

NEWS COVERAGE OF SEX TRAFFICKING IN THE US:
THE PORTRAYAL OF SEX TRAFFICKERS

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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Title: News Coverage of Sex Trafficking in the US: The Portrayal of Sex Traffickers

This thesis is a content analysis of news about sex trafficking published in the US from 2001 to 2013. The focus of the research is the portrayal of sex traffickers in the news. The project discovered that in the news, the public image of sex traffickers is overwhelmingly people of color who are described to be violent, deceptive and forcible. In addition, sex traffickers are portrayed to make sense of the simplistic representation of powerless female trafficking victims. The portrayal of sex traffickers in the news is simplistic and is driven by the state's response to sex trafficking: punishment of sex traffickers.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. Human trafficking is slavery.
2. It's happening where you live.
3. It's happening to people just like you.
4. Products you eat, wear, and use every day may have been made by human trafficking victims.
5. We can stop human trafficking in our lifetime.

(Kloer, 2011)

Justification

The overarching emotion that messages like the text above published on the website of the CNN Freedom Project (Kloer, 2011) evoke about human trafficking is straightforward: fear. Beside the shame that we somehow allow “slavery” to happen in our “civilized” society and the guilt that we may be benefiting from the practice, we seem most concerned by the insecurity and fear that we or our loved ones may fall victim to human trafficking. This fear is evident when I participate in events in which trafficking survivors talk about their experience, or when I talk to my own friends and family about human trafficking. Fathers and mothers immediately think about how to protect their daughters from unknown traffickers, who are out there, somewhere, waiting to prey on their victims. Then, fear turns to hatred when sex traffickers’ faces are identified in the news. Terrified by their cruelty, violence and inhumane practices, everyone wants to get rid of them and to see them punished and locked up.

As the result, the fight against human trafficking is the fight against traffickers. Evidently, the international combat against human trafficking began with framing human

trafficking as transnational organized crime. The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children¹ was passed in 2000. As part of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime 2000, the Protocol frames human trafficking to be a “transnational organized crime”, meaning that human trafficking happens across country borders, that human trafficking is committed by organized networks, and that human trafficking is a criminal issue. Also in 2000, the Trafficking Victim Protection Act (TVPA) was passed in the US. This legal document provides a set of minimum standards to fight human trafficking against which other countries’ efforts to fight against human trafficking are evaluated in the Department of States’ annual Trafficking in Persons Report. As shown in the following quote (emphasis added) from the section Minimum Standards for the Elimination of Trafficking in Persons in the TVPA 2000, three out of the four evaluating criteria are related to commitment to punish traffickers, the indicators of which are government’s demonstrated efforts to investigate and prosecute traffickers.

(A) Minimum standards for purposes of this chapter, the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking applicable to the government of a country of origin, transit, or destination for victims of severe forms of trafficking are the following:

(1) The government of the country should prohibit severe forms of trafficking in persons and *punish acts of such trafficking*.

(2) For the knowing commission of any act of sex trafficking involving force, fraud, coercion, or in which the victim of sex trafficking is a child incapable of giving meaningful consent, or of trafficking which includes

¹ This is an optional protocol of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime in 2000. The other optional protocols are Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime

rape or kidnapping or which causes a death, the government of the country should *prescribe punishment commensurate with that for grave crimes, such as forcible sexual assault.*

(3) For the knowing commission of any act of a severe form of trafficking in persons, the government of the country should *prescribe punishment that is sufficiently stringent to deter and that adequately reflects the heinous nature of the offense.*

(4) The government of the country should make serious and sustained efforts to eliminate severe forms of trafficking in persons.

The efforts to prosecute and punish human traffickers are made known to the public, nationally and internationally, mainly through the mass media. Media reports of traffickers' convictions are encouraged to "tell the truth" and to be "accurate and objective and, above all, fair ("How the Media Reports on Human Trafficking," n.d.). The United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking, known as UN.GIFT.HUB, in its guideline for media participation in fighting against human trafficking, states that the goal of media participation is to make the reality of human trafficking known "in human terms and in all its painful detail" ("How the Media Reports on Human Trafficking," n.d.). This is an important message because it signals a selecting and filtering process, aligning with which media will frame the "truth" about human trafficking and about traffickers as pains and pain makers.

UN.GIFT.HUB's guidelines call the media to target traffickers: raising public awareness about the problem to create necessary public pressure on prosecuting traffickers, "sham[ing] the perpetrator" and "identify[ing] and photograph traffickers" ("How the Media Reports on Human Trafficking," n.d.). This guideline reflects what Ericson and other authors (Ericson, Baranek and Chan, 1987) discuss about journalism's role: "The defining characteristic of journalism is that it visualizes deviance and control

as these relate to visions of social order and change” (page 8). Visualizing deviance is to draw a line between the “good” and the “bad” in order to “control” what the society should look like. While negative sentiment against the idea of “selling humans” is universal, at least at a discursive level, the perception of what constitutes the act of “selling people” is not universal. What exactly human trafficking is and why human trafficking is a deviance are different from time to time and from place to place. It is important to realize that the representation of deviance such as human trafficking in the news is, at the least, a product of social reaction and social control and therefore should be analyzed critically.

