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MEASURING HUMAN TRAFFICKING
Lessons from New York City

Neil A. Weiner
Nicole Hala

Vera Institute of Justice
August 2008

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Abstract

The groundbreaking Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000 made trafficking in persons a federal crime in the U.S. However, reliable data about the scale and character of trafficking in the U.S. is still hard to find nearly a decade later. This is largely because no standardized measurement tools or procedures for systematic data collection, retention, and sharing have been developed. Partnering with a set of diverse local stakeholders, the New York City Trafficking Assessment Project (NYCTAP) developed a *screening tool to identify likely victims of trafficking* and an accompanying *toolkit* for service providers to support the administration of the screening tool. In the process, we developed and field-tested protocols for sustainable data collection and retention, which could serve as platforms for the wider sharing and aggregation of data. Employing "action research," we capitalized on the expertise of our partner agencies to create the screening tool and toolkit and, further, sought to empower them to own and refine these resources to maximum benefit. Our partners included criminal justice agencies, community and faith-based organizations, and social and legal service agencies that have direct experience with obstacles, opportunities, and good practices for identifying likely trafficking victims. Lessons learned in this pilot project are most relevant for service providers likely to encounter trafficking victims; however, they also have relevance for other organizations that work with populations confronting similar or related injustices (e.g., labor exploitation, domestic violence, and sexual assault) or sharing similar characteristics (e.g., people who are recent immigrants, undocumented, or who have limited English proficiency). The screening tool and toolkit should also be useful for law enforcement agencies, the other key set of institutional actors recently charged with identifying victims of trafficking. Lastly, it is hoped that these lessons and resources will give policymakers and practitioners a keener appreciation of the value of standardized, systematic, and sustained data collection in forming policies and programming to aid persons in the grip of human trafficking. The lessons learned have been compiled into a set of recommendations about how to apply and build upon the work of the NYCTAP.

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Local and federal law enforcement representatives generously provided detailed and insightful feedback on the NYCTAP screening tool. Finally, this project owes a great debt to our 12 Community Advisory Board (CAB) members. Their experience and expertise, and willingness to explore new methods to identify trafficking victims helped make the products of this project much stronger and more useful than imagined. Their imprint is evident throughout these pages.

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Table of Contents

Executive Summary vii

I. Introduction 1

II. Background 2

III. Measuring Human Trafficking 4
- Reporting and Underreporting 5
- Prior Data Collection Projects 6
- The "Woozle Effect" in Human Trafficking Research 8
- Counting Hard-to-reach Populations 10
- Types of Victims 11

IV. Origins and Development of the NYCTAP and Screening Tool 14
- The NYCTAP Community Advisory Board (CAB) 14
- The Costs and Benefits of Standardization 15
- Methodology, Objectives, and Limitations 16

V. Designing the Trafficking Victim Screening Tool 18
- Defining Trafficking Victimization 18
- Applying the Definition 19
- Describing Victimization 21
- Organizing Sections and Formatting Questions 21
- Identifying Duplicates 22
- Summary 23

VI. Administering the Trafficking Victim Screening Tool 24
- Mode of Administration 24
- Screening Timing 24
- Screening Participation 25
- Interviewer-Respondent Rapport 26
- Client Protection 28
- Language Access 29
- Summary 30

VII. Piloting in the Field 31
- Interview Simulations 31
- Agency Review 32

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Agency Field Application 33
Administrative Case File Application 36
Agency De-briefings 39
Summary 41

VIII. Screening and Screening Tool Refinement: 43
Refining Screening Practices: Post-Interview Assessments 43
Refining the Screening Tool: Multi-coding and De-briefing 44
Summary 44

IX. Conclusion and Recommendations 46

Notes 49

Appendix I: Trafficking in Persons Prevalence Estimates 58

Appendix II: CAB Member Characteristics 66

Appendix III: Flowchart of NYCTAP Pilot Activities 68

Appendix IV: NYCTAP Screening Tool and Supporting Materials 70
Exhibit I: NYCTAP Screening Tool, Part I
Exhibit II: NYCTAP Screening Tool, Part II, for Foreign-born Adults
Exhibit III: NYCTAP Screening Tool, Part II, for U.S.-born Adults
Exhibit IV: Suggestions for Assisting Trafficked Persons
Exhibit V: Client Resources
Exhibit VI: Administration Instructions

Appendix V: Annotated Guide to the NYCTAP Screening Tool 85

Appendix VI: Human Trafficking Training Guide 98

Appendix VII: Statutory Components of Federal, State, and International Antitrafficking Legislation 109

Appendix VIII: The NYCTAP Tool and Prior Victim Screening Guides: A Question-by-Question Comparison 115

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Executive Summary

The groundbreaking Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000 made trafficking in persons a federal crime in the U.S. However, reliable data about the scale and character of trafficking in the U.S. is still hard to find nearly a decade later. This is largely because no standardized measurement tools or procedures for systematic data collection, retention, and sharing have been developed. Reliable data, we believe, are a pre-requisite for effective antitrafficking prevention and intervention policies. The proliferation of such policies—locally, at the state level, and nationally—in the absence of reliable data presents the risk of misdirected interventions and missed opportunities. The New York City Trafficking Assessment Project (NYCTAP) was undertaken to respond to the pressing need for more accurate measurements of human trafficking.

The NYCTAP resolved to improve the identification of victims of trafficking by partnering with a set of diverse local stakeholders who are likely to have contact with this "hard-to-reach" population. Our main aim was to develop a *screening tool to identify likely victims of trafficking* and an accompanying *toolkit* for service providers to support the administration of the screening tool. In the process, we sought to develop and field-test protocols for sustainable data collection and retention, which could then serve as platforms for wider data sharing and aggregation. Employing "action research," we sought to capitalize on the expertise of our partner agencies to create the screening tool and toolkit and, further, to empower them to own and refine these resources to maximum benefit. Our partners included criminal justice agencies, community and faith-based organizations, and social and legal service agencies that have direct experience with obstacles, opportunities, and good practices for identifying likely trafficking victims. Lessons learned in this pilot project form the basis of recommendations that appear at the conclusion of this summary. They focus on (1) improving victim identification and data collection on human trafficking, (2) designing a standardized trafficking victim screening tool and supporting toolkit for its administration, and (3) validating a standardized trafficking victim screening tool.

The screening tool and toolkit primarily target service providers likely to encounter trafficking victims. However, these resources were also designed to be useful for other organizations that work with populations confronting similar or related injustices (e.g., labor exploitation, domestic violence, and sexual assault) or sharing similar characteristics (e.g., people who are recent immigrants, undocumented, or who have limited English proficiency) The resources should also be useful for law enforcement agencies, the other key set of institutional actors recently charged with identifying victims of trafficking. Lastly, it is hoped that these resources will give policymakers and practitioners a keener appreciation of the value of standardized, systematic, and sustained data collection in forming policies and programming to aid persons in the grip of human trafficking.

Measuring Human Trafficking

The main obstacle to measuring human trafficking is that victims, the primary information source, comprise what researchers call a "hard-to-reach" or "hidden" population. Typically involved in illegal or stigmatized behavior, members of such populations are generally reluctant to participate in research studies or other activities that may require their identification. Trafficked persons, who additionally suffer

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the immediate and long-term effects of coercion—whether physical, psychological or some other—are even less likely to come forward.

The interest group mobilization that propelled the issue of human trafficking onto the policymaking agenda—in the absence of reliable evidence that the problem was growing—illustrates the social character of problem definition, especially the definition of crime. The critical role of shared understandings in the criminalization of certain practices has important methodological implications, particularly in the area of applied measurement, which is the present focus.

Even as general awareness of human trafficking grows, reporting will lag until first responders and vulnerable individuals and communities become familiar with the specific elements and dynamics of this "new crime," the sanctions established for offenders, the protections available to victims, and the practical tools available for its identification. Many trafficked persons, especially foreign nationals, do not know that they have been unlawfully victimized and that, as such, they possess rights under U.S. law. More often than not, it is professionals in relevant service provider and law enforcement agencies who end up identifying victims and initiating reporting, not the victims themselves. Because passage of the TVPA is so recent, these actors are still learning how to recognize and respond to potential cases of human trafficking. Untrained service providers may not recognize indicators of trafficking victimization, or they may misclassify trafficking as something else, such as labor exploitation or domestic violence. Similarly, lacking training and investigative experience, law enforcement agents may mistake human trafficking for other look-alike crimes, such as smuggling, illegal employment, or prostitution. In the process, they may mistake victims for offenders.

The public response to human trafficking is still evolving. The public and government officials will be impelled and empowered to measure human trafficking to the extent that they have good reasons and robust tools for doing so. Lacking the right tools, no amount of motivation, willingness, and resources will lead to constructive action and remedies. *Knowing how to measure human trafficking in practice is the first step in understanding and, in turn, curbing and controlling it.*

Background, Methodology, Objectives, and Limitations of the NYCTAP

The NYCTAP was undertaken to respond to the pressing need for more accurate measurements of human trafficking. Rather than relying on secondary reports, the NYCTAP enlisted service providers to collect data directly from victims. With unmatched access to this hard-to-reach population, service providers have proven to be essential partners for data collection. By basing the project in New York City, a venue in which Vera has worked continuously since its inception nearly 50 years ago, we were able to leverage our considerable agency and professional networks in ways that yielded analytical depth and substantive reach.

The NYCTAP Community Advisory Board (CAB) consisted of twelve local organizations, including four social service agencies, four legal service agencies, three community-based organizations, and one advocacy organization. With the exception of the advocacy organization, each offers direct assistance to people in need throughout the city. Working in a range of areas, including youth development, domestic violence, refugee resettlement, immigration, and worker's rights, CAB agencies nonetheless shared the

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view that their clienteles were vulnerable to trafficking victimization. Moreover, most had already identified and assisted trafficking victims, lending credibility to our request for their participation.

Preliminary research and fieldwork underscored the undeveloped state of knowledge and practice in identifying victims of trafficking. It was clear that reliable prevalence estimates would be unattainable before the development and implementation of more rigorous screening tools and supporting protocols. It was also clear that these tasks called for methods that were grounded in practice, collaboration, and an action-oriented research strategy. Employing *action research*, the NYCTAP ultimately had the following objectives:

- Design a trafficking screening tool that collects standardized data on victims;
- Involve diverse stakeholders in the tool development process to make it useful in a variety of settings, starting with diverse service agency settings;
- Pre-validate the screening tool through expert review and agency-initiated applications;
- Develop and test trafficking victim screening and related data collection protocols for service providers, using as guideposts evidence-based best practices and lessons learned in related social and behavioral science applications;
- Supplement the screening tool with a broader practical toolkit for victim identification that includes an annotated version of the screening tool, interviewing guidelines, suggested administration protocols, and staff training aids on gauging victimization likelihood and providing victims remedial services and referrals;
- Provide recommendations on how best to apply and refine the screening instrument on an ongoing basis once it is validated; and
- Build knowledge that can guide policy for government and nongovernmental partners by starting from the TVPA definition of trafficking and embedding it in a comprehensive, behaviorally anchored screening tool.

Action research, an approach that begins with practitioners' need for solutions to pressing policy or practical questions, was ideally suited for a pilot project of this kind. Vera has long employed action research to promote program and policy development in collaboration with government and nongovernmental partners in the justice system and in related fields. Combining the experiential, contextual knowledge of practitioners with rigorous scientific methods, action research takes a multi-disciplinary approach to problem-solving, particularly in areas where research and practice is underdeveloped. Much of the researcher's time is spent on refining the methodological tools to suit the demands of the situation, and on collecting, analyzing, and presenting data on an ongoing and interactive

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basis. Quantitative data and methods are often employed but initially are less prominent than qualitative approaches that rely on ethnographic data and fieldwork. Studies tend to be single rather than multi-site, although they aim for generalizability and subsequent wider application.

Working with the premise that investments at the "front-end"—in designing methodological tools, learning about application environments, and gaining input from stakeholders—will pay off down the road, the NYCTAP focused on the pre-validation phase of tool development. Although the NYCTAP pilot did not test the screening tool under controlled conditions with, for example, the random assignment of clients, screeners, and administration alternatives, we nonetheless employed a variety of other mutually reinforcing procedures to help us preliminarily gauge its reliability and validity.

The trafficking victim screening tool and toolkit were developed through a number of integrated methods, including interview simulations, agency review sessions, field applications, administrative case file applications, and agency de-briefing sessions. We review all of these processes in detail, presenting their underpinnings, outcomes, and lessons, both for the present pilot and future work. By making each step in the tool development process as transparent as possible, this report allows other researchers and practitioners to build on and upgrade our work.

Designing the Trafficking Victim Screening Tool

The drafting of antitrafficking legislation, at the national, international, and state levels, was accompanied by fierce debate over the very definition of human trafficking. Nearly a decade after the enactment of the first antitrafficking statutes, the debate continues. Such controversy is not unique to the antitrafficking field. Defining crime and victimization has always been ideologically fraught. As in other fields of research and policy, clear and consistent definitions are essential bases for the accumulation of knowledge.

Establishing trafficking victims' eligibility for benefits and services, the TVPA offers the most practical initial working definition for data collection by service providers, who already use the definition in making applications for relief on behalf of their trafficked clients. According to the TVPA, trafficking occurs when a person is forced, coerced, or tricked into labor or commercial sexual activities. While it is recommended that U.S.-based practitioners and researchers record cases using a standard definition of trafficking—namely, the TVPA definition—it is likely that state-based and international definitions will also be relevant to their work. The NYCTAP screening tool was therefore designed in modularized fashion so that it could be easily modified to detect victimization according to different sets of criteria, corresponding to different statutory definitions.

In order to measure a particular phenomenon, settling on a clear definition is only the first step. Next, the definition must be *operationalized* for survey purposes. With regard to trafficking victimization, this basically means translating the definition into a set of applied procedures, such as screening tool questions, so that a person's answers to the questions indicate whether the person is a likely trafficking victim. Operationalization involved several steps, starting with the identification of best practices in victimization survey design and human trafficking screening in particular. The process relied on the methodological know-how of the research team and the field experience of project stakeholders—both criminal prosecutors and victim service providers.

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Administering the Trafficking Victim Screening Tool

How data collection instruments are administered—by whom, to whom, when, and where—significantly impacts the quality of the data they elicit. Face-to-face interviews were chosen over questionnaires for scientific and practical reasons. First, this interactive method is capable of gathering more detailed and more accurate data. Second, it is the method service providers prefer and use to gather information about victimization.

Ideally, from a measurement perspective, service providers would routinely screen clients at intake; however, prevailing logistical barriers as well as substantive concerns about client readiness recommend allowing some discretion in the timing of screening. Therefore, service providers are advised to administer the screening as soon as clients are deemed mentally and emotionally competent to be interviewed. Agency-specific client demographics and how they reflect the latest reliable indicators for trafficking risk should determine whether a particular agency should conduct universal or targeted screenings. In either case, the selection of clients for trafficking screenings should follow pre-established agency-wide or program-wide protocols.

The screening tool is a *means* for measurement, which is a larger, interactive *process* that depends critically on interviewer-respondent rapport. Skilled interviewers are able to maximize the accuracy of responses while minimizing respondents' discomfort. Feelings of guilt, shame, trauma, isolation, and fear can inhibit disclosure of victimization. In the same way, emotions typically regarded as "positive," such as attachment, loyalty, and a sense of duty, can prevent trafficked persons from identifying as such. Awareness of these potential emotional responses in their clients will help service agency staff build the rapport that is essential for accurate and sensitive screenings.

Language barriers present another obvious obstacle to interviewer-respondent rapport. Because most trafficked persons in the U.S. are known to have limited proficiency with English, protocols for screening in non-English languages are essential until peer-reviewed and field-tested screening tools in other languages are available. Until then, sight interpretation services—in which a bilingual interviewer reads the English-language screening tool while converting it orally into another language—are the optimal means of overcoming these barriers.

Piloting in the Field

Prior to the field application of the screening tool, Vera researchers used it in simulated interviews to spot problems that could only be uncovered in the course of administration. The results of this "pre-test" underscored the importance of follow-up questions and diligent probing in order to limit false positives.

The draft screening tool was then circulated among CAB members, who were asked to evaluate the content of the screening tool for comprehensiveness, organization, question wording, and question placement. Agency review sessions also addressed respondents' comprehension and comfort across cultures. The discussions led us to modify the overall format of the screening tool for greater ease of use. The revised format featured two forms, a universal Part I, and a Part II that had two versions, one for U.S.-born respondents and another for foreign-born respondents. The sessions also led to revisions in

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several screening questions. The wording of questions addressing debt and sexual contact was tempered to alleviate concerns about cultural sensitivity and discomfort. The terminology of "employment," which reviewers found to be suggestive of strictly formalized labor arrangements, was replaced by the more generic and expansive term "work" to ensure that respondents addressed informal labor arrangements in screening interviews.

CAB service providers introduced screening tool content and protocols into their work as organizational opportunities and constraints allowed, providing feedback on their experience in subsequent de-briefing sessions. Agency feedback was used to further revise the piloted screening tool, refine administration protocols, and develop a screening toolkit, which would include the *Annotated Guide to the NYCTAP Screening Tool.* A draft version of the guide was supplied to CAB staff to aid their piloting work. Like the screening tool itself, it would be revised on the basis of findings from the field. In order to devise protocols that were accommodating yet sufficiently disciplined, we were especially interested in the perceived barriers to regular screening for trafficking. To this end, the drafted screening tool included detachable forms to track the reasons for and frequency of "deferred screenings" and "suspended screenings."

Administrative case files from CAB agencies offered an additional data source for the pilot and served several purposes. First, they documented service providers' existing practices for data collection about trafficking victimization. They also served as another check against the screening tool, to confirm that no critical content or questions were missing. Most importantly, administrative case files, serving as proxies for actual respondents, enabled us preliminarily to assess the screening tool's reliability.

Agency de-briefings confirmed the utility of the *Annotated Guide to the NYCTAP Screening Tool*, as CAB staff who had relied on the guide reported encountering fewer of the difficulties with respondent comprehension and response coding that were reported by those who did not rely on the guide. Feedback further indicated that the annotations supplied critical clarifying information that merited inclusion in the text of the instrument itself. The de-briefings revealed that interviewers tended to improvise introductory remarks to the screening tool sections that had lacked them and add "softening" phrasing before sensitive questions. To bolster reliability, standardized introductory scripts were inserted at the start of each section and softening phrases were placed in front of all potentially sensitive questions. Participants who worked with young people reported problems with their comprehension and with question wording only in questions concerning debt. Although family financing of migration was common for both adults and children, participants found that children were much less likely to consider family debt their own debt, leading us to revise questions about the acquisition of debt so that they pertained to the individual respondent as well as his or her family. The only questions found to be inappropriate for children were the final two, which asked about provision of food and control of sleep schedule.

Screening and Screening Tool Refinement

Good data collection systems require ongoing upkeep and reassessment of tools and practices. The NYCTAP screening tool, with its face validity already established, is equipped with a practical mechanism enabling practitioners to conduct their own assessments of its empirical validity. The Post-Interview Assessment, which asks for interviewers' global assessment of the likelihood of trafficking

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victimization, uses this interviewer-as-expert criterion measure to help gauge the validity of individual questions, groups of them, or the screening tool in its entirety. Another practical method for checking the validity of the screening tool as well as screening practices is to have a single interview coded by more than one staff member and the coding compared for consistency, along with discussion of reasons for both consistency and inconsistency. This offers a proactive way of gauging and maintaining the screening tool's reliability over time, while at the same time promoting ongoing discussion and consensus about the objectives and practices associated with the screening tool.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Knowledge of the scale and scope of social problems is critical to commanding attention and sparking action, especially in environments where resources are limited and other problems present similar urgencies. When problems are identified and quantified, it becomes possible to propose measured solutions. Researchers interested in improving measurements of human trafficking have tended to focus their efforts on upgrading statistical models, on survey sampling, and subject selection.

The NYCTAP had a different emphasis, focusing on *applied* measurement. Recognizing that this field of research and practice lacked the tools to reliably identify victims of human trafficking, we concentrated on developing those tools, collaborating with stakeholders who actually had experience working with this hard-to-reach population. The NYCTAP designed a trafficking victim screening tool to collect standardized data on victims. Employing the methods of action research, we applied the screening tool in the field, paying particular attention to how location and administration affect measurement processes and outcomes. In addition to a pre-validated victim screening tool, our piloting work produced a trafficking screening toolkit, which includes an annotated version of the screening tool, interviewing guidelines, suggested administration protocols, and staff training aids on gauging victimization likelihood and providing remedial services and referrals.

Lessons learned in the pilot form the basis of the following three sets of recommendations to (1) improve victim identification and data collection on human trafficking, (2) design a standardized trafficking victim screening tool and supporting toolkit for its administration, and (3) validate a standardized trafficking victim screening tool.

1. Victim Identification and Data Collection on Human Trafficking

- Agencies supporting antitrafficking initiatives should encourage the use of *standard definitions* to promote uniform victim identification and to leverage separate data collection efforts so that information can be more efficiently and effectively used for programmatic and research purposes.

- A standard trafficking victim *screening tool should be validated* and made publicly available to service providers nationwide.

- The screening tool developed here for service providers will need to be *pre-validated and then validated for use in other settings,* for example, law enforcement, healthcare, and education.

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- A *toolkit* containing model screening protocols should accompany the trafficking victim screening tool to guide its administration for screening accuracy.

- Model screening protocols targeted at service providers should be sufficiently comprehensive and flexible in order to facilitate their adoption by as diverse a group of service providers as possible. The protocols should take into account the following agency features:
    - agency type (e.g., social service, legal service, or other NGO);
    - intake procedures (e.g., single session or multiple sessions);
    - services (e.g., whether or not the agency has dedicated trafficking victim services);
    - client demographics (e.g., age or country of origin) and other client characteristics associated with risk for trafficking (e.g., immigration status or employment eligibility); and
    - staffing (e.g., staffing sufficiency, professional certifications and reporting obligations, language proficiency).

- Each model screening protocol should be based on best practices relating to *screening tool administration*, including:
    - screening selection (e.g., universal vs. targeted),
    - screening timing (e.g., at intake or at a later time),
    - rapport-building (e.g., creating trust, minimizing discomfort),
    - client protection (e.g., client readiness for screening, responding to discomfort and trauma), and
    - language access (e.g., screening clients with limited English proficiency).

- The validated standard trafficking victim screening tool should be used in the design of a national prevalence estimation study that promotes the understanding and control of human trafficking.

2. Design of a Standardized Trafficking Victim Screening Tool and Supporting Toolkit for its Administration

- The screening tool should identify as many likely victims of human trafficking as possible, even if that results in the identification of some persons who are not victims, because it is ethically preferable to provide assistance to persons who are not victims rather than to deny assistance to persons who are victims.

- The screening tool should be sufficiently robust to identify victims of trafficking based on different statutory definitions, at the state, national, and international levels.

- The screening tool should use questions that refer to specific behaviors and avoid terminology that may be insensitive to cultural, gender, and other critical differences among likely trafficking

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victims in order to more accurately identify victims among both foreign- and U.S.-born clients, minors and adults, and men and women.

- The screening tool should be brief, containing no more than the minimal set of questions needed to identify likely trafficking victimization in order to facilitate its adoption by heavily utilized but poorly resourced agencies.

3. Validation of a Standardized Trafficking Victim Screening Tool

- Validation should involve diverse service providers, both those similar in mission, clientele, and location to the ones used in the pre-validation phase, and ones different from them in these same ways, in order to document and ensure the screening tool's internal and external validity.

- Validation of the screening tool and any additional pre-validation work should be guided by field-tested best practices:
    - enlist a diverse range of service providers;
    - require that service providers themselves administer the instrument;
    - circulate the screening tool for agency review prior to testing;
    - conduct site visits prior to assigning screening protocols in order to gain familiarity with the screening setting and barriers to screening; and
    - employ "sight translation" of English-language screening tools for interviews with clients deficient in English.

- Validation should use as many different and mutually reinforcing methods as possible:
    - reliability—e.g., checking consistency in coding across multiple coding of the same screening interview;
    - criterion validity—e.g., checking consistency between screening-tool questions and the post-interview assessment of victimization status made by the interviewer;
    - concurrent and predictive validity—e.g., checking consistency between the screening tool and present or future law enforcement trafficking victim investigations for screened clients; and
    - discriminant validity—e.g., gauging the capacity of the screening tool to distinguish human trafficking from other activities such as smuggling, labor exploitation, migrant work, undocumented labor, sexual abuse, domestic violence, and voluntary prostitution.

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I. Introduction

Human trafficking has been described as "modern-day slavery."[1] It may indeed be similar in many ways to slavery as slavery is popularly and historically understood. Yet human trafficking is also distinctly modern, shaped by such contemporary phenomena as globalization, international organized crime, population dislocation and migration, political instability and economic upheaval. Given more than three centuries of hindsight, most of us in the United States have a sense of what historical slavery looked like. The contours of *human trafficking*, on the other hand, remain largely indistinct to most people.

The groundbreaking Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000 made trafficking in persons a federal crime in the U.S.[2] Briefly stated, trafficking occurs when a person is forced, coerced, or tricked into labor or commercial sexual activities. Yet solid data about the scale and character of trafficking in the U.S. is still hard to find nearly a decade later. This is largely because no standardized measurement tools or procedures for systematic data collection, retention, and sharing have been developed. Reliable data, we believe, are a pre-requisite for effective trafficking prevention and intervention policies. The proliferation of such policies in the absence of reliable data—locally, at the state level, and nationally—present the distinct risk of misdirected interventions and missed opportunities. The New York City Trafficking Assessment Project (NYCTAP), the subject of this report, was undertaken to respond to the pressing need for more accurate measurements of human trafficking.

The NYCTAP resolved to improve the identification of likely victims of trafficking by partnering with diverse local stakeholders who are likely to have contact with this "hard-to-reach" population.[3] Our main aim was to develop a *screening tool to identify likely victims of trafficking* and an accompanying *toolkit* for service providers, which were targeted as its principal users. In the process, we sought to develop and field-test protocols for sustainable data collection and retention, which could then serve as platforms for wider data sharing and aggregation. Employing "action research," we sought to capitalize on the experience and expertise of our partner agencies to create the screening tool and toolkit and, further, to empower them to own and refine these resources to maximum benefit.[4] Partner agencies included criminal justice agencies, community and faith-based organizations, and local service providers that have direct experience with obstacles, opportunities, and good practices for identifying likely trafficking victims and gathering information.

The screening tool and toolkit primarily target service providers likely to encounter trafficking victims. However, these resources were also designed to be useful for other organizations that work with populations confronting similar or related injustices (e.g., labor exploitation, domestic violence, and sexual assault) or sharing similar characteristics (e.g., people who are recent immigrants, limited-English-proficient, or undocumented). The resources should also be useful for law enforcement agencies, the other key set of institutional actors recently charged with identifying victims of trafficking. Lastly, it is hoped that these resources will give policymakers and practitioners a keener appreciation of the value of standardized, systematic, and sustained data collection in forming policies and programming to aid persons in the grip of human trafficking.

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II. Background

Human trafficking research has expanded dramatically since the 1990s,[5] when the first major studies were conducted. As is typical of work in emerging research fields, these early studies were mostly exploratory, relying on qualitative analysis of case studies, mainly of prosecuted legal cases.[6] Since 2001, the U.S. government's annual *Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Reports* have estimated the number of persons trafficked into the U.S. and across all international borders.[7] These estimates have fluctuated considerably, leading some to question their reliability. According to the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO), for example, "[t]he accuracy of the estimates is in doubt because of methodological weaknesses, gaps in data and numerical discrepancies."[8] Spurred by calls from government and international agencies for better measurements, researchers have only recently begun to concentrate on methodological issues, which were the focus of the NYCTAP.[9]

In fact, the number of trafficking victims who are actually identified—whether by service providers, law enforcement, or other entities—remains relatively small.[10] That is because trafficking victims represent a "hard-to-reach" or "hidden" population. Human trafficking is a clandestine activity. Captive victims are deliberately hidden from view. Emancipated victims, even those who are discovered, are reluctant to speak with unknown researchers.

In order to generate the most basic knowledge about the prevalence of human trafficking (i.e., how many persons have been trafficked), agencies positioned to discover and assist victims must be equipped with the proper tools—first and foremost, a screening tool that accurately identifies victims. The NYCTAP aimed to develop such a tool by building on the existing efforts of agencies on the ground.

As a major international hub with a diverse population that includes numerous ethnic and immigrant communities for which trafficking is a pressing issue, New York City presented an excellent research site. The NYCTAP's Community Advisory Board (CAB), which helped shape and strengthen the project's work, is composed of 12 local organizations. With one exception, all of these organizations dedicate some portion of their work to direct assistance. They serve different populations, and the type and range of services they offer varies, and includes legal assistance, psychological counseling, temporary shelter, and translation/interpretation. Many of these agencies have substantial experience in assisting trafficking victims and earning their trust, which made them critical intermediaries between project staff and this hard-to-reach population.

Designing a screening tool that could be used by this diverse set of agencies presented significant challenges. Soon after the NYCTAP was launched, our project staff confirmed what we had suspected from the outset: that the local agencies targeted for the pilot generally lacked robust data collection and retention procedures and, therefore, had virtually no capacity to share data in formats and aggregations that built general knowledge about human trafficking. As other researchers in the field had already observed, NYCTAP staff found that few service providers actually used formal trafficking victim screening tools and that most of those who did failed to administer them consistently.[11] Moreover, the few agencies that did employ screening tools did not retain collected data in accessible formats.

Our strategy for developing the screening tool built on prior research and best practices in antitrafficking and related fields. The NYCTAP staff looked closely at early efforts to measure the

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prevalence of domestic violence, child abuse, and the commercial sexual exploitation of children, all phenomena with significant similarities to human trafficking, in their substance and in the methodological challenges they posed.[12] Project staff also reviewed the latest strategies for studying hard-to-reach populations.[13] Finally, we studied a variety of action research models, including the model that we eventually adopted, in which stakeholders played an active role in shaping data collection.[14]

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III. Measuring Human Trafficking

Forced labor and forced prostitution have been documented for centuries in the U.S. and elsewhere.[15] Slavery in particular has been intensely scrutinized and debated in the U.S., virtually from the nation's birth, but it was not until the conclusion of the Civil War in 1865 that the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution officially abolished it. Seventy-five years later, in 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights prohibited the practice worldwide. However, modern variations of enslavement persist to this day. During the 1990s, the problem of privately organized forced labor and forced prostitution gained attention both domestically and internationally. The latter, widely known as *sex trafficking* and the *sex trade*, are part of the *sex industry* and its international commercialization and reinvention as *sex tourism*. Advocates and policymakers labeled these practices "human trafficking" or "trafficking in persons" and called on governments to respond.

It is not clear why human trafficking moved center stage as it did in the 1990s. Barbara Stolz argues that "three elements of policy change came together around the trafficking issue: trafficking was recognized by governments as a problem that had to be addressed; policy solutions were thought to be available; and the political climate was ripe for change."[16] These convergent events pushed human trafficking onto the national policy agenda, despite the fact that it was neither new nor visibly growing.[17] The mounting recognition of human trafficking as a "problem" appears to have been the product of a process of "collective definition," not the simple result of a change in objective conditions, such as a documented surge in prevalence.[18] Similar processes preceded the widening recognition of child abuse as a modern social problem in the 1960s and official acknowledgement of domestic violence as a problem in the following decade.[19] This convergence of social, policy, and political currents stimulated U.S. Congressional approval of the TVPA in 2000.[20] In the same year, the United Nations adopted the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, also known as the Palermo Protocol.[21]

The TVPA established trafficking in persons as a new federal crime, increasing the penalty for the already outlawed selling of persons into slavery and extending the penalty to related offenses such as involuntary servitude, peonage, and the sale of false immigration documents.[22] Critically, the new law recognized for the first time psychological means of coercion in addition to physical means of enslavement and control, which were already outlawed.[23] The legislation also had foreign-policy components, penalizing other governments for failing to combat human trafficking with sufficient vigor. Classifying trafficking as a crime, it designated trafficked persons as "victims" and entitled them to special benefits and services, including eligibility for a special trafficking-visa (T-visa). The TVPA also called for programs to increase public awareness about the perils of trafficking and the legal protections available to victims. Addressing "the three Ps"—prevention, protection, and prosecution—the TVPA is considered the most comprehensive national antitrafficking law in the world.

