,” mentioned economic exploitation, and emphasized buying, selling, and psychological mechanisms of captivity. Some even mention a preference for the term “slavery” over “trafficking” in saying, “I’m not sure that I like the term ‘trafficking.’ I think it’s exactly what it has always been, it is human slavery.” “Human trafficking – it’s just wrong!” exclaimed a programmer confirming her solid moral stance.

Most emphasized deception and broken promises involved, while others focused on the captivity of agency, “you are vulnerable and totally exploited where they are making those decisions for you and you can’t get out. You don’t know how. You have no options.” Many concurred, “it’s a kind of…lie to a person” where they may or may not be abducted but their mind or body is, “taken…into captivity” where “physical and sexual abuse and exploitation” occur so that another “gain[s] finance, power, or wealth.” Not only did such conceptualizations generally line up to the U.S. federal statute, but they seemed to affirm what Bales articulates as the core attributes of slavery: “control over another through violence or the threat of violence, lack of payment beyond subsistence (with occasional remunerations), and the theft of labor or other qualities of the slave for economic gain” (2005, p. 9).
Human Trafficking Conceptualizations and Services

As a secondary question to the larger questions of human trafficking conceptualization, I wondered if participants’ understanding of the crime influenced service provision. Perhaps, the crime people experienced may add labels to the victims and ultimately affect service delivery. Would the conceptualization of human trafficking as slavery therefore project the label to a client as a “slave” or the conceptualization as prostitution as a “prostitute” or if there was any complicity in the illegal migration process as an “illegal immigrant?” Would concepts about the crime and whom it affects inhibit the treatment survivors pursued or received? I suspected that different treatment might be either consciously or unconsciously administered based on the larger conceptions of human trafficking and its perceived gravity or pathology (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2008; Harrington, 2005). Is there a tendency to attach what happened to the person as a label with its own authority that would follow them through treatment or could this label be helpful to their recovery? Though this research did not tease out clear answers to such questions that have their own epistemological shortcomings, it did explore participants’ thoughts on how they defined human trafficking and its relationship to the services they provide.

Most participants seemed to think that their conceptualization of human trafficking did influence their interventions. Their responses suggested that their ideas about trafficking seemed to influence their service provision on both a macrosystemic level and microsystemic level. On a macro level, many mentioned the conceptualization as “slavery” promoted greater awareness leading to more service referrals, action, and available grants.62

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62 One participant pointed out that anti-human trafficking services receive specific grants, however, “it is not as financially resourced as other trauma survivor services such as those dedicated to combat veterans or domestically abused people.”
Yeah, for sure [my conceptualization of human trafficking influences the way I work]. I think if we did not have the word or the concept slavery in our minds we wouldn’t act as viciously….We wouldn’t take it as important because we know slavery ended a long time ago…and to have this again, we need to eradicate it as soon as possible. So [we are] really moving fast to just get solutions…we try to act when we hear of a child who is in a situation [of slavery] immediately…because…slavery, that gets us going.

Along with this urgency for action, another participant described how conceiving human trafficking as slavery makes you more “sensitive” in intervening primarily on a micro level. “…you create safe houses, safe places.” He mentioned how there is a tendency for people to get involved to rescue or assist, however “there must be that sensitivity.” As a pastor, desirous to get people involved, he reflected on how an insensitive idea like putting a recently rescued trafficking victim in front of his congregation to tell her story would “be the worst thing to do in the early stages” as even people in the church could be insensitive or at worst trafficking predators themselves. He seemed to be discussing how the story-telling about one’s trauma publicly (later referred to as the dimension of “activism”) is not only inappropriate for the survivor on a micro level at the wrong developmental time in recovery, but the macro level church involvement, might be hasty as well in that congregants may not have that “sensitivity” or understanding about what to do with such information. Another participant understood this contradiction of conceptualizing human trafficking in line with the federal statute mentioning that she “operates within the federal definitions that we have” however conceptualizes it differently when it comes to practical interventions. She believes, “No, I don’t think all prostitution is human trafficking, [however] I do think there are very, definitely, cases of prostitution that are no different [than human trafficking] in that someone feels they have no
other option.” This conceptualization implies there are some prostitutes who do have options. This research did not explore whether this potentially rare population of willing prostitutes would be entitled to the same treatment, however some participants did generally state that trauma from prostitution was likely “no different” and therefore treatment would look the same. This seems to raise further questions about the source of trauma and the relationship between the theft of agency and sexual acts or individuals’ psychological courage to face their realities63.