In fact, this is not the first time that the representation of human trafficking calls for critique. Many scholars and activists have been especially critical about the representation of and discourse about human trafficking for sexual exploitation (or sex trafficking). Studying sex trafficking in the news is not new either, although the approaches vary. Some scholars treat media content as discourse while some treat it as an unbiased source of facts. Some study news clips while others focus on specific genres such as journalistic investigation. What follows is a review of studies on sex trafficking in the news.

Simões and Peça (2009) conduct an analysis of news content to examine the discourse on sex trafficking mainstreamed in the Portuguese press. The quantitative analysis is carried out on 194 news articles and the qualitative analysis on 110 articles covering prostitution and sex trafficking topics and published over a 14-month period in 2007 and 2008. The authors find out that news coverage of prostitution demonstrates an excessive level of control exercised by executive forces (police and security) in terms of

representation of prostitution. In police and security forces' discourse, prostitution is presented as a well-paid work choice made by women who are capable of making decisions regarding their employment. Because prostitution is illegal employment in Portugal, prostitutes are represented in association with illegality and state officials are represented as the heroes who discover and remove the problem. It is interesting that the use of the controversial concept of "choice" in prostitution, in this context, is to frame prostitutes as social evils. On the contrary, in pro-sex work discourse, "choice" is used to illustrate the exercising of agency. In the anti-prostitution and anti-human trafficking discourse, the absence of choice is an indicator of human trafficking. In the next chapter, the discussion on choice will be discussed in more detail.

Based on their data set on sex trafficking, the authors draw conclusions on how news coverage of sex trafficking highlights the power of the criminal justice system that are in control of illicit activities. First, while state officials are given "an included and active role in the discourse," dealers and pimps are alienated as being essentially different (as deviant) from those who do not commit those illicit acts of trafficking women. Second, their portraits are painted without their participation and after being identified as a suspect by legal officials, the authors point out. Similarly, victims of trafficking do not have a voice in the press' discourse about their plights. As victims, their capacities and agencies are necessarily silenced in the press.

Simões and Peça (2009) also discover that foreign factors are often made known such as the nationality of victims. Interestingly, details about Portuguese nationality are more explicit in the news covering trafficking than those covering prostitution. It is explained that prostitution, with its implications about degradation of moral values, is

preferred to be associated with “the other,” while in the event of cross-border human trafficking, such degradation is excused because the women do not actively seek to become prostitutes. In the final component of the research, the discourse analysis of 110 headlines, Simões and Peça (2009) find that the most prominent attribute of news – the headline - is given to portraying the “other” as being astray from moral values and norms by their involvement in both trafficking and prostitution. At the same time, again, in the same line, they are suppressed under the force of policing institutions.

The research draws correlations between the representation of the practices of prostitution and trafficking, and the portrayal of executive institutions. The observation of the representation of “the other” confirms the importance of the awareness in studying power relations between “us” and “the other” in discourse about deviance. Moreover, it reveals interesting racial and ethnic aspects (of prostitutes and trafficking victims) in the discourse about sex trafficking and prostitution in addition to ones on gender and sexuality. Other findings include the discovery that street prostitution receives the least coverage. Instead, indoor prostitution activities, such as massage parlors and brothels, receive more media attention, and that clients of prostitution are often absent in the news.

Gulati (2010) conducted content analysis of news covering human trafficking topics published in the US, Britain and Canada. From the outset, he shares certain findings with Simões and Peça (2009), especially the monopolization of official institutions’ voices over the mainstream discourse and the strong emphasis placed on the criminal nature of the practice. Methodologically, the research is done with 837 articles collected from six newspapers from the three countries via Lexis-Nexis database. In order to answer the question about whether the news coverage of human trafficking in these

countries reflect the existing diversity of ideological perspectives on the issue, the study focuses on four main themes which include issue focus (i.e. sex trafficking or other forms), sources used (i.e. official sources, NGOs, activists, victims, traffickers), representation of causes (i.e. criminal activities or victims' social economic wellbeing) and solutions. Although there are more or less variations among news coverage in three countries, generally the research findings show that:

- News on human trafficking reports more sex trafficking cases.
- News mainly relies on official sources such as the police for information.

Opinions of other actors such as non-governmental organizations, activists, lawyers are often quoted.

- The voice of trafficking victims or traffickers seldom appears in the news.

Neither do alternative opinions on human trafficking such as those of pro-sex workers' right activists. In other words, news coverage on human trafficking incorporates mainly the discourse of the states and neo-abolitionism.

- Finally, the presentation of causes and solutions are framed in accordance with the prosecuting approach toward human trafficking, meaning organized criminal activities represented as the main cause and therefore prioritizing the solution of reinforcing laws and policies to suppress and punish the crime.

In a study by Marchionni (2012), the issue of how news coverage of human trafficking is framed by governmental political agenda is raised again. His study delivers similar findings, notably the strong political drive of the US Government in its prioritizing of sex trafficking over other forms of trafficking, especially under the Bush Administration from 2001 to 2009. Marchionni conducted a content analysis of 266 news

articles produced by four newspapers in the US and Britain from 2002 to 2006. His data shows that during the time of research, sex trafficking dominated the news coverage of four major newspapers in two countries.

The author concludes that the US government has an overwhelming influence on the media agenda for reporting about human trafficking. Although the study provides meaningful insight into the correlation between the US agenda to combat human trafficking and how human trafficking was covered in the press, it is less convincing to conclude that the US government's agenda plays a bigger role in framing the world's major press' coverage of human trafficking, since the data set represented only two politically allied countries, the US and Britain, without even outlining any differences between their views on human trafficking.