The interest group mobilization that propelled the issue of human trafficking onto the policymaking agenda—in the absence of reliable evidence that the problem was growing—illustrates the social character of problem definition, especially the definition of crime. The critical role of shared

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understanding in the criminalization of certain practices has important methodological implications, particularly in the area of applied measurement.

Reporting and Underreporting

Human trafficking can be measured to the extent that people are able to identify it as a discrete phenomenon. Even as general awareness of human trafficking grows, reporting will lag until vulnerable individuals and communities and first responders become familiar with the specific elements and dynamics of human trafficking, the sanctions established for offenders, the protections available to victims, and the practical tools available for its identification. Beyond knowledge and capacity, communities and first responders will require incentives to report or investigate the crime of human trafficking.

Many trafficked persons, especially foreign nationals, do not know that they have been unlawfully victimized or that they possess rights under U.S. law. Keeping victims uninformed is part of a trafficker's modus operandi. Taking advantage of their victims' isolation, captors deceive them into thinking they lack any legal protections and that reporting will result in arrest, deportation, and even abuse by authorities.[24] In their qualitative study of trafficking in the U.S., Bales and Lize find that immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers are especially fearful of authorities, worrying that cooperation in investigations may lead to deportation, withdrawal of legal visa status, or even loss of citizenship. They observe that post-9-11 anti-terrorism measures have served to increase such apprehension within the immigrant communities they studied, further curtailing reporting by immigrant crime victims and witnesses.[25] Finally, there is the potential normative gap between official and communal understandings of the practices now classified as human trafficking. What officials recognize as "victimization" may be seen as "opportunity" by some new immigrants, especially those from countries where the prospects for advancement or even survival are slim.[26] In such cases, reporting of victimization may be viewed as a "selfish" act, contrary to the "greater good" of the community.[27]

More often than not, it is professionals in relevant service provider and law enforcement agencies who end up identifying victims and initiating reporting.[28] Because passage of the TVPA is so recent, law enforcement personnel and service providers are still learning how to recognize and respond to potential cases of trafficking. There are parallels between today's human trafficking enforcement efforts and early law enforcement responses to domestic violence, stalking, and hate crimes.[29] In testimony before the House Judiciary Committee, criminal justice researcher Amy Farrell observed that "in 1990, most local law enforcement had never heard of the term 'hate crime,' though many had dealt with these crimes under different labels for years. After the federal government led an effort to educate local law enforcement about best practices to identify and investigate hate crimes, today we have nearly 8,000 hate crimes identified and investigated by local law enforcement each year."[30]

Lacking training and investigative experience, law enforcement agents may mistake human trafficking for other look-alike crimes, such as smuggling, illegal employment, or prostitution.[31] In the process, they may mistake victims for offenders (e.g., illegal migrants, unauthorized workers, or voluntary prostitutes).[32] They may follow now outdated routines or protocols, misinterpreting evidence or indicators.[33] A national law enforcement survey conducted by the Institute on Race and Justice at

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Northeastern University, part of a recent study for the National Institute of Justice, found that agencies typically learned about trafficking incidents during the course of other investigations, such as drug raids, prostitution sweeps, and responses to calls about domestic violence.[34] A recent Community Oriented Policing (COPS) research report suggests that this context of criminal discovery may impede the identification of trafficking victims because enforcement personnel are focused on identifying and recording other kinds of crimes.[35] Similarly, untrained service providers may not recognize indicators of trafficking victimization, or they may misclassify trafficking as something else, such as labor exploitation or domestic violence.[36]

Screening tools are designed to help people identify victims, once potential victims are discovered. The various legal and behavioral components of trafficking—force, fraud, coercion, and labor and sexual exploitation—are rarely directly seen by third parties. Consequently, victims must supply this information through written or oral testimony.[37] Still, only a fraction of the trafficked persons who are discovered by frontline agencies actually report their victimization.[38] The low reporting is often exacerbated by agency practices that impede their already weakened capacity or willingness to self-identify or to be identified by others. Much like a radio, a screening tool's capacity to pick up a signal of trafficking victimization can be enhanced by where it is located and how it is operated. As frontline points of contact for emancipated trafficking victims, service providers located throughout New York City were enlisted to test the NYCTAP screening tool.

The public's and government's response to human trafficking is still evolving. Both will be impelled and empowered to measure human trafficking to the extent that they have good reasons and robust tools for doing so. Lacking the right tools, no amount of motivation, willingness, and resources will lead to constructive action and remedies. *Knowing how to measure human trafficking in practice is the first and pivotal step in understanding and, in turn, curbing and controlling it.*

Prior Data Collection Projects

Over the past decade, the U.S. government and several international organizations have led a number of notable large-scale data collection projects on human trafficking, working principally with open source data. These data, which are generally available to the public in reports produced by government, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), academic journals, or the media, vary greatly in quantity and quality. As discussed above, new crimes like human trafficking are particularly susceptible to underreporting due to problems identifying victims. The absence of incentives—indeed, the common presence of disincentives to report or record victimization—further contributes to underreporting.

International data collection is hampered by differences in the way nations define human trafficking, their different ways of reporting victimization, and varying levels of public understanding of the problem.[39] This had led to a number of adverse consequences. For example, trafficking of men is underreported compared with trafficking of women. Similarly, labor trafficking is underreported compared with sex trafficking.[40] This problem is especially pronounced in international datasets, which include data from countries where labor trafficking is not criminalized in the same way or to the same extent as sex trafficking, but the bias has been observed in U.S. reporting as well.[41] Nonetheless, recent data collection efforts are beginning to build a global knowledge base and offer critical lessons.

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The U.S. government has launched one of the most ambitious and geographically expansive data collection projects to date, regularly disseminating its findings in the State Department's annual *Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Reports*.[42] Coordinated by the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (TIP Office), the reports analyze the scope and nature of human trafficking around the world and evaluate government interventions in the areas of prevention, protection, and prosecution. They also feature estimates of the prevalence of trafficking into the U.S. and across international borders. The estimates have fluctuated widely, demonstrating the challenge of measuring a newly designated crime. Improvements in methodology have been cited as the reason for revisions in the *TIP Report* estimates, but the details of the improvements have not been elaborated.[43] Although State Department representatives have described the statistical algorithms used to calculate the estimates, they provided no description of the methodology used to generate the baseline data, including definitions of who counts as a trafficking victim. We know that reports from the media, NGOs, and international organizations were used to determine the baseline, but the procedures used to sample and code those reports are obscure. Performed by a single analyst who failed to fully document the work, the data-generating process has been inaccessible for review or replication.[44]

The International Labour Organization (ILO) has completed a project that produced a minimum global estimate of "forced labor," one subcategory of human trafficking. Unlike the U.S. government's estimates, the ILO's include both transnational trafficking and internal trafficking worldwide. Estimates are based on data gathered over a 12-year period, from 1994 to 2005.[45] The ILO calculated that, globally, there were at least 12.3 million people in forced labor, at least 2.5 million of them as a result of human trafficking. To generate the figures, ILO researchers used an experimental estimation methodology based on "double sampling" of reported cases, a variant of the "capture-recapture method" sometimes used to estimate the size of hard-to-reach populations.[46] Open-source data similar to that used for the U.S. estimates was used by the ILO, although data collection and coding were conducted by two independent teams of researchers.[47] Caliber Associates, with support from the National Institute of Justice, has also developed a way to estimate human trafficking, consisting of two basic simulation models that rely on open-source data as inputs. The methodology requires the use of plausible assumptions about data composition and distributions when detailed individual-level data are missing, as they often are.

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has assembled a Database on Human Trafficking Trends containing open source information on transnational trafficking for the period 1996 – 2003. The UNODC's Global Programme Against Trafficking in Human Beings (GPAT) analyzed the data in an extensive, detail-rich 2006 report.[48] The report focused on "the extent of *reporting of* human trafficking flows," which, the GPAT warned, "may or may not adequately reflect the actual severity of trafficking in persons in any one country." Citing the questionable reliability of public-source data on trafficking, the report deliberately avoided prevalence estimation, aiming instead "to further the debate on measures and instruments to collect data on human trafficking."[49]

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) has built an international database on human trafficking victimization with data gathered from victims. The IOM's Counter-Trafficking Module (CTM), a standardized data-management tool, was first implemented in 2000. Collecting interviews of persons assisted through IOM's antitrafficking programs around the world, it is the largest global

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database with primary data on victims of trafficking. However, because information is collected through IOM's assistance networks, which are located mainly in trafficking source countries and are more developed in the Balkans than elsewhere, the data cannot be considered internationally representative.[50] The reliability of IOM's interview data may also be compromised by the fact that participating sites did not employ a standard interview schedule or protocol. Nonetheless, the IOM, in collaboration with governments and NGOs, has produced a series of state-of-the art reports on trafficking data collection. Regionally focused, the reports not only present and analyze data collected from various countries, they also describe the data collection process and the obstacles encountered in different contexts, offering valuable recommendations for both service providers and researchers.[51] Indeed, IOM shares Vera's own interest in identifying strategies to make data collection and service provision more interrelated and symbiotic.

The "Woozle Effect" in Human Trafficking Research

Now that the first wave of human trafficking research has been published and reviewed, researchers have begun to devote greater attention to methodological issues. The earliest studies responded to the need for "quick and dirty" mapping and quantification of human trafficking. Lawmakers, in particular, sought "evidence"—preferably in quantified form—to fashion and bolster their policy proposals.[52] Under such pressing circumstances, the rapid and extensive circulation and eventual recycling of the earliest available prevalence estimates of trafficking in persons is not surprising. The same pattern was evident in early research on family violence.[53] It was labeled the "Woozle Effect," based on the well-known childrens' story in which Winne-the-Pooh, believing he is tracking a Woozle, discovers he is following his own footprints. The Woozle Effect begins when one investigator reports a finding, often with qualifications (e.g., that the sample was small and not generalizable). A second investigator then cites the first study's data, but without the qualifications. Others then cite both reports, and "the qualified data gain the status of an unqualified, generalizable truth."[54]

The NYCTAP research team studied a sample of early trafficking research for evidence of the Woozle Effect. Literature was collected using a snowball sampling strategy, which began with a Google search using the terms "human trafficking" and "human trafficking United States." The sample was limited to written texts, in the form of articles, books, book chapters, and government and nongovernmental reports. We reviewed literature published from 1990 through 2006 and flagged estimates of trafficking prevalence. The sample was further restricted to texts containing at least one quantitative measure of trafficking victimization in one of the following areas: into the U.S., into and within the U.S., across all national borders (i.e., transnational), within all countries (i.e., internal), or into and within all countries (i.e., worldwide).

The final sample of cited figures featured 114 prevalence estimates, which appeared in 45 different publications. As the table in appendix I shows, estimates varied not only in terms of the "trafficking area" specified (See column F), but also by "trafficking type" (i.e., sex trafficking or sex and labor trafficking; see column E) and "trafficked population" (See column G). Most estimates were in the form of ranges, containing a low-end and high-end estimate of the annual number of victims (columns C and D). Frequently, these features were unspecified or underspecified. In these cases we looked at the

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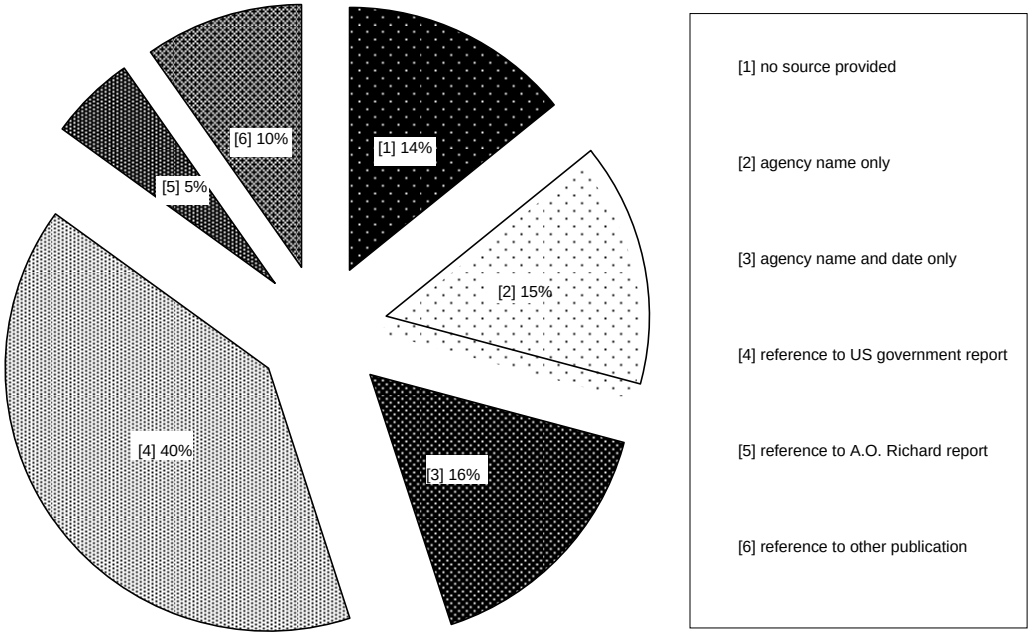
publication's overall focus and the specific discussion context to infer the scope conditions of the estimates.

The main interest in the study was the "source information provided" for the estimate (column H). Only a *single* prevalence estimate was the product of the authors' own documented research. That is, only one publication out of the 45 reviewed was an "original study," the 2004 report, *Hidden Slaves: Forced Labor in the United States*, by the Human Rights Center at the University of California-Berkeley. The study relied on a survey of 49 service providers, eight case studies and an analysis of 131 incidents reported in the U.S. media for its prevalence estimate of "forced labor" in the U.S., which is defined similarly to sex and labor trafficking.

The pie chart below categorizes the cited sources for the remaining 113 prevalence estimates contained in 44 publications, excluding the one original study. Starting at the upper right and moving clockwise, the pie chart shows that 14 percent (segment 1) of the 113 estimates appeared without source citations. Another 15 percent (segment 2) cited only the name of the source agency, often citing only "U.S. authorities" or the "U.S. government," and 16 percent (segment 3) provided the source agency name and date but lacked full reference information. By far, the most frequently cited sources, at 40% (segment 4), were U.S. government reports, usually the latest TIP reports. An early monograph by Amy O'Neill Richard, published by the Center for the Study of Intelligence, which relied on CIA data, was the second most frequently cited source, at five percent (segment 5).

Figure 1: TIP Prevalence Estimate Sources (total of 113 estimates)



The estimates featured in U.S. government reports, which most often came from the State Department, resembled what Comoroff and Comoroff call a "quantifact," a figure whose "value and veracity

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accumulates as it circulates," despite its uncertain basis.[55] Almost universally, estimates attributed to the U.S. government or specific government agencies were presented without any discussion or even attention to the methodology used to derive the estimates. This trend underscores the general neglect of methodology in research on human trafficking.

In sum, the literature analysis indicated that the presentations of trafficking figures were generally deficient in the following respects:

- *Source Citations:* lacking complete and accurate references to sources (e.g., either no source at all or vaguely specified sources);

- *Measurement Descriptions:* lacking adequate descriptions of the phenomena being measured (e.g., scope, conditions or qualifications were missing; estimated populations were confused with observed populations, and "population-at-risk" estimates were presented as estimates of the number of victims); and

- *Methodological Discussion:* lacking discussion or even description of the methodology used to derive the measurements.

Together, the Woozle Effect and "quantifact-ication" have distorted and obscured measurements of human trafficking. Overall, the literature review points to the ongoing need for greater attention to basic, applied measurement issues in the study of trafficking in persons.

Counting Hard-to-Reach Populations

As mentioned earlier, knowledge of trafficking victimization is hampered by the fact that victims are what researchers call a "hard-to-reach" or "hidden" population, like other groups such as undocumented immigrants, prostitutes, injection-drug users, and persons with sexually transmitted infections. Membership in these groups often involves illegal or stigmatized behavior, making public acknowledgement of membership potentially threatening.[56] Because they are suffering the immediate and ongoing effects of physical and psychological coercion, many, if not most, victims of trafficking are either unable or unwilling to access social services, let alone participate in research studies or other projects that may require their identification.

Because the size and composition of hard-to-reach populations like trafficked persons are largely unknown, we were, by necessity, compelled to conduct this applied-measurement work without a classical survey-sampling frame, accepting the practical limitations that this entails. In particular, we accepted—but believe we have reasonably addressed and minimized—*sampling and measurement biases* that almost certainly have crept into these analyses, which are based on just a modest number of local service providers. *Sampling bias* would lead us to draw mistaken conclusions about the *size* and *composition* of New York City's trafficked population from agencies and clients that are not representative of the larger population of citywide agencies and victims. *Measurement bias* would lead us erroneously to conclude that the *substantive domains* covered by the screening tool items sufficiently canvass the full array of

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trafficking victim characteristics. In other words, we are very careful not to draw general conclusions about the number and characteristics of victims of trafficking because of these study features.

Although the NYCTAP never aspired to be representative from a survey sampling perspective, it was expressly designed to access a wide range of service agencies and, via these agencies, diverse kinds of trafficking victims. This conferred several benefits for our study: diversity in institutional cultures, dissimilarities in intake and interviewing procedures, and differences in degrees of openness to incorporating the screening tool into day-to-day operations. We took great care to balance the content and format of the screening tool so that it could be used in settings that varied in these ways. The strategies used to design the tool were meant to demonstrate that it could be administered as efficiently as possible in a range of settings, lending weight to its practical utility and to the expectation that it would be a solid building block for future work on trafficking victimization.

Types of Victims

Victims of trafficking are a subset of persons exploited for labor or commercial sex—that is, those who are exploited without "informed consent." Instead of the requisite informed and voluntary consent, means such as force, fraud, or coercion are used to extract labor, services, or commercial sex from adults, while children induced to perform commercial sexual activities are automatically classified as trafficking victims because they are legally incapable of consent. Based on these criteria, victims of trafficking can be divided between those subject to ongoing victimization and those who are emancipated and no longer under traffickers' control. Emancipated victims can be further subdivided by the outcomes of their engagement with the institutions charged with identifying and helping them. The key victim categories are defined below, from most encompassing to least, and then presented in graphic form.

1. *Victims of Exploitation*: Persons from whom labor, services or commercial sex are extracted in violation of labor laws or laws against the commercial sexual exploitation of children; some would also include all adult prostitutes in this category (See section V, "Defining Trafficking Victimization");.

2. *Victims of Trafficking*: A subset of *Victims of Exploitation*, who are exploited for labor or commercial sexual activities without their consent because of force, fraud, or coercion, or because of their status as minors;

3. *Emancipated Victims*: A subset of *Trafficking Victims*, who are no longer under the control of traffickers because they have escaped from their trafficking situation by their own efforts or with the help of others, whether private individuals (e.g., "Good Samaritans"), service providers, or law enforcement;

4. *Presumed Victims:* A subset of *Emancipated Victims*, who are suspected victims of trafficking but who have not yet been formally identified as such. This label would be given to emancipated victims when initially encountered by identifying actors;

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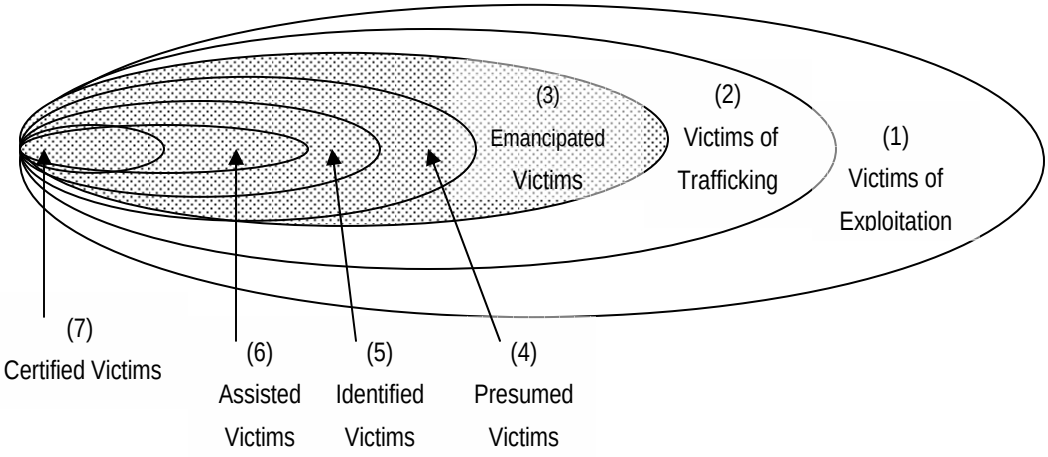
5. *Identified Victims*: A subset of *Presumed Victims*, who have been expressly identified by agency actors as victims of trafficking. Identification of trafficking victims by identifying actors is distinct from victim self-identification because an identifying actor and a self-identifying victim may not necessarily agree on the label;

6. *Assisted Victims*: A subset of *Identified Victims*, who have been identified as victims of trafficking and who have agreed to accept trafficking-related assistance from a non-governmental, governmental, international, or other related organization; and

7. *Certified Victims*: A subset of *Assisted Victims*, who are formally involved in the certification process administered by the Office for Refugee Resettlement (ORR) at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS).

These related categories are depicted in figure 1, configured as a series of nested ovals that follow the same numerical sequence as above.

Figure 2: Categories of Trafficking Victims[57]



Categories 1-3 are based on victims' interactions with offenders (i.e., law-breaking employers or traffickers and their respective accomplices). Categories 4-7, by contrast, are based on victims' interactions with institutions charged with identification, assistance, and certification. The first set of categories refers to the *experience of* victimization, the second, to the *institutional recognition of* victimization. As discussed above, because Victims of Trafficking (oval 2) are hard-to-reach or hidden, institutional recognition of this victimization is lacking. If all trafficked persons could be reached and identified, then all Victims of Trafficking (oval 2) would be Identified Victims (oval 5), making oval 5 as large as oval 2. Focusing as it does on the *institutional* identification of trafficking victimization, the NYCTAP is targeted at Emancipated Victims, those victims who, because no longer under the control of

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traffickers, are more accessible and, therefore, better able to be identified as likely victims of trafficking. The NYCTAP's goal in this context is quite simple, to push the number of Identified Victims (oval 5) as close as possible to the number of Emancipated Victims (oval 3).

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IV. Origins and Development of the NYCTAP and the Screening Tool

The NYCTAP was undertaken to respond to the pressing need for more accurate measurements of human trafficking. The first wave of data collection projects converged on the same conclusion: that a careful examination of operational data sources and data collection processes was necessary to improve data quality.[58] Absent a thorough examination of how data collected from and about trafficked persons relates to legal, behavioral, and experiential aspects of victimization, even the most sophisticated quantitative models will produce "guesstimates," although they give the *appearance* of high validity and a basis in reality.[59]

Rather than relying on secondary reports from multiple and disparate data sources of unknown reliability, the NYCTAP was modeled on the IOM's Counter-Trafficking Module (CTM), which enlisted service providers to collect data directly from victims. With unmatched access to the hard-to-reach population of trafficked persons, service providers have proven to be essential partners. Because of the obvious advantages of working with service providers, Vera researchers involved these stakeholders in shaping and guiding the NYCTAP project.

New York City is widely recognized as a major transport and destination point for people trafficked into and within the U.S. The city's human service agencies assist a range of ethnic populations in a diverse set of communities. Over decades of work in the areas of criminal and youth justice, victim services, and immigration, the Vera had already built relationships with many of the city's service providers. We had frank conversations with these providers about participating in a research project in a still ill-defined area that overlapped with labor exploitation, prostitution, and immigration. Limiting the project to New York City offered stability and consistency in antitrafficking laws, law enforcement, and criminal justice administration across study sites. A smaller pool of service agency partners would make it possible to thoroughly review data collection practices and data. Finally, Vera's familiarity with the local service providers would facilitate the development of the most finely tuned and practical measurement and administration strategies. In sum, basing the project in New York City, a venue in which Vera has worked continuously since its inception nearly 50 years ago, enabled us to leverage our considerable agency and professional networks in ways that meshed analytical depth (e.g., multiple research methods and modes of screening tool administration) and substantive reach (e.g., a range of agency types, diverse clienteles, and varying intake formats).

The NYCTAP Community Advisory Board (CAB)

As noted earlier, the CAB consisted of 12 local organizations, located in three different New York City boroughs. With the exception of one advocacy organization, each provides direct services to community members, in addition to outreach and advocacy; some CAB agencies also provide training and technical assistance and two are faith-based. Working in a range of service areas, including youth development, domestic violence, refugee resettlement, immigration, and worker's rights, CAB agencies nonetheless shared the view that the populations they served were vulnerable to trafficking victimization. Moreover, most had already identified and assisted trafficking victims, lending credibility to our request for their participation.

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Appendix II lists the partnering CAB members by identification numbers (col. 1, rows 1-12) and key characteristics (columns 2-10). Their service profiles vary, with some providing comprehensive case management and others offering more limited social services, legal services, or employment assistance (col. 2). As mentioned above, CAB members offer services in a range of areas (col. 3). Partnering entities (col. 4) included units within multifaceted agencies (i.e., "agency sub-unit") and entire agencies (i.e., "agency"); most are stand-alone agencies (i.e., "city-wide"), although one organization is part of a national network and another is part of an international network. Most of the agencies had already assisted victims, and have dedicated services or programs for trafficked persons (col. 5), who they screen with formal screening tools or by less formalized means (col. 6). Their clienteles varied by sex, age, and country of origin (cols. 7-9); some agencies targeted services at particular ethnic communities, on the basis of organizational mandates or location (col. 10), and employed bilingual staff or dedicated interpreters to assist limited-English proficient (LEP) clients. CAB point-of-contact staff included social workers and attorneys. All 12 CAB agencies lent their experience and expertise via focus groups and interviews. Six of the agencies eventually participated in the field application of the screening tool and toolkit (shaded rows 1-6).

The Costs and Benefits of Standardization

Early in the project, however, the NYCTAP research team learned that CAB agencies did not keep standardized data on identified and assisted victims. Methods of victim identification varied considerably: some agencies used formal trafficking-specific screening tools (paper- or computer-based); some screened for trafficking in the context of more comprehensive screening tools and needs assessments; and, some used semi-structured interviews, documenting responses in varying degrees of detail and formality. At many agencies, record keeping was based on the type(s) of assistance rendered, so even clients identified as likely victims of trafficking, whether by unstructured or formalized means, would not be recorded and, consequently, "counted" as victims if they did not receive trafficking-related services.[60]

On the basis of these evolving findings, the NYCTAP moved away from prevalence estimation, which, taking the collection of reliable baseline data for granted, concentrates on survey sampling and other subject-selection procedures. Recognizing that our partner agencies lacked standardized data on trafficking victimization as well as validated tools to gather the raw data central to estimation procedures, we began shifting our research activities to the area of *applied measurement*, which involves the basic work of developing tools and strategies for measurement and applying them in specified organizational settings. Designing a human trafficking screening tool and developing common data collection protocols became then our primary objective.

The project team was sensitive to the potential tensions among service provider mandates, client needs, and our own research agenda. It was understood from the outset that standardization of victim-identification protocols in service agency settings would have costs as well as benefits. The introduction of a new screening tool and administration protocol in agencies with already-established and trusted methods of victim identification would unavoidably disrupt existing practices and require a period of adjustment. The few agencies already maintaining information on trafficking victimization would likely, unfortunately, forfeit data continuity. In order to administer a new screening tool, staff training would be

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required, with the attendant investments in staff time and dollars. In general, greater formalization of the victim identification process threatened to disturb provider-client rapport and, thus, potentially impede victim identification and assistance. As for standardized data on trafficking victimization, some service providers, emphasizing the uniqueness of each case, may view gathering standardized information as a drain on resources that would be better spent on individualized client assistance.

Concerns about standardization and data collection are valid and not unexpected. Such misgivings typically accompany changes in organizational routines. However, the level of disruption should diminish over time, as the new victim identification process is adopted and imbedded as part of agencies' standard operating procedures. Furthermore, standardization, in victim identification and data collection, would also offer benefits to service providers and clients, as well as researchers and policymakers. A validated screening tool would give service providers greater confidence that victims of trafficking are being properly identified and assisted. The systematic and structured documentation of client status would additionally promote follow-up of identified victims. Rather than discounting the local, practice-based knowledge of service providers, a standardized screening tool could facilitate the sharing and augmentation of experiential knowledge by documenting and incorporating that knowledge into the screening tool. In research terms, standardized data would make it possible to conduct cross-sectional comparisons and longitudinal analysis, facilitating the identification of patterns and trends, and, thereby, the evaluation of antitrafficking policies and programs. Standardized data provide then a sturdy anchor point for building knowledge, debating policy, and developing and assessing interventions.

Methodology, Objectives and Limitations

Preliminary research reviews and fieldwork underscored the undeveloped state of knowledge and practice in identifying victims of trafficking. It was clear that reliable prevalence estimates would be unattainable before the development and implementation of more rigorous screening tools and protocols. It was also clear that these tasks called for methods that were grounded in practice, collaboration, and an action oriented research strategy. Employing *action research*, the NYCTAP ultimately had the following distinctive and concrete objectives:

- Design a trafficking screening tool that collects standardized data on victims;
- Involve diverse stakeholders in the tool development process to make it useful in a variety of settings, starting with diverse service agency settings;
- Pre-validate the screening tool through expert review and agency-initiated applications;
- Develop and test trafficking victim screening and related data collection protocols for service providers, using as guideposts evidence-based best practices and lessons learned in related social and behavioral science applications;

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- Supplement the screening tool with a broader practical toolkit for victim identification that includes an annotated version of the screening tool, interviewing guidelines, suggested administration protocols, and staff training aids on gauging victimization likelihood and providing victims remedial services and referrals;

- Provide recommendations on how best to apply and refine the screening instrument on an ongoing basis once it is validated; and

- Build knowledge that can guide policy for government and nongovernmental partners by starting from the TVPA definition of trafficking and imbedding it in a comprehensive, behaviorally anchored screening tool.

Action research, an approach that begins with practitioners' need for solutions to pressing policy or practical questions, was ideally suited for a pilot project of this kind. Vera has long employed action research to promote program and policy development in collaboration with government and nongovernmental partners in the justice system and in related fields. Combining the experiential, contextual knowledge of practitioners with rigorous scientific methods, action research takes a multi-disciplinary approach to problem-solving, particularly in areas where research and practice is underdeveloped. Much of the researcher's time is spent on refining the methodological tools to suit the demands of the situation, and on collecting, analyzing, and presenting data on an ongoing, interactive basis.[61] Quantitative data and methods are often employed but initially are less prominent than qualitative approaches that rely on ethnographic data and fieldwork. Studies tend to be single rather than multi-site, although they aim for generalizability and subsequent wider application.

Working with the premise that investments at the "front-end"—in designing methodological tools, learning about application environments, and gaining input from stakeholders—will pay off down the road, the NYCTAP focused on the pre-validation phase of tool development. Although the NYCTAP pilot did not test the screening tool under controlled conditions with, for example, the random assignment of clients, screeners, and administration alternatives, we nonetheless employed a variety of other mutually reinforcing procedures to help us preliminarily gauge its reliability and validity.

The trafficking victim screening tool and toolkit were developed through a number of integrated methods, including interview simulations, agency review sessions, field applications, administrative case file applications, and agency de-briefing sessions. A flowchart of all NYCTAP pilot activities is presented in appendix III. These processes formed a logical progression, starting from guided discussions with stakeholders about the need for and objectives of the screening tool to site selection and administration options. The final screening tool is presented in appendix IV (exhibits I-III). We now review its design and development in detail, presenting its underpinnings and justifications, and the lessons learned. We do the same for the toolkit, whose components are presented in appendix IV (exhibits IV-VI) and appendix V and will be described in detail in section VII. By making each step in process as transparent as possible, this report allows other researchers and practitioners to build on and upgrade our work.