**Sex trafficking and prostitution**

Regarding the conceptual differentiation between prostitution and human trafficking, most believed that not all trafficking is prostitution, while at the same time most participants – especially clinicians and programmers – communicated that they see no difference in treatment planning for a prostituted individual and someone who was sexually trafficked or endured sexual exploitation while trafficked. Many participants were either savvy to the research describing the ill-effects of prostitution (Farley, 2003, 2004, 2006; Farley et al., 2004; Herman 1992a, 1992b) or they had a general sense that the severity of trauma symptoms might be worsened when sexual violence64 was involved. Bales corroborates this finding when he says, “All slavery can be a harrowing and traumatizing experience, but the repeated sexual violation amounting to rape that characterizes forced prostitution brings tremendous psychological damage and requires intensive rebuilding of self-esteem and self-worth” (2005, p. 67). Others aligned theoretical impressions equating macro or chronosystemic level forces of economic coercion or historical influences

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63 Some research suggests that diagnosing trauma robs women of agency and “pathologizes” them for doing sex work, at the same time, ATIP frameworks that embrace these notions, may inhibit prostitutes from gaining services they may need because they do not fit the “innocent victim” representation(Brunovskis & Surtees, 2008; Doezema, 2005; Harrington, 2005; Jacobsen & Skilbrei, 2010; Kempadoo et al., 2005).

64 A differentiation between sexual trafficking and sexual exploitation in labor trafficking was not distinguishable in how participants referred to this.
such as child abuse as fitting the legal statues in comparing the two conceptual camps. “I do agree with the criteria that is used by the U.S. government and State Department that defines human trafficking. I absolutely believe that, but that same criteria is also true of adult prostituted women in this country.” Participants were fairly unified in thinking that the treatment of either sexually “trafficked” individuals or “willing” prostitutes does not look different. One clinician and survivor of sexual trafficking who maintains that not all prostitution is trafficking describes this unity, “I do have friends [who] were sex workers and I love them dearly…I love them dearly…We have something very much in common. Like when we sit down and talk, we both endured the same stuff but different stuff. It’s really, really wild.” Despite similarities in how recovery treatment would be approached by participants that administer services, differences usually centered on the institutional access to resources for those labeled as either trafficking victims or prostitutes.

**Conceptualizations of Human Trafficking Trauma**

Analysis of human trafficking trauma conceptualizations were teased out primarily via analytic induction (Patton, 2002, p. 454) utilizing the suggested CPTSD model of trauma elucidated by Herman (1992a). The core elements of CPTSD utilized as codes were: Somatization, characterological impairments, dissociation, and the classic PTSD symptoms outlined in the DSM-IV-TR as re-experiencing, avoidance or numbing, and increased arousal (2000). These six themes served as categories for their underlying features such as nightmares or flashbacks in the case of the PTSD symptom of “re-experiencing.” Of these symptoms, both the literature and the participants interviewed in this study, suggest these paradigms can be applied to human trafficking trauma (Courtois & Ford, 2009; Courtois, 2004; 2008; Zimmerman et al., 2011). However, other negative symptoms were frequently mentioned such as shame, guilt, anxiety and depression – usually steaming from a low “self-esteem” or “lack of identity.”
Though such symptoms have been widely studied and used, they still present much overlap with one another and encompass expansive amounts of negative behaviors and emotions. Therefore, if PTSD, CPTSD or their features were directly described as human trafficking sequelae in interviews, then this was noted. More emphasis was placed on what constitutes the severity of trauma symptoms in order to inform promoters and inhibitors to later recovery.