Studying news coverage of human trafficking within a relatively larger time frame and geographical scale, Denton's (2010) research objective is to understand the practice of international human trafficking and involved actors (victims and traffickers) in news coverage and its implications. A content analysis was done with 354 news articles reporting 191 trafficking incidents.

Approaching news coverage of human trafficking in a slightly different way, the author treats news coverage as a source of primary data upon which he draws conclusions about characteristics of human trafficking practice in the world with data pertaining to trafficking victims, traffickers and trafficking legislation. The study maps out traffickers' gender, age, region of origin and their roles in a trafficking process. It also highlights the presence of female traffickers. The author argues that more studies are needed about female traffickers to challenge the gender divide in portraying human trafficking as

product of male-dominated society, which blame men for the crime. Denton explains that the participation of women in human trafficking as offenders is, firstly, the result of changes in social conditions that render women more active in illicit businesses, which are expanding. Secondly, the author sees the increasing participation of women in illicit activities as the result of increased gender equality. Lastly, he suggests that the decision to sell a woman into prostitution by another woman is motivated by financial gains from the act, which he claims to have little to do with the patriarchal order.

Although the study is particularly interesting for being among very few studies that addresses the traffickers in human trafficking, especially female traffickers, the arguments that the author provides to explain the under-representativeness of female traffickers in literature are basically trapped within the very gender binary (men and women) that the author seeks to address. By doing that, the author has simply ignored other social factors besides gender that are attributed to the phenomenon such as age, race, ethnicity and class. Moreover, he also simply avoids providing argument against the idea that he disagrees with: the gendered structural oppression is a source of gender inequality. While patriarchal order is not the sole source of structural explanation for sex trafficking, it is surely not unrelated when taking into account the social, political and economic arrangements within which certain groups of people have to make certain decisions and choices that are available to them.

In summary, the studies above present the following important insights into sex trafficking in the news:

- First, mainstream discourse about human trafficking by the government and anti-prostitution feminists tends to dominate the news coverage of human trafficking by

the fact that sex trafficking accounts for the disproportionately greater amount of news coverage, comparing to other forms of human trafficking.

- Second, news coverage of sex trafficking and prostitution is overwhelmed with official voices. News coverage of sex trafficking is also a stage to showcase state solutions and their efficiency.

- Third, relating to the overwhelming presence of law enforcement voices in the news, sex trafficking is framed as a criminal issue caused by criminals as opposed to a social issue generated by the way our society distributes its wealth and power.

- Finally, it is an important step to acknowledge that sex traffickers are not a homogeneous group. As Denton points out, more research should be done to understand the dynamics of this group.

Different from the studies presented above, the following studies on human trafficking in media are based on exclusively qualitative analysis. They are close readings and analysis of journalistic products of particular genre or of particular journalists.

Galusca's (2012) study focuses on investigative journalistic accounts of sex trafficking. She argues that investigative journalistic discourse on sex trafficking is greatly consistent with anti-prostitution discourse about sex trafficking. Anti-prostitution discourse on human trafficking states that all women and girls who are present in the arena of sex trade are victims of sexual exploitation and therefore, need rescuing. Investigative works by journalists Aaron Cohen and Peter Landesman are among the works that she discusses. She argues that the "truth" (page 1) that investigative journalism produce about sex trafficking is excessively grounded on firsthand account of

emotional and melodramatic tales, and on emotions drawn from the presentation of women's bodies.

Reviewing the history of journalism reporting about human trafficking in the early 20th century, Galusca (2012) relates the legacy of previous muckraking journalism in contemporary investigative journalism both of which consistently rely on firsthand accounts of melodramatic narratives about women's suffering in sex trade. However, the contemporary approach to sex trafficking of investigative journalists is different from their former colleagues in three ways, she maintains. They are different first and secondly in the use of technology in collecting data (hidden cameras, hidden sound recorders) and in the use of visual elements in publication (movies, photographs). Thirdly, while their former colleagues portrayed sex trafficking as a moral panic which highlighted women's virtue, investigative journalists portray sex trafficking as a matter of human rights which emphasizes exploitative, violent and abusive aspects of the practice.

The author also concludes that the dominance of an anti-prostitution focus in human trafficking discourse, particularly in that of investigative journalism, has significant implications on sex workers and women migrants. It is not only because such discourse has equated women's migration experience with "sexual trauma" (page 4) and exploitation, but also because such discourse has been promoted, incorporated and become part of the "transnational regime of expertise" (page 15) of the government and other transnational campaigns, resulting in the increasing control over women's sexuality and mobility.

Sharing a similar critique with Galusca about how journalistic investigation on sex trafficking is taken as an unbiased truth, Soderlund (2011) examines the works of

journalists William T. Stead, Peter Landesman and Nicolas Kristof and their influential publications on sex-trafficking to explore journalism's contribution to the construction of sex-trafficking as “an object of humanitarian, law enforcement and human right policy” (page 193) in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty first centuries. The author argues that William T. Stead and his “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon,” published in 1885, set the “template” for today’s journalistic practice reporting about sex trafficking. In this template, the firsthand account of journalists is the proof of the existence of sex trafficking practice. The author contends that these journalistic accounts of female virgins being traded triggered changes in regulating policies toward prostitution. It is used to justify increasing pressure from feminist campaigns to protect women from being sexually exploited. Soderlund (2011) also argues that the way that Stead’s journalistic exposé was politically mobilized in the new-abolitionist discourse has also resulted in the establishment of the “symbolic linkage” between prostitution and slavery.