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V. Designing the Trafficking Victim Screening Tool

Before designing the human trafficking screening tool, it was necessary to settle on a nominal definition. As IOM researchers note, "[d]efining key terms and understanding and applying them uniformly are at the heart of establishing standardized data and of ensuring reliability of statistics."[62] This task, however, is more complicated than it may appear. For example, there is still no consensus definition of "domestic violence," which, as the U.S. GAO observed, critically impedes the computation of valid and reliable nationwide prevalence estimates. The GAO as well as the National Academy of Sciences' National Research Council has, therefore, urged that top priority be given to developing clear definitions and employing them consistently across studies.[63]

The lack of domestic violence legislation at the federal level, at least until the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) was passed in 1994, likely stalled agreement on a standard definition in that body of research. Fortunately, in the case of human trafficking, legislation exists that provides a kind of definitional anchor. Indeed, there are now human trafficking laws at multiple levels—federal, state, and international. In addition to the U.S. TVPA, which criminalizes trafficking into and within the U.S., the United Nations Palermo Protocol prohibits transnational trafficking worldwide, and 39 U.S. states have passed laws criminalizing trafficking in persons into and within their boundaries.[64]

In defining human trafficking, all of these laws specify the various components of trafficking victimization and thus offer guideposts for developing a screening tool. However, the three laws do not define human trafficking or trafficking victimization in exactly the same way. Lengthy, vigorous debate on definitions preceded the passage of antitrafficking legislation at all these levels. Ongoing debate continues to delay the passage of legislation in a number of U.S. states, as well as the latest reauthorization of the TVPA. The planned 2007 reauthorization is still pending as of this writing. The points of contention in these legislative and ancillary debates have important implications for the design of research tools.

Defining Trafficking Victimization

As momentum for the drafting of antitrafficking legislation grew in the late 1990s, both domestically and internationally, it was necessary to define this new crime. Demonstrating the high political stakes of this endeavor, a range of lobbying groups quickly engaged competing U.N. delegates and U.S. congressional lawmakers in the debate. The battle lines in Congress mirrored those in the concurrent U.N. deliberations. Religious and feminist groups insisted that trafficking for prostitution was a "special evil" that should be addressed separately from labor trafficking.[65] Prostitution "abolitionists" objected particularly to the inclusion of the force, fraud, and coercion criteria in the definition of sex trafficking, considering prostitution criminally exploitative under any conditions and thus essentially different from work in other domains. On the other side, human rights, labor, and immigration advocates insisted that human trafficking be defined by "internationally recognized and legally translatable elements—forced labor, slavery, and servitude—rather than by reference to the kind of work migrants might perform."[66]

Eventually, the U.N. General Assembly reached a compromise, adopting a protocol that covered men, women, and children *and* addressed prostitution, leaving aside the notion of consent and broadening the

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notion of force. The U.N. Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children resolved to: (1) prevent trafficking, paying particular attention to women and children; (2) prosecute traffickers; (3) protect and assist victims of trafficking; and 4) promote cooperation among state parties to meet these objectives.[67] It defines trafficking to include the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of 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 or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of the person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation is defined to include, at a minimum, exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or service, slavery or similar practices, servitude or the removal of organs. The protocol specifies that the consent of a victim to the intended exploitation set forth in the protocol is irrelevant where any of the means stipulated in the protocol have been used. In addition, the protocol defines a child as any person under the age of 18 and provides that the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation is considered trafficking whether or not it features the stipulated means.[68]

Around the same time, U.S. lawmakers reached their own compromise, enacting the Trafficking Victims Protection Act. The TVPA criminalized "severe forms of trafficking in persons," which included: (1) 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, and (2) 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. "Sex trafficking" means the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act.

Some contend that the statutory language distinguishing between prostitution, which is illegal in most of the U.S., and sex trafficking was included mainly to avert the possibility that aliens identifying as prostitutes would qualify for benefits under the act.[69] This distinction, however, continues to be contested. In fact, the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2007 (TVPRA, H.R. 3887), passed by the U.S. House of Representatives in December 2007 and currently before the Senate for consideration, brings common prostitution-related offenses under the umbrella of "sex trafficking."[70] If approved, the reclassification would have far-reaching consequences, affecting law enforcement, justice administration, service provision, immigration, *and* data collection. The prospect of such a shift has only re-fueled definitional debates.[71]

Applying the Definition

Defining the various possible components of trafficking in persons, antitrafficking legislation could be used to guide the operationalization of victimization for survey purposes. Basically, this means translating the definition of trafficking victimization into a set of applied procedures, such as the screening tool questions, so that a person's answers to the questions indicate whether the person is a likely trafficking victim. Exhibit I in appendix VII parses the statutory language of the TVPA (col. 2), the U.N. Protocol, and the New York State Antitrafficking Law (col. 3), and the U.N. Protocol (col. 4) into three categories:

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(1) suspect activity, (2) suspect means, and (3) suspect purpose (listed in col. 1). Presenting the three statutes side-by-side, the table reveals both their common and distinctive components. As the table shows, the three documents vary in levels of specificity. While the New York law defines labor trafficking and sex trafficking as two discrete crimes, listing their various aspects separately and in great detail, the U.N. protocol features relatively general and broad terms, leaving state parties to interpret the components on the basis of their respective domestic laws, an approach considered essential for its international approval. The United States TVPA, which recognizes trafficking in persons as a general phenomenon that takes different forms (e.g., "severe forms" such as "sex trafficking"), falls somewhere between the New York and U.N. documents in terms of specificity.

A number of developmental steps, involving various stakeholders, were necessary to move from the statutory language to the final set of interview questions that made up the first draft of the screening tool: (1) identifying general behavioral domains and specific indicators; (2) creating interview questions corresponding to behavioral indicators; (3) checking questions against existing screening guides to create a master list of potential interview questions; and (4) once the CAB agencies had given their input, consulting a prosecutor who specializes in trafficking cases for advice on combining and eliminating questions to achieve a minimum set of items necessary to identify likely victims of trafficking.

The screening tool was designed with the goal of detecting likely victims of "severe forms of trafficking," as defined by the TVPA. At the time, New York State still had not passed antitrafficking legislation, so the TVPA criteria for victimization determined the type of relief available to the clients of the service providers on our CAB and was, thus, most relevant to their daily work. The plan was to construct a screening tool that could be easily modified to detect victimization according to different sets of criteria—that is, according to criteria corresponding to different statutes—by adding, removing, or modifying questions.

The legislative provisions for trafficking victimization span numerous legal-behavioral domains. We identified the following thirteen: (1) labor, (2) coercion, (3) blackmail, (4) deception/fraud, (5) financial harm, (6) sexual intercourse, (7) deviate sexual intercourse, (8) sexual contact, (9) aggravated sexual contact, (10) sexual conduct, (11) commercial sexual activity, (12) debt bondage, and (13) involuntary servitude. In each domain, a range of behavioral indicators of trafficking are possible, which may be captured by a range of possible interview questions. The first step in the tool-design process was formulating a master list of potential questions. A number of organizations active in victim identification had already compiled guidebooks and manuals on screening for trafficking. Although these resources did not contain validated screening instruments, they provided lists of suggested screening questions. Vera researchers consulted these compilations, checking to ensure that the initial pool of potential questions for inclusion in the screening tool was exhaustive based on current best practices in the field. Appendix VII, exhibit II compares the final set of questions in our screening tool with the sets of suggested screening questions from four key organizations: (1) The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families ("Campaign to Rescue and Restore Victims of Human Trafficking"),[72] (2) the International Organization for Migration (*The IOM Handbook on Direct Assistance for Victims of Trafficking*),[73] (3) Project Reach (*Working with Survivors of Trafficking: A Brief Manual for Service Providers*)[74] and (4) the NYC Antitrafficking Network ("Identification and Legal

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Advocacy for Trafficking Victims").[75] Compared with prior screening guides, the NYCTAP screening tool systematically covers all of the statutory components, has more questions for each statutory component to enhance content validity, uses more concrete examples, and does not double-load questions with more than one component.

Next, the research team consulted a federal prosecutor from the U.S. Attorney's Office, Civil Rights Division, who had broad experience prosecuting suspected traffickers under the TVPA. The master list of potential screening questions was carefully reviewed with the goal of paring the list down to the most minimal set of questions necessary to capture a likely victim of trafficking. On the prosecutor's recommendations, numerous questions were combined or eliminated, and the master list of about 130 screening questions was boiled down to less than 40 items. These items were then vetted and approved by the CAB members

Describing Victimization

A large body of research exists demonstrating how "labeling" often undermines disclosure of victimization.[76] While interviewees may be prepared to disclose specific events and behaviors that constitute victimization, they are usually less inclined to self-identify as, for example, "rape victims" or "trafficking victims." An experienced case manager who served on the CAB takes a similar approach in interviewing her clients: "I try not to talk about 'trafficking' as such, because I think that term causes them to glaze over half the time."[77] Certain subpopulations may be especially resistant to adopting certain labels. For instance, researchers have found that male trafficking victims are especially likely to reject the "trafficking victim" label, which diverges from masculine stereotypes stressing power and control.[78]

To minimize these "labeling effects," survey researchers have come to rely on behaviorally specific questions in order to capture victimization.[79] The NYCTAP took this approach, avoiding questions with loaded terminology such as "prostitution," "rape," "illegal work," and even "human trafficking." The screening tool is introduced by the interviewer without invoking the term human trafficking. Nor does the interview contain questions that expressly refer to human trafficking, for most respondents will likely be unfamiliar not only with this term but also with the underlying phenomenon, its various aspects, and its classification as a crime. If the term were used, it would have to be explained in most cases, and the explanation might be taken as a reference to immigration status and thus deter some respondents from participating out of fear. Instead, the screening tool follows standard practice in screening for other kinds of victimization, avoiding emotionally and politically loaded terminology in favor of a variety of behaviorally specific phrasing. Behaviorally specific phrasing questions about specific behaviors will also facilitate interpretation during piloting with limited English proficient (LEP) individuals and subsequent translations of the screening tool (discussed further in section VI).

Organizing Sections and Formatting Questions

After the minimum set of questions for victim identification was agreed upon, it was necessary to group the questions into substantively coherent sections and then sequence them appropriately. The draft tool featured five sections: (1) Screening Background, (2) Personal Background, (3) Migration/Recruitment,

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(4) Employment, and (5) Working/Living Conditions. As is typical for behavioral screening instruments, the screening tool began with a series of background questions. Because keeping interview questions to a minimum was a key objective in view of time constraints and unsettled trust between the interviewer and client, the tool began with several items on *screening background* that interviewers could complete prior to the interview (e.g., referral source, client status, and language of interview). These were followed by a few questions on *personal background* (e.g., date of birth, country of origin, and citizenship, as well as a set of questions on family structure, designed to identify "duplicate" respondents, which will be discussed in more detail below). After inquiring into the respondent's place of birth, the screening tool next addressed the subject of *migration*, how it was organized and financed, whether it resulted in debt, and if so, the nature of the debt(s). The next set of questions addressed *employment* (e.g., type of work, pay, and basic work conditions). The final section focused on *working/living conditions* and featured questions on force, fraud, or coercion in the respondent's work *or* living situation, especially arrangements that combined working and living. These questions also sought to capture any forced labor or forced commercial sexual activity, including sexual slavery, occurring in a residential context that was not revealed in the previous section on employment.

A mixed question format combining closed-response Yes/No questions and open-ended questions was selected. Considering that this was a development project, undertaken in an emerging field of research where data content and quality has been questioned, we chose not to presuppose the range of interview responses to a preset number of questions. Consequently, many questions were left open-ended. If during the piloting phase responses were found to be highly similar, the responses could later be used as the basis for re-formatted closed-response questions (e.g., dichotomous or multiple choice). Conditional branching was employed, allowing for follow-up questions or skipping, as appropriate. All Yes/No questions were standardized so that "Yes" responses were always positively related to victimization (i.e., the person was a likely victim) and "No" responses negatively related (i.e., the person was not a likely victim). Response order was also standardized, listing "No" first, a strategy expected to counter the tendency to answer affirmatively to the first response category encountered even when that response was not correct, which would have inflated responses positively related to trafficking victimization, leading to potential over-counting of trafficking victimization. Basically, this ordering rule functioned to contain the number of false positives.

Identifying Duplicates

A critical shortcoming of existing data collection projects on trafficking victimization is the lack of safeguards against victim duplication (double or even multiple counting of people) that can occur within or across service agencies.[80] Repeat counting can lead to the overestimation of trafficking-victim prevalence and to distorted pictures of trafficking victims' characteristics.

With an eye to its possible future use for wide-scale prevalence estimation, the NYCTAP prioritized finding a method to identify duplicate respondents, while maintaining subject anonymity. These issues were addressed in the "Personal Background" section of the instrument. The section asks respondents for their date of birth, but this information, even in combination with responses to questions on sex, country of origin and citizenship, would not be sufficient to identify duplicates. Even assuming the accuracy of

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responses on date of birth, census researchers have found that the probability of identical birthdays in large-scale surveys is quite high.[81]

In order to collect enough demographic information to identify duplicate respondents without revealing personal identities, questions on country of origin and citizenship were supplemented with a set of questions on family structure. It was critical that these supplementary questions yield responses relatively insensitive to the interviewing context. The assumption was that responses to questions asking for the number of children, brothers, and sisters a respondent had would remain stable over time and be generally resistant to potential manipulation or fabrication due to issues of unsettled trust and perceived harm that might arise during the screening interview.

Summary

The drafting of antitrafficking legislation, at the national, international, and state levels, was accompanied by fierce debate over the very definition of human trafficking. Nearly a decade after the enactment of the first antitrafficking statutes, the debate continues. Such controversy is not unique to the antitrafficking field. Defining crime and victimization has always been ideologically fraught. And, as in other fields of research and policy, clear and consistent definitions are essential bases for the accumulation of knowledge.

Establishing trafficking victims' eligibility for benefits and services, the TVPA offers the most practical definitional anchor for data collection by service providers, who already use the definition in making applications for relief on behalf of their trafficked clients. While it is recommended that U.S.-based practitioners and researchers record cases using a standard definition of trafficking—namely, the TVPA definition—it is likely that state-based and international definitions will also be relevant to their work. The NYCTAP screening tool was therefore designed in modularized fashion so that it could be easily modified to detect victimization according to different sets of criteria, corresponding to different statutory definitions.

In order to measure a particular phenomenon, settling on a clear definition is only the first step. Next, the nominal definition must be *operationalized*. Basically, this means translating the definition of trafficking victimization into a set of applied procedures, such as the screening tool questions, so that a person's answers to the questions indicate whether the person is a likely trafficking victim. Operationalizing the concept of trafficking victimization in a survey involved several steps, starting with the identification of best practices in victimization survey design and human trafficking screening in particular. The process relied on the methodological know-how of the research team and the field experience of project stakeholders, both victim service providers and criminal prosecutors.

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VI. Administering the Trafficking Victim Screening Tool

A well-designed data collection instrument is a necessary but not sufficient condition for gathering good data. Data quality is determined not only by how the instrument is constructed but also by how it is used, and that is often influenced by the setting in which it is used.[82] Here we discuss several aspects of instrument administration that critically affect data quality: mode of administration, screening timing and participation, interviewer-respondent rapport, client protection protocols, and language accessibility.

Mode of administration

It is well known that the mode of data collection has significant effects on data quality.[83] This is especially evident when survey content is sensitive. In such cases, data gathering procedures that avoid social contact are often preferred.[84] Self-administered questionnaires, whether paper-based or computer-assisted, offer greater privacy and, thus, have been found to yield higher response rates and greater response accuracy than interview methods.[85] On the other hand, interview methods have the demonstrated advantage of aiding respondents' comprehension of survey questions.[86] Assessing research on violence against women, Schwartz reports that compared to other methods, face-to-face interviews "allow for better rapport between the respondent and the interviewer, which in turn allows more room for probing, cajoling, and in general convincing someone to answer questions."[87]

Despite the sensitive nature of the subject matter, face-to-face interviews were chosen as the mode of administration for the NYCTAP screening tool. Interviews are the usual method of gathering information from clients in service agency settings, making service providers especially adept at directly gathering sensitive information without unduly risking clients' welfare. Their routine practices and experiences with interviewing clients made it much more likely that service providers would endorse an interview format rather than some unfamiliar alternative.

Screening Timing

In devising the plan for administrating the screening tool, common obstacles to screening for other sensitive if not threatening conditions were taken into consideration. The substantial literature on "barriers to screening" for domestic violence and intimate partner violence in both medical and social service contexts was consulted. Despite strong evidence that domestic violence afflicts as many as one in ten women in the general population, most physicians and psychologists fail to routinely screen their female patients for the condition, and even fewer screen at intake.[88] Besides lack of training, the most commonly perceived barriers are lack of time, too few support staff, and lack of administration protocols.[89] Consultations with CAB staff revealed similar perceptions of barriers to screening for human trafficking. CAB members were universally concerned about having sufficient time and staff to administer the screening tool at the time of intake.

Echoing reports from other victim service practitioners, CAB members also identified a more substantial barrier to screening for trafficking at intake: client readiness. Experience had taught CAB service providers that multiple meetings would often be required before traumatized clients would be ready to disclose victimization. Regular intake assessments allow providers to gauge clients' mental and

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emotional competence for screening and, at the same time, to build critical rapport. Screening prematurely could therefore pose risks to both screening accuracy and client welfare.

Coupled with the logistical obstacles outlined above, concern for client readiness and provider-client rapport recommended allowing service providers some discretion in the timing of screening. Service providers will thus be advised to administer the screening tool during intake only with clients deemed, by standardized or less formalized means, mentally and emotionally prepared for the interview. If interviews are postponed, service providers will be instructed to document the reasons for the decision, tracking decisions to defer and the number of meetings preceding each attempted screening (details on these documentation procedures are provided in section VII).

Screening Participation

Although it is recommended that staff be allowed some discretion over the timing of screenings, such discretion should not be extended to participant selection. To allow staff to select which clients to screen and not to screen would risk failure in the identification of actual victims of trafficking, as staff may select clients on the basis of stereotypes or their own limited experience. Such unsystematic practices, on a national scale, would produce prevalence estimates that over-counted certain types of victims or types of victimization and under-counted others, producing unreliable statistics. As discussed above, many analysts suspect there is significant underreporting of adult male trafficking victims and of labor trafficking in both U.S. and international data.[90] The Second Annual Report on Victims of Trafficking in South-Eastern Europe, which presents standardized data on assisted victims, highlights the diversity in victim profiles and forms of trafficking, cautioning that "[m]any service providers have been trained in identifying only victims of sex trafficking, which may lead them to overlook victims of trafficking for labour and begging."[91] It is easy to see how biases in service provider training and assistance, media reporting, law enforcement training and investigation, and data collection may reinforce each other.

One way to counter the filtered selection of clients for screening would be to recommend *universal* client screening within service agencies. However, this would ignore the barriers to screening outlined above, barriers which tend to be more acute within agencies with large client-intake volumes. Universal screening for trafficking may also be problematic at agencies whose clientele include populations with very low risks for trafficking (e.g., U.S.-born senior citizens). At such agencies, *targeted* screening may be preferable. If agencies with large or diverse client populations are subdivided into programs serving subsets of clients, targeting will be made easier. At agencies exclusively or predominantly assisting members of groups at high risk for trafficking—for example, agencies assisting sex workers (See appendix II, agency 4) or mostly foreign-born Asian female victims of domestic violence (See appendix II, agency 3)—universal trafficking screening is recommended. Client demographics and the latest reliable demographic indicators for trafficking risk should determine whether screening should be targeted or universal. Regardless, screening selection should follow documented protocols that are agency- or program-wide and set in advance, though subject to change based on shifting client demographics or changes in victim profiles or forms of trafficking.

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Interviewer-Respondent Rapport

In order to design the most optimal protocols for administering the screening tool, it was critical to address the known obstacles to successful interviewing of trafficked persons. As a general rule, successful interviews yield the most accurate responses with minimal discomfort to the respondent. Interviewer-respondent rapport critically shapes interview responses. The most skilled interviewers are able to cultivate trust with respondents and can sense when respondents are uncomfortable or withholding information, adapting the interview accordingly, or terminating it if necessary. On balance, considerations of subject protection should outweigh those of improving accuracy in devising administration protocols.

Training and experience always make rapport building easier (training is discussed below in section VI). Familiarity with the sequellae of trafficking victimization and the particular vulnerabilities of survivors will increase interviewer effectiveness. Interviewer skills can be further enhanced through familiarity with the content and mechanics of the screening tool. However, as mentioned above, even screening tools that are well designed, consisting of questions that are intelligible to diverse respondents (i.e., linguistically and culturally competent), may elicit inaccurate responses. To bolster response accuracy, the screening tool was composed of a set of behaviorally specific questions. This was done both to maximize the ability of screening staff to identify behaviors associated with human trafficking, even if they were not expert in this area, and to minimize errors arising from victims' usually negative associations with and emotional responses to the trafficking-victim label. Such negative emotional responses include guilt, shame, fear, and even trauma.

Emancipated victims of human trafficking may be reluctant if not entirely unable to identify themselves as victims or to disclose how they were victimized.[92] Researchers have reported that profound feelings of shame (a sense of dishonor) or humiliation (a sense of degradation) prevent many victims of sexual assault and exploitation from disclosing their abuse.[93] Some may also suffer from guilt, believing they were complicit in their victimization.[94] Shame and guilt are products of culture, shaped by community norms and expectations. Awareness and understandings of sexual victimization within one's ethnic community, as well as prevailing sexual/gender relations and stereotypes, will all certainly influence how victims respond. Interviewers' sensitivity to these varying socio-cultural norms is, therefore, critical to gathering reliable information about trafficking victimization and protecting presumed victims. Training and experience can enhance these capacities.

"Shame and blame" is not always or exclusively linked to having been sexually exploited. In a study on trafficking victim identification in South-Eastern Europe, IOM researchers found that failure to find work and earn money for their families produced feelings of shame so intense that they deterred male victims from disclosing their exploitation.[95] Another IOM study of trafficked Belarusian and Ukrainian males observed the same tendency: "Even when men did recognize their experience as one of exploitation, the terminology of 'trafficking victim' was usually rejected. Being labeled a victim may have an impact on how men see themselves, as the term stands in contrast to social norms of men as caretakers of their families."[96] On the basis of such findings, researchers have called for greater appreciation of "the gender dimensions of trafficking, both to assess trafficking vulnerabilities and to provide appropriate interventions and assistance."[97] Sensitivity to gender-based differences in norms and

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expectations around work and caretaking can only serve to upgrade tools for detecting victimization; however, it would be a mistake to *assume* differences on the basis of gender and build them into screening tools or administration protocols. Concealment of exploitation out of a perceived need to generate income affects women as well. According to the director of a migrant prostitution project in Amsterdam, "women in general are absolutely not interested in being defined as victims….Their real need is to make money in any way they can." CAB members reported that female clients working as prostitutes felt similar pressures to earn money to provide for their families overseas.[98] The recommended way to address these issues in a screening interview, therefore, is via gender-*neutral* language and conduct.

Fear is another common response to trafficking victimization, and this fear extends to individuals and institutions beyond traffickers. Richard notes that many victims, even those who are seriously abused, are so distrustful of law enforcement and so fearful of arrest or deportation that they refuse identification and assistance.[99] Victims' distrust of authorities is often an outgrowth of their victimization and part of the overarching "climate of fear" fostered by traffickers.[100] Experience with corrupt officials, which is especially common among migrants from countries deficient in the rule of law, may similarly lead to distrust of "authorities" of all kinds, including law enforcement officials and social service providers. The radiating impacts of these corrupted and fractured relationships inhibit respondents from disclosing their victimization to service providers, precisely those who most need this information in order to assist them. To the extent that service providers can effectively establish trust, reinforcing their commitment to client assistance without violating client confidences and expectations, the veracity and accuracy of responses and, in turn, the validity of the screening tool will be enhanced.

Fearing retaliation from traffickers who may have threatened victims, their families, and friends, victims may choose not to disclose their victimization or not to portray it accurately. In other cases, respondents may fear reprisal *to* traffickers. Looking to protect their former captors, respondents may attempt to conceal their victimization. After long periods of isolation and dependency, some trafficked persons maintain loyalty to their traffickers, who may also be family members, boyfriends, or husbands. The World Health Organization warns that "[a] woman may feel taken care of, and the power imbalance may persuade her that her best hope for the future—for her survival—lies in the hands of those who are abusing or exploiting her."[101] This kind of perverse but understandable emotional attachment to one's victimizer, a psychological response sometimes referred to as "Stockholm Syndrome," has been observed among both males and females.[102] For these reasons, screening tool questions concentrated on victim behaviors and work/living circumstances rather than on other persons.

Although unlikely, it is possible that respondents will fabricate responses to interview questions because they *want* to be identified as trafficked persons. The benefits available to documented victims of trafficking, particularly entry or residence permits, may serve as incentives to identify oneself as a victim. False asylum claims based on fabricated accounts of trafficking victimization have been reported in Europe and the United States.[103] These cases, which involved multiple women, aroused suspicion when one after another asylum interviewee provided the same verbatim account of victimization. The capacity of agency staff to cross-reference and check responses to counter fabrication is often limited and, if pursued, might undercut clients' trust in them. For this reason, the screening tool was designed to assess

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the likelihood of being a trafficking victim but not to confirm that fact. Confirmation is a distinct and separate *investigative* activity and should not be confused with the *assessment* activity entailed by the screening interview. One would expect, however, that if the screening tool is working as anticipated, independent ancillary investigation would verify and validate its findings of likely or unlikely trafficking victimization.

Advocates and researchers alike have found that the sex of the interviewer may affect disclosure of victimization, especially gender-related victimization.[104] Because women involved in prostitution are more likely to be victimized by men than women, service providers often recommend that these women be paired with female interviewers, who are assumed to be more easily trusted than male interviewers.[105] Still, some studies find that female prostitutes believe other women to be more judgmental than men, making these respondents less likely to open up to women.[106] Under these circumstances, the guidelines of the World Health Organization seem most appropriate: whenever possible, respondents should be asked if they have preferences about the gender of the interviewer, and those preferences should be honored.[107]

Client Protection

It is well known that survivors of serious psychological or physical abuse may suffer from severe trauma, which may cause long-lasting mental or emotional damage, commonly referred to as Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).[108] Symptoms of PTSD may develop after individuals experience or witness traumatic events such as actual or threatened death or injury, learning of an unexpected or violent death, serious harm, or the threat of death or injury of family members or close associates.[109] Typical symptoms include persistent re-experiencing of the traumatic event, avoidance of stimuli associated with the event, and hyper-vigilance of one's surroundings or difficulty concentrating. Reviewing research on survivors of rape and domestic violence, war veterans, civilian victims of war, survivors of natural disasters, and asylum applicants, Suzuki found that PTSD may result in the inaccurate recall of traumatic memory, profoundly affecting the ability to provide consistent and detailed accounts of the past experiences.[110] Exposure to a traumatic event, even when it does not develop into the clinical condition of PTSD, can lead to memory loss and blocking, and extreme anxiety, especially around the time of exposure.[111]

Interviewing traumatized persons thus poses a more critical risk than measurement inaccuracy: it risks re-traumatization. Therefore, pre-interview assessments of the presumed victim's mental and emotional preparedness to be interviewed are essential. Even if the client consents to be interviewed, service providers are advised to assess the client's condition independently and to monitor both verbal and non-verbal communication throughout the interview.[112] If interviewers notice acute signs of anxiety, interviews should be suspended until it is possible to continue without inducing further stress, disturbance, or trauma. Interviewing unstable or distressed respondents, therefore, makes little sense for two reasons: first, it risks re-traumatization and, second, it yields information of suspect reliability. Nonetheless, as the World Health Organization's "Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Interviewing Trafficked Women" cautions, "[i]t should not be assumed, however, that all [victims] who have been trafficked are traumatized, consider themselves victims, detest their captors, or wish to escape or go

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home."[113] Consequently, experience and professional judgment must work hand in hand in real time to ascertain the presence or likelihood of trauma and weigh it against the need to identify and assist victims.

Service providers, including members of the CAB, have found that multiple meetings are often necessary before a trafficked person is ready to disclose victimization. In their *Human Trafficking Service Provider Manual*, the Florida Coalition against Domestic Violence warns that "it may take a few months before a victim of trafficking will feel ready to talk about the fact that she is a victim, and/or her experiences" and suggests that advocates allow "the victim to take the lead as to when she is ready to talk."[114] For these reasons, some victim advocates advise against an interview format to screen persons considered at-risk for trafficking.[115] If a screening tool is used, *The IOM Handbook on Direct Assistance for Victims of Trafficking* recommends interviewers ask only those questions they consider "relevant," adapting the interview to each respondent's situation. Obviously, such an unsystematic and ad hoc approach to interviewing could undermine one of the pivotal objectives of the NYCTAP, to provide a platform for producing valid and reliable (standard) measurements of trafficking victimization on the national level. At the same time, it is critical that administration protocols limit the risks of respondent discomfort and re-traumatization.

Language Access

A recent call to include language minority populations in national surveys observed that "standardized protocols for translating survey instruments and for bilingual interviewing do not exist."[116] A co-publication of the National Institute on Aging, the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, and the National Center on Minority Health and Health Disparities found that language access issues such as tool translation, subsequent cognitive testing, and the recruitment and training of bilingual interviewers rarely receive attention in most major social research initiatives, usually because of resource constraints.[117] It is critical that human trafficking screening does not fall prey to this pitfall.

Many victims of human trafficking in the U.S. are limited-English proficient (LEP) individuals, who have migrated from non-Anglophone countries. When these individuals engage service agencies, most communication occurs in a language other than English. In fact, agency referrals are often made on the basis of language capacities. CAB service providers have varied and substantial language capacities, including "bilingual providers" (e.g., case managers, attorneys, counselors), "ad hoc" or "dual-role interpreters," (i.e., staff who fill interpreting gaps but whose primary role is not interpreting), and "dedicated interpreters," either on staff, by contract, or via volunteer networks.[118]

Consistent with emerging best practice standards in language-access, we chose not to undertake full-text foreign-language translations of the screening instrument in advance of the pilot phase.[119] Rather, bilingual providers would use the screening tool in non-English languages including Spanish, Russian, Korean, Hindi, and Mandarin, using a "sight interpretation" approach. With sight interpretation, sometimes referred to as "sight translation," the interpreter reads a document written in one language while converting it orally into another language.[120] This is typically done without advance notice and "on sight." This approach is common in the administration of screening tools, which are rarely formally translated into non-English languages. Although the tools may be administered repeatedly, their scripts are not necessarily memorized. The standard practice is to modify language in relation to respondent

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characteristics (beyond basic language preference) including regional origin, ethnicity, religious identification, socioeconomic background, gender, age, and other characteristics relevant to the interview. Such flexibility offers a way to accommodate the significant "within-group heterogeneity" observed among speakers of even the same basic language.[121] We felt confident in adopting this approach, because it conformed to the agencies' existing strategies for eliciting information from LEP clients. Additionally, bilingual service providers could rely on the *Annotated Guide to the NYCTAP Screening Tool* (See appendix V) to guide sight interpretations.

Summary

How data collection instruments are administered—by whom, to whom, when, and where—significantly impacts the quality of the data they collect. Face-to-face interviews were chosen over questionnaires for scientific and practical reasons. First, this interactive method is capable of gathering more detailed and more accurate data. Second, it is the method preferred and practiced by service providers to gather information about victimization.