CPTSD or PTSD was not mentioned specifically in the majority of interviews; however, all participants did discuss the sequelae from human trafficking broadly as, “trauma.” This may have been due to the framing of the interview question, which assumed “trauma” occurs, the distillation of the diagnosis into this generalized notion of “trauma,” or the fact that not all participants had a clinical background and would know such jargon. The literature, however, does seem to suggest that such models may be beneficial for social service providers to understand for human trafficking “trauma” (Courtois & Ford, 2009; Courtois, 2004; 2008; Zimmerman et al., 2011).

Trauma was generally described in terms of domain manifestations of the event itself such as “a lot of the trauma is physical” or “[survivors] have the residue of a lot of trauma mentally from how the people used to talk to them.” Another participant describes spiritual domains in saying, “The act itself of what you have to do is going to be damaging to your soul. You can’t sleep with like 10 men a night violently…and not have it damage you – your mind and your soul and your body.” Another programmer agrees calling trauma from human trafficking a “spiritual wound.”

Though specific mentions of PTSD or CPTSD were generally absent, most participants were able to describe symptoms ascribed to these areas. Herman described dissociation as an

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65 The participant did not explain what was meant by a “spiritual wound”, however I interpreted it as suggesting a spiritual dimension of the self that is injured.
altered consciousness where one voluntarily suppresses, minimizes, or denies reality, which results in a trance state (1992a). A survivor described the role of dissociation and other complex posttraumatic symptoms in her life after trafficking:

   So my recovery really, over the last 20 years, has revolved around dissociation. Around shoving it away, survival, and for me that worked. It allowed me to go to college. It allowed me to then get married and have a family but it always catches up with you, you know? Still, I have lots of flashbacks, lots of nightmares, a lot of problems. I probably drink too much. In my marriage, I picked a very abusive husband, and never found good counseling. Never--. Yeah. I tried several times but never could find anybody to understand my story or even want to hear it.

Another survivor recalled resisting ineffective practitioners in a hospitalized setting by employing dissociation:

   At that time [due to] the dissociative response I could lower all of my bodily functions down to where they couldn't get a heartbeat, they couldn't get a pulse. And I told them they weren't going to get one either until I was ready to give them one. (laughter).

Though most of the programmers did not have the clinical terminology, they could still describe such symptoms in statements like, “I can say [children in domestic servitude] are sad, they are deceived and…their spirits are not here. Like you can see this, this little boy is not in effect here, but he’s somewhere else, he’s thinking about something else.” Or “there’s a way [former child soldiers and sexually trafficked girls in war zones] look, as if they are empty.” Clinicians had the advantage of clinical vocabulary but the phenomenon they described was the same:

   Then I’ve also seen you’re really, kind of typical trauma of flashbacks, nightmares…inability to sleep, insomnia. I have a few [clients] that I’m thinking
of…who just continually had nightmares of the traffickers, of where they were working, and this was a case with, mostly women working in a cantina. The threats against their family [was revisited] and just hearing those voices, hearing all of that in their nightmares and even in conscious flashbacks. I’ve had several clients who experience really significant triggers to anything that was even remotely associated with part of their experience. I had some [survivors] that had triggers to smells, certain beers, certain tones of voice that would trigger their exploitation…The handful of folks I’m thinking of, generally would go into this--. I always just would say they would ‘zone out.’ You could be talking to them and they wouldn’t hear you. They wouldn’t be responsive at all really.

Herman believed that the PTSD symptoms of insomnia, hyper vigilance, intrusions, and anxiety are so strong that they overwhelm survivors and can lead to other somatic complaints (1992a). Somatization characterizes a pillar in the understanding of complex posttraumatic stress disorder. A clinician reflected on how somatization may impede recovery and increase trauma’s acuteness, “I have clients that suffered chronic illnesses and chronic injuries, and I think that also makes…the recovery harder, and often times maybe the trauma more severe because there’s a constant reminder.” Some survivors discussed how the deprivation of sleep was of paramount concern. “[Sex trafficking victims] sleep in the closets or on the floor because they don’t want to sleep on the bed. Sleep is the really big thing [to recovery] – even if it’s labor trafficking.” “I know a lot of us are on Trazodone⁶⁶, which I take to sleep, and that helps tremendously, but…everybody I know [that is a survivor] has a hard time sleeping.” She summarized, “So sleep, intimate relationships, keeping friends, [and] being close to people is really hard for me.”