Peter Landesman’s “The Girls Next Door” in 2004 and Nicholas Kristof’s reports on prostitution in Cambodia also published in 2004 are Soderlund’s examples of journalistic exposés in early 21st century. The author argues that these journalistic works have generated a kind of knowledge about sex trafficking based on journalists’ personal experience with limited number of women in the sex industry. This experience is presented as the reality of millions of other women who are perceived as trafficking victims.

In terms of narrative structure, the author shows that sex trafficking exposés from Stead to Kristof are very similar. Both chose to approach their subjects by posing as sex tourists. Both purchased the girls to free them from the brothels. The author criticizes that

with such approach, those journalists ironically participate in the very sex tourism that they rescued the girls out of.

The author also argues that journalists such as Kristof, who entered his fieldwork with great hope to witness what should fit in the rhetoric of sex trafficking, have “pull[ed] the stories toward established conventional meanings” (page 205). Soderlund highlights the fact that current journalistic works resemble their former colleagues in how a certain experience of commercial sex is being selected to serve as the truth about sex trafficking. She criticizes anti-trafficking statutes and anti-trafficking organizations are equating “human trafficking” with “prostitution,” regardless of whether border crossing and coercion happen or not. According to her, this equating practice makes other forms of trafficking and exploitation become secondary and less urgent. However, I think that anti-prostitution discourse has yet to claim that prostitution (sexual and monetary exchange between a prostitute and her clients) is sex trafficking. Anti-prostitution discourse frames the demand for prostitution as one of the causes for sex trafficking of women. Instead, according to anti-prostitution discourse, the act of making profit by the third party in prostitution such as pimps. Nevertheless, equating sex trafficking with the third party’s involvement in prostitution still has the implications that Soderlund has pointed out.

In summary, the above studies reveal two important findings:

- First, the dominance of anti-prostitution discourse in the anti-human trafficking discourse is confirmed. This dominance is criticized for its excluding effect that imposes controlling and constraining on sexual activities and mobility of women who engage in prostitution voluntarily, as well as women who cross borders to engage in other forms of labor.

- Secondly, these studies highlight the critiques of the production of “truth” about sex trafficking by journalists. They criticize that the “truth” that journalists produce is grounded on and forged toward pains and suffering of sex workers that does not necessarily reflect the experience of everyone who engages in the sex industry.

Again, the review of the literature about studies of sex trafficking in the news reveals a gap in our understanding of sex trafficking. We know that news is an important tool to “visualize deviance and control” (Ericson, Baranek and Chan, 1987, page 8). Nevertheless, visualization of sex traffickers by the media has not been critically examined while the critiques for victim representation have gained much more attention, especially from liberal feminist activists and scholars. The minimal presence of human traffickers in scholarly literature may reflect the acceptance of the construction of human traffickers as deviants. However, it is more likely that growth of the literature that critiques the representation of trafficking victims in sex trafficking discourse outgrows that of traffickers as the result of the response to the dominant discourse that emphasizes the victimization of female victims of sex trafficking.

In addition, amid such a widespread negative sentiment against human traffickers, to discuss about how sex traffickers are portrayed by taking a neutral stance, minimizing pre-assumptions and pre-existing prejudice against them - is greatly difficult. There is a risk of having one’s morality challenged for not taking a definite stance against sex trafficking and sex traffickers. When I explained my research project to a friend, detailing that I tried to challenge how traffickers are portrayed in the news, the friend told me that “Well, I hope that you don’t approve of what they [traffickers] do.” I responded promptly: “No, no, no.” out of the fear that my morality was being judged. The

overwhelming negative sentiment and belief about sex trafficking and sex traffickers created by anti-sex trafficking awareness-raising campaigns may have made it too intimidating for a mainstream researchers to challenge the portrayal of sex traffickers as a “bad guy” in the mainstream discourse because such effort may be mistook as an act of defending sex traffickers and their deeds. It is to say, to study the portrayal of sex traffickers and challenge it are not an easy task, at least morally. Nevertheless, this project will take on such challenge to address the gap in the existing literature about sex trafficking.

This thesis, titled “News Coverage of Sex Trafficking in the: The Portrayal of Sex Traffickers”, will provide an analysis of how sex traffickers are represented or portrayed in US newspapers. The research attempts to answer three key questions:

1. What is the public image of sex traffickers?
2. What is the relationship between the portrayal of human traffickers and the portrayal of trafficking victims?
3. What roles do factors of race, gender and ethnicity of the traffickers play in their portrayals?

Hypotheses

The above three questions are developed based on three hypotheses. First, the portrayal of sex traffickers in the news is simplistic because it conforms to the simplistic binary divide between innocent victims and shrewd traffickers.

Second, the way that sex traffickers are portrayed is closely related to the portrayal of innocent, naïve and powerless female trafficking victims. I wanted to prove

that it is not only the representation of trafficking victims that is problematic, but also the representation of the sex traffickers because of its simplicity and because it frames the way trafficking victims are represented.

Third, racial, ethnic and gender identities of the traffickers are translated into how they are portrayed. I set to find out how certain set of vocabulary is used to portray certain groups of traffickers.