Ideally, from a measurement perspective, service providers would routinely screen clients at intake; however, prevailing logistical barriers as well as substantive concerns about clients' readiness for interviews recommend allowing some discretion in the timing of screening. Therefore, service providers are advised to administer the screening as soon as clients are deemed mentally and emotionally competent to be interviewed. Agency-specific client demographics and how they correlate with the latest reliable indicators for trafficking risk should determine whether a particular agency should conduct universal or targeted screenings. In either case, the selection of clients for trafficking screenings should follow pre-established agency- or program-wide protocols.

The screening tool is a *means* for measurement, which is a larger, interactive *process* that depends critically on interviewer-respondent rapport. Skilled victim screening interviewers are able to maximize the accuracy of responses while minimizing the discomfort of respondents. Emotions of guilt, shame, trauma, isolation, and fear can inhibit disclosure of victimization. In the same way, emotions typically regarded as "positive," such as attachment, loyalty, and a sense of duty, can prevent trafficked persons from identifying as such. Awareness of these potential emotional responses in their clients will help service agency staff build the rapport that is essential for accurate and sensitive screenings.

Language barriers present another obvious obstacle to interviewer-respondent rapport. Because most trafficked persons in the U.S. are known to be limited-English proficient, protocols for screening in non-English languages are essential until peer-reviewed and field-tested screening tools in other languages are available. Until then, sight interpretation, whereby bilingual interviewers read the English-language screening tool while converting it orally into the target language, provides the optimal means of screening LEP clients.

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VII. Piloting in the Field

Our piloting work was designed to address two common aspects of measurement-tool development: (1) *validity* (Does the screening tool identify persons who are likely trafficking victims?) and (2) *reliability* (Does the screening tool identify these persons with high accuracy?). Not surprisingly, we viewed any failure to identify a likely victim of trafficking or a person at risk of being a victim as a critical failure. Consequently, we hoped to design a screening tool that tolerated more false positives—identifying some persons as likely trafficking victims or at risk of being trafficking victims who are not—than false negatives—missing people who are likely trafficking victims.

The draft screening tool and administration plan was developed and modified based on the following sequence of mutually reinforcing activities: simulated screening interviews, agency review sessions, agency field application, administrative case file application, and agency de-briefing sessions. In combination, these procedures allowed us to assess and bolster the validity and reliability of the screening tool.

Interview Simulations

In preparation for the field application of the screening tool, NYCTAP researchers administered the tool in simulated interviews with Vera research colleagues who were not involved in the NYCTAP. This was the first time the screening tool was actually administered to respondents, in this instance, to stand-in respondents. The exercise was designed as an in-house dry run, or "pre-test," to spot any fundamental problems with the screening tool, including: question and section ordering, logical relationships between questions and sections, question redundancy and clarity, document formatting, potential respondent comprehension, response coding, and any other issues that a fresh set of eyes and ears might reveal. Respondents, who were other members of Vera staff, were not given particular scenarios on which to base their answers but were instructed to answer questions as best they could, as if the interview were "real," as it could have been had these staff members been seeking services at any of the participating agencies. Two project researchers recorded and coded interview responses to confirm there were no critical inconsistencies in their response recording and coding.

The results of this exercise underscored the importance of probing and follow-up questions: the respondents, none of whom were victims of trafficking, gave "Yes" responses to a few filter questions, revealing the commonness of perceived constraints or difficulties in average people's work and living situations (Again, questions were structured so that affirmative responses would correlate with a greater likelihood of being trafficked). One example is the question, *"Have you ever been in a situation while in the U.S. in which you felt like you could not leave the place where you worked or lived?"* A possible solution would be to shift the focus of the question from *perception of* constraint to *actual* constraint. This change, however, was rejected because perception of constraint may be an indicator of *psychological coercion,* one of the criminalized means of trafficking in persons. Overly narrowing the scope of these questions risked losing important information from respondents.[122] Instead, the problem would be addressed in the *Annotated Guide to the NYCTAP Screening Tool* (presented below), which would alert

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interviewers to the threat of false positives and offer advice on how to counter it, emphasizing the necessity of probing in the interview.

Agency Review

When the draft of the screening tool was complete, it was circulated among members of the CAB, who were asked to evaluate it for: (1) comprehensiveness (2) section organization (3) question wording and (4) question placement. Reviewers were asked to consider these issues from the perspective of respondent comprehension and comfort. Because they serve a range of different ethnic communities, CAB service providers were also asked to assess the cultural competence of the screening tool and offer recommendations for revising it to facilitate respondent comprehension and comfort across cultures. The agency review and subsequent de-briefing sessions involved a combination of semi-structured group and individual interviews. Semi-structured approaches, which combine fixed-question and free narrative formats, balance the benefits of standard responses that can be compiled and directly compared with those of more fluid responses that permit other useful content to emerge. The feel of the sessions, individual and group, was that of a guided conversation.

Ethnic diversity in the clientele of CAB agencies enabled reviews from multiple cultural perspectives. Unsurprisingly, the reviews were not always aligned, even when reviewers represented the same ethnic communities. [123] Thus, it was necessary to weigh competing critiques and recommendations and reconcile them as judiciously as possible. In doing so, we were careful not to assume that reviewers' experience with members of different ethnic communities could be generalized to those ethnic or cultural communities as a whole. For this reason, we consistently probed agency participants about relevant ethnic and cultural differences and for strategies to address them in the screening tool's content, format, and administration.

Agency reviewers expressed confidence that the screening tool was sufficiently comprehensive to capture trafficking victimization according to the TVPA. The greater concern, rather, was that the screening tool was not sufficiently brief. Reviewers were thus urged to identify any extraneous or unnecessary items. After careful review, no additional items were deemed dispensable and reviewers felt more comfortable with the length, having had the opportunity to shed questions.

Some CAB representatives expressed concern that the screening tool seemed to be targeted at foreign nationals, rather than U.S.-born victims. This was largely due to the fact that most questions about past behaviors and experiences in the draft tool started with the phrase, "*While in the U.S. ….*" The project team prefaced many questions this way because the TVPA formally focuses on crime and victimization occurring inside the U.S. However, some reviewers found that this phrasing implied that all respondents were immigrants. To solve this problem, it was decided that there should be two versions of the tool, one for foreign-born respondents that would retain the specified phrasing in each question, and the other for U.S.-born respondents, without the specified phrasing in each question but with the general reminder at the start of sections that the forthcoming questions concerned experiences within the U.S. The first two sections on *Referral Background* and *Personal Background* would constitute Part I of the tool, which would be used for all respondents. Part II of the tool would come in two versions. This change would also

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make possible a shorter Part II form for U.S.-born respondents that could exclude the section on *Migration*.

The placement of the *Migration* section at the start of Part II, however, raised concerns for at least one agency representative, who worried that discussion of such potentially sensitive issues for foreign-born respondents might intimidate them and therefore should be moved to a later section. To address this concern, other survey instruments targeted at similar populations were reviewed for comparison. Finding similar organization and sequencing in these other surveys, we decided that the existing section organization and sequencing of the screening tool was sound on its face because consistent with prevailing practices that over years of administration had sounded no alarms. Consequently, we made no changes in section organization and question ordering.

Respondent sensitivity and discomfort were the basis for other suggested revisions in questions addressing debt and sexual contact. Because debt is often incurred in the course of arranging migration, the *Migration* section included several questions intended to identify situations of debt bondage. The section on *Working/Living Conditions* included questions meant to capture aggravated sexual contact and commercial sexual activity. One reviewer felt that members of the South Asian communities she served would be too uncomfortable, even ashamed, to discuss these issues. Although this perception was not shared by another reviewer with experience in this community, other reviewers agreed that the phrasing of these questions and follow-up questions could be tempered. We heeded these recommendations, removing a follow-up question on incurred debt that asked about plans for repayment, a question which struck some reviewers as too aggressive and somewhat accusatory. The wording of the question on sexual contact was modified, replacing a reference to *touching intimate/sexual parts of another person* with the phrase "*any kind of unwanted contact with another person*."

Another critical series of suggested revisions to question wording concerned the domain of *employment*. Reviewers sensibly insisted that labor extracted from victims of trafficking is often informal and may not be recognized as "employment." Consequently, the term employment was replaced by the more generic and expansive term "work." Related formal and specific labels were also replaced by general terms. For example, instead of "employer," "supervisor," "associate," or "colleague," the term "person you worked for or with" was chosen.

Agency Field Application

Participating CAB agency staff were experienced in conducting various types of needs assessments and screening for different kinds of victimization, including human trafficking. However, the identification of victims of human trafficking was often unstructured and unsystematic, based on untested assumptions and perceptions rather than the kinds of formal and transparent methods customarily used in social scientific research. Striving to cultivate a trusting and comforting environment, service providers generally prefer to minimize formal, bureaucratic procedures such as note taking and filling in forms in the presence of clients. As one CAB agency participant noted, "[I try not] to take too many notes while I'm talking to the person…," emphasizing that "too much shuffling of paper" could disrupt rapport with the client.[124] The guiding purpose of this pilot study was to learn how service providers could best integrate the rigorous

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methods of scientific research and the humanistic principles of victim assistance in order to promote sustainable data collection on human trafficking.

CAB service providers supported these goals by applying the screening tool in the field and providing feedback on content (e.g., comprehensiveness of content, section organization, question wording, and question placement) and administration (e.g., response format, recording and coding, screening timing and participation, interviewer-respondent rapport, client protection protocols, and non-English language screening). Rather than formally "testing" the screening tool, agencies introduced screening tool content and protocols into their work with clients in varied ways, as their organizational opportunities and constraints allowed. Agency feedback was used to further revise the piloted screening tool and to refine proposed administration protocols and other toolkit resources, including an annotated guide to the screening tool.

Prior to any field applications, individual and group sessions were held with CAB staff about the pilot materials that Vera had drafted. Vera researchers began the meetings with brief discussions of the difficulties in identifying human trafficking, the limitations of existing data and data collection strategies, and the critical need for a versatile and standardized screening tool. Participants were presented with the pilot version of the NYCTAP screening tool, along with supporting materials that would be developed into a screening toolkit. The pilot materials included:

NYCTAP Screening Tool

- *Part I of the NYCTAP Screening Tool* (See appendix IV, exhibit I for the *final* version for adult respondents). Page 1 provides instructions on screening timing, screening suspension, data handling, and service referrals. Page 2 covers Section 1: *Screening Background* and Section 2: *Personal Background*.

- *Part II of the NYCTAP Screening Tool for Foreign-born Adults* (See appendix IV, exhibit II for the *final* version for adult respondents). It includes: Section 3: *Migration,* Section 4: *Work,* Section 5: *Working/Living Conditions,* and Section 6: *Post-Interview Assessment*.

- *Part II of the NYCTAP Tool for U.S.-born Adults* (See appendix IV, exhibit III for the *final* version for adult respondents). Section 3 in this version covers *Work,* Section 4, *Working/Living Conditions,* and Section 5, *Post-Interview Assessment*.

Supporting Materials for the NYCTAP Screening Toolkit

- *Resource Sheets. Suggestions for Assisting Trafficked Persons* is directed at service providers and features tips for identifying and assisting trafficking victims, recommended by the "Rescue and Restore" campaign of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (See appendix IV, exhibit IV). *Client Resources* is directed at likely victims of human trafficking (See appendix IV, exhibit V).

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- *Administration Instructions:* In order to ensure as much consistency as possible in screening, a flowchart of directions for administering the tool and handling data collection forms was provided (See appendix IV, exhibit VI).

- *Annotated Guide to the NYCTAP Screening Tool* (See appendix V for the *final* version). Described below.

- *Human Trafficking Training Guide* (See appendix VI). This slide presentation serves as an orientation on human trafficking and antitrafficking laws and policies for those new to the field.

A pilot version of the *Annotated Guide to the NYCTAP Screening Tool* was supplied to all participating CAB staff to guide them in using the screening tool. At the conclusion of the pilot, the *Annotated Guide to the Screening Tool*, like the screening tool itself, was revised on the basis of feedback from agency users and became part of the toolkit.

The core of the guide is an annotated version of the screening tool, where each question is followed by notes that break down precisely what kind of information is sought. The annotations are intended to enable interviewers to re-phrase questions whose verbatim wording might not be immediately comprehensible to respondents, in order to elicit the most accurate responses. Additionally, the guide features interviewing guidelines, reminders concerning sources of response and coding error, and warnings about risks to participants. The guide advises interviewers to familiarize themselves with the screening tool prior to using it with clients, including rehearsing the interview and possibly memorizing the first few questions in order to maintain eye contact and rapport with clients. The guide also recommends strategies for asking questions, obtaining responses, recording responses, coding, and concluding the interview.[125]

The pilot was designed to gather feedback from the field on screening tool content and administration. The administration plan proposed for the NYCTAP pilot had four key features: (1) administration of the screening tool should be integrated into regular intake processes; (2) the screening should be administered as part of *all* new client intakes, irrespective of whether clients were believed from the point of initial contact to be victims of human trafficking; (3) because the interview covered sensitive, possibly distressing topics, it should be "bookended" by more comfortable casual topics, in order to minimize clients' discomfort; and (4) any deviations from the aforementioned protocols should be documented because they could possibly erode the reliability of collected data.

Supervisors and intake staff in CAB agencies, like service provision agencies more generally, regularly meet to review and prepare for client assessments and service delivery, for example, in peer supervision groups or multi-disciplinary case-planning sessions. The screening tool was typically introduced and discussed at these meetings with regard to its purpose, content and administration, topics that had already been covered and vetted in CAB trainings conducted by Vera research staff. At their regular meetings, CAB staff hammered out the specific ways they would experiment with incorporating the screening tool in whole or part into their intake processes.

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Because our work was undertaken in the pre-validation phase of instrument development, we were able to take advantage of the considerable diversity in piloting sites. Increasing the potential for administrative and coding errors, variation in piloting conditions is conventionally regarded as a methodological impediment. However, CAB diversity reflects the different settings in which victims of trafficking are actually encountered. Because our objective was to produce a trafficking victim screening instrument that could be used by service providers with different professional roles and obligations, working in various organizational settings with diverse client populations, such diversity offered an unusual opportunity to engage in accelerated trouble-shooting and develop the most broadly accommodating and robust protocols.

In order to devise protocols that were accommodating yet sufficiently disciplined, it was necessary to identify the various obstacles to regular screening for trafficking victimization and systematic data collection within CAB service agencies. Early consultations with CAB agencies alerted us to the fact that client intake processes sometimes extend beyond the first meeting. We also knew that service providers may postpone screening interviews, judging that clients are not emotionally prepared to disclose or discuss potential victimization. The research team was interested in devising measures to guard against losing information about these clients, who might not return to the agency, and also to learn more about how service providers made their decisions about the timing of sensitive screenings. The piloted version of the screening tool included a “Deferred Screening” form for this purpose. The form asked for the date of the initial client meeting and the reasons why the screening was postponed. It was printed on a separate page of the screening tool that was meant to be detached from the rest of the paper screening tool and filed separately. The incomplete Part I of the screening tool would then be filed in the client’s case file or someplace it could be easily located when the client was deemed ready for the screening. At this point, interviewers were instructed to fill in information in a “Deferred Screening Follow-up” box, which was placed before the first section of questions on Part I, and simply asked how many on-site meetings with the client had taken place before the screening. A modified version of these tracking questions appears in a single box on page 1 of the final screening tool (See appendix IV, exhibit I).

A similar procedure was designed for “suspended” screenings. If clients opted to withdraw before the interview was completed or if interviewers noticed acute signs of client anxiety while the interview was underway, interviewers were instructed to suspend screenings and fill out a “Suspended Screening” form, which documented why and at which point interviews were stopped. These tracking questions appear in another box on page 1 of the final screening tool (See appendix IV, exhibit I). The collection of data on screening deferral and suspension is intended to serve both programmatic and research purposes.

Administrative Case File Application

Administrative case files, an additional source of data for the NYCTAP pilot, served multiple purposes. First, they provided another window into service agencies’ existing data collection practices on trafficking victimization, revealing what kinds of information were deemed important by experts in the field. In addition, the kinds and grouping of information collected in the files could then be compared to those in the screening tool so that missing content areas and questions could be identified. Finally, administrative case files offered an additional method to assess the reliability of the screening tool, which we discuss

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below.

Reliability is a necessary but not sufficient property for a valid instrument. In our pilot, reliability means "repeatability" or "consistency" in the way respondents answer screening questions and, in turn, the way interviewers "rate" (record and code) responses to questions on the screening tool. Besides respondent error, which was reviewed above, there are two other major sources of inconsistency: (1) *question-based error* and (2) *rater error*. If questions are poorly constructed and unclear, respondents might interpret them in various ways, producing inconsistent and, consequently, unreliable responses. If interviewers (raters) lacked proper training and preparation, they might record responses inconsistently, coding the same response in different, inconsistent ways, even if questions are clear and valid.

CAB service providers were asked to give Vera researchers access to case files belonging to: (1) *certified victims of trafficking*, (2) *identified trafficking victims lacking certification*, and (3) *victims of related or similar, but non-trafficking crimes*. Prior to review, the nine provided files were stripped of all personally-identifying information. Two researchers, who were unaware of the status of the cases, independently "screened" the files using the NYCTAP tool, treating the files as proxies for actual respondents. The two researchers then met to compare and discuss how they coded each question, documenting the reasons for their coding consistency and inconsistency. Reasons for coding inconsistency could include, among others, unclear wording and question ordering. We now discuss how the case files helped identify these sources of error and suggest how to control them.

The researchers analyzed a variety of documents, including personal statements, oral examinations, and affidavits for special visa applications. The information in the files, however, was not always sufficient to answer all questions in the screening tool. These deficits actually helped to identify shortcomings in the screening tool and to promulgate rules of inference for interpreting answers that might arise in practice to certain questions. While reviewing the administrative case files, we encountered the following three "information scenarios":

1. A *direct answer* to a question was possible. In this scenario, there was sufficient information in the case file to answer the question directly. For example, if the "respondent" corresponding to a file says "I was born on February 1st, 1969", then the question, "What is your date of birth?" can be answered directly.

2. Only an *inferred answer* was possible. In this scenario, there was insufficient information in the case file to answer the question directly, but there was enough information to infer an answer. For example, if an answer to the question, "What is your approximate age?" was sought, but the file lacked the "respondent's" date of birth, it would be possible to infer the answer based on information on some past event such as "I was 21 in 1995."

3. Neither a direct nor an inferred answer was possible. If the file had insufficient information for either direct or inferred answers, the question was answered as *"Unknown."*

High levels of agreement between independent raters indicate reliability and soundness in the design of a

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measurement instrument. In this exercise, raters would be expected to be in agreement, first, in their judgments about whether and what kinds of answers were possible (*direct, inferred,* or none/*unknown*) and, second, what those answers would be. By revealing differences in researchers' interpretations of the questions or their ratings of the answers, the exercise allowed us to address question-based error in the design of the screening tool and rater error in the administration of the screening tool.

Analysis of the administrative case files reminded research staff, who never had direct contact with trafficking victims in the pilot, of the complexities and ambiguities of "real life" cases of victimization. The boundaries of force, fraud, and coercion are often difficult to define, especially for marginalized populations. For example, new immigrants with limited English proficiency who are isolated, without family, friends, or even acquaintances in this country, may confront severe limitations on their freedom of movement or extreme dependence on their few local contacts. Considering these conditions, it is critical that screening questions are worded with the utmost precision so that limitations and dependencies imposed by circumstances are not mistaken for criminal victimization and that genuine criminal victimization, even though it may be commonplace, does not go undetected.

Comparisons of completed screening forms showed high levels of consistency in the coding of the great majority of questions. However, there was some inconsistency in the coding of five questions, revealing a lack of precision in their wording, which resulted in wording changes. These instances were found in the sections on *Migration*, *Work,* and *Working/Living Conditions* and are discussed next.

The section on *Migration*, administered only to foreign-born respondents, attempts to identify basic migration profiles and potential situations of debt bondage associated with migration. The form asks what country respondents lived in before they came to the U.S. and when they arrived in the U.S. The prevalence of "irregular" and "segmented" migration (i.e., when migration from countries of origin to destination countries is not direct, but spread over time, with temporary stays in different countries along the travel route) makes gathering reliable data on migration difficult. In order to promote consistency in respondent comprehension, we proposed a three-month threshold to distinguish between temporary stays in different countries in the course of migration and residence in a country (See Q3a in appendix IV, exhibit II). Our comparison also revealed inconsistency in the coding of the question that asked when respondents arrived in the U.S., because the question failed to explicitly distinguish between the start of residence in the U.S. and returns from brief travel abroad. The question was revised to include an interviewer probe reminding interviewers to confirm that respondents are referring to the start of residence in the U.S. (See Q3b in appendix IV, exhibit II).

The section on *Work* (formerly labeled "Employment") focuses on the circumstances and conditions of work in the U.S. Work is meant to cover both formal and informal labor arrangements. Ambiguity surrounding the relationship between consent and victimization and the difference between labor exploitation and trafficking victimization resulted in coding inconsistencies of two questions. The first asked: "*Have you ever worked in a place where you were not paid the amount you had agreed to for your work?*. The second asked: *"Have you ever worked in a place where your work was different from what you had agreed to?"*

If a person gives voluntary, informed consent to work for less than the legal minimum wage, they may be a victim of labor exploitation, but not a victim a trafficking. Labor trafficking victimization

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involves the extraction of labor or services from a person by the means of force, fraud, or coercion. Furthermore, the application of force, fraud, or coercion in the extraction of labor renders any "agreement" moot. Trafficking victimization is best conceptualized as a *process.* Once the victimization process—the application of force, fraud, or coercion—has begun, it is not uncommon for victims to ostensibly "agree" to perform types of work for levels of payment they would never had agreed to voluntarily. Consequently, the two questions were revised to remove the problematic terminology of "agreement." Instead, the questions ask about "expectations" for payment and type of work (See Q4b and Q4c in appendix IV, exhibit II and Q3b and Q3c in appendix IV, exhibit III).

The final section on *Working/Living Conditions* attempts to identify any kind of force, fraud, or coercion in the respondent's work or living situation. It also attempts to capture any forced labor or forced commercial sexual activity occurring in a residential context that was not revealed in the previous section on *Work*. Coding inconsistencies were identified in relation to the following question in this section: *"Has anyone you ever worked for or lived with in the U.S. kept some of your income in exchange for transportation, food or rent without your prior consent to the specific amounts?"*. The term "income" above was interpreted in varied ways by case file coders. In some cases, it was interpreted narrowly to apply only to payments for work done outside a domestic (household) context. In other cases, it was interpreted more broadly to cover the withholding of payment for domestic labor. For example, cases of domestic servitude often feature "employers" who fail to hand over any payment to their victims, keeping them isolated and utterly dependent. In order to capture these cases, the term "income" was replaced by "money that was yours" (See Q5k in appendix IV, exhibit II and Q4k in appendix IV, exhibit III).

Agency De-briefings

De-briefing sessions with CAB agencies indicated that the greatest challenges going forward concerned the integration of the screening tool into their existing intake protocols. Additional means of standardizing the administration of the interview were identified. Suggested revisions focused on ways of introducing the screening tool's content, with particular emphasis on its administration with minors.

We were fortunate to have both legal service providers and social service providers represented on our CAB. Their feedback brought to light important differences between legal and social service approaches to client assistance. Essentially, legal service providers have distinctive goals that should be taken into consideration when developing administration protocols. The legal service providers on the project CAB are generally focused on obtaining immigration relief for their (undocumented) clients or "affidavit building" more broadly and their intake – as well as data collection – is structured accordingly.[126] A representative of one participating legal service agency reported that even if cases initially treated as non-trafficking cases (e.g., as domestic violence) later turn out to involve human trafficking, they will be tracked on the basis of legal relief pursued and not client attributes.[127]

De-briefings indicated that interviewers had relied on the *Annotated Guide to the NYCTAP Screening Tool* (See appendix V) to different degrees to guide their interviews. Those who did not rely on the guide encountered difficulties with respondent comprehension and their own recording and coding of responses. These findings indicated that occasionally the annotations supplied critical, clarifying information that was absent from the screening tool; such information clearly belonged in the text of the screening tool,

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specifically, in the interviewer prompts. Besides increasing reliability, the interviewer prompts could also help to offset interviewers' reluctance to integrate another tool into their intake routines. This information was incorporated into the screening tool to bolster respondent comprehension and curb coding errors

The de-briefings identified another means of increasing standardization in administration and thus, the reliability and validity of the screening tool, namely, providing brief introductory scripts at the start of each section. Although the piloted version of the screening tool lacked such scripts, interviewers reported inserting their own improvised introductory remarks. Introducing the questions in this way could significantly improve respondents' comprehension and comfort and, therefore, measurement accuracy, but only if crafted and delivered in ways informed by experience and best practices. In a similar way, interviewers reported inserting "softening" phrasing (e.g., "If you are comfortable telling me…") in front of sensitive questions that lacked such prefatory phrasing as a way to reduce potential non-response, unintentional distortion, or outright fabrication. In order to guard against threats to accuracy posed by inconsistency in introductory remarks and prefatory phrasing, standardized introductory scripts were inserted at the start of each section of questions and softening phrasing was inserted in front of all potentially sensitive questions. Although interviewers typically hewed closely to the script, some strayed from it, but less so than might have been the case had the script not been available.

One participating agency that worked with young people was able to offer feedback on screening tool administration with minors. Staff generally found the content and question wording suitable for young respondents. Problems with respondent comprehension and question wording, however, were observed in questions in the *Migration* section that concerned debt and repayment. The piloted version of the screening tool asked respondents whether they "ever had a debt to anyone who helped [them] come here" and later asked whether they had "ever been pressured to do anything [they] didn't want to do in order to pay back a debt related to [their] migration." Responses to these questions from several young respondents seemed contradictory: to the former question about having a debt, they answered "No," but to the latter question about being pressured to repay the debt, they answered "Yes." The incongruous response pattern brought to light subtle but critical differences between adults and children in their experiences with and understanding of financial obligations. Migration arrangements for children are typically made by adult parents or guardians, not by children themselves; thus, children rarely claim formal "ownership" of debt and do not feel they personally owe a debt to anyone. Children migrating under these circumstances, however, do usually feel obligated to help repay the debt, even if they do not see it as their own.

Further discussion at agency de-briefings of customs and practices surrounding the financing of migration to the U.S. confirmed that familial financing of migration was actually common for adult migrants as well as children. Consequently, questions about the acquisition and holding of debt were revised to pertain to the individual respondent as well as his or her family.

Ultimately, the only questions in the draft screening tool found to be inappropriate for children were the final two, which asked whether someone respondents worked for or lived with controlled their access to food or their sleep schedules. For children, even outside trafficking situations, the person other than themselves that would normally have responsibility for these schedules would be their parents or guardians, obviously not a sign of trafficking victimization. In short, these two questions failed to

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distinguish proper from improper personal control across legitimate and illegitimate settings, respectively. For this reason, these two questions should not be asked of respondents who are minors.

Summary

Prior to the field application of the screening tool, Vera researchers used it in simulated interviews to spot problems that could only be uncovered in the course of administration. The results of this "pre-test" underscored the importance of follow-up questions and diligent probing in order to limit false positives. These would be among the most important issues incorporated into and addressed by the interviewing guidelines in the *Annotated Guide to the NYCTAP Screening Tool*.

The drafted screening tool was then circulated among members of the CAB, who were asked to evaluate the content of the screening tool for comprehensiveness, section organization, question wording, and question placement. Agency review sessions, conducted as semi-structured group and individual interviews, also addressed respondent comprehension and comfort across cultures. The discussions led us to modify the overall format of the screening tool for greater ease of use. The revised format featured two forms, a universal Part I, and a Part II that had two versions, one for U.S.-born respondents and another for foreign-born respondents. The sessions also led to revisions in several screening questions. The wording of questions addressing debt and sexual contact was tempered to alleviate concerns about cultural sensitivity and respondent discomfort. The terminology of "employment," which reviewers found to be suggestive of strictly formalized labor arrangements, was replaced by the more generic and expansive term "work" to ensure that respondents addressed informal labor arrangements in screening interviews.

CAB service providers introduced screening tool content and protocols into their work as organizational opportunities and constraints allowed, providing feedback on their experience in subsequent de-briefing sessions. Agency feedback was used to further revise the screening tool, refine administration protocols, and develop a screening toolkit, which would include the *Annotated Guide to the NYCTAP Screening Tool.* A draft version of the guide was supplied to CAB staff to aid their piloting work. Like the screening tool itself, it would be revised on the basis of findings from the field. In order to devise protocols that were accommodating yet sufficiently disciplined, we were especially interested in the perceived barriers to regular screening for trafficking. To this end, the draft screening tool included detachable forms to track "deferred screenings" and "suspended screenings."

Administrative case files from CAB agencies offered an additional data source for the pilot and served multiple purposes. First, they documented service providers' existing data collection practices on trafficking victimization. They also served as another check against the screening tool, to confirm that no critical content or questions were missing. Most importantly, administrative case files, serving as proxies for actual respondents, enabled the assessment of screening tool reliability.

Agency de-briefings confirmed the utility of the *Annotated Guide to the NYCTAP Screening Tool*, as CAB staff who had relied on the guide reported encountering few of the difficulties with respondent comprehension and response coding that were reported by those who did not rely on the guide. Feedback further indicated that the annotations supplied critical clarifying information that merited inclusion in the text of the instrument itself. The de-briefings revealed that interviewers tended to improvise introductory

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remarks to the screening tool sections that had lacked them and "softening" phrasing before sensitive questions when such phrasing was missing. To bolster reliability, standardized introductory scripts were inserted at the start of each section and softening phrases were placed in front of all potentially sensitive questions. Participants who worked with young people reported problems with their comprehension and with question wording only in questions concerning debt. While family financing of migration was common for both adults and children, participants found that children were much less likely to consider family debt their own debt, leading us to revise questions about the acquisition of debt so that they pertained to the individual respondent as well as his or her family. The only questions found to be of no value when asked of children were the final two, which focused on the provision of food and control of sleep schedule.

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VIII. Screening and Screening Tool Refinement

While the NYCTAP pilot did not test the screening tool under controlled conditions with a corresponding random assignment of respondents, interviewers, and administration alternatives, we employed various other procedures to help us gauge validity and reliability. As described earlier, working from pertinent legislation, namely, the TVPA, and state-of-the-art survey, questionnaire, and interviewing research and practice as they relate to hard-to-reach and otherwise special populations, we drafted a screening tool that was then circulated among project stakeholders for review. After being circulated several times, the rate of suggested revisions declined, and the stakeholders uniformly endorsed the draft's face validity.

Vera researchers then simulated screening interviews among themselves using the endorsed draft, revising it accordingly. They also coded administrative case files using the same draft, and, again, revised it accordingly. Finally, CAB service providers applied this version of the screening tool and companion administration protocols in their work with potential victims of trafficking and used their experience to provide feedback in de-briefing sessions. In combination, these procedures provided convergent ways of assessing the validity and reliability of the screening tool. Below we discuss some ways practitioners can refine screening practices as well as the trafficking screening tool in an ongoing way after its adoption.

Refining Screening Practices: Post-Interview Assessments

One way to check whether the screening tool is actually measuring likely trafficking victimization and not something else, like labor exploitation or domestic violence, is to examine the degree to which the tool's items, individually, in multiples, or all together, result in conclusions about victimization status that are consistent with conclusions that can be drawn in other ways by the interviewer, for example, by a global rating assessment or by using other, independent sources of information. This kind of consistency across two or more measures, ostensibly of the same thing, is known as *criterion* validity.

The NYCTAP screening tool concludes with a "Post-Interview Assessment." As part of the assessment, interviewers are asked to indicate on a five-point Likert scale how certain they were that their clients were victims of trafficking. These global expert assessments could then be compared with the responses to the interview questions to see which individual items or combinations of items are related to the intake interviewer's overall assessment of the client's trafficking victim status. Essentially, intake-staff judgments about victimization represent an expert criterion measure by which to gauge the validity of individual questions, groups of them, or the screening tool in its entirety. This overall-assessment item is a useful adjunct to the screening tool and enables ongoing comparisons between respondent answers and staff assessments. If there is little consistency between the screening tool questions and the criterion item, then the source of the inconsistency needs to be examined and addressed. The content and range of screening questions may be wanting or interviewers may not be able to make accurate overall assessments. Another way to check the validity of the screening tool and the interviewer's overall assessment is for other interviewers to conduct parallel interviews and global assessments and to compare their screening-tool coding and overall assessments to one another. We discuss this option next.