⁶⁶ Trazadone is an anti-depressant that helps “maintain mental balance” and is sometimes used to treat insomnia, anxiety, schizophrenia, and other health issues (PubMed, 2011).
The third characteristic of Complex posttraumatic stress disorder is pathological changes in relationships or “characterological” sequelae, which Herman described as the internalization of the coercive control of the perpetrator (1992a). This manifests in relational disruptions in the trust of others and oneself, the ability to form mutually non-exploitive relationships, and passivity or dependency in relationships (1992a). Characterological impairments are referred to in the DSM as Personality Disorders where personality traits are defined as, “inflexible and maladaptive and cause either significant functional impairment or subjective distress” (1994, p. 770).

Participants chronicled accounts of survivors having difficulties in forming attachments and trusting others. Two survivors reflected on how the remnants of what they had been through at the hands of perpetrators affected their early, married lives:

I had no intentions of marrying anybody, all I saw was control and crap…. You see how big he (indicating husband) is – is anybody really going to approach me with Frankenstein standing there? Not really…but I didn't really want to marry him. As a matter of fact it was part of me that met him and married him and not me. But the chances of me ending up with Joe Blow was just huge, just huge. But shortly after we got married one day he just put his hand on my knee and it triggered a response in me where I just tore up the house.

This recovered clinician-survivor, savvy to the interplay of PTSD and CPTSD symptoms, aptly described how the dissociated and self-protecting parts of a person react relationally. There are micro level triggers from the past abuse as well as macro level triggers to relational institutions.

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67 Personality is defined as is defined as, “enduring patterns of perceiving, relating to, and thinking about the environment and oneself (American Psychiatric Association, 1994, p. 770).”
such as marriage. This survivor also touches upon Herman’s idea that complex trauma is often accompanied by repeat victimization (1992a) in her description of the potential to end up with “Joe Blow.” Early distortions in relationships make it hard to trust.

I tried everything in my power to sabotage the relationship because I wanted her to divorce me because I lied to her [about my past]. I couldn’t unearth, exhume this past I had buried. Then it made matters worse when, you know, she has a daughter who is 5 years old. The daughter’s calling me ‘daddy.’ I trust the daughter. I felt comfortable with the daughter but not with her…It’s like I was more in love with this 5-year-old than I was with her, because this 5-year-old’s calling me daddy. People like me would trust a child more than I would trust an adult.

Clinicians and programmers also shared how relational impairments played out in service delivery. “I was her advocate. She never told me anything… [W]e would talk and she would just shut down and not talk to me.” Another practitioner and organizational programmer explains, “You can’t help somebody if they are not ready to be helped. So you have to wait until they reach that point and they begin reaching out.” Herman describes that these sorts of interactions can create vicarious trauma in those providing assistance (1992b, pp. 138-142). Helpers (therapists) empathically experience their clients’ (patients’) helplessness and engage in the dichotomy between rescuing and feeling inept to assist (1992b, pp. 141-143). The practitioner-programmer explained the stance a helper should take when providing aftercare for survivors of sexually trafficked minors:

[W]e understand they’ll be episodes where they’ll run away, they’ll get triggered, and they’ll get part way back to their trafficker and want to turn around [to return to aftercare]. That OK. They’ll work through that. In time, on my mind and with proper
recovery, that drawback that pull to the trafficker, will lessen to the point where they can finally be able to control it themselves and realize that’s not a healthy relationship and what’s best for them is to stay away from them.

Flashbacks, nightmares, “being triggered,” and other symptomatology of PTSD were described in most interviews. A survivor of child slavery explained:

There are scars that can never go away. I mean I have scars from that experience that will never go away. And the scars, I would say, manifest themselves in the form of nightmares. … I’m over 50 years old and I still have nightmares. My wife still wakes me up, I would say at least once a week. It used to be almost every night. Now it’s about once a week.