Methodology

LexisNexis Database and Data Collection

LexisNexis is a database that provides full text access to English news, a majority of which is published by US-based news agencies. Data collection for this research project was done exclusively with this online database. There are two key navigating features that shape the presentation of the data collected from the database: the mixture of English news without a geographical navigating tool and the requirement of a maximum number of results to be under 3000 (otherwise the number of results will not be displayed properly).

LexisNexis database allows users to use key words to search for news published on a certain date or within a certain period of time. It also allows users to search for news published by a specific newspaper. However, it does not allow users to search for news published in a specific country or territory. This feature posed a challenge to the data collection process because, beside a majority of news that are published by US-based new agencies, there is a large number of English news that is published by newspapers

from all over the world. It made the task to determine the amount of news published by US-based news agencies more time-consuming. The solution was to manually filter US-based news agencies and the number of publication that contain the search terms.

I used two key search terms “human trafficking” and “sex trafficking” to search for relevant news items. Figure 1 shows the typical interface of a search result. The list of news items containing the search terms is displayed on the right, and a list of newspapers with the number of their publications is displayed on the left. For every search, this newspaper list was copied and pasted into two excel files, each for each search terms. After that, I went through the lists of the newspaper one by one to determine whether it is a US newspaper. US newspapers, then, were highlighted using the finding and highlighting tool in Excel. After this step, I was able to remove all non-US newspapers from the master lists. The remained data were organized by years and then, by alphabetical order. After that, the numbers of news items in the brackets in the list on the left (indicating the number of publication in the result) were copied to a separate column corresponding to the newspapers names. All of these steps finally allowed me to calculate the number of news items published by each newspaper and the total number of news item published within a certain time period for each search term.

The second feature of LexisNexis database is that, in order for all results to display, the maximum number of results cannot exceed 3000 or the database only shows a maximum of 999 most relevant results. This means that when I conducted a search for news items published in 2013 and 2006, I would receive the same number of results for two years while in fact, the number of news published in 2013 is over three times more than 2006.

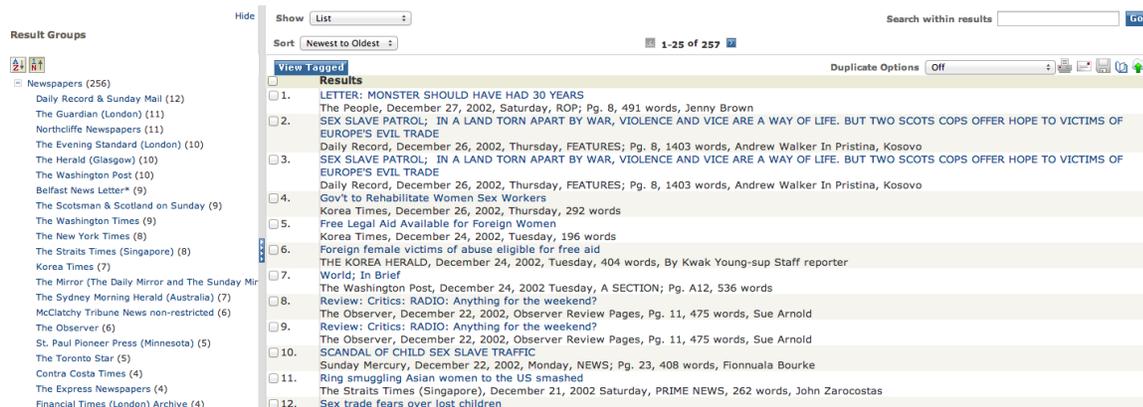


FIGURE 1: LEXIS-NEXIS SEARCH RESULT INTERFACE

The solution for this was that I shortened the lengths of timeframes for those searches until the number of results was lower than 3000. The timeframes varied from 15-day to 6-month periods. This solution caused a significant increase in the number of data sets that needed to be merged to determine the total number of news items by newspapers and by year, as described earlier in this section.

News Quantity

Originally, the project collected data published from 1/1/1980 to 11/30/2013. 75,280 results are for “human trafficking” search term and 23,275 results for “sex trafficking” search term. US newspapers account for a great portion of those numbers: 15,354 results for “human trafficking” search term (approximately 20.40%) and 6,942 results for “sex trafficking” search term (approximately 29.82%). Figure 2 shows the tendency of the quantity of news containing “human trafficking” term and published by US newspapers in this time period.

News quantity is not high before year 2000. The number raised a little in 2001, which could be due to the effect of the passage of the UN Palermo Protocol and the US Trafficking Victim Protection Act in 2000. However, the number dropped after 2001 and did not rise until 2004. I think this trend may reflect the shift in the country’s priority after the September 11 event in 2001. In 2004, Peter Landesman’s “The Girl Next Door” was published, raising public concern about trafficking in girls in the US as Soderlund (2011) and Galusca (2012) discuss in their work. In 2005, the US government signed and ratified the Palermo Protocol. The number of news steadily increases afterwards. This trend may not reflect the increase of news coverage of human trafficking or the increase of the quantity of human trafficking incidents. However, it definitely reflects the increasing presence of “human trafficking” in public discourse.