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Refining the Screening Tool: Multi-coding and De-briefing

The coding and comparison of screening interviews conducted by more than one staff member would allow agencies to assess the continuing adequacy of the screening tool in-house. We recommended that CAB agencies do this on a regular basis as a way of gauging the tool's reliability and thereby proactively protecting the tool's reliability. A single interview could be independently coded by more than one staff member and their coding compared for consistency, question by question.

We proposed a number of different ways to check coding consistency that varied by the level of client risk and the ease with which they could be integrated into existing intake practices. First, agencies could *videotape* a screening interview, have agency staff independently code interview responses, and then collectively compare them. CAB agencies, however, uniformly ruled out the videotaping of interviews, citing logistical obstacles and the risks of client discomfort and data disclosure. Second, coding consistency could be checked by the simultaneous coding by two or more agency staff via *teleconferencing* of the interview. CAB agencies confirmed that this strategy, too, posed logistical difficulties and, like videotaping, additional risks of disclosure. Third, coding consistency could be checked by the *sequential coding* in two or more interviews, conducted at different times. This procedure too could not easily be integrated into service agency intakes, because it was too cumbersome and time consuming. Moreover, sequential coding was rejected because it expanded the potential for client re-traumatization. Lastly, *simultaneous coding* of the interview by two or more agency staff was proposed. CAB agencies agreed that this approach posed little difficulty in terms of integration into intake and no more than minimal risk to clients with regard to information disclosure or re-traumatization.

Because of its greater feasibility and minimal client risk, CAB agencies were most amenable to the final procedure, the simultaneous coding of the first intake interview by at least two staff members. However, some agencies were unable to see how they might implement even this procedure, citing concerns about client discomfort but also about lack of staffing capacity. In support of this position, CAB service providers pointed to the best practice standard for victimization screening, which recommends involving only essential personnel, and adding only interpreters, if necessary.[128]

Altogether, feedback from the NYCTAP CAB underscored the obstacles to systematic and ongoing data collection, as important as they understood that to be. Again, the key is to recommend practices that pose the least risk to clients and the least difficulty in terms of integration into existing protocols. Under these conditions, it is recommended that regular meetings between supervisors and intake staff include de-briefings on the range of critical administration issues addressed in this pilot.

Summary

Good data collection systems require ongoing upkeep and reassessment of tools and practices. The NYCTAP screening tool, with its face validity already established, is equipped with a practical mechanism enabling practitioners to conduct their own assessments of its empirical validity. The Post-Interview Assessment, which asks for interviewers' global assessment of the likelihood of trafficking victimization, uses this interviewer-as-expert criterion measure to gauge the validity of individual

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questions, groups of them, or the screening tool in its entirety. Another practical method for checking the validity of the screening tool as well as screening practices is to have a single interview coded by more than one staff member and the coding compared for consistency, question by question, accompanied by discussion of reasons for both consistency and inconsistency. This offers a proactive way of gauging and maintaining the screening tool's reliability over time, while at the same time promoting ongoing discussion and consensus about the objectives and practices associated with the screening tool.

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IX. Conclusion and Recommendations

Numbers are an efficient and effective way to describe a social problem. Knowledge of the scale and scope of social problems is critical to commanding attention and action, especially in environments where resources are limited and other problems present similar urgencies. When problems are identified and quantified, it becomes possible to propose measured solutions. It is therefore hardly surprising that the earliest available prevalence estimates of human trafficking rapidly gained currency: they provided numbers that filled longstanding information voids. Those earliest estimates had relatively weak empirical bases, which is as unfortunate as it is understandable. Analysts were working in an emerging substantive field, in response to urgent requests for numbers from diverse and demanding audiences. Time was of the essence. Yet, it is now almost a decade since those flawed prevalence estimates were first calculated, and they continue to circulate. During that period, researchers interested in improving measurements of human trafficking have tended to focus their efforts on upgrading statistical models, on survey sampling and subject selection.

The NYCTAP took a different approach, focusing on *applied measurement*. Recognizing that this field of research and practice lacked even the most rudimentary tools to reliably identify victims of human trafficking, we concentrated on developing those tools, collaborating with stakeholders who actually had had experience working with this hard-to-reach population. The NYCTAP designed a trafficking victim screening tool to collect standardized data on victims. Employing the methods of action research, we applied the screening tool in the field, paying particular attention to how location and administration affect measurement processes and outcomes. In addition to a pre-validated victim screening tool, our piloting work produced a trafficking screening toolkit, which includes an annotated version of the screening tool, interviewing guidelines, suggested administration protocols, and staff training aids on gauging victimization likelihood and providing remedial services and referrals for likely victims.

Lessons learned in the pilot form the basis of the following three sets of recommendations to (1) improve victim identification and data collection on human trafficking, (2) design a standardized trafficking victim screening tool and supporting toolkit for its administration, and (3) validate a standardized trafficking victim screening tool.

1. Victim Identification and Data Collection on Human Trafficking

- Agencies supporting antitrafficking initiatives should encourage the use of *standard definitions* to promote uniform victim identification and to leverage separate data collection efforts so that information can be more efficiently and effectively used for programmatic and research purposes.

- A standard trafficking victim *screening tool should be validated* and made publicly available to service providers nationwide.

- The screening tool developed here for service providers will need to be *pre-validated and then validated for use in other settings,* for example, law enforcement, healthcare, and education.

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- A *toolkit* containing model screening protocols should accompany the trafficking victim screening tool to guide its administration for screening accuracy.

- Model screening protocols targeted at service providers should be sufficiently comprehensive and flexible in order to facilitate their adoption by as diverse a group of service providers as possible. The protocols should take into account the following agency features:
    - agency type (e.g., social service, legal service, or other NGO);
    - intake procedures (e.g., single session or multiple sessions);
    - services (e.g., whether or not the agency has dedicated trafficking victim services);
    - client demographics (e.g., age or country of origin) and other client characteristics associated with risk for trafficking (e.g., immigration status or employment eligibility); and
    - staffing (e.g., staffing sufficiency, professional certifications and reporting obligations, language proficiency).

- Each model screening protocol should be based on best practices relating to *screening tool administration*, including:
    - screening selection (e.g., universal vs. targeted),
    - screening timing (e.g., at intake or at a later time),
    - rapport-building (e.g., creating trust, minimizing discomfort),
    - client protection (e.g., client readiness for screening, responding to discomfort and trauma), and
    - language access (e.g., screening clients with limited English proficiency).

- The validated standard trafficking victim screening tool should be used in the design of a national prevalence estimation study that promotes the understanding and control of human trafficking.

2. Design of a Standardized Trafficking Victim Screening Tool and Supporting Toolkit for its Administration

- The screening tool should identify as many likely victims of human trafficking as possible, even if that results in the identification of some persons who are not victims, because it is ethically preferable to provide assistance to persons who are not victims rather than to deny assistance to persons who are victims.

- The screening tool should be sufficiently robust to identify victims of trafficking based on different statutory definitions, at the state, national, and international levels.

- The screening tool should use questions that refer to specific behaviors and avoid terminology that may be insensitive to cultural, gender, and other critical differences among likely trafficking

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victims in order to more accurately identify victims among both foreign- and U.S.-born clients, minors and adults, and men and women.

- The screening tool should be brief, containing no more than the minimal set of questions needed to identify likely trafficking victimization in order to facilitate its adoption by heavily utilized but poorly resourced agencies.

3. Validation of a Standardized Trafficking Victim Screening Tool

- Validation should involve diverse service providers, both those similar in mission, clientele, and location to the ones used in the pre-validation phase, and ones different from them in these same ways, in order to document and ensure the screening tool's internal and external validity.

- Validation of the screening tool and any additional pre-validation work should be guided by field-tested best practices:
    - enlist a diverse range of service providers;
    - require that service providers themselves administer the instrument;
    - circulate the screening tool for agency review prior to testing;
    - conduct site visits prior to assigning screening protocols in order to gain familiarity with the screening setting and barriers to screening; and
    - employ "sight translation" of English-language screening tools for interviews with clients deficient in English.

- Validation should use as many different and mutually reinforcing methods as possible:
    - reliability—e.g., checking consistency in coding across multiple coding of the same screening interview;
    - criterion validity—e.g., checking consistency between screening-tool questions and the post-interview assessment of victimization status made by the interviewer;
    - concurrent and predictive validity—e.g., checking consistency between the screening tool and present or future law enforcement trafficking victim investigations for screened clients; and
    - discriminant validity—e.g., gauging the capacity of the screening tool to distinguish human trafficking from other activities such as smuggling, labor exploitation, migrant work, undocumented labor, sexual abuse, domestic violence, and voluntary prostitution.

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Notes

[1] See, for example: "Letter from Secretary Condoleezza Rice," in U.S. Department of State, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, "Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report," June 2008. Retrieved June 10, 2008, from the U.S. Department of State, on the World Wide Web: http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/.

[2] The terms "human trafficking" and "trafficking in persons" are used interchangeably in this report.

[3] The terms "victims of trafficking" and "trafficked persons" are both used in this report to designate persons who qualify as victims of trafficking in accordance with the TVPA or according to relevant state legislation. Some advocates prefer the term "survivor," arguing that the "victim" label implies powerlessness and overemphasizes a person's victimization. From a human rights framework, however, the term "victim" is important, as it designates the violation experienced and the responsibility for redress. It is for this reason that the term "victim" is used in this report. The term "trafficked person" is also used because it too acknowledges that person's trafficking experience as central and in need of redress. See: Surtees, Rebecca, *Listening to Victims: Experiences of Identification, Return and Assistance in South-Eastern Europe*, Vienna: International Centre for Migration and Policy Development, 2007: 34-35.

[4] Hillsman, Sally, "Action Research at the Vera Institute of Justice in the 1970s and 1980s: Personal Notes from a Participant," Vera Institute of Justice, New York, NY (March 2005). See also: Estrella, Marisol and John Gaventa, "Who Counts Reality? Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation: A Literature Review," Institute of Development Studies Working Paper 70. Retrieved August 14, 2007, from Institute of Development Studies Bookshop, on the World Wide Web: http://www.ntd.co.uk/idsbookshop/details.asp?id=421.

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[6] See: Bales, Kevin and Steven Lize, "Trafficking in Persons in the United States," Final report for National Institute of Justice, grant number 2001-IJ-CX-0027. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, November 2005, NCJ 211980; Richard, Amy O'Neill, *International Trafficking in Women to the United States: A Contemporary Manifestation of Slavery and Organized Crime*, Washington, DC: Center for the Study of Intelligence, April 2000.

[7] Estimates have not been updated since the 2004 TIP Report. All annual reports are available on the U.S. Department of State website. United States Department of State, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, "Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report," 2001– 2008. Retrieved May 19, 2008, from the U.S. Department of State, on the World Wide Web: http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/**.**

[8] U.S. Government Accountability Office, *Human Trafficking: Better Data, Strategy, and Reporting Needed to Enhance U.S. Antitrafficking Efforts Abroad*, GAO-06-825, Washington, DC: U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2006: 10.

[9] For example, Clawson, Heather J., Mary Layne, and Kevonne Small. "Estimating Human Trafficking into the United States: Development of a Methodology." Final Report for National Institute of Justice, task order 2004TO178. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, August 2006.

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[10] Markon, Jerry, "Human Trafficking Evokes Outrage, Little Evidence," *Washington Post*, September 23, 2007, A01.

[11] Goździak, Elżbieta and Margret MacDonnell, "Closing the Gaps: The Need to Improve Identification and Services to Child Victims of Trafficking," *Human Organization* 66 (2) 2007: 171-184.

[12] Parker, Barbara and Dale Schumacher, "The Battered Wife Syndrome and Violence in the Nuclear Family of Origin: A Controlled Pilot Study," Public Health Briefs, *American Journal of Public Health* 67 (8) (August 1977): 760-761; Gelles, Richard J., "Violence in the Family: A Review of Research in the Seventies," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 42 (November 1980): 880.; Estes, Richard J. and Neil Alan Weiner, *The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, September 18, 2001 (amended April 2002).

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[14] Estrella and Gaventa, "Who Counts Reality? Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation."

[15] There is much controversy surrounding the choice of terminology when referring to commercial sexual activity. While some advocates equate commercial sexual activity with exploitation, others insist that it may qualify as voluntary, legitimate "work." For the sake of consistency and clarity, this report uses the terminology of "prostitution"/ "prostitute." This choice does not imply any ideological stance on the part of Vera or any negative judgment of persons engaged in commercial sexual activities. In accordance with current federal and New York state legislation, we make a distinction between adult prostitution and commercial sexual exploitation, taking care not to conflate prostitution with sex trafficking.

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[21] United Nations, "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime," art. 3(a), G.A. Res. 55/25, Annex II, U.N. GAOR, 55th Sess., Supp. No. 49, at 60, U.N. Doc. A/55/383 (Jan. 8, 2001). Retrieved May 11, 2008, from the UNODC, on the World Wide Web: http://www.unodc.org/pdf/crime/a_res_55/res5525e.pdf.

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[28] Farrell et al., "Understanding and Improving Local Law Enforcement Responses to Human Trafficking."

[29] Farrell et al., "Understanding and Improving Local Law Enforcement Responses to Human Trafficking," 14.

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[31] Bales, Kevin and Steven Lize, "Investigating Human Trafficking: Challenges, Lessons Learned, and Best Practices," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* (April 2007): 26-27; Newman, "The Exploitation of Trafficked Women," 26.

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[37] The same holds true for information gathering on many other kinds of victimization and human rights violations. For example, see Hayner, Priscilla B., *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity*, New York: Routledge, 2001.

[38] The Dutch National Rapporteur Against Trafficking in Human Beings estimates that only 5% of victims report their victimization or come to the attention of government authorities. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), Anti-Human Trafficking Unit, *Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns*, New York: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006: 44.

[39] International Organization for Migration, *ASEAN and Trafficking in Persons: Using Data as a Tool to Combat Trafficking in Persons*, Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2007: 46.

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[41] UNODC, *Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns*, 65-66.

[42] All annual reports (2001–2008) are available on the U.S. Department of State website. United States Department of State, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, "Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000: Trafficking in Persons Report." Retrieved May 19, 2008, from the U.S. Department of State, on the World Wide Web: http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/**.**

[43] Goździak, Elzbieta and Elizabeth A. Collett, "Research on Human Trafficking in North America: A Review of the Literature," in *Data and Research on Human Trafficking*, ed. Laczko and Goździak, Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2005: 108.

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[45] About 80% of human trafficking victims are thought to be female, and 40% minors. The type of exploitation was broken down into 43% commercial sex, 32% economic, and 25% "mixed." International Labour Organization, *A Global Alliance against Forced Labour*, Geneva: International Labour Office, 2005.

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[47] It does not appear that the validation process included independent verification by other analysts.

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[48] The Global Report on Human Trafficking Patterns analyzes data from government statistics, reports of international organizations and NGOs, academic research, and media reports on over 5,000 episodes of trafficking. After two years of data collection and six months of data editing, the report contains detailed information on 161 countries, including information on persons trafficked from, through, to, and within a country; trafficking routes; trafficking for sexual exploitation versus forced labor; and the nationality, sex, and age of victims and offenders. UNODC, *Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns.*

[49] UNODC, *Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns*, 47.

[50] International Organization for Migration, *ASEAN and Trafficking in Persons*, 6-7.

[51] Ibid. Also see: Surtees, Rebecca, *Second Annual Report on Victims of Trafficking in South-Eastern Europe*, Geneva: IOM, 2005.

[52] Comoroff, Jean and John L. Comoroff, "Figuring Crime: Quantifacts and the Production of the Un/Real," *Public Culture* 18 (2006): 209-210.

[53] Gelles, "Violence in the Family."

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[58] As members of IOM's Division of Research and Publications observed, "If the availability of data on trafficking is to improve, more detailed research to compare and assess relevant data sources across countries, and effective identification of data management practices are needed." Suter, Nicole, Heikki Mattila and Frank Laczko, "Human Trafficking and Statistics: The State of the Art," Working Paper No. 15, Statistical Commission and UN Economic Commission for Europe, November 12, 2004.

[59] Charles Keely, qtd. in Goździak and Collett, "Research on Human Trafficking in North America," 108.

[60] Such scenarios are not uncommon. Clients identified as likely victims may refuse trafficking-related assistance or such assistance may not be offered under certain circumstances. Determined to secure the best relief possible for their undocumented clients, legal service providers often pursue non-trafficking-related relief, even for clients identified as trafficking victims (e.g., U-Visa or asylum applications may be filed instead of T-Visa applications).

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[62] International Organization for Migration, *ASEAN and Trafficking in Persons*, 27.

[63] The GAO thus recommended that the Attorney General and Secretary of Health and Human Services "to the extent possible, require the use of common definitions when conducting or providing grants for federal research to leverage individual collection efforts so that the result of such efforts can be readily combined to achieve nationwide prevalence estimates." United States Government Accountability Office, "Prevalence of Domestic Violence, Sexual

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[68] Stolz, "Educating Policymakers," 409-410.

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[71] Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women, "Review of U.N. Protocol compiled from GATW. Retrieved July 5, 2007, from the World Wide Web: http://www.bayswan.org/traffick/deftraffickUN.html.

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[107] Ibid.

[108] Zimmerman and Watts, WHO *Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Interviewing Trafficked Women*,

[109] American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (4th Edition) 2000: 429; Suzuki, Carol M., "Unpacking Pandora's Box: Innovative Techniques for Effectively Counseling Asylum Applicants Suffering from Post-traumatic Stress Disorder," *Hastings Race and Poverty Law Journal* 4 (Spring 2007): 235-280.

[110] See, e.g., Amir, Nader, Jane Stafford, Melinda S. Freshman and Edna B. Foa, "Relationship Between Trauma Narratives and Trauma Pathology," 11 *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 385 (1998); Charles A. Morgan III, Christian Grillon, Hadar Lubin and Steven M. Southwick, "Startle Reflex Abnormalities in Women With Sexual Assault-Related Posttraumatic Stress Disorder," 154 *American Journal of Psychiatry* 1076 (1997); Dutton, Mary Ann and Lisa A. Goodman, "Posttraumatic Stress Disorder among Battered Women: Analysis of Legal Implications," 12 *Behavioral Science and Law* 215 (1994). Carlson, E.B. and R. Rosser-Hogan, "Cross-Cultural Responses to Trauma: A Study of Traumatic Experiences and Posttraumatic Symptoms in Cambodian Refugees," 7 *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 43 (1994).

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[111] International Organization for Migration, *The IOM Handbook on Direct Assistance for Victims of Trafficking*, 32-33.

[112] International Organization for Migration, *The IOM Handbook on Direct Assistance for Victims of Trafficking*, 32-34.

[113] Zimmerman and Watts, WHO *Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Interviewing Trafficked Women*, 3.

[114] Florida Coalition against Domestic Violence, "Human Trafficking Service Provider Manual for Certified Domestic Violence Centers" Tallahassee, FL: Florida Coalition against Domestic Violence, 2004

[115] International Organization for Migration, *The IOM Handbook on Direct Assistance for Victims of Trafficking*, 34.

[116] Li, R.M., McCardle, P., Clark, R.I., Kinsella, K., and Berch, D., eds. *Diverse Voices — The Inclusion of Language-Minority Populations in National Studies: Challenges and Opportunities*, Bethesda, MD: National Institute on Aging and National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, 2001: 18.

[117] Ibid.

[118] For a description of various language access models used in health care settings, see Downing, B. and Roat, C.E., "Models for the Provision of Language Access in Health Care Settings," The National Council of Interpreting in Health Care Working Paper Series, 2002. Retrieved on June 19, 2007, from the World Wide Web: http://ncihc.org.

[119]Li et al. recommend the English version of an instrument be validated before beginning translation into additional languages, Li et al., *Diverse Voices*, 3.

[120] Minnesota Supreme Court Interpreter Advisory Committee, *Best Practices Manual on Interpreters in the Minnesota State Court System*, St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Court Interpreter Program, 1999.

[121] For example Li et al. warn that bilingual interviewers who "do not possess sufficient linguistic flexibility may unwittingly activate stratification structures if their accents, dialectal patterns, or behaviors betray regional or class origins and attitudes different from those of respondents, potential respondents may develop a sense of alienation or distrust." Li et al., *Diverse Voices*, 17.

[122] A second example is the question, "*Have you ever worked in a place where you were not paid the amount you had agreed to for your work?"*

[123] CAB Agency Review of Draft NYCTAP Screening Tool, CAB Agency # 9 (A9), June 6, 2007.

[124] CAB Agency Interview on Trafficking Victim Identification and Data Collection, CAB Agency # 8 (A8), October 23, 2007.

[125] Trochim, William M. "Interviews." Retrieved July 12, 2007, from The Research Methods Knowledge Base, 2nd Edition, on the World Wide Web: http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/intrview.php (version current as of 10/20/2006).

[126] CAB Agency De-briefing on Application of Screening Tool, CAB Agency # 4 (A4), February 6, 2008.

[127] CAB Agency Interview, CAB Agency # 7 (A7), November 11, 2007.

[128] Zimmerman and Watts, "WHO Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Interviewing Trafficked Women," International Organization for Migration, *The IOM Handbook on Direct Assistance for Victims of Trafficking*.

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Appendix I: Trafficking in Persons Prevalence Estimates

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Appendix 1: Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Prevalence Estimates (see final page for abbreviations)

	[A] TIP prevalence estimate	[B] Publication author & title (See additional info in column J)	[C] Publication date	[D] Low end-annual # of victims	[E] High end-annual # of victims	[F] Trafficking type	[G] Trafficking area	[H] Trafficked population	[I] Source information provided: (author, date, title)	[J] Sourcing (see figure 1, p. 9)	information
1	Richard, A.O., International Trafficking in Women to the United States: A Contemporary Manifestation…	Apr 2000	45,000	50,000	1	4	2	CIA briefing (1999) Global Trafficking in Women & Children: Assessing the Magnitude	4	Washington, DC: Center for the Study of Intelligence
2	Ibid.		700,000	2 million	1	2	2	"government and nongovernmental experts in the field"	2	Washington, DC: Center for the Study of Intelligence
3	Hughes, D.M., "The 'Natasha Trade': Transnational Sex Trafficking"	Jan 2001	50,000	100,000	1	4	2	USDOS	2	NIJ Journal (Jan 2001): 9-15
4	Raymond, J.G. & D.M. Hughes, Sex Trafficking of Women in the United States	Mar 2001	n/a		99	4	1	"US government"	2	Coalition against Trafficking in Women: action.web.ca/home/catw/attach/sex_traff_us.pdf
5	Denisova, T.A., "Trafficking in Women and Children for Purposes of Sexual Exploitation"	Spr/Sum 2001	2 million	50,000 n/a	2	1	1	*no source provided*	1	Trends in Organized Crime 6 (3 & 4)
6	Miko, F.T. & G. Park, Trafficking in Women and Children: The US and International Response	Mar 2002	50,000	n/a	1	4	1	*no source provided*	1	Congressional Research Service Report for Congress
7	Kelly, L., "Journeys of Jeopardy: A Review of Research on Trafficking in Women and Children in Europe"	Sep 2002	n/a	700,000	1	2	1	USDOS (2002)	3	IOM Migration Research Series 11
8	Laczko, F., Human Trafficking: The Need for Better Data	Nov 2002	700,000	2 million	1	1	1	"US authorities" (1997)	3	Migration Policy Institute: www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=66
9	USDOS, TIP Report 2003	Jun 2003	800,000	900,000	1	2	4	*no source provided*	1	
10	Ibid.		n/a	200,000	2	4	3	Estes, R.J., & N.A. Weiner (2001) The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the United States, Canada, and Mexico	5	
11	Ibid.		18,000		1	4	2	*no source provided*	1	
12	Ibid.		n/a	20,000 12.3 million	1	1	1	ILO	2	
13	Ibid.		18,000		1	4	1	*no source provided*	1	
14	USDOJ, Assessment of US Activities to Combat Trafficking in Persons	Aug 2003	200,000	20,000 n/a	2	4	3	Estes, R.J., & N.A. Weiner (2001) The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the United States, Canada, and Mexico	5	
15	Ibid.		18,000		1	4	2	*no source provided*	1	
16	Ibid.		45,000	20,000 50,000	1	4	2	"US government" (1998)	3	

KEY for columns E-G: E: 1=sex+labor 2= sex 99=unknown / F: 1=worldwide 2=transnational 3=internal 4=into US 5=into+within US / G: 1=women+men+girls+boys 2=women+girls+boys 3=girls+boys 4=women+girls 99=unknown

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17	Ibid.		700,000	n/a	1	1	1	"US government" (1998)	3		
18	Ibid.		800,000	900,000	1	2	1	*no source provided*	1		
19	Ibid.		18,000		1	4	1	"US government" (2003)	3		
20	Laczko, F. & M.A. Gramenga, "Developing Better Indicators of Human Trafficking"	Sum/Fall 2003	700,000	20,000 2 million	1	1	1	"US authorities" (1997)	3	Brown Journal of World Affairs X (1)	
21	Clawson, H.J., et al., Needs Assessment of Service Providers and Trafficking Victims	2003	18,000		1	4	2	USDOS (2003) TIP Report 2003	4	USDOJ, NCJRS 202469: 3	
22	Ibid.		800,000	20,000 900,000	1	2	1	USDOS (2003) TIP Report 2003	4	USDOJ, NCJRS 202469: 2	
23	USDOJ, Report to Congress from AG J. Ashcroft on US Government Efforts to Combat TIP in Fiscal Year 2003	May 2004	600,000	800,000	1	2	1	*no source provided*	1		
24	Ibid.		14,500		1	4	1	"US government"	2		
25	Ibid.	Jun 2004	600,000	17,500 800,000	1	2	2	*no source provided*	1		
26	Ibid.		14,500		1	4	99	"US government"	2		
27	Human Rights Center at UC Berkeley, Hidden Slaves: Forced Labor in the United States	Sep 2004	10,000	17,500 n/a	3	5	3	*original study*	*	Free the Slaves & Human Rights Center, U of California, Berkeley	
28	Ibid.		14,500	17,500	1	4	1	USDOJ (2003) Report to Congress from Attorney General John Ashcroft on US Government Efforts to Combat TIP in Fiscal Year 2003	4	Free the Slaves & Human Rights Center, U of California, Berkeley: 10	
29	McDonald, W.F., "Traffic Counts, Symbols and Agendas"	2004	45,000		1	4	2	Richard, A.O. (1999) International Trafficking in Women to the United States: A Contemporary…	5	International Review of Victimology 11: 143-176	
30	Ibid.		700,000	50,000 2 million	1	1	1	Richard, A.O. (1999) International Trafficking in Women to the United States: A Contemporary…	5	International Review of Victimology 11: 143-176	
31	Ibid.		800,000	900,000	1	2	1	USDOS (2003) TIP Report 2003	4	International Review of Victimology 11: 143-176	
32	Ibid.		18,000		1	4	1	USDOS (2003) TIP Report 2003	4	International Review of Victimology 11: 143-176	
33	Jahic, G. & J.O. Finckenauer, "Representations and Misrepresentations of Human Trafficking"	Spring 2005	700,000	20,000 2 million	1	1	2	Richard, A.O. (1999) International Trafficking in Women to the United States: A Contemporary…	5	Trends in Organized Crime 8: 24-40	

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34	Ibid.		45,000	50,000	1	4	2	Richard, A.O. (1999) International Trafficking in Women to the United States: A Contemporary…	5	Trends in Organized Crime 8: 24-40
35	Ibid.		n/a	4 million	1	1	1	UN/ECOSOC (2000) "History of International Law Relating to Trafficking," 55th Session, Commission on Human Rights, Document E/CN.4/2000/68	6	Trends in Organized Crime 8: 24-40
36	Wynter, A., "The New Slave Trade"	Spring 2005	600,000	800,000	1	2	1	USDOS (2004) "2004 Global Survey of Human Trafficking"	4	The Bridge: 4
37	Okereke, G., "The International Trade in Human Beings: A Critical Look at the Causal Factors"	May/Jun 2005	18,000	20,000	1	4	1	USDOS (2003) TIP Report 2003	4	Crime & Justice International 21: 4-17
38	Ibid.		n/a	27 milion	1	1	1	Brownback, S. (2003) "Brownback, PBS' Wide Angle Tackle Human Trafficking"	6	Crime & Justice International 21: 4-17
39	Ibid.		600,000	800,000	1	2	1	USDOS (2004) TIP Report 2004	4	Crime & Justice International 21: 4-17
40	Ibid.		800,000	900,000	1	2	1	USDOS (2003) TIP Report 2003	4	Crime & Justice International 21: 4-17
41	Ibid.		700,000	2 million	1	2	1	USDOS (2002) TIP Report 2002	4	Crime & Justice International 21: 4-17
42	Ibid.		700,000	4 million	1	2	1	UN (2000) Trafficking in Women and Girls: Report of the Secretary General. Geneva: United Nations	6	Crime & Justice International 21: 4-17
43	USDOS, TIP Report 2005	Jun 2005	600,000	800,000	1	2	4	USDOS (2004) TIP Report 2004	4	
44	Ibid.		n/a	12.3 million	99	1	1	ILO	2	
45	NIJ Journal, "Tracking Modern Day Slavery"	Jul 2005	45,000	50,000	2	4	1	Richard, A.O. (1999) International Trafficking in Women to the United States: A Contemporary…	5	NIJ Journal 252
46	Ibid.		45,000	50,000	2	4	1	Richard, A.O. (1999) International Trafficking in Women to the United States: A Contemporary…	5	NIJ Journal 252: 30
47	Anti-HumanTrafficking Newsletter, "First International Meeting of Pastoral Care 'For the Liberation of...'"	Sep 2005	n/a	2.4 million	99	1	1	ILO	2	Stop Trafficking! The Anti-Human Trafficking Newsletter 3 (9): 2
48	American Bar Association/CEELI, An Introduction to the Human Trafficking Assessment Tool	Dec 2005	600,000	800,000	1	2	1	USDOS (2005) TIP Report 2005	4	Washington, DC: American Bar Association
49	Cole, T.B., "Where Forced Labor Thrives"	2005	n/a	800,000	1	2	1	USDOS (2005) TIP Report 2005	4	Journal of the American Medical Association 294: 541-542
50	Kelly, L., "'You Can Find Anything You Want': A Critical Reflection on Research on Trafficking..."	2005	700,000	4 million	1	2	1	USDOS (2002) TIP Report 2002	4	International Migration 43: 235-265