Another long-term survivor agreed with this understanding of PTSD’s chronicity, “Still, I have lots of flashbacks, lots of nightmares, a lot of problems.” However, a clinician was quick to point out that, “Not every trafficking victim is traumatized. Not everybody has PTSD.” Every participant seemed to subscribe to the general complexity of trauma and emphasized the need for individualized approaches. A programmer exhorted such attention to each survivor:

30 odd million people being trafficked around the world, [which] means that there are 30… million different stories. There are similarities in those stories and some of them may be very similar. But because each individual is different, there will be different stories and different reasons.

Conceptualizations of the Severity of Human Trafficking Sequelae

Regardless of whether participants were informed of the clinical terms, there was much agreement in the descriptions of human trafficking sequelae as similar to PTSD or CPTSD as well as similarities in factors that might affect its severity. Tables 2 and 3 display what
participants mentioned as promoters or inhibitors to human trafficking trauma. These were deduced from questions concerning what affects the severity of trauma as well as targeted questions about what promotes and inhibits recovery if consequences from human trafficking are experienced. They are presented in a spectrum format and are extracted from the interview data. It should be noted that they do not reflect a conclusion or a prediction that the more one progresses towards one side or the other side of the spectrum the more recovery is inhibited or promoted since every case is unique. In fact, some of the starred (marked with an asterics*) categories on the spectra indicate contradicting items that were mentioned by participants. For example, some participants explained how the resiliency of a trafficking survivor could depend upon the resources they have such as an education or a “feisty” personality, whereas a clinician who has seen a number of human trafficking clients, noticed that the, “more intelligent” or those who have, “more control” or “resources accessible” end up being more traumatized after human trafficking exploitation. She believed that they are “less accepting of the notion or the idea that this is not their fault or they didn’t cause it” whereas those who think they are more vulnerable somehow come to the acceptance, “that this was something out of their control.” She observed this with particularly, “strong individuals who have strong personalities, maybe a leadership personality” as it seems they have, “a harder time saying or accepting that they’re not partially to blame.” She also believed that they get this, “same message from society in some ways too,” implying how macro level beliefs may impede recovery growth. Another psychosocial service provider working with trafficked survivors in Eastern African countries reports, “[W]e found that girls who had been in captivity for longer periods of time their levels of trauma and their need for support at every level was greater.”
Table 4.2.

Microsystemic Inhibitors and Promoters to Recovery after Human Trafficking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inhibitors</th>
<th>Promoters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young Age (of HT onset)</td>
<td>Older Age (of HT onset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long time (duration of trafficking experience)</td>
<td>Short time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High violence</td>
<td>Low violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low educational level</td>
<td>High educational level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Hope, pessimism</td>
<td>Hopeful, Optimistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Meaning, Faith</td>
<td>Meaning, Purpose, Faith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Trauma</td>
<td>No trauma history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exit from trafficking via rescue or third party</td>
<td>Exit from trafficking volitional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High fraud and deception used</td>
<td>Some knowledge of methods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low SES</td>
<td>High SES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Causation (Belief it is “my fault”)</td>
<td>External Causation (Belief it is trafficker’s fault)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trafficker is initial intimate partner</td>
<td>Trafficker as stranger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intimacy and communication maintained with trafficker</td>
<td>Complete break with trafficker after exit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low understanding of local culture</td>
<td>High understanding of local culture (language, norms, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No legal status</td>
<td>Legal status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High exposure to unsafe people</td>
<td>High exposure to safe people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative coping strategies (no hobbies, use substances, overeat, etc.)</td>
<td>Positive coping strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Distant” family</td>
<td>“Close” family (emotionally)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low self-determination</td>
<td>High self-determination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No access to a safe confidant/friend or significant other</td>
<td>Access to safe confidant/ friend or significant other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self perception as invulnerable</td>
<td>Self perception as capable of being vulnerable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reminders on body</td>
<td>Body void of physical reminders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Bad” therapist</td>
<td>“Good” therapist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No understanding of human trafficking</td>
<td>Understanding of human trafficking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superficial friendships supports</td>
<td>“Deep” friendships or supports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of arrests</td>
<td>No criminal record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim identity</td>
<td>Survivor identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High level of physical, psychological, emotional, economic captivity</td>
<td>Low levels or no captivity in some areas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.3.