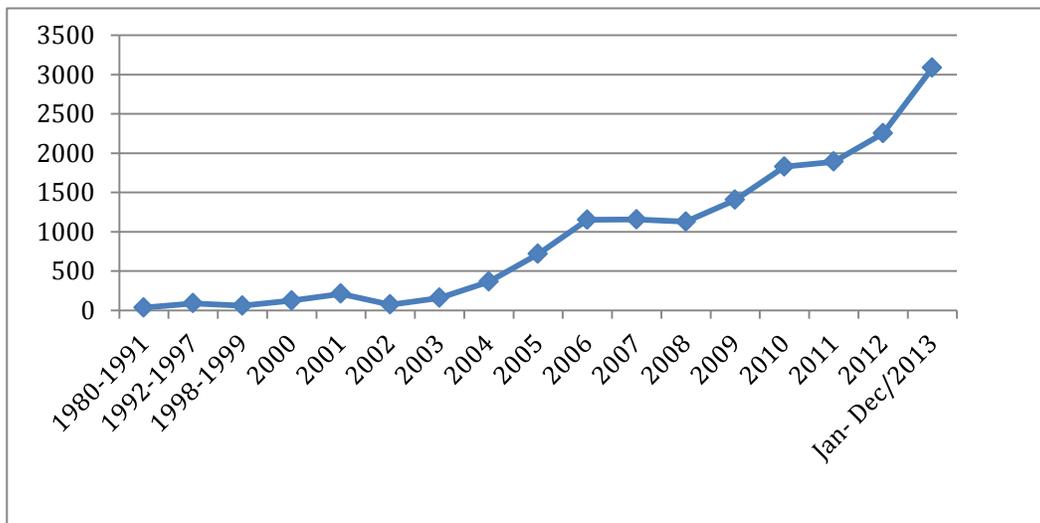


FIGURE 2: NUMBER OF NEWS CONTAINING KEY PHRASE "HUMAN TRAFFICKING," PUBLISHED BY US NEWSPAPER 1980-2013

Table 1 shows the quantity of news published during three time periods. The number of news containing “human trafficking” published from 2001 to 2013 are 50

times more than the previous 20 years from 1980 to 2000. The number of news collected from Lexis-Nexis database may be affected by the availability of news that the database can offer. However, Figure 3 shows the same trends: the increasing presence of “human trafficking” in the literature after year 2000. Therefore, the time period 2001-2013 was chosen for this research project, meaning that data collected were published during this period of time.

TABLE 1: NUMBER OF NEWS ITEMS PUBLISHED BY US NEWSPAPER 1980- 2013

Periods	Number of news items containing “human trafficking”	Number of news items containing “sex trafficking”
1980-1991	35	5
1992-2000	271	107
2001-2013	15048	6830
Total	15354	6942

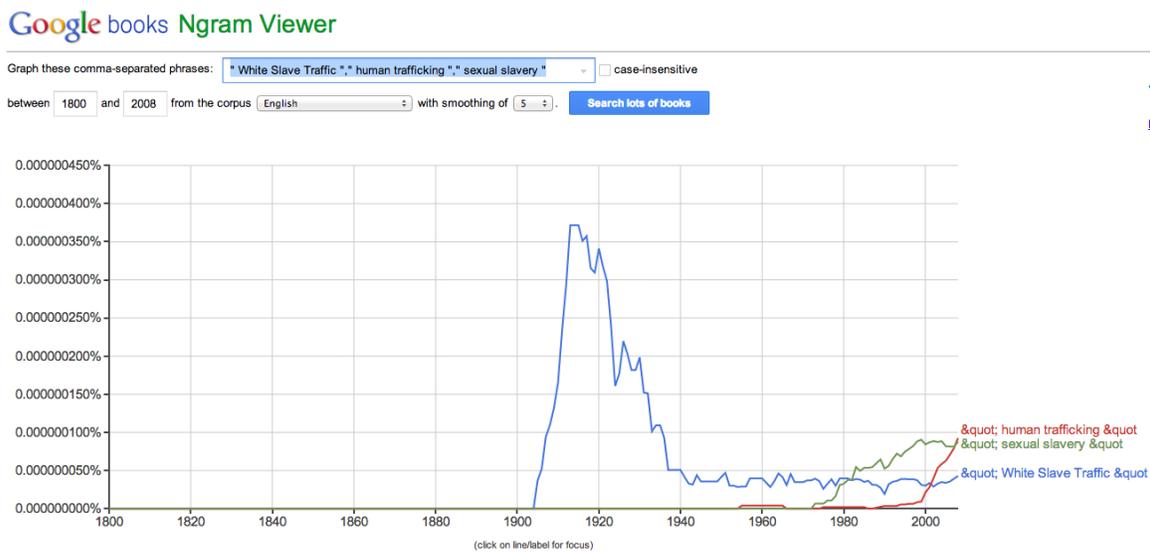


FIGURE 3: NGRAM CHART² OF THE USE OF “WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC”, “SEXUAL SLAVERY” AND “HUMAN TRAFFICKING” IN GOOGLE BOOK DATABASE.

² Ngram is a database using a corpus of 4% of all published books in the world to “investigate cultural trends quantitatively” (Michel et. al, 2010)

Collected Data. Based on the database developed by the compilation of search results from LexisNexis, I identified six newspapers that have published the most news items that contain the key search terms from 2001 to 2013 (see Appendix A). In order to increase geographical representativeness for my data, the six newspapers had to be from six different states. This means that if a newspaper has the most publications but from the same state with another newspaper that has already been chosen, it would be skipped and the next newspaper that is from a different state would be chosen instead. Following that rule, the six newspapers from six different states that published the most news items in the database are:

- For “human trafficking” search term:

1. The New York Times
2. The Washington Post
3. San Jose Mercury News
4. The Washington Times
5. Tampa Bay Times
6. The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

- For “sex trafficking” search term:

1. The New York Times
2. The Washington Post
3. The Washington Times
4. San Jose Mercury News
5. The Atlanta Journal-Constitution
6. St. Paul Pioneer Press

The combination of the two lists is seven newspapers from seven different states.