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51	Ibid.		800,000	900,000	1	2	1	USDOS (2003) TIP Report 2003	4	International Migration 43: 235-265	
52	Ibid.		600,000	800,000	1	2	1	USDOS (2004) TIP Report 2004	4	International Migration 43: 235-265	
53	Laczko, F., "Data and Research on Human Trafficking"	2005	800,000	900,000	1	2	2	USDOS (2003) TIP Report 2003	4	International Migration 43: 5-16	
54	Miko, F.T., Trafficking in Persons: The US and International Response	Jan 2006	600,000	800,000	1	2	4	USDOS (2005) TIP Report 2005	4	Congressional Research Service Report for Congress	
55	Ibid.		2 billion	4 billion	1	1	1	USDOS (2005) TIP Report 2005	4	Congressional Research Service Report for Congress	
56	Ibid.		14,500	n/a	1	4	1	USDOS (2005) TIP Report 2005	4	Congressional Research Service Report for Congress	
57	Anti-Human Trafficking Newsletter, "UNICEF: The State of the World's Children - Excluded and Invisible"	Feb 2006	n/a	8.4 million	99	1	1	*no source provided*	1	Stop Trafficking! Anti-Human Trafficking Newsletter 4 (2): 2	
58	Ibid.		n/a	1.2 million	99	1	1	ILO (2000)	3	Stop Trafficking! Anti-Human Trafficking Newsletter 4 (2): 2	
59	Ibid.		n/a	1.8 million	99	1	1	ILO (2000)	3	Stop Trafficking! Anti-Human Trafficking Newsletter 4 (2): 2	
60	Ibid.		n/a	600,000	99	1	1	ILO (2000)	3	Stop Trafficking! Anti-Human Trafficking Newsletter 4 (2): 2	
61	Ibid.		n/a	300,000	99	1	1	ILO (2000)	3	Stop Trafficking! Anti-Human Trafficking Newsletter 4 (2): 2	
62	Ibid.		n/a	5.7 million	99	1	1	ILO (2000)	3	Stop Trafficking! Anti-Human Trafficking Newsletter 4 (2): 2	
63	USDOJ, Report on Activities to Combat Human Trafficking: Fiscal Years 2001-05	Feb 2006	n/a	800,000	1	2	1	USDOS (2005) TIP Report 2005	4		
64	Ibid.		n/a		1	4	1	USDOJ (2004) Assessment of US Government Activities to Combat TIP, Fiscal Year 2004	4		
65	UNODC, Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns	Apr 2006	600,000	17,500 800,000	1	2	1	USDOS (2005) TIP Report 2005	4		
66	University of Iowa Center for Human Rights, "UICHR Human Rights Index (Human Trafficking)"	Spring 2006	n/a	200,000	2	5	99	HRW (2001); UNODC (2005)	3	The Iowa Review 36 (1)	
67	Ibid.		14,500		1	4	3	HRW (2001); UNODC (2005)	3	The Iowa Review 36 (1)	
68	Ibid.		2 million	50,000 7 million	1	3	1	International Commission for Women of African Descent (2004)	3	The Iowa Review 36 (1)	

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69	Ibid.		600,000	n/a	1	2	1	USDOS (2005); International Commission for Women of African Descent (2004)	3	The Iowa Review 36 (1)	
70	Friedrich, A.G., A.N. Meyer & D.G. Perlman, The TIP Report: Strengthening a Diplomatic Tool	May 2006	n/a	12.3 million	1	1	1	ILO	2	Los Angeles: UCLA School of Public Affairs	
71	Ibid.		600,000	800,000	1	2	1	USDOS (2005) TIP Report 2005	4	Los Angeles: UCLA School of Public Affairs	
72	Ibid.		14,500		1	4	1	USDOS (2005) TIP Report 2005	4	Los Angeles: UCLA School of Public Affairs	
73	NCJRS, Webpage: "In the Spotlight: Trafficking in Persons - Facts and Figures"	May 2006	600,000	17,500 800,000	1	2	1	USDOS (2004) Assessment of US Government Activities to Combat Trafficking in Persons	4	www.ncjrs.gov/spotlight/trafficking/facts.html	
74	Ibid.		14,500		1	4	1	USDOS (2004) Assessment of US Government Activities to Combat Trafficking in Persons	4	www.ncjrs.gov/spotlight/trafficking/facts.html	
75	Schauer, E.J. & E.M. Wheaton, "Sex Trafficking into the United States: A Literature Review"	Jun 2006	100,000	17,500 300,000	2	5	3	ECPAT (1996) Europe and North America Regional Profile, First World Congress against the Sexual Exploitation of Children, Stockholm, Sweden	6	Criminal Justice Review 31 (2)	
76	Ibid.		100,000	150,000	1	5	3	*no source provided*	1	Criminal Justice Review 31 (2)	
77	Ibid.		3 million	n/a	1	1	1	*no source provided*	1	Criminal Justice Review 31 (2)	
78	Ibid.		700,000	1 million	1	1	1	Miko, F.T. (2000); TIP Report (2003)	4	Criminal Justice Review 31 (2)	
79	Ibid.		n/a	1 million	2	2	1	UN	2	Criminal Justice Review 31 (2)	
80	Ibid.		n/a	700,000	1	2	1	CIA (2000) TVPA of 2000	4	Criminal Justice Review 31 (2)	
81	Ibid.		700,000	2 million	1	2	1	Watts, C. & C. Zimmerman (2002) "Violence Against Women: Global Scope and..." Lancet 359: 1232-1237	6	Criminal Justice Review 31 (2)	
82	Ibid.		18,000	n/a	1	4	1	Mizus, M. et al. (2003) "Germany, US Receive Most Sex-Trafficked Women," Off Our Backs 33: 4	6	Criminal Justice Review 31 (2)	
83	Ibid.		n/a	50,000	1	4	1	*no source provided*	1	Criminal Justice Review 31 (2)	
84	Ibid.		n/a		1	4	1	USDOJ (2003) Assessment of US Activities to Combat Trafficking in Persons	4	Criminal Justice Review 31 (2)	
85	USDOS, TIP Report 2006	Jun 2006	600,000	17,000 800,000	1	2	2	USDOS (2004) TIP Report 2004	4		

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86	Ibid.		n/a	12.3 million	1	1	1	ILO	2		
87	UNODC, Webpage: "Trafficking in Human Beings- FAQ"	Jul 2006	45,000	50,000	1	4	3	CIA	2	www.unodc.org/unodc/en/trafficking_victim_consents.html	
88	US GAO, Human Trafficking: Better Data, Strategy, and Reporting Needed to Enhance US Antitrafficking Efforts…	Jul 2006	14,500	17,500	1	4	3	"US government"	2	GAO-06-825, Washington, DC: US GAO	
89	Clawson, H.J., et al., Estimating Human Trafficking into the United States	Aug 2006	n/a	700,000	1	1	1	USDOS (2002) TIP Report 2002	4	Final report for NIJ, Washington, DC: USDOJ, NIJ	
90	Ibid.		800,000	900,000	1	1	1	USDOS (2003) TIP Report 2003	4	Final report for NIJ, Washington, DC: USDOJ, NIJ	
91	Ibid.		600,000	800,000	1	1	1	USDOS (2004) TIP Report 2004	4	Final report for NIJ, Washington, DC: USDOJ, NIJ	
92	Ibid.		n/a		2	4	1	USDOS (2002) TIP Report 2002	4	Final report for NIJ, Washington, DC: USDOJ, NIJ	
93	Ibid.		n/a	50,000	1	4	1	TVPA of 2000	4	Final report for NIJ, Washington, DC: USDOJ, NIJ	
94	Ibid.		18,000	50,000	1	4	1	USDOS (2003) TIP Report 2003	4	Final report for NIJ, Washington, DC: USDOJ, NIJ	
95	Ibid.		14,500	20,000	1	4	1	USDOS (2005) TIP Report 2005	4	Final report for NIJ, Washington, DC: USDOJ, NIJ	
96	Ibid.		45,000	17,500	1	4	1	USDOS (2001) TIP Report 2001	4	Final report for NIJ, Washington, DC: USDOJ, NIJ	
97	Ibid.		n/a	50,000	1	5	3	Tuller, D. (2005) Freedom Denied: Forced Labor in California	6	Final report for NIJ, Washington, DC: USDOJ, NIJ	
98	Ibid.		n/a	10,000	1	1	2	USDOS (2001) TIP Report 2001	4	Final report for NIJ, Washington, DC: USDOJ, NIJ	
99	Humantrafficking.org, "US Efforts Against Human Trafficking Criticized"	Aug 2006	600,000	700,000	1	1	1	"US government"	2	www.humantrafficking.org/updates/409	
100	Ibid.		n/a	800,000	1	1	1	*no source provided*	1	www.humantrafficking.org/updates/409	
101	Ibid.		45,000	2 million	1	4	1	CIA (2000)	3	www.humantrafficking.org/updates/409	
102	Ibid.		n/a	50,000	1	4	1	*no source provided*	1	www.humantrafficking.org/updates/409	
103	Humantrafficking.org, US GAO Releases Assessment of US Efforts to Combat Trafficking	Aug 2006	600,000	17,000 800,000	1	2	1	"US government"	2	www.humantrafficking.org/updates/401	

KEY for columns E-G: E: 1=sex+labor 2= sex 99=unknown / F: 1=worldwide 2=transnational 3=internal 4=into US 5=into+within US / G: 1=women+men+girls+boys 2=women+girls+boys 3=girls+boys 4=women+girls 99=unknown

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Appendix 1: Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Prevalence Estimates (see final page for abbreviations)

	[A] TIP prevalence estimate	[B] Publication author & title (See additional info in column J)	[C] Publication date	[D] Low end-annual # of victims	[E] High end-annual # of victims	[E] Trafficking type	[F] Trafficking area	[G] Trafficked population	[I] Source information provided: (author, date, title)	[J] Sourcing (see figure 1, p. 9)	information
104	Humantrafficking.org, Brothel Raids Expose Problem of Slavery in US	Sep 2006	10,000	n/a	1	5	3	Human Rights Center at UC Berkeley (2004)	3	www.humantrafficking.org/updates/423	
105	Ibid.		n/a	800,000	1	1	1	USDOS	2	www.humantrafficking.org/updates/423	
106	Humantrafficking.org, "Immigration Issue Muddles Fight Against Human Trafficking"	Sep 2006	n/a	2 million	1	5	3	*no source provided*	1	www.humantrafficking.org/updates/424	
107	Acharya, A.K., "International Migration and Trafficking of Mexican Women to the US"	2006	800,000	900,000	1	2	1	USDOS (2003) TIP Report 2003	4	Trafficking & the Global Sex Industry (Ch. 2), Beeks, K. & D. Amir, ed. Lanham, MD: Lexington	
108	Ibid.		1.2 million	n/a	1	2	1	ILO (2001) Forced Labor, Human Trafficking, Slavery Haunt Us Still	5	Trafficking & the Global Sex Industry (Ch. 2), Beeks, K. & D. Amir, ed. Lanham, MD: Lexington	
109	Amir, D. & K. Beeks, Introduction, Trafficking and the Global Sex Industry	2006	600,000	800,000	1	2	2	USDOS (2005)	3	Trafficking & the Global Sex Industry (Ch. 2), Beeks, K. & D. Amir, ed. Lanham, MD: Lexington	
110	Ibid.		n/a	4 million	1	2	1	UN	2	Trafficking & the Global Sex Industry (Ch. 2), Beeks, K. & D. Amir, ed. Lanham, MD: Lexington	
111	Chuang, J., "The United States as Global Sheriff"	2006	n/a	2.5 million	1	1	2	ILO (2005) A Global Alliance Against Forced Labour, Report 1 (B), 46, 55, International Labour Conference, 93rd Session, Geneva, Switzerland	5	Michigan Journal of International Law 27: 437	
112	Ibid.		14,500	17,500	1	4	2	USDOJ (2004) Asessment of US Government Activities to Combat Trafficking in Persons	4	Michigan Journal of International Law 27: 437	
113	IACP, The Crime of Human Trafficking: A Law Enforcement Guide to Identification and Investigation	2006	n/a	900,000	1	2	1	USDOS (2006) TIP Report 2006	4	Washington, DC: International Association of Chiefs of Police	
114	Ibid.		n/a	17,000	1	4	1	USDOS (2006) TIP Report 2006	4	Washington, DC: International Association of Chiefs of Police	

Key for abbreviations

AG: Attorney General

CEELI: Central European and Eurasian Law Inititative

CIA: Central Intelligence Agency

ECPAT: End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography & the Trafficking of Children for Commercial Sexual Purposes

HRW: Human Rights Watch

IACP: International Association of Chiefs of Police

ILO: International Labour Organization

IOM: International Organization for Migration

NCJRS: National Criminal Justice Reference Service

NIJ: National Institute of Justice

UN: United Nations

UN/ECOSOC: United Nations Economic and Social Council

UNODC: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

USDOJ: United States Department of Justice

USDOS: United States Department of State

US GAO: United States Government Accountability Office

TIP: Trafficking in Persons

KEY for columns E-G: E: 1=sex+labor 2= sex 99=unknown / F: 1=worldwide 2=transnational 3=internal 4=into US 5=into+within US / G: 1=women+men+girls+boys 2=women+girls+boys 3=girls+boys 4=women+girls 99=unknown

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Appendix II: CAB Member Characteristics

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Appendix II: CAB Member Characteristics

[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]
CAB member ID	**Service profile**	**Service area**	**Partnering entity**	**Dedicated trafficking services**	**Trafficking victim screening**	**Clientele by sex**	**Clientele by age**	**Clientele by origin**	**Main ethnic communities served**
A1	comprehensive case management	refugee resettlement	agency sub-unit/ national network	yes	clients pre-certified	M/F	adults children	foreign-born	various
A2	legal services	youth development	agency sub-unit/ city-wide	yes	by informal means	M/F	youth (under 21)	US-born / foreign-born	African-American/ Latino
A3	comprehensive case management	domestic violence	agency sub-unit/ city-wide	yes	by formal screening tool	F	adults	foreign-born	Asian
A4	legal services	sex work	agency sub-unit/ city-wide	yes	by formal screening tool	M/F	adults	US-born / foreign-born	Latino/ Russian
A5	social services	community development	agency-sub-unit/ city-wide	no	by informal means	F	adults	US-born / foreign-born	Jewish/ Russian-speaking
A6	legal services	domestic violence	agency sub-unit/ city-wide	yes	by informal means	F	adults children	US-born / foreign-born	various
A7	legal services	immigrant rights	agency sub-unit/ city-wide	yes	by formal screening tool & informal means	F	adults children	foreign-born	various
A8	comprehensive case management	victim assistance	agency sub-unit/ city-wide	yes	by formal screening tool	M/F	adults children	US-born / foreign-born	Latino
A9	comprehensive case management	refugee resettlement	agency sub-unit/ city-wide	yes	by formal screening tool	M/F	adults children	foreign-born	various
A10	employment assistance	worker rights	agency/ city-wide	no	by informal means	M/F	adults	US-born / foreign-born	South Asian
A11	social services	women's/girls' rights	agency/ city-wide	no (not currently)	by informal means	F	adults	US-born / foreign-born	Caribbean
A12	NA	child trafficking / CSEC	agency/ international network	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

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Appendix III: Flowchart of NYCTAP Pilot Activities

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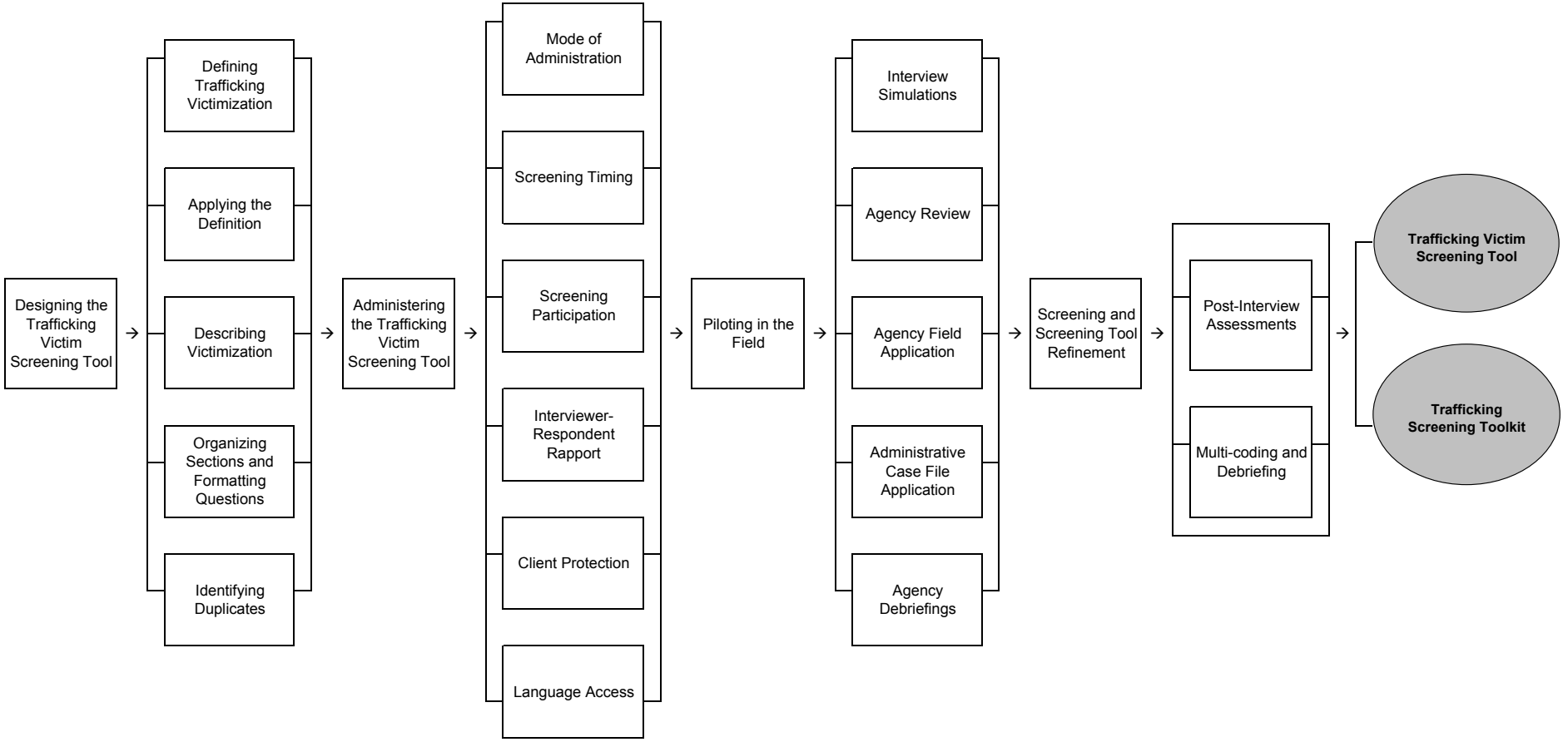
Appendix III: Flowchart of NYCTAP Pilot Activities



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Appendix IV: NYCTAP Screening Tool and Supporting Materials

Exhibit I: NYCTAP Screening Tool, Part I

Exhibit II: NYCTAP Screening Tool, Part II, for Foreign-born Adults

Exhibit III: NYCTAP Screening Tool, Part II, for U.S.-born Adults

Exhibit IV: Suggestions for Assisting Trafficked Persons

Exhibit V: Client Resources

Exhibit VI: Administration Instructions

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Screening purpose. This screening tool is intended to be used as part of the regular intake process or as part of enrollment for specific programs. In order for the results to be valid, the screening should be administered according to pre-arranged protocols, *whether or not the client is believed to be a victim of human trafficking.* Please refer to the *Step-by-Step Interview Instructions* (in purple) for directions on using this screening tool and handling the data collection forms.

Screening timing. Since each agency's intake process is unique, we ask those agencies administering the interview during intake to determine how to best integrate this screening tool with your other intake forms. Whatever the particular administrative context for the interview, it is recommended that you "bookend" it with more comfortable, casual topics at the start and end of the interview, to minimize your client's discomfort.

We know that in some cases the intake process extends beyond the first meeting with the client. We also understand that service providers may sometimes choose to postpone sensitive screenings such as this one, judging that clients are not yet ready to disclose or discuss their experiences of victimization. There is a risk that these individuals will not return. To avoid losing information on these individuals and to document any discretionary decision making in the screening process, please fill out the attached *Deferred Screening* box on the bottom of this page.

Screening suspension. If in the course of an interview the client shows acute signs of anxiety, ask the client if s/he would prefer to stop the interview and resume it at a later time. If the client chooses to suspend the interview, fill out the *Suspended Screening box* on the bottom of this page.

Service referrals. For additional social and legal service referrals to organizations that work with victims of human trafficking, see the two sets of blue-colored information sheets provided by the Vera Institute, *Suggestions for Assisting Trafficked Persons* and *Client Resources*.

Deferred Screening (Date: _ _ / _ _ / _ _ _ _)

If client screening is being postponed, please note the reason(s) why: _____

_____

Deferred Screening *Follow-up* (Date: _ _ / _ _ / _ _ _ _)

If the screening of this client had been deferred, provide the number of previous on-site contacts (including your first meeting): ___

Suspended Screening (Date: _ _ / _ _ / _ _ _ _)

If client screening is being suspended, please note the reason(s) why: _____

_____

Suspended Screening *Follow-up* (Date: _ _ / _ _ / _ _ _ _)

If the screening of this client had been *suspended*, provide the date when interview is resumed: _ _ / _ _ / _ _ _ _ (MM/DD/YYYY)

and check the section number where interview is resumed: ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5

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Agency code: _____ **Confidential** ***Interviewer ID:*** _____

Section 1: Screening Background [*DO NOT READ TO CLIENT*]

1a. Date of interview: _ _ / _ _ / _ _ _ _ (MM/DD/YYYY)

1b. Client referral source [*select only one*]:
☐ Other social service provider
☐ Own agency/ internal referral
☐ Healthcare provider
☐ NYPD
☐ Dept. of Homeland Security (DHS) / Immigration & Customs Enforcement (ICE) / Immigration & Naturalization Service (INS)
☐ Other law enforcement [*fill in*]: _____
☐ Referred by other client
☐ Referred by someone else [*fill in relationship to client*]: _____
☐ Walk-in

1c. Client status [*check if either applies*]: ☐ 'certified' as trafficking victim ☐ 'pre-certified' as trafficking victim

1d. Sex of client: ☐ male ☐ female ☐ other

1e. Language of interview: _____
→ Client proficiency in language of interview: ☐ basic ☐ fluent
→ Mode of interview: ☐ bilingual interviewer without interpreter ☐ interviewer with interpreter
→ Source language: _____ Target language: _____

Section 2: Personal Background

INTERVIEWER READ: I'd like to begin by asking you a few simple questions about your personal and family background.

2a. What is your date of birth? _ _ / _ _ / _ _ _ _ (MM/DD/YYYY)

2b. If you don't know your date of birth, approximately how old are you (What is your best guess?) ? _____
[*If respondent cannot provide a number, offer the following response brackets to choose from*]
☐ 18-19 ☐ 20-24 ☐ 25-29 ☐ 30-34 ☐ 35-39 ☐ 40-44 ☐ 45-49 ☐ 50-54 ☐ 55-59 ☐ 60-64 ☐ 65+

2c. How many biological children (males and females) do you have? Please do not count adopted children or step-children.
☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ more than 9
→ ☐ *Check here if client indicates without prompting that she is pregnant.*

2d. How many biological brothers (males) do you have from your maternal (mother's) side? Please do not count step-brothers.
☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ more than 5 ☐ unknown

2e. How many biological sisters (females) do you have from your maternal (mother's) side? Please do not count step-sisters.
☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ more than 5 ☐ unknown

2f. What country were you born in? _____

2g. Do you hold citizenship in any other countries besides where you were born?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Other country of citizenship # 1 _____ # 2 _____

INTERVIEWER: if client is foreign-born, use the green form
if client was born in the United States, use the yellow form

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Agency code: _____ **Confidential** ***Interviewer ID:*** _____

Section 3: Migration

INTERVIEWER READ: The next set of questions deals with migration to the United States, a process that is often very difficult and complicated. The questions ask about your migration to the U.S., who was involved, and how it was arranged.

3a. Can you tell me what country you lived in–for at least 3 months–before you last came to the U.S.? [*INTERVIEWER: If client has come to the U.S. more than once, probe to make sure client refers to place of residence before his/her most recent period of residence]*

_____

3b. In what year did you last come to the U.S.? _ _ _ _ (YYYY) [*INTERVIEWER: Probe to make sure client refers to the start of residence in the U.S. and not returns from trips abroad lasting less than 3 months]*

→ If you don't know exactly when, approximately how long have you been here [*check one*]?

☐ Less than 1 year ☐ 1 year ☐ 2 years ☐ 3 years ☐ 4 years ☐ 5 years

☐ More than 5 but less than 10 years ☐ More than 10 years

3c. Was anyone else involved in organizing your migration?

☐ No

☐ Yes → Can you tell me who and how they were involved? _____

_____

_____

3d. Can you tell me the total cost (approximately) of your migration and what it covered (e.g., transportation such as airplane or bus tickets, documents, work placement, etc.)? _____

_____

3e. Did you (or your family) take on a debt (owe money or something else) to anyone who helped you come to the U.S.?

☐ No **[*Skip to Section 4*]**

☐ Yes → Do you (or your family) still have this debt--or does anyone claim you do? ☐ No ☐ Yes

INTERVIEWER: Record volunteered information here: _____

_____

_____

3f. While in the U.S., have you ever been pressured to engage in any activity you didn't want to do in order to pay back a debt related to your migration?

☐ No

☐ Yes → If you are comfortable telling me, could you describe how you were pressured and what kinds of things you were pressured to do that you didn't want to do? _____

_____

3g. *INTERVIEWER: if client offered any additional information about debts or other victimization related to migration, record it here:*_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

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Agency code: _____ **Confidential** ***Interviewer ID:*** _____

Section 4: Work

INTERVIEWER READ**:** I'm going to ask you some (more) questions about work you've done in the United States and people you have worked for and with. I'm interested in any kind of work you've done, even if you weren't paid, even if it wasn't for "official" jobs in regular workplaces. Remember, everything you tell me is confidential and you do not have to answer any questions you don't want to answer.

4a. Have you ever had a job or done any kind of work in the U.S.?
☐ No ***[Skip to Section 5]***
☐ Yes

4b. Have you ever worked (in the U.S.) without getting the payment you expected?
☐ No
☐ Yes → What kind(s) of work were you doing? _____
→ What payment did you expect and why and what did you receive? _____
_____

4c. Have you ever worked someplace (in the U.S.) where your work was different from what you had expected?
☐ No
☐ Yes → What did you expect to do and why and what did you end up doing? _____
_____

4d. Have you ever worked in a place or with people that made you feel scared or unsafe (since you've been in the U.S.)?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you tell me what made you feel scared or unsafe? _____
_____

4e. Did anyone you worked for or with (in the U.S.) ever threaten to harm you or people close to you, like family or friends?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you give me some examples of the threats? _____
_____
_____

4f. Have you ever worked in a place (in the U.S.) where you were not given breaks, for example, to eat or use the bathroom?
☐ No
☐ Yes → What if you were sick or had some kind of emergency? _____
_____

4g. *INTERVIEWER: if client volunteered additional information relevant to trafficking victimization in a U.S. work context, record it here:*
_____
_____
_____

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Agency code: _____ **Confidential** ***Interviewer ID:*** _____

Section 5: Working/Living Conditions

INTERVIEWER READ: We are almost finished with the interview. There are just a few more questions I'd like to ask about problems you may have had in your working *or* living situation in the United States.

5a. Have you ever been in a situation while in the U.S. in which you felt you could not leave the place where you worked or lived?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you tell me why you couldn't leave? _____
_____

5b. Have you ever worked or lived anywhere in the U.S. where there were locks on the doors or windows that prevented you from leaving when you wanted to? ☐ No ☐ Yes
INTERVIEWER: Record volunteered information here: _____
_____

5c. Have you ever worked or lived anywhere in the U.S. where you were not allowed to contact your family, friends or others?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you tell me why not? _____
_____

5d. Has anyone in the U.S. taken and kept your identification, for example, your passport or driver's license?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you get them back if you wanted? [*INTERVIEWER: Probe for details*] _____
_____

5e. Have you ever worked for or lived with anyone in the U.S. who asked you to lie about your age or the type of work you did?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you explain why they asked you to lie? _____
_____

5f. Has anyone you have worked for or lived with in the U.S. ever threatened to have you deported or to report your immigration status or anything else to the police or other authorities? ☐ No ☐ Yes
*[INTERVIEWER: If Yes, probe for details]:*_____
_____

5g. Since you've been in the U.S., has anyone you have worked for or lived with ever tricked or forced you into doing any type of work or activity that you did not want to do?
☐ No
☐ Yes → If you are comfortable, could you please give me some examples? _____
_____
_____

5h. Has anyone in the U.S. (not just a citizen) ever pressured you to touch another person or to engage in any kind of unwanted contact with another person?
☐ No
☐ Yes → If you are comfortable talking about it, could you tell me what happened? _____
_____

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Agency code: _____ **Confidential** ***Interviewer ID:*** _____

5i. Have you ever received anything of value—for example, money, housing, food, gifts, favors for others—in exchange for any type of activity involving sex? [*Interviewer: Probe to make sure the exchange occurred in the United States*]
☐ No
☐ Yes → Were you under the age of 18 when this occurred? ☐ No ☐ Yes

5j. Has anyone you ever worked for or lived with in the U.S. kept money that was yours in exchange for transportation, food or rent without your prior consent to the specific amounts?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you describe this situation? _____
_____

5k. Was anyone you ever worked for or lived with in the U.S. responsible for providing you with food?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Did you get enough food? ☐ Yes ☐ No

5l. Has anyone you ever worked for or lived with in the U.S. controlled your sleep schedule?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Did you get enough sleep? ☐ Yes ☐ No

5m. *INTERVIEWER: if client volunteered additional information relevant to force, fraud or coercion in a work or living situation in the U.S., record it here:* _____
_____

Section 6: Post-interview Assessment

6a. Note any nonverbal indicators of past victimization**:** _____
_____

6b. Note any indicators that responses may have been inaccurate, specifying the question #(s) if possible: _____
_____
_____

6c. Indicate the likelihood that the client is a victim of trafficking:
☐ certainly not ☐ likely not ☐ uncertain either way ☐ likely ☐ certainly

6d. Briefly state up to three reasons for your rating**:**
(1) _____
(2) _____
(3) _____

6e. Did you provide the client with the "Client Resources" sheet? ☐ No ☐ Yes

6f. What kind of service referrals, if any, will you make for the client? (1) _____
(2) _____ (3) _____
(4) _____ (5) _____

6g. Additional notes: _____
_____

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Agency code: _____ **Confidential** ***Interviewer ID:*** _____

Section 3: Work

INTERVIEWER READ**:** I'm going to ask you some questions about work you've done and people you have worked for and with. I'm interested in any kind of work you've done, even if you weren't paid, even if it wasn't for "official" jobs in regular workplaces, as long as it was done in the U.S., not in a foreign country. Remember, everything you tell me is confidential and you do not have to answer any questions you don't want to answer.

3a. Have you ever had a job or done any kind of work in the U.S.?
☐ No ***[Skip to Section 4]***
☐ Yes

3b. Have you ever worked without getting the payment you expected?
☐ No
☐ Yes → What kind(s) of work were you doing? _____
→ What payment did you expect and why and what did you receive? _____
_____

3c. Have you ever worked someplace where your work was different from what you had expected?
☐ No
☐ Yes → What did you expect and why and what did you end up doing? _____
_____

3d. Have you ever worked in a place or with people that made you feel scared or unsafe?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you tell me what made you feel scared or unsafe? _____
_____

3e. Did anyone you worked for or with ever threaten to harm you or people close to you, like family or friends?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you give me some examples of the threats? _____
_____
_____

3f. Have you ever worked in a place where you were not given breaks, for example, to eat or use the bathroom?
☐ No
☐ Yes → What if you were sick or had some kind of emergency? _____
_____

3g. *INTERVIEWER: if client volunteered additional information relevant to trafficking victimization in a U.S. work context, record it here:*
_____
_____
_____

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Agency code: _____ **Confidential** ***Interviewer ID:*** _____

Section 4: Working/Living Conditions

INTERVIEWER READ: We are almost finished with the interview. There are just a few more questions I'd like to ask about problems you may have had in your working *or* living situation. Again, the questions refer to experiences in the U.S.