Macrosystemic Inhibitors and Promoters to Recovery after Human Trafficking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inhibitors</th>
<th>Promoters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Long lapse between exit and link to support services</td>
<td>Quick link to support services after exit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low availability of and access to services, options, choices.</td>
<td>High availability of and access to services, options, choices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent services</td>
<td>Consistent services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent access to basic needs</td>
<td>Consistent access to basic needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High exposure to vicarious violence</td>
<td>Low exposure to vicarious violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being held in detention involuntarily</td>
<td>Being held in safe setting voluntarily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family involved in trafficking</td>
<td>No family involvement in trafficking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminalization of survivor</td>
<td>Advocacy of survivor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Force displayed at rescue raid</td>
<td>“Raid well-done” Understanding of raid victim or providers present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un-unified legal, social, services</td>
<td>Unified, coordinated services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Western) only approaches</td>
<td>Multiplicity of approaches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronicity or difficulty of obstacles highlighted</td>
<td>Wellness emphasized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High stigma of sexual, migration or certain labor practices</td>
<td>Low stigma of sexual, migration or certain labor practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High gender disparities</td>
<td>Low gender disparities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Conceptualization of Human Trafficking Recovery**

Recovery from the possible trauma of human trafficking was analyzed inductively utilizing holistic-analytic methods (Patton, 2002, p. 248) while imposing dimensions of recovery informed from the Phase I and II research, and Herman’s three-stage (1992b) recovery (from violence from domestic abuse to political terror) model. Semi-structured interviews elicited information from the thirteen clinicians, rehabilitative programmers, and survivors about how
they conceptualized recovery and how they would rank components to recovery. Recovery components were offered in the form of sixteen general dimensions listed on a survey. Participants would rank the importance of a specific dimension such as “hope or future orientation” to recovery, indicate whether it was more important to a survivor of labor or sex trafficking or both, and then designate on a Likert Scale when it is most important at the beginning, middle or end phase of recovery. These sixteen dimensions are listed in Table 4.4. The additional dimensions of “remembering and mourning,” and “reconnection” (Herman’s stage two and three dimensions) were included as codes for analytical investigation. Herman’s first stage of “safety” was included in the sixteen dimensional analysis.

**Operationalization of Dimensional Terms**

The sixteen dimensions were presented and operationalized as following. Safety was described in terms of Maslow’s first and part of the second level in his Hierarchy of Needs (1943a). Physiological to maintain constant, normal states of blood stream – food, water, sleep, breathing, and a security of person as described in his “safety” or second level of the Hierarchy of Human Needs (Maslow, 1943a). A person would be safe from the physical control of their trafficker and their basic needs would be fulfilled. The second, third, and fourth dimensions were that of vocational, traditional, and psychological education. Vocational education was training geared at income-generating skill-building while psychological education meant skill-building in Western psychotherapeutic methods of relationships, self-esteem, understanding trauma symptoms, and so forth. Traditional education was coded when the enrollment in primary, secondary, or higher educational institutions were deemed important. This dimension sometimes proved difficult in relationship to recovery as it also imparts social status in some countries (like Haiti) where state sponsored education is not available to all citizens. The
dimension of positive emotion was informed by Martin Seligman’s theory of “flourishing” where positive emotion or general life satisfaction serves as a pillar to an overall happiness (2011). Next, the dimension of “secure identity” was broadly extracted from Maslow’s understanding of “self-esteem” in his theory of human motivation (1943a), which was informed by Freud’s construction of the self or ego as well as the developmental theory of Erik Erikson. Maslow states that all people have the desire for, “stable, firmly based, (usually) high evaluation of themselves, for self-respect, or self-esteem, and for the esteem of others” (1943a). This umbrella term was loosely described to participants as, “a shift from ‘victim’ to ‘survivor’ self conception, an “increase in self-esteem,” and derived from the Phase II theme of “feeling human or equal” with the implication that the self is worthy of post-trafficking care.