1. Tampa Bay Times (Florida)
2. The Washington Post (Washington DC)
3. The Atlanta Journal-Constitution (Georgia)
4. San Jose Mercury News (California)
5. The Washington Times (Washington State)
6. St. Paul Pioneer Press (Minnesota)
7. The New York Times (New York)

However, The New York Times was omitted from the list because its dominant focus is on opinions and commentaries on human trafficking instead of hard news.

Therefore, I have collected news clips from six remaining newspapers from six different states.

Data collection from this period were based on two criteria:

- First, news has to report about specific sex trafficking cases happening in the US.

- Second, a case of sex trafficking is a case in which there is at least a person is accused of human trafficking or sex trafficking and their victims worked as prostitutes³.

Initially, there were 116 news items collected from these six newspapers. After that, the following news items were eliminated from the sample:

³ In this thesis, the words “prostitutes” and “sex workers” as well as “prostitution” and “sex work” are used interchangeably. “Sex workers” and “sex work” are used when discussing about sex worker rights discourse. “Prostitute” and “prostitution” are used in other cases without implying indignity, judgment and criticism of the acts that constitute the concept of “prostitution” and “prostitute”.

- News items shorter than 300 words because the content of short news items are reflected in longer news in terms of language use. However, depending on the content of each item, news items that are 10 or 20 words under the criteria are also selected.

- News items that are not about specific sex trafficking cases. News that does not meet these criteria are those that report about police raids of hotels and parlors. These news items tend to report about a number of busts in the same news. The focus is not placed on the portrayal of traffickers but rather on the success of police operation.

- News items that report about the same cases.

After the filtering step, 68 news items related to 68 different cases were collected.

Data distribution by year and by newspaper is illustrated in table 2 and 3.

TABLE 2: DATA DISTRIBUTION BY YEAR

Years	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total
Numbers of news	1	1	3	1	4	4	2	1	8	7	13	23	68

TABLE 3: DATA DISTRIBUTION BY NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers	News Items
1. Tampa Bay Times (Florida)	11
2. The Washington Post (DC)	7
3. The Atlanta Journal-Constitution (Georgia)	9
4. San Jose Mercury News (California)	21
5. The Washington Times (Washington State)	2
6. St. Paul Pioneer Press (Minnesota)	18

Data Analysis. The contents of 68 cases were entered into an SPSS data sheet with the following variables:

1. Number of traffickers
2. Number of victims

3. Traffickers' race/ethnicity/nationality/gender
4. Victims' race/ethnicity/nationality/gender
5. Traffickers who are: male, female, mixed, couple and those with a social status such as teachers and police officers.
6. Traffickers who are gang members
7. Traffickers who are immigrants
8. Presence of graphics and captions
9. Sentences
10. The presence of language indicators of traffickers' force, fraud and coercion.
11. The presence of traffickers' voices and victims' voices
12. The presence of traffickers' social and economic backgrounds (i.e. family, economic situation, personal struggles, childhood)

This step is to provide a description of the data and allows the examination of the relations between different types of traffickers with their representations.

Based on the data description using SPSS above, the data was divided into 4 subgroups:

- News items in which traffickers are male: 44 cases
- News items in which traffickers are black: 32 cases
- News items in which traffickers are female: 10 cases
- News items in which traffickers are both male and female: 14 cases

In order to answer the three research questions and test the three hypotheses, this project has undertaken an extensive content analysis of news clips. The collection and analysis of the news involved close reading of textual contents. Observation of visual contents is included in the discussion when meaningful.

Delimitations

Time Frame. Data were collected from Lexis-Nexis database within the period from 2001 to the end of November 2013. However, due to the nature of news quantity, a

majority of the data collected is published in 2012 and 2013. Therefore, the data will over-represent the more current period of time.

Types of Prostitution. The thesis will focus on sex trafficking that involves heterosexual prostitution of girls and women in the US.

Reality Inference. This research approaches sex trafficking and the portrayal of sex traffickers in the news as a discourse – a knowledge constructed by dominant ideologies, for example that of the criminal justice system. Therefore, I do not wish to make inferences about the realities of sex trafficking practice based on my data. For example, the fact that there are more black male traffickers in the news does not necessarily reflect that there are more black males who are sex traffickers. It depends on how certain groups of power use certain tools to identify, prosecute and visualize sex traffickers, for example news organization and criminal justice system. However, in this project, I do not wish to particularly engage with the analysis of the operation of criminal justice system or news system.

Lexis-Nexis Database. Data collected for the project were limited by the availability of Lexis-Nexis database. The project accepts the process and the criteria that Lexis-Nexis uses to select news and news agencies to be included in their database.

The structure of this thesis is as follows:

In chapter **two**, I will provide an overview of the context of contemporary sex trafficking and the theoretical framework of the project. Chapter **three** will be devoted to

findings. In chapter **four**, I will discuss the key findings and propose further research about the topic.