4a. Have you ever been in a situation while in which you felt you could not leave the place where you worked or lived?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you tell me why you couldn't leave? _____
_____

4b. Have you ever worked or lived anywhere where there were locks on the doors or windows that prevented you from leaving when you wanted to? ☐ No ☐ Yes
INTERVIEWER: Record volunteered information here: _____
_____

4c. Have you ever worked or lived anywhere where you were not allowed to contact your family, friends or others?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you tell me why not? _____
_____

4d. Has anyone ever taken and kept your identification, for example, your passport or driver's license?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you get them back if you wanted? [*INTERVIEWER: Probe for detail*s] _____
_____

4e. Have you ever worked for or lived with anyone who asked you to lie about your age or the type of work you did?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you explain why they asked you to lie? _____
_____

4f. Has anyone you have worked for or lived with ever threatened to report you to the police or other authorities? ☐ No ☐ Yes
*[INTERVIEWER: If Yes, probe for details]:*_____
_____

4g. Has anyone you have worked for or lived with ever tricked or forced you into doing any type of work or activity that you did not want to do?
☐ No
☐ Yes → If you are comfortable, could you please give me some examples? _____
_____
_____

4h. Has anyone ever pressured you to touch another person or to engage in any kind of unwanted contact with another person?
☐ No
☐ Yes → If you are comfortable talking about it, could you tell me what happened? _____
_____

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Agency code: _____ **Confidential** ***Interviewer ID:*** _____

4i. Have you ever received anything of value—for example, money, housing, food, gifts, favors for others—in exchange for any type of activity involving sex?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Were you under the age of 18 when this occurred? ☐ No ☐ Yes

4j. Has anyone you ever worked for or lived with kept money that was yours in exchange for transportation, food or rent without your prior consent to the specific amounts?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you describe this situation? _____
_____

4k. Was anyone you ever worked for or lived with responsible for providing you with food?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Did you get enough food? ☐ Yes ☐ No

4l. Has anyone you ever worked for or lived with in the U.S. controlled your sleep schedule?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Did you get enough sleep? ☐ Yes ☐ No

4m. *INTERVIEWER: if client volunteered additional information relevant to force, fraud or coercion in a work or living situation in the U.S., record it here:* _____
_____

Section 5: Post-interview Assessment

5a. Note any nonverbal indicators of past victimization**:** _____
_____

5b. Note any indicators that responses may have been inaccurate, specifying the question #(s) if possible: _____
_____
_____

5c. Indicate the likelihood that the client is a victim of trafficking:
☐ certainly not ☐ likely not ☐ uncertain either way ☐ likely ☐ certainly

5d. Briefly state up to three reasons for your rating**:**
(1) _____
(2) _____
(3) _____

5e. Did you provide the client with the "Client Resources" sheet? ☐ No ☐ Yes

5f. What kind of service referrals, if any, will you make for the client? (1) _____
(2) _____ (3) _____
(4) _____ (5) _____

5g. Additional notes: _____
_____

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Suggestions for Assisting Trafficked Persons

As a service provider, you are in a unique position to identify victims of human trafficking and direct them to the legal and social services they need. Many victims do not self-identify as trafficking victims or do not see themselves as people who rely on social services. Many also come from countries where law enforcement and the government are corrupt and consequently may be very apprehensive about speaking to the authorities.

What to look for*

All kinds of people can become victims of trafficking – immigrants and native-born citizens, men and women, adults and children. Trafficking happens in both public and private settings, in many different fields, including the sex trade, the tourism and hospitality industry, construction, manufacturing, agriculture, and domestic service. People may be trafficked for sexual purposes or for non-sexual purposes. Signs of a trafficking victim include:

- Evidence of being controlled, inability to move or leave job
- Bruises and other signs of physical abuse
- Fear, feelings of helplessness, or depression
- Non-English speaking, recently brought to the U.S. from Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America, Africa, India, or Canada
- Lack of passport, immigration or identification documents
- Isolation from family members, ethnic communities, etc.
- Debt-bondage – financial obligations, honor-bound to satisfy debt, etc.
- Use or threats of violence, against victims and their families
- Threats of deportation or other legal abuse (e.g., of arrest, reports to immigration authorities, etc.)

Tips for Communication*

- Always talk to the victim in a safe and secure location. If the victim arrives with a person exhibiting controlling behavior, talk to the victim in private. This person may be the trafficker or someone working for the trafficker.
- Take the victim's ethnic and cultural background into consideration. If using a translator, ensure that they can interpret the different values and behaviors characteristic of the victim's cultural and ethnic group. You should also screen translators to make sure that they do not know the victim or the traffickers and do not have any conflicts of interest.
- Most victims are very afraid of their traffickers and the possibility of being deported. It is critical to let them know that they are safe so they can get the protection and assistance they need. Some messages to convey include: "We are here to help you;" "You can trust me;" "Your safety is our first priority;" "You have a right to live without being abused."
- Confidentiality is imperative in working with victims who often risk their lives and their families' lives when they try to escape captivity or assist in investigating their traffickers. For reasons of both victim safety and comfort, keep the number of staff who come into contact with the victim to a minimum and ensure that staff fully understand the importance of confidentiality.

*Adapted from "Resources for Social Service Providers," Social Service Tool Kit, *Rescue & Restore Victims of Human Trafficking*, U.S. Department of Health & Human Services (www.acf.hhs.gov/trafficking/campaign_kits/index.html).

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Criminal Justice Resources

Trafficking Information and Referral Hotline: 1- 888-373-7888
***Rescue & Restore Victims of Human Trafficking* website:** www.acf.hhs.gov/trafficking

- Will help determine if the victim has been trafficked and can identify the appropriate resources in the community for victims at the local, state, and federal levels, including law enforcement.

New York City Police Department (NYPD) - Organized Crime Control Bureau (OCCB)
Phone: (646) 610-6690 / 24-hour Hotline: (646) 610-6610 / Emergency: 911

- The OCCB handles all local investigations relating to traditional and non-traditional organized crime.

New York State Organized Crime Task Force of the New York Attorney General's Office
Phone: (914) 422-8714

- The Task Force works closely with local, state, and federal enforcement agencies to investigate and prosecute organized criminal activities.

Federal Bureau of Investigation - New York Field Office
Phone: (212) 384-1000

- FBI New York conducts investigations of federal crimes within the five boroughs of New York City.

U.S. Attorney Southern District of New York (Manhattan and The Bronx)
Phone: (212) 637-2200
U.S. Attorney Eastern District of New York (Brooklyn, Queens, and Staten Island)
Phone: (718) 254-7000

- These offices coordinate the federal investigation and prosecution of traffickers and will involve the appropriate agencies needed to build a case.

Legal and Social Service Resources

Andolan Organizing South Asian Workers
P.O. Box 720364, Jackson Heights, NY 11372
Phone: (718) 426-2774
Website: www.andolan.net

- *Staff speaks English, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Nepali, and Punjabi*

Catholic Charities of Brooklyn and Queens
191 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn, NY 11201
Phone: (718) 722-6008
Website: www.ccbq.org

The Door - A Center of Alternatives
121 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013
Phone: (212) 941-9090
Website: www.door.org/index.html

- *Provides services for youth aged 12-21*

Immigrant Women & Children Project (IWC) of the City Bar Justice Center
42 West 44th Street, New York, NY 10036
Phone: (212) 382-6717
Website: www.abcny.org/CityBarFund/index.htm

New York Asian Women's Center
24-hour Multilingual Hotline: 1-888-888-7702
Website: www.nyawc.org

- *Staff speaks English, Hindi, Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, Korean, and Tagalog*

New York Association for New Americans - NYANA
17 Battery Place, New York, NY 10004-1102
Phone: (212) 425-2900
Website: www.nyana.org

Safe Horizon
2 Lafayette Street, 3rd floor, New York, NY 10007
24-hour Multilingual Hotline: 1-800-621-HOPE (4763)
Anti-Trafficking Program: (212) 577-7700
Website: www.safehorizon.org

Sanctuary for Families
PO Box 1406, Wall St. Station, New York, NY 10268
24-hour (English) Hotline: 1-800-942-6906
24-hour (Spanish) Hotline: 1-800-942-6908
Website: www.sanctuaryforfamilies.org

Urban Justice Center, Sex Workers Project
666 Broadway, 10th floor, New York, NY10012
Phone: (646) 602-5617
Website: www.urbanjustice.org/ujc/help/sex.html

- *Staff speaks English and Spanish*

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Client Resources

When a person is forced, coerced, or tricked into labor or commercial sexual activities he or she may be a victim of *human trafficking*. Victims are pressured in both physical and psychological ways. Sometimes they are held against their will to pay off debts. Often they are threatened with harm, to themselves or their families. If persons under 18 are used for commercial sexual activities, they are victims of trafficking, even if they were not forced, coerced or tricked.

All kinds of people can become victims of trafficking – immigrants and native-born citizens, men and women, adults and children. Trafficking happens in both public and private places, including brothels, hotels, restaurants, construction sites, factories, farms, and inside people's homes. People may be trafficked for sexual purposes or for non-sexual purposes.

All victims of human trafficking – whether or not they are U.S. citizens – are eligible for benefits and services.

Legal and Social Service Agencies

If you or someone you know is a victim of human trafficking, help is available. There are local agencies and people who can assist you with legal services (e.g., criminal justice proceedings and immigration processes) and social services (e.g., shelter/housing, food and clothing, safety planning, medical care and psychological counseling). The agencies below offer free and confidential help.

Andolan Organizing South Asian Workers
PO Box 720364, Jackson Heights, NY 11372
Phone: (718) 426-2774
Website: www.andolan.net
- *Staff speaks English, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Nepali, and Punjabi*

Catholic Charities of Brooklyn and Queens
191 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn, NY 11201
Phone: (718) 722-6008
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Website: www.sanctuaryforfamilies.org

Urban Justice Center, Sex Workers Project
666 Broadway, 10th floor, New York, NY10012
Phone: (646) 602-5617
Website: www.urbanjustice.org/ujc/help/sex.html
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Criminal Justice Agencies

If you would like to report a crime that may involve human trafficking, you can contact the local, state, and/or federal agencies below.

Trafficking in Persons & Worker Exploitation Task Force
Toll-free Multilingual Complaint Line: 1-888-428-7581

- Maintained by the U.S. Department of Justice, the complaint line is toll-free and offers foreign language translation services. The task force coordinates the prosecution of traffickers and will contact the New York Police Department and the necessary federal agencies.

New York City Police Department (NYPD) / Organized Crime Control Bureau (OCCB)
Phone: (646) 610-6690
24-hour Hotline: (646) 610-6610 / Emergency: 911

- The OCCB handles all local investigations relating to traditional and non-traditional organized crime.

New York State Organized Crime Task Force of the New York Attorney General's Office
Phone: (914) 422-8714

- The Task Force works closely with local, state, and federal enforcement agencies to investigate and prosecute organized criminal activities.

Federal Bureau of Investigation, New York Field Office
Phone: (212) 384-1000

- FBI New York is responsible for conducting investigations of federal crimes within the five boroughs of New York City.

U.S. Attorney Southern District of New York (Manhattan and The Bronx)
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- These offices coordinate the federal investigation and prosecution of traffickers and will involve the appropriate agencies needed to build a case.

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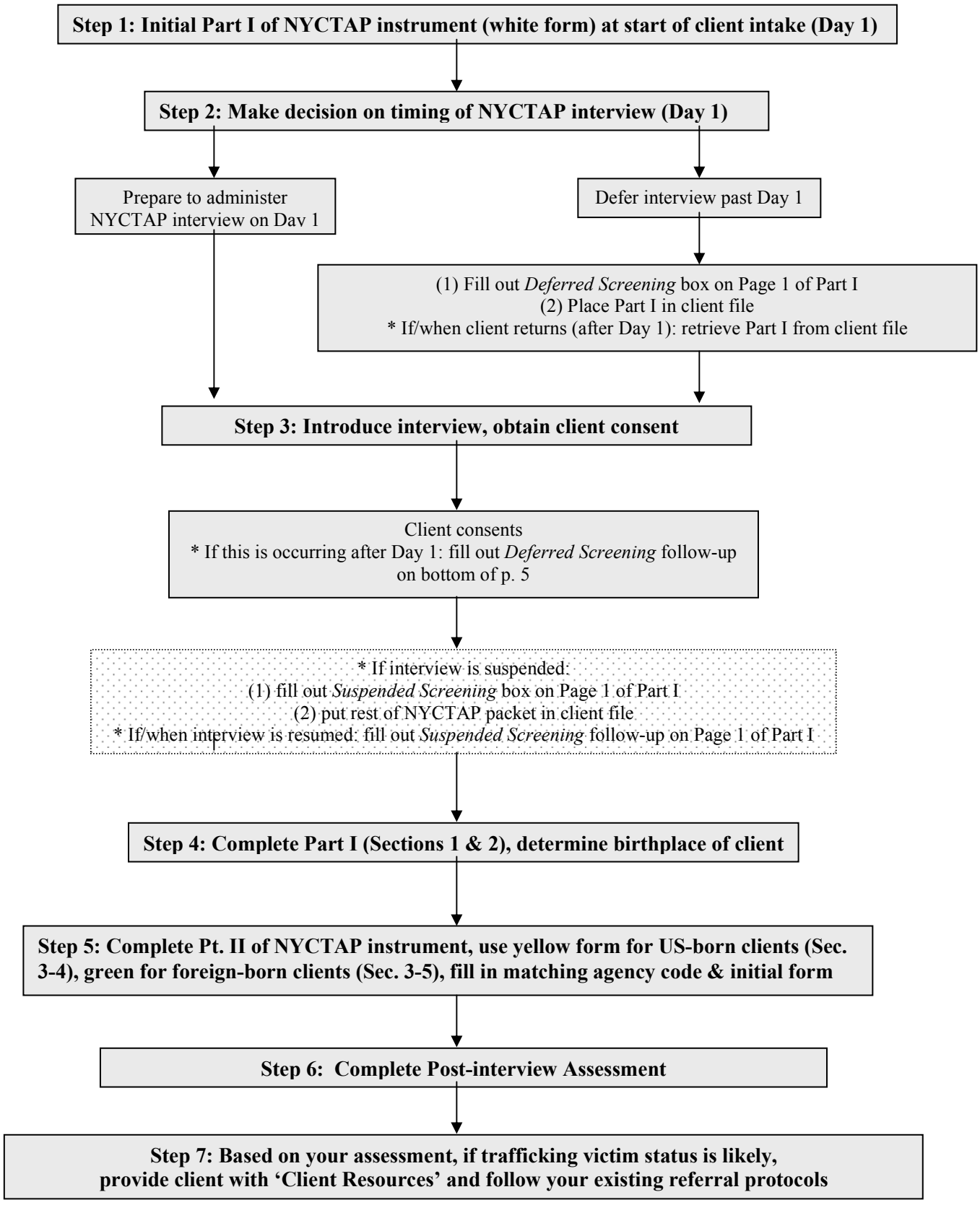
Appendix IV, Exhibit VI: Administration Instructions



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Appendix V: Annotated Guide to the NYCTAP Screening Tool

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Annotated Guide to the NYCTAP Screening Tool

This guide is intended primarily for service agency staff who will be administering the NYCTAP screening tool to their clients. The screening tool was based on best practice guidelines for identifying trafficked persons and developed through collaboration among stakeholders in human service and criminal justice agencies. The screening tool was piloted in New York City by a range of agencies, including social and legal service providers and community- and faith-based organizations, which endorsed its face validity and its suitability for use with clients. The NYCTAP screening tool and toolkit will be especially useful for service providers with less experience assisting trafficked persons. However, even social service agencies staffed by practitioners who are highly skilled in identifying victims of trafficking can use the screening tool to collect standardized data on their clients. If the screening tool is administered uniformly within jurisdictions, it may be used to generate more reliable prevalence estimates than those that currently exist.

This guide has two parts. The first features guidelines for effective interviewing and the second is an annotated version of the screening tool. The annotations convey to interviewers the essential information each interview question is trying to obtain. So even if the formal wording of the question is not immediately comprehensible to particular respondents, interviewers can appropriately re-phrase the question to elicit appropriate responses. Staff conducting interviews in non-English languages or in English with clients with limited English proficiency (LEP) may find these annotations particularly helpful. In both cases, interpretation and/or translation will be required. Even English-language interviews with native speakers of English may require a certain degree of interpretation/translation, or paraphrasing of the interview script.

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Interviewing Guidelines and Tips for Enhancing Reliability

The purpose of the NYCTAP instrument is to identify likely victims of "severe forms of trafficking," as defined by the TVPA, and to collect basic demographic data on victims. The first step in the development of the instrument was specifying the key components of the crime of trafficking and trafficking victimization according to federal legislation. We then identified all the possible corresponding combinations of behavioral indicators. From these, we crafted the most minimal set of questions that could capture trafficking victimization. The questions were vetted and used by practitioners in the field.

Successful interviews elicit the most accurate responses with minimal discomfort to the respondent. A well-designed instrument is a necessary but not sufficient condition for a successful interview: results are determined not only by the screening tool but also by how it is used. Interviewer-respondent rapport critically shapes interview responses. The most skilled interviewers are able to cultivate trust and understanding with respondents, sensing when respondents are uncomfortable or withholding information. They are sensitive to the needs of the situation and can adapt accordingly while adhering to interview protocols.

The effectiveness of the screening depends considerably on interviewers' ability to keep response coding and administrative errors to a minimum.

Response coding. Coding is the way that interviewers record (code) responses to screening questions on data collection forms. Errors arise when the same response is recorded in different inconsistent ways (e.g., with interviewers placing emphasis on different aspects of the–verbalized or nonverbal–response).

Interview administration. Various contextual factors, including the interview environment, interview timing, and interviewer-respondent rapport, may affect the quality of the responses. For example, administering a sensitive screening such as this, before clients are emotionally prepared to disclose or discuss their victimization, can produce inaccurate results.

Before the interview. In order to enhance reliability, it is suggested that new users sit in on an interview conducted by another, more experienced staff member and simultaneously code responses to the same interview. Afterwards, the data collection forms should be compared and any significant inconsistencies should be resolved.

Below is a set of guidelines and suggestions for interviewers, adapted from The Research Methods Knowledge Base assembled by William M. Trochim.[1]

[1] Trochim, William M. "Interviews." Retrieved July 12, 2007, from The Research Methods Knowledge Base, 2nd Edition, on the World Wide Web: http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/intrview.php (version current as of 10/20/2006).

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Preparing for the interview. It is critical that interviewers familiarize themselves with the screening tool prior to administration with clients. They should rehearse the interview, recognizing which parts of the text are meant to be read aloud and which are not. Bracketed and italicized portions of the screening tool and are not meant to be read aloud, while phrases in parentheses provide supplementary information for articulating questions.

Review the flowchart of *Administration Instructions* for guidance on the sequence of steps to follow in administering the interview and handling the data collection forms.

Starting the interview. Establish a rapport with the respondent before beginning the interview. Offer the respondent a chance to ask any questions s/he may have.

Asking questions. Each interview is different. You should be responsive to the particular circumstances of each interview, but you should rely primarily on the screening tool as it was designed. Greater familiarity with the screening tool, including memorization of at least the first few questions, will give you a more reassuring appearance and allow you to focus greater attention on interacting with the respondent rather than the screening tool form.

- *Ask questions exactly as written*

Interviewers might be tempted to alter the wording of questions, to clarify them or to soften the tone. It is important to avoid this temptation and to ask the questions as they are on the screening tool so that the interview is as standardized as possible across respondents. You may think the change you made was inconsequential when, in fact, it may change the entire meaning of the question or response. If you discover problems with a question, you should discuss them with other agency staff (or with research collaborators) and collectively and formally write any changes into the script of the screening tool.

- *Ask every question— unless you are instructed to skip*

Interviewers may find respondents bringing up topics that they know will come up later in the interview. Avoid the temptation to move to that section. By skipping ahead on your own, you risk losing your place in the interview or missing critical questions. You may also be tempted to leave out questions whose answers you believe were implied in already-given responses. This is discouraged as well. For responses to be fully comparable, they must be elicited by the same question. Even if a respondent seemed to provide an answer to a question before it was asked, by articulating that question as it was written, at the intended point in the interview, you may receive new details and information from the respondent.

- *Do not finish sentences*

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When interviewers finish respondents' sentences, they give the impression that they aren't very interested in hearing from respondents, in their own words.

Obtaining Responses. Sometimes you may ask a question and only receive a brief, perfunctory answer. In order to elicit the most thorough responses, it is often necessary to probe.

- *Encouragement*

The simplest way to encourage respondents is by responding to their statements with validating expressions such as "Yes" or "Uh-huh." But is important to do so in a way that does not imply approval or disapproval, which may alter their subsequent responses.

- *Elaboration*

You may simply ask for elaboration, for example, "Is there anything else you'd like to add?"

- *Ask for clarification*

You may directly ask for clarification of a previous response, for example, "Earlier you told me about a comment your boss made that upset you. Could you tell me more about that?"

- *Silent probe*

The most effective strategy to get someone to elaborate is to simply pause and wait (the "silent probe"). Most people are uncomfortable with silence and when there are noticeable pauses in conversations, they tend to assume that they are expected to talk further.

Recording Responses.

- *Record responses immediately*

You should write down responses as they are being given. It isn't necessary to write everything word-for-word, although you may want to record certain quotes verbatim. It would also be helpful to have a system for distinguishing what the respondent says verbatim from what you are paraphrasing, for example, quotation marks for verbatim quotes.

- *Include all probes*

You should note when you use probes and create a shorthand for standard ones, and designate a place on the form where you will note them.

- *Use abbreviations where possible*

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Abbreviations will allow you to record more of the responses. Develop a standardized system (e.g., R=respondent, etc.), and designate a place on the form where you will note them.

Concluding the Interview. Once you've completed the interview, thank the respondent for participating. Immediately afterward, complete the *Post-interview Assessment* at the end of the screening form and write down any important notes or observations about how the interview went that you didn't want to write while you were still with the respondent.

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NYCTAP Screening Tool, Part I

Section 1: Screening Background [*DO NOT READ TO CLIENT*]

This section is not read to the respondent. It is assumed that prior contact with the respondent has already supplied you with the information sought in this section.

1a. Date of interview: _ _ / _ _ / _ _ _ _ (MM/DD/YYYY)
Record the date that the interview is started. If the interview is suspended and resumed at a later date, the interviewer should record the date that the interview is resumed in the *Suspended Screening* box on the first page of Part I of the screening tool.

1b. Client referral source [select only one]:
This refers to the most immediate source of referral bringing the respondent to your agency. Even though respondent may arrive at your agency after a series of referrals from different sources, here we are looking for the latest source of referral.

1c. Client status (check if either applies): ☐ 'certified' as trafficking victim ☐ 'pre-certified' as trafficking victim

1d. Sex of client: ☐ male ☐ female ☐ other

1e. Language of interview: _____
→ If English, level of English proficiency: ☐ basic ☐ fluent
→ If not English, mode of interview: ☐ bilingual interviewer without interpreter ☐ interviewer with interpreter
→ Level of proficiency in (non-English) language of interview: ☐ basic ☐ fluent

Section 2: Personal Background

INTERVIEWER READ: I'd like to begin by asking you a few simple questions about your personal and family background.

The purpose of this section is to collect enough demographic information to identify duplicate respondents without revealing personal identities. To do this, common demographic questions are supplemented with a set of questions on family structure that are expected to yield responses relatively insensitive to context.

2a. What is your date of birth? _ _ / _ _ / _ _ _ _ (MM/DD/YYYY)

2b. If you don't know your date of birth, approximately how old are you (What is your best guess?)? _____
[*If respondent cannot provide a number, offer the following response brackets to choose from*]
☐ 18-19 ☐ 20-24 ☐ 25-29 ☐ 30-34 ☐ 35-39 ☐ 40-44 ☐ 45-49 ☐ 50-54 ☐ 55-59 ☐ 60-64 ☐ 65+

2c. How many biological children (males and females) do you have? Please do not count adopted children or step-children.
☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ more than 9
→ ☐ *Check here if client indicates without prompting that she is pregnant.*
If the respondent is female, the question is asking how many children were borne by her. If the respondent is male, there is of course more room for error – ask how many children the respondent knows he has by birth.

2d. How many biological brothers (males) do you have from your maternal (mother's) side? Please do not count step-brothers.
☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ more than 5 ☐ unknown

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The question asks how many male children—to the respondent's knowledge—were borne by the respondent's biological mother (excluding the respondent, if he is a male).

2e. How many biological sisters (females) do you have from your maternal (mother's) side? Please do not count step-sisters.
☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ more than 5 ☐ unknown
The question asks how many female children—to the respondent's knowledge—were borne by the respondent's biological mother (excluding the respondent, if she is a female).

2f. What country were you born in?

2g. Do you hold citizenship in any other countries besides where you were born?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Other country of citizenship # 1 _____ # 2 _____

Based on the response to 2f, select the appropriate version of Part II of the screening tool: the Foreign-born version for foreign-born respondents (including naturalized U.S. citizens) or the U.S.-born version for U.S.-born respondents.

NYCTAP Screening Tool, Part II

Section 3: Migration (Foreign-born version only)

INTERVIEWER READ: The next set of questions deals with migration to the United States, a process that is often very difficult and complicated. The questions ask about your migration to the U.S., who was involved, and how it was arranged.

This section, administered to foreign-born respondents only, attempts to identify basic migration profiles and potential situations of debt bondage associated with migration. The prevalence of "segmented" and "irregular" migration makes gathering reliable data on migration difficult. In order to promote consistency in interpretation, a three-month threshold is used to distinguish between temporary stays in different countries in the course of migration from "residence" in a country.

Debt bondage (or bonded labor) is a form of coercion used to extract labor or services from a person. Labor or services are demanded as a means of repayment for a loan or service in which its terms and conditions have not been defined or in which the value of the victims' services as reasonably assessed is not applied toward the liquidation of the debt. The value of their work is greater than the original sum of money "borrowed." Victims of trafficking are often subjected to debt bondage in the context of paying off transportation fees into destination countries.

3a. Can you tell me what country you lived in–for at least 3 months–before you last came to the U.S.? [*INTERVIEWER: If client has come to the U.S. more than once, probe to make sure client refers to place of residence before his/her most recent period of residence]* _____
This item is looking for the respondent's country of residence prior to his/her arrival in the United States. Sometimes migrants are unexpectedly forced to stay in a place *en route* to their destination. To promote consistency, probe to make sure the response refers to the last place the respondent lived–for at least three months–before arriving in the U.S. and beginning his/her most recent period of residence in the U.S.

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3b. In what year did you last come to the U.S.? _ _ _ _ (YYYY) [*INTERVIEWER: Probe to make sure client refers to the start of residence in the U.S. and not returns from trips abroad lasting less than 3 months]*

→ If you don't know exactly when, approximately how long have you been here [*check one*]?

☐ Less than 1 year ☐ 1 year ☐ 2 years ☐ 3 years ☐ 4 years ☐ 5 years

☐ More than 5 but less than 10 years ☐ More than 10 years

This item is asking how long the respondent has resided in the U.S. Do not include returns from brief travel abroad (i.e., round-trip travel from the U.S. lasting less than three months).

3c. Was anyone else involved in organizing your migration?

☐ No

☐ Yes → Can you tell me who and how they were involved?

This item refers to any outside involvement in any aspect of migration, on the departure or arrival side, for example, transportation, lodging in transit or at the destination point, document preparation, social networking, job searching or placement, education planning, etc. Those involved should fall into one of the following basic categories: family/personal contacts or private/commercial contacts. They may be based inside the U.S. or abroad.

3d. Can you tell me the total cost (approximately) of your migration and what it covered (e.g., transportation such as airplane or bus tickets, documents, work placement, etc.)?

This item is looking to specify what kind of outside involvement in migration required payment. The respondent may or may not have mentioned this service in 3c above. In either case, be sure to ask this question, perhaps prefacing it by referring to the respondent's previous response (e.g., "So you mentioned that you paid the employment agency $200…").

3e. Did you (or your family) take on a debt (owe money or something else) to anyone who helped you come to the U.S.?

☐ No [*Skip to Section 4*]

☐ Yes → Do you (or your family) still have this debt—or does anyone claim you do? ☐ No ☐ Yes

INTERVIEWER: Record volunteered information here: _____

This question refers to any kind of debt, monetary or other. Often, the families of migrants, migrating children especially, assist in the financing of migration.

3f. While in the U.S., have you ever been pressured to engage in any activity you didn't want to do in order to pay back a debt related to your migration?

☐ No

☐ Yes → If you are comfortable telling me, could you describe how you were pressured and what kinds of things you were pressured to do that you didn't want to do? _____

The question is worded so as to leave room to discuss any debt or alleged debt related to migration. "To be pressured" refers to any kind or level of coercion, psychological or physical, ranging from mild to extreme. The application of such pressure typically involves a threat, promising some kind of negative retribution if the debt is not paid. Interviewers should note any threats made on the respondent.

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Section 4: Work (Foreign-born version)

INTERVIEWER READ: I'm going to ask you some (more) questions about work you've done in the U.S. and people you have worked for and with. I'm interested in any kind of work you've done, even if you weren't paid, even if it wasn't for "official" jobs in regular workplaces. Remember, everything you tell me is confidential and you do not have to answer any questions you don't want to answer.

Section 3: Work (U.S.-born version)

INTERVIEWER READ: I'm going to ask you some questions about work you've done and people you have worked for and with. I'm interested in any kind of work you've done, even if you weren't paid, even if it wasn't for "official" jobs in regular workplaces, as long as it was done in the U.S., not in a foreign country. Remember, everything you tell me is confidential and you do not have to answer any questions you don't want to answer.

This section focuses on the circumstances and conditions of work in the United States. "Work" is meant to cover both formal and informal labor arrangements. You will notice that general terms are used in place of formal and specific labels. For example, instead of saying "employer," "supervisor," "associates," or "colleagues," the term "person you worked for or with" was chosen. Interviewers should always probe to determine whether the respondent is referring to a single work scenario across the different questions or to multiple, independent scenarios involving unrelated persons.

4a. Have you ever had a job or done any kind of work in the U.S.?
☐ No *[Skip to Section 5]*
The item refers to work performed in the context of formal or informal labor arrangements.

4b. Have you ever worked (in the U.S.) without getting the payment you expected?
☐ No
☐ Yes → What kind(s) of work were you doing? _____
→ What payment did you expect and why and what did you receive? _____
If the respondent mentions more than one case, interviewers should number the different cases separately. Note that payments do not necessarily have to be cash in hand, but may be repayment of a debt, under certain terms, or something else.

4c. Have you ever worked someplace (in the U.S.) where your work was different from what you had expected?
☐ No
☐ Yes → What did you expect to do and why and what did you end up doing? _____
The term "someplace" above is meant in a general, colloquial sense, to indicate a work arrangement. It does not necessarily denote a physical location or formal "workplace."

4d. Have you ever worked in a place or with people that made you feel scared or unsafe (since you've been in the U.S.)?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you tell me what made you feel scared or unsafe?
This item attempts to capture anything in a workplace or work arrangement that caused feelings of fear or vulnerability in the respondent (e.g., conditions of the workplace or work; actions, statements, written or non-verbal messages from employers, associates, or co-workers, etc.). Examples could include incidents that caused or threatened harm to the respondent or to others. Interviewers should probe to determine whether any incidents mentioned in response to this question correspond to work arrangements discussed in previous responses, if it isn't clear.

4e. Did anyone you worked for or with (in the U.S.) ever threaten to harm you or people close to you, like family or friends?

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☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you give me some examples of the threats?

Threats of harm include all actions, statements, written or non-verbal messages conveying the intent of physical or psychological injury. Again, if it isn't clear, interviewers should probe to match up references to work arrangements mentioned in different responses.

4f. Have you ever worked in a place (in the U.S.) where you were not given breaks, for example, to eat or use the bathroom?
☐ No
☐ Yes → What if you were sick or had some kind of emergency? _____

Many workers, of course, are not given regular breaks. The second segment was added to distinguish between relatively normal work arrangements and ones that rise to the level of illegal violations.

Section 5: Working/living conditions (Foreign-born version)

INTERVIEWER READ: We are almost finished with the interview. There are just a few more questions I'd like to ask about problems you may have had in your working *or* living situation in the United States.

Section 4: Working/living conditions (U.S.-born version)

INTERVIEWER READ: We are almost finished with the interview. There are just a few more questions I'd like to ask about problems you may have had in your working *or* living situation. Again, the questions refer to experiences in the U.S.