The following dimension of “the ability to exercise [self] agency or choice” like “secure identity” also embodied a loose meaning that allowed participants to project their own understandings to a certain degree. It was generally defined as the ability to make choices for oneself. This assumed that post-trafficking choices were available as well as assumed developmental agency in terms of age. Agency/choice was also synonymous with empowerment. Perhaps the most expansive dimension was that of, “social support.” It was often assumed to be agency support by interviewees, to which most participants immediately said was very important, however, I clarified that it meant a close social attachment, such as a friend, significant other, therapist, relative or a smaller group of support such as members in a group therapy setting. The attempt to differentiate from larger social supports sometimes proved futile, but nonetheless, meaningful qualitative information was gained through the operationalizing dialogue between interviewer and interviewee at times.
The next two dimensions were slightly easier than the former to convey to participants, that of “spirituality or faith” and “hope or future-orientation”. Hope and future-orientation was seen as the presence of future dreams or the ability to set and work toward goals and/or feelings of hopefulness. Herman discusses how the obliteration of the past and future-orientations often impede survivor functioning (1992b, p. 89) therefore; regaining a sense of the self in the future allows one to make goals. Hope is a trademark dimension of recovery paradigms and occurs in recovery-oriented literature (Bonney & Stickley, 2008; Onken et al., 2007). Participants often times wanted to mark spirituality or faith as highly important for the fact that it met this purpose of giving hope and a future-orientation, therefore, in order to measure it in its own right, it had to be clearly operationalized as having a religious belief system or engagement in spiritual practice. Spirituality or faith was included as it registered that four out of seven survivors in the Phase II research mentioned it as important to their functioning. “Forgiveness” was added as a dimension in contrast to the following dimension of “justice”. It was defined as forgiving a perpetrator, self, family member, or other complicit person in the trafficking experience. Justice meant legal remedies were taken against traffickers as well as included the dimension of “compensation,” which later proved quite conceptually different for some participants.

The dimension of “repatriation” meant that a survivor of trafficking was taken back to a place of origin or previously lived region from where they were removed. In the case of restavèk, this generally means family re-unification in the countryside of Haiti or out of the urban setting to which most children in restavèk are found. The succeeding dimension of “activism” incorporated a number of formerly discovered themes. Besides its aforementioned inclusions, it was usually described as public writing, speaking, or involvement in the ATIP movement to ensure that others do not meet the same fate or to work towards ends that prevent
trafficking such as political lobbying or public education. “Steady income or employment” meant having a legitimate and paying job while “constructive coping” meant managing trauma or other distressing symptoms through the active use of strategies that reduce distress. Participants were given the option to include any other dimension they thought important to recovery at the end of the survey. This dimension could be ranked and placed in either the beginning, middle, or end phase and deemed important to the areas of labor or sex trafficking like the other dimensions as well.

**Dimensional Results**

The results reveal that it is difficult to demarcate specific and comprehensive conceptualizations of recovery from human trafficking as they relate and overlap with one another, however, dimensions do give some insight into what might be important to survivors and when they might be most important. Of the sixteen dimensions, participants ranked the top five dimensions as: safety, steady income or employment, social support, agency or choice, and forgiveness. This was measured by the numerical value participants placed on each dimension’s importance on the survey (see Table 4). It was also somewhat supported by the results of the content analysis (see Table 5) in the interview though positioning changed for some dimensions, others remained fairly stable. After this triangulation, these more constant dimensions (either at the top or bottom of the rankings) included safety, social support, agency/choice and steady income/employment (toward the top) and repatriation (toward the bottom), while dimensions such as positive emotion and forgiveness had more drastic re-positioning after this different analysis. This variability is displayed in Table 5. Analysis of where these dimensions lie in terms of stages is discussed later, whereas these analyses show only importance placed on such dimensions for human trafficking recovery.