CHAPTER II

CONTEXTUALIZING SEX TRAFFICKING AND LITERATURE REVIEW

“We make her paint her face and dance
If she won't be a slave, we say that she don't love us
If she's real, we say she's trying to be a man
While putting her down, we pretend that she's above us.
You know, woman is the nigger of the world, yeah
If you don't believe me, take a look at the one you're with
Woman is the slave to the slave
Ah, yeah, if you believe me, scream about it”

(“Woman is the Nigger of the World” by John Lennon and Yoko Ono, 1972)

The practice of transacting humans for monetary values existed long before it was called “human trafficking” but the current discourse about human trafficking is a product of the twentieth century’s international campaigning practice. Since appearing as a crime, “human trafficking” is reported to be growing everywhere in the world. At the same time, “human trafficking” has never stopped expanding its umbrella to incorporate more and more forms of human trafficking. The contemporary definition of “human trafficking” includes other forms of “exploitation” than sexual exploitation, for example labor exploitation, organ removal, pornography, surrogacy, mail-order bride and virginity sale. The issues that are put under the umbrella of human trafficking often gain more attention than they previously did. For example, in Vietnam, the issue of surrogacy did not gain as much attention until it was raised as a form of human trafficking in 2011. In 2011, fifteen Vietnamese mothers were “rescued” from a surrogate ring in Thailand and were

repatriated to Vietnam by the Thai government and received by Vietnamese government as trafficking victims. News started to report about the plights of the victims and the trafficking operation in Thailand. In this chapter, I am going to lay out the historical, social and political contexts of the contemporary “human trafficking”.

“The White Slave Traffic”

The precedent version of the current human trafficking is the “White Slave Traffic” - the term refers to the trafficking in women for prostitution in Europe – during the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The term “slavery” was used when the memories of the slavery of Africans and its abolition were still fresh (Limoncelli, 2010). It brought about the connotation of powerlessness, poor treatment and exploitation. At this time, human trafficking was all about trafficking in women, especially white, for sexual exploitation in prostitution. Although prostitution of women was common and prevailed long before the nineteenth century, it was not until the increase in mobility of women as the result of what Limoncelli (2010) calls “globalization” – “colonial expansion, economic interconnectedness, and international migration” (page 19) - that prostitution and sexual exploitation of women were specially concerned when prostitution of women went beyond national boundaries, reached out and integrated into institutionalized processes of “globalization”, such as transnational migration.

Women’s sexuality and their sexual relations bore important meanings to the nation building and the colonial expansion (Limoncelli, 2010). Men’s ability to protect

and monopolize women's bodies and sexuality are the symbolic boundary of the group (national or ethnic) to which they belong. Nagel (2000) calls this the "ethnosexual frontiers" - where sexual activities across ethnic lines are "surveilled and supervised, patrolled and policed, regulated and restricted" (page 201). The urge to keep women's sexual activities within one's "ethnosexual frontier" might have been the motivation to acknowledge trafficking in women for sexual purposes as a problem that needed to address. This logic could explain why trafficking in women for prostitution is the first among other women's issues to be addressed internationally (Limoncelli, 2010). It also explains the tension in drawing a line between trafficking in women and prostitution. On the one hand, sexual activities across ethnic lines (including trafficking) were illegal and suppressed in the name of anti-trafficking. On the other hand, sexual activities to response to men's sexual needs (prostitution) were tolerated.

Another important element that made White Slave Traffic an international concern at the time was the emergence of an international network among colonialist countries in the nineteenth century (Limoncelli, 2010). A number of international agreements and conventions to protect women and children from being sexually exploited in a foreign country were signed. The main measure to protect women was monitoring their travels and repatriating victims of trafficking back to countries of origin. This essence of state control approach to suppressing human trafficking such as using state power to control immigration – still prevails in contemporary approach to human trafficking. The concern about women's sexuality and mobility at this time carries on to the current movement against human trafficking.

Trafficking in Women and Children

Immigration

In the early 1980s, the issue of trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation re-emerged after abating for at least 40 years. This re-emergence also accompanied a growing anxiety about the increase of migration from the global south countries and of women. According to international organizations such as United Nations, International Organization of Migration and International Labor Organization, the international flows of migrants have increased significantly since the 1970s. In 1970, there were approximately 81.5 million international migrants. The number doubled 30 years later, 174.9 million in 2000 (International Organization of Migration, 2005). Since the 1990s, institutional statistics on migration started to break down the percentage of female migrants, directing international attention to a phenomenon called the feminization of migration (see Alonso, 2011; Chammartin, 2002; Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division, 2013). Besides the rise in international immigration, there was a shift in the composition of sending countries. The according to a report prepared by the Congressional Research Service, from 1901 to 1960, the top sending countries of immigrants to the US were mainly European and North American. However, since 1981, there has been a steady increase in the number of immigrants coming from the global south such as Vietnam, India, China, the Philippines, Mexico, Cuba, Dominican Republic and El Salvador to the US (Wasem, 2013).

Feminism

The late 1960s and early 1970s also saw the rise of the female liberation movement especially in the global north. Although the movement generally challenged gender-based inequality and called for changes to improve gender equality for women, it housed divergent and contested ideologies of sexuality, which led to the “Feminist Sex War”.

The “Feminist Sex War” in 1980s was premised on the evolution of conflicts in ideologies pertaining to sexuality among groups participating in the women liberation movement started roughly a decade before. Not sharing similar perspectives on sexuality, lesbian/gay right activists stepped out the movement and formed their own group. Similarly, COYOTE (Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics) was started in 1973 by a group of feminists supporting sex workers’ rights (