This section attempts to identify any kind of force, fraud, or coercion in the respondent's work or living situation. It also attempts to capture any forced labor or forced commercial sexual activity, including sexual slavery, occurring in a "domestic" context, which was not revealed in the previous section on "Work." Commercial sexual activity is any sex act for which anything of value is given, promised to, or received by any person.

5a. Have you ever been in a situation while in the U.S. in which you felt you could not leave the place where you worked or lived?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you tell me why you couldn't leave? _____

This item is looking for indicators of coercion or restricted movement in the place where the respondent worked or lived. Of course, feelings that one lacks the freedom to choose where to live or work are common. It is therefore critical that interviews use the second segment of the question to ascertain whether psychological or physical coercion was used to restrict the respondent's freedom of movement.

5b. Have you ever worked or lived anywhere in the U.S. where there were locks on the doors or windows that prevented you from leaving when you wanted to? ☐ No ☐ Yes
INTERVIEWER: Record volunteered information here:

The key element of this question is that the locks in the respondent's workplace or place of residence restricted his/her ability to move at his/her will.

5c. Have you ever worked or lived anywhere in the U.S. where you were not allowed to contact your family, friends or others?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you tell me why not?

Note that this item asks about being "allowed to contact" family or friends. It implies that someone at a place of work or residence has placed restrictions on the respondent's capacity to interact with others.

5d. Has anyone in the U.S. taken and kept your identification, for example, your passport or driver's license?

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☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you get them back if you wanted? [*INTERVIEWER: Probe for detail*s]

A common means by which traffickers maintain control over their victims is by withholding their identification. Usually, traffickers tell victims they are holding these documents for "safe-keeping." The second segment of the question attempts to ascertain whether identification was taken and kept by force, essentially stolen.

5e. Have you ever worked for or lived with anyone in the U.S. who asked you to lie about your age or the type of work you did?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you explain why they asked you to lie?

In asking if the respondent can explain why, the question asks for the respondent's own understanding of the situation. Try to determine whether the respondent is uncritically repeating the explanation given to him/her.

5f. Has someone you have worked for or lived with in the U.S. ever threatened to have you deported or to report your immigration status or anything else to the police or other authorities? ☐ No ☐ Yes
[INTERVIEWER: If Yes, probe for details]:

USB/4f. 4f. Has someone you have worked for or lived with ever threatened to report you to the police or other authorities?

Coercion, as defined by the TVPA, includes "the abuse or threatened abuse of law or the legal process," and this question attempts to identify such elements of coercion. The wording of the question is altered slightly for U.S.-born respondents, removing the threat of deportation.

5g. Since you've been in the U.S., has anyone you have worked for or lived with ever tricked or forced you into doing any type of work or activity that you did not want to do?
☐ No
☐ Yes → If you are comfortable, could you please give me some examples?

This question is very broadly stated, and may result in reports of non-criminal kinds of pressure related to any kind of unpleasant, but not harmful activity. Probe to determine whether illegal kinds of pressure were applied, involving threats and coercion.

5h. Has anyone in the U.S. (not just a citizen) ever pressured you to touch another person or to engage in any kind of unwanted contact with another person?
☐ No
☐ Yes → If you are comfortable talking about it, could you tell me what happened?

Again, "to be pressured" is meant to capture any kind or level of coercion, psychological or physical, ranging from mild to extreme. The "unwanted contact" we are interested in identifying is contact of a sexual nature.

5i. Have you ever received anything of value—for example, money, housing, food, gifts, favors for others—in exchange for any type of activity involving sex? [*Interviewer: Probe to make sure the exchange occurred in the United States*]
☐ No
☐ Yes → Were you under the age of 18 when this occurred? ☐ No ☐ Yes

This item focuses specifically on commercial sexual activity. Note that commercial sexual activity need not involve the exchange of money but may feature the exchange of sex for other things of value such as housing, clothing, food, or favors for third parties. Probe to determine whether the nature of the exchange is explicit enough to be considered commercial sexual activity. Exchanges involving romantic partners, i.e., exchanges that were not strictly "commercial" in nature, should be excluded

5j. Has anyone you ever worked for or lived with in the U.S. kept money that was yours in exchange for transportation, food or rent without your prior consent to the specific amounts?
☐ No
☐ Yes → Could you describe this situation?

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This item describes another arrangement that may manifest in different ways in different contexts. In some more traditional marriages, husbands may be entrusted to manage all income. A similar practice may apply within families, where parents are trusted to manage the income of children. The second segment is intended to help distinguish between these practices and criminal activity.

Exclude question5k if the respondent is a child/minor.

5k. Was anyone you ever worked for or lived with in the U.S. responsible for providing you with food?

☐ No

☐ Yes → Did you get enough food? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Because an affirmative response to the first segment of this question will not be uncommon, the second segment becomes critical.

Exclude question5l if the respondent is a child/minor.

5l. Has anyone you ever worked for or lived with in the U.S. controlled your sleep schedule?

☐ No

☐ Yes → Did you get enough sleep? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Again, an affirmative response to the first segment of the question will not be very revealing on its own—many gainfully employed professionals would probably respond that their employers control their sleep schedules and that they are sleep-deprived. This item alone will not reveal trafficking victimization, but it may be revealing when combined with other responses.

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Appendix VI: Human Trafficking Training Guide

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Human Trafficking: A Training Guide

1. What is Trafficking?
2. Identifying Victims of Trafficking
3. Why Identify a Victim?
4. Existing Law
5. The Role of Service Providers
6. Additional Resources

1. What is Trafficking?

General Definitions

- Human trafficking is a worldwide form of exploitation affecting men, women and children.
- Trafficking is:
  - acts involved in the recruitment, abduction, transport, harboring, transfer, sale or receipt of persons;
  - within national or across international borders;
  - through force, coercion, fraud or deception;
  - to place persons in situations of slavery-like conditions, forced labor or services, such as forced prostitution or sexual services, domestic servitude, bonded sweatshop labor or other debt bondage. (*President's Interagency Council on Women,* 1995).

1. What is Trafficking?

U.S. Federal Legal Definition

- While there are multiple definitions of trafficking, the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000 (reauthorized in 2003 and 2005) provides relief to victims of "severe forms of trafficking in persons," defined as:
  - Sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion;
  - Sex trafficking in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age;
  - 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.

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1. What is Trafficking?

Smuggling versus Trafficking

- Smuggling:
  - A fee for service arrangement for transportation across national borders
  - Consensual
  - Force, fraud or coercion not necessary
  - A dangerous method of travel
  - Smuggling is a crime against a country, a smuggled person is breaking the law
- Trafficking:
  - Use of force, fraud or coercion to induce commercial sex acts or labor or services
  - Geographic movement is NOT required
  - Crime against a person – the trafficker has broken the law, while the victim has not
  - Not about the movement across borders, but the inducement of commercial sex acts or labor through force, fraud or coercion.

1. What is Trafficking?

Smuggling versus Trafficking

- Overlap:
  - Being smuggled into the U.S. does not necessarily lead to trafficking, but it does not preclude it either.
  - Grey Area Situations:
    - "Consent" obtained through deception or false promises, victim seasoned or led to believe he or she is "consenting"
    - "Victimization" takes place outside the U.S., not technically trafficking under the TVPA
    - Debt payment arrangements where the smuggler is no longer in the U.S., but the relationship between the smuggler and person smuggled continues
  - Important to explore whether the smugglers engaged in any behavior that would make them "traffickers," or whether any acts occurred after entry to the U.S. which fall within the definition of the TVPA.

1. What is Trafficking?

How Many People Are Trafficked?

- Current estimates of global human trafficking are questionable, and better data and reporting are needed. (*GAO Report to the Chairman, July 2006*).
- Latest numbers cited by the U.S. State Dept.:
  - 800,000 persons are trafficked across national borders annually
  - Approximately 80% of transnational victims are women and girls
  - Up to 50% of transnational victims are minors

(*U.S. State Dept., TIP Report 2008*)

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2. Identifying Victims of Trafficking

Who Can Be Victims of Human Trafficking?

- Men, women, and children, regardless of age or nationality
- Foreign-born and US-born individuals
- Trafficking does NOT require transportation across state or national borders.
- Multiple modes of recruitment across socio-economic lines

2. Identifying Victims of Trafficking

What is Known About Victims of Human Trafficking?

- Most victims of trafficking have not self-identified.
- Many known trafficking cases have initially presented themselves as domestic violence, sexual abuse, or prostitution, or cases involving labor law or immigration law violations.
- Identified by local, state and federal law enforcement as well as social service providers.
- Still very little is known about victim characteristics

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2. Identifying Victims of Trafficking

Victims of Sex Trafficking as Defined by the TVPA:

- Under the TVPA, victims of "severe forms of trafficking in persons" include:
  - Adults:
    - Sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud or coercion;
  - Minors:
    - Sex trafficking in which the person induced to perform a commercial sex act has not attained 18 years of age.
      - Thus, with minors, no separate proof of force, fraud or coercion is needed.
- Definitions:
  - *Sex Trafficking*: the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the person of a commercial sex act.
  - *Commercial Sex Act*: any sex on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person.

2. Identifying Victims of Trafficking

Victims of Trafficking for Forced Labor or Services as Defined by the TVPA

- Under the TVPA, "severe forms of trafficking in persons" includes:
  - 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.
- Definitions:
  - *Debt Bondage*: the status of a debtor arising from the debtor's pledge of his or her personal services or the services of a person under the debtor's control as a security for debt, if the value of those services is not applied to satisfy the debt or if the length and nature of the services are not appropriately limited and defined.
  - *Involuntary Servitude*: a condition of servitude induced by causing a person to believe that he or she or another person would be seriously harmed, physically restrained, or subjected to abuse or threatened abuse of legal process if the person did not enter into or remain in the servitude.
  - *Peonage*: status or condition of involuntary servitude based upon real or alleged indebtedness.

2. Identifying Victims of Trafficking

What is Coercion?

- Coercion is a potential element of sex trafficking of adults and of trafficking for labor or services.
- Coercion Defined:
  - threats of serious harm to physical restraint against any person; any scheme intended to cause a person to believe that failure to perform an act would result in serious harm to or physical restraint against any person; or the abuse or threatened abuse of the legal process.
- Broad Interpretations of Coercion:
  - Includes psychological coercion as well as threats to loved ones or family in the victim's home country.

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2. Identifying Victims of Trafficking

Who Identifies Victims?

- Social and Legal Service Providers
- Local Law Enforcement
- State or Federal Law Enforcement

2. Identifying Victims of Trafficking

Discovery of a Victim By Service Organizations

- Reasons a victim may initially approach a community-based organization or service provider:
  - Victim seeks language specific services
  - Victim has heard about the organization through word-of-mouth
  - Victim is already receiving health or other services from the organization
  - Fear of law enforcement based on immigration status or role of law enforcement in home country

2. Identifying Victims of Trafficking

Once Identification of a Victim Takes Place

- Once the victim has been identified and is safe and secure, the identifying service agency should contact either law enforcement, a prosecutor's office, or an organization that specializes in services to victims of human trafficking.
- Victims require legal representation, and may require translation services, medical attention, shelter, and counseling.

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2. Identifying Victims of Trafficking

Common Industries in which Victims Are Found:

- Adult and Teenage Prostitution
- "Exotic" Dancing
- Massage Parlors
- Agriculture
- Construction
- Restaurant/Hotel
- Domestic Service
- Panhandling

2. Identifying Victims of Trafficking

Examples From *NYC Anti-Trafficking Network: Identification and Legal Advocacy for Trafficking Victims, 2005*.

- Adolescent girls in a Latin American country are told by a trafficker that they would have better opportunities and be reunited with family if they traveled to the United States. Once they arrive, the girls are placed by the trafficker into sex work.
- An adult woman enters the United States from Mexico with her boyfriend seeking job opportunities. Once here, he assaults her, forces her to work in a brothel, takes her wages, and threatens to harm her if she escapes.
- A 16-year-old male in China is recruited to work in a restaurant in the United States, and told that he will have to pay a balance of $20,000 once he arrives. He is brought to San Francisco, and forced to work seven days a week, fourteen hours a day for the traffickers, who keep his salary and threaten both him and his family back in China if he does not comply.
- An adult woman was brought to the U.S. from India as a nanny. She is forced to work 15-17 hours a day, paid less than the agreed-upon wage, and her passport is confiscated.

2. Identifying Victims of Trafficking

Potential Barriers to Reaching Victims

- Language and cultural barriers: victims speak many languages, and may also be unfamiliar with U.S. culture or interviewing techniques;
- Fear of authorities and/or of deportation; difficult to establish trust with service providers
- Many are unaware that what is being done to them is a crime;
- Fear for the safety/financial situation of their family back home;
- Prior conditioning – victim claims or in fact believes not to be a victim of trafficking.

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3. Why Identify a Victim?
4. Existing Law
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3. Why Identify a Victim?

Reasons for Identifying Victims

- Health and Safety of the Victim
  - Protecting the victim's health and safety
  - Removing victim from dangerous and exploitative situations
- Immigration Benefits and Social Services
  - Immigration benefits under the TVPA
    - Continued Presence
    - T-Visa
  - Social/Legal Services
    - Legal representation, needed medical and other services
- Assessing Victims' Interests
  - Some victims wish to return to their home country, but lack proper documentation or means of travel.
- Prosecution of traffickers and prevention of future occurrences

3. Why Identify a Victim?

Immigration Benefits Under the TVPA

- Continued Presence (CP)
  - For people without legal immigration status, provides temporary status and work authorization for one-year increments.
  - Often, investigations by law enforcement are lengthy and thus CP ensures law enforcement of the victim's availability to participate in the prosecution of traffickers.
  - Requires only that the victim be a *potential* witness.
  - ORR automatically certifies a victim of a severe form of human trafficking who has received CP.
  - ONLY federal law enforcement agents may initiate the CP process, but state and local law enforcement can partner with federal law enforcement and request that the federal agent apply for CP on behalf of the victim.

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3. Why Identify a Victim?

Immigration Benefits Under the TVPA

- The T-Visa
  - Established by the TVPA, this visa provides immigration relief to foreign nationals trafficked into the U.S.
  - Funding available to victims of trafficking for services.
  - If certified under this process, the visa grants the victim permission to remain in the US and to obtain employment authorization for three years, after which the victim is eligible to petition for permanent residency (*NYC Anti-Trafficking Network: Identification and Legal Advocacy for Trafficking Victims, 2005*).
  - ORR victim certification can also be received by showing that T-Visa application has been filed.

3. Why Identify a Victim?

The T-Visa: Eligibility

- To be eligible for the T-Visa, Victims must:
  - Be a victim of "severe forms of trafficking in persons" as defined by the TVPA.
  - Demonstrate physical presence in the U.S. "on account of trafficking."
    - Current understanding is that an applicant is considered present "on account of" trafficking if he or she is currently held or recently liberated from trafficking situations (*NYC Anti-Trafficking Network: Identification and Legal Advocacy for Trafficking Victims, 2005*).
  - Comply with any reasonable request to assist law enforcement
  - Suffer extreme hardship upon removal involving unusual and severe harm.

3. Why Identify a Victim?

Domestic Victims

- Immigration benefits do not apply to U.S.-citizen victims of trafficking
- Social service and medical benefits are not received through ORR victim certification process, but can be obtained through other means.

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2. Identifying Victims of Trafficking
3. Why Identify a Victim?
4. Existing Law
5. The Role of Service Providers
6. Additional Resources

4. Existing Law

Relevant Federal Laws

- **TVPA**
  - In addition to the immigration relief and services provided to victims under the act, the TVPA criminalizes a wide range of conduct not previously able to be prosecuted federally.
  - Furthermore, the Act provides incentives to source countries to strengthen anti-trafficking efforts.
  - The TVPA incorporates victim advocates and service providers into the law enforcement process.
- **The Mann Act**
  - Criminalizes the transportation of women across state lines for purposes of prostitution.
- **Federal Labor Laws**
  - Laws against indentured servitude (18 U.S.C. §§ 1583-84), the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), and the Migrant Seasonal Agricultural Worker Protection Act (MSPA).

4. Existing Law

New York State Law

- The New York State Anti-Trafficking Law took effect November 1, 2007.
- "Labor Trafficking" was created as a class D felony, with a maximum sentence of 7 years imprisonment
- "Sex Trafficking" was created a class B felony, with a maximum sentence of 25 years imprisonment
- The law provides "Service for Victims of Human Trafficking," coordinated by the Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance (OTDA)
- Process of determining eligibility for services is called "confirmation"
- With "confirmation," victims are entitled to benefits and services from the state

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3. Why Identify a Victim?
4. Existing Law
5. The Role of Service Providers
6. Additional Resources

6. Additional Resources

Organizations and Offices to Contact

- Vera Institute of Justice (New York City Trafficking Assessment Project)
- Safe Horizon (Public Benefits and Assistance for Trafficking Victims)
- U.S. Attorney's Office – E.D.N.Y. and S.D.N.Y.
- Department Of Justice
- NYPD

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Appendix VII: Statutory Components of Federal, State, and International Antitrafficking Legislation

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Appendix VII: Statutory Components of Federal, State, and International Anti-trafficking Legislation

Human Trafficking: Statutory Components	[1] United States Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA)	[2] New York State Anti-trafficking Law	[3] United Nations Palermo Protocol
I. Suspect Activity	§103(8)(A): "sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by...or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age"; (B) "the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services..."	§135.35:when a person "compels or induces another person to engage in labor, or recruits, entices, harbors, or transports such other person by…"; §230.34: when a person "intentionally advances or profits from prostitution by…"	Art. 3(a): "...the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by…"
1. Sex trafficking	§103(9): the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act.	§230.34: when a person "intentionally advances or profits from prostitution by…"	NA
2. Commercial sex act	§112(A): any sex act, on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person.	NA	NA
3. Recruitment of person	§103(8)(B)	§135.35	Art. 3(a)
4. Harboring of person	§103(8)(B)	§135.35	Art. 3(a)
5. Transportation of person	§103(8)(B)	§135.35	Art. 3(a)
6. Provision of person	§103(8)(B)	NA	NA
7. Obtaining of person	§103(8)(B)	NA	NA
8. Compulsion of person to engage in labor	NA	§135.35	NA
9. Inducement of person to engage in labor	NA	§135.35	NA
10. Enticement of person	NA	§135.35	NA
11. Intentionally advancing prostitution	NA	§230.34	NA
12. Profiting from prostitution	NA	§230.34	NA
13. Transfer of person	NA	NA	Art. 3(a)
14. Receipt of person	NA	NA	Art. 3(a)
Ia. Suspect Activity Involving Children ("means" are irrelevant)	§112(A): sex trafficking in which the person induced to perform a commerical sex act (defined above) has not attained 18 years of age.	NA	Art. 3[c]: The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered "trafficking in persons" even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subpara. (a) of this article; (d) "Child" shall mean any person under 18 years of age.

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Human Trafficking: Statutory Components	[1] United States Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA)	[2] New York State Anti-trafficking Law	[3] United Nations Palermo Protocol
II. Suspect Means	§103(8): ...force, fraud, or coercion…	§135.35: (1) providing the victim w/certain drugs; (2) requiring servicing of a debt that is caused by a course of conduct, w/intent to defraud such person; (3) withholding or destroying government identification documents; (4) using force or engaging in any scheme, plan or pattern to compel or induce such person to engage in labor activity by making that person fearful of 1 of 7 actions or consequences... §230.34: §135.35(1); (2) making material false statements; (3) §135.35(3); (4) requiring repayment of a debt; (5) using force or engaging in any scheme, plan or pattern to compel or induce such person to engage in labor activity by making that person fearful of 1 of 8 actions or consequences...	...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 or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person...
1. Force	Not defined by statute. CJS states that depending on the circumstances, "force" has been held equivalent to or synonymous with "coercion," "compulsion," "constraint," and "restraint." CJS also states that the word "force" does not always imply the use of actual, active, physical force or violence, but rather can include threats.	NA	NA
2. Fraud	Not defined by statute. CJS states that "fraud" is a generic term which embraces all the multifarious means which human ingenuity can devise and are resorted to by one individual to gain an advantage over another by false suggestions or by suppression of the truth. CJS also states that in its legal sense, "fraud" is defined as an intentional perversion of truth for the purpose of inducing another in reliance upon it to part with the valuable thing belonging to him or to surrender a legal right."	NA	NA

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Human Trafficking: Statutory Components	[1] United States Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA)	[2] New York State Anti-trafficking Law	[3] United Nations Palermo Protocol
3. Coercion	§112(a)(2): threats of serious harm to or physical restraint against any person; any scheme, plan, or pattern intended to cause a person to believe that failure to perform an act would result in serious harm to or physical restraint against any person; or the abuse or threatened abuse of law or the legal process.	NA	NA
4. Providing victim w/certain drugs	NA	§135.35(1): Unlawfully providing a controlled substance to such person with intent to impair said person's judgement; / §230.34(1): Unlawfully provideing to a person who is patronized, with intent to impair said person's judgment: (a) a narcotic drug or a narcotic preparation; (b) concentrated cannabis; (c) methadone; (d) GHB or flunitrazepan	NA
5. Requiring servicing of a debt caused by a course of conduct with intent to defraud such person	NA	§135.35(2): Requiring that labor be performed to retire, repay, or service a real or purported debt that the actor has caused by a systematic ongoing course of conduct with intent to defraud such person	NA
6. Withholding or destroying government identification documents	NA	§135.35(3) & §230.34(3): Withholding, destroying, or confiscating any actual or purported passport, immigration document, or any actual or purported government identification document, of another person with the intent to impair said person's freedom of movement; provided, however, that this subdivision shall not apply to an attempt to correct a social security administration record or immigration agency record in accordance with any local, state, or federal agency requirement, where such attempt is not made for the purpose of any express or implied threat	NA

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Human Trafficking: Statutory Components	[1] United States Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA)	[2] New York State Anti-trafficking Law	[3] United Nations Palermo Protocol
7. Using force to engage in any scheme, plan or pattern to compel or induce such person to engage in labor activity by making that person fearful of 1 of 7 actions or consequences against him/her	NA	§135.35(4)(a) cause physical injury, serious physical injury, or death to a person; or (b) cause damage to property, other than the property of the actor; [c] engage in other conduct constituting a felony or unlawful imprisonment in the 2nd degree in violation of §135.05; or (d) accuse some person of a crime or cause criminal charges or deportation proceedings to be instituted against such person; (e) expose a secret or publicize an asserted fact, whether true or false, tending to subject some person to hatred, contempt or ridicule; or (f) testify or provide information or withhold testimony or information with respect to another's legal claim or defense; or (g) use or abuse of his/her position as a public servant by performing some act within or related to his/her official duties, or by failing or refusing to perform an official duty, in such manner as to affect some person adversely.	NA
8. Making material false statements	NA	§230.34(2) / §230.34(2)	NA
9. Requiring repayment of a debt	NA	§230.34(4)	NA
10. Using force to engage in any scheme, plan or pattern to compel or induce such person to engage in prostitution by making that person fearful of 1 of 8 actions or consequences against him/her	NA	§230.34(5): same as §135.35(4), plus (h) perform any other act which would not in itself materially benefit the actor but which is calculated to harm the person who is patronized materially with respect to his/her health, safety, or immigration status	NA
11. Threat of force	NA	NA	Art. 3(a)
12. Threat of coercion	NA	NA	Art. 3(a)
13. Abduction	NA	NA	Art. 3(a)
14. Deception	NA	NA	Art. 3(a)
15. Abuse of power	NA	NA	Art. 3(a)
16. Abuse of position of vulnerability	NA	NA	Art. 3(a)
17. Giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve consent of a person having control over potential victims	NA	NA	Art. 3(a)

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III. Suspect Purpose			
1. Commercial sex act	§112(A) (defined above)	NA	NA
2. Subjection to involuntary servitude	§103(5): a condition of servitude induced by means of "coercion" (defined above)	NA	NA
3. Subjection to peonage	*defined in case law as "a status or condition of compulsory service or involuntary servitude based upon a real or alleged indebtedness." See Pierce v. US*	NA	NA
4. Subjection to debt bondage	§103(4): the status or condition of a debtor arising from a pledge by the debtor of his or her personal services or of those of a person under his or her control as a security for debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied toward the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined.	NA	NA
5. Subjection to slavery	*not defined by statute*	NA	NA
6. Compulsion of labor	NA	§135.35	NA
7. Induction of labor	NA	§135.35	NA
8. Advancement of prostitution	NA	§230.34	NA
9. Profit from prostitution	NA	§230.34	NA
10. Exploitation	NA	NA	Art. 3(a): 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;

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Appendix VIII: The NYCTAP Tool and Prior Victim Screening Guides: A Question-by-Question Comparison

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Appendix VIII: The NYCTAP Tool and Prior Victim Screening Guides: A Question-by-Question Comparison

[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
NYCTAP Screening Tool	**Rescue and Restore Victims of Human Trafficking (ACF)**	**Handbook on Direct Assistance for Victims of Trafficking (IOM)**	**Brief Manual for Service Providers Working with Survivors of Trafficking (Project Reach)**	**Identification and Legal Advocacy for Trafficking Victims (NYC Anti-trafficking Network)**
Section 3: Migration				
3a. What country did you live in-for at least 3 months-before coming to the US?		Did individual spend any time in transit in 3rd countries? If so, did victim engage in any activity in these countries? What type?		Were you in any other countries prior to your arrival here?
3b. In what year did you last come to the US?				
3c. Was anyone else involved in organizing your migration?		Recruitment: how was contact initiated?	How did you get to the US? Did someone help you?	Who organized your travel?
3d. Can you tell me the total cost (approx) of your migration and what it covered?		Was any money handed to recruiter in advance?		Was anyone paid to bring you to the US? Was a fee paid to organize your travels?
3e. Did you (or your family) take on a debt to anyone who helped you come to the US?		Who paid travel expenses? Was alleged victim made to repay a debt by traffickers and accomplices? If so, how much and for what?	Did you owe money for your trip?	Were you expected to pay off a loan of any kind (i.e. debt bondage)?
3f. Have you ever been pressured to engage in any activity you didn't want to do in order to pay back a debt related to your migration?			Did you owe money to your boss or anyone else?	
3f(1) Could you describe how you were pressured and what kinds of things you were pressured to do that you didn't want to do?				
Section 4: Work				
4a. Have you ever had a job or done any kind of work in the US?		What activity has individual been engaged in since arriving at final destination?		
4b. Have you ever worked without getting the payment you expected?		How much money did individual earn through this activity?	What kind of work did you do? Were you paid? Regularly? How much? Did you boss hold your money?	How much money was promised to you and by whom?
4b(1) What kind(s) of work were you doing?				
4b(2) What payment did you expect and why, and what did you receive?		Promised/expected job, wages & conditions promised/indicated?		
4c. Have you ever worked someplace where your work was different from what you had expected?				

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4c(1) What did you expect to do and why, and what did you end up doing?		Conditions promised/indicated?	What did you think you were going to be doing?	What were you told about the kind of job/situation that was offered to you? Who offered you the job? What was the type of work you were expected to do? Were the conditions and type of work the same as what you expected? What were the hours/days of your work?
4d. Have you ever worked in a place or with people that made you feel scared or unsafe?			Did you feel scared? Did you see anyone else get hurt?	Are you currently fearful for your own, or anyone else's, safety?
4d(1) Could you tell me what made you feel scared or unsafe?				
4e. Did anyone you worked for or with ever threaten to harm you or people close to you, like family or friends?	Have you been threatened if you try to leave? Has anyone threatened your family?		Did your boss or anyone else threaten to hurt you or your family? Did your boss or anyone else hurt you?	Were you threatened with harm at any time (before you left, in transit, upon arrival)? Have you experienced…physical coercion such as: physical violence, threats of violence, torture /beatings? Threats of violence against you or your family, friends? Abuse of others in front of you? Threats of isolation?
4e(1) Could you give me some examples of the threats?				
4f. Did you ever work in a place where you were not given breaks, for example, to eat or use the bathroom?	Do you have to ask permission to eat, sleep or go to the bathroom?			Were you allowed time off? Allowed to rest if sick?
Section 5: Working/Living Conditions	*What are your working or living conditions like?*	*What were working conditions like?*		
5a. Have you ever been in a situation while in the US in which you felt you could not leave the place where you worked or lived?	Can you leave your job or situation if you want? Can you come and go as you please? Have you been threatened if you try to leave?	What degree of freedom of choice and movement did individual have?	Could you come and go as you pleased? Could you leave if you want to?	Were you living and working at the same place? Could you leave? Were you able to quit work and work somewhere else?
5a(1) Could you tell me why you couldn't leave?				
5b. Have you ever worked or lived anywhere in the US where there were locks on the doors or windows that prevented you from leaving when you wanted to?	Are there locks on your doors and windows so you cannot get out?		Were there usually people around, watching you?	Isolation/imprisonment/incarceration?
5c. Have you ever worked or lived anywhere in the US where you were not allowed to contact your family, friends, or others?			Were you free to contact your family? Were you allowed to make friends?	Were you allowed to communicate with family members? Friends? Other workers?

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5d. Has anyone in the US taken and kept your identification, for example, your passport or drivers license?	Has your identification or documentation been taken from you?	With whom are the documents now?	Did you have your documents? Did someone hold them?	Were you always in possession of your documents? If no, who took them and how long did they keep them? What happened to your documents and belongings upon arrival?
5d(1) Could you get them back if you wanted?				
5e. Have you ever worked for or lived with anyone in the US who asked you to lie about your age or the type of work you did?				Were you told what to say to immigration officials?
5f. Has anyone you have worked for or lived with in the US ever threatened to have you deported or to report your immigration status or anything else to the police or other authorities?			Did your boss or anyone else threaten to report you to the authorities?	Threats to report you to authorities, arrange deportation?
5g. Since you've been in the US, has anyone you have worked for or lived with ever tricked or forced you into doing any type of work or activity that you did not want to do?	Is anyone forcing you to do anything that you do not want to do?			
5g(1) If you are comfortable telling me, could you please give me some examples?				
5h. Has anyone in the US (not just a citizen) ever pressured you to touch another person or to engage in any kind of unwanted contact with another person?		Was individual coerced into engaging in any activity? If so, how?		Sexual abuse, harassment?
5i. Have you ever received anything of value--for example, money housing, food, gifts, favors for others--in exchange for any type of activity involving sex?				
5i(1) Were you under the age of 18 when this occurred?				
5j. Has anyone you ever worked for or lived with in the US kept money that was yours in exchange for transportation, food or rent without your prior consent to the specific amounts?		Was individual allowed to keep earnings?		
5j(1) Could you describe this situation?				

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5k. Was anyone you ever worked for or lived with in the US responsible for providing you with food?	Where do you sleep and eat?			
5k(1) Did you get enough food?	Have you ever been deprived of food, water, sleep or medical care?			Denial of food, clothes, or other necessities?
5l. Has anyone you ever worked for or lived with in the US with controlled your sleep schedule?	Where do you sleep and eat?			
5l(1) Did you get enough sleep?	Have you ever been deprived of food, water, sleep or medical care?			Denial of food, clothes, or other necessities?
Questions not in NYCTAP screening tool	Have you been physically harmed in any way? Do you sleep in a bed, on a cot or on the floor?	Was individual transported by force out of country or origin or to another location inside the country to be exploited? Any borders crossed, clandestinely or openly? If openly, were documents used to gain entry? How soon after arrival did activity begin?		Did you sign a contract? If yes, where is it? What were the terms of the contract? What kind of visa or other documents were promised to you? Were you sold? Were you kidnapped? How were you brought to the US? Were you informed of this method before you left? Who accompanied you? If there were other people, do you know what happpend to them? Where did you stay upon arrival? Were you able to attend religious, cultural, or educational programs? denial of medical care? Psychological coercion? Deceit? Verbal abuse, degrading remarks? Speak in language you didn't understand? Do you know the current location of the traffickers? What would happen to you if you were to return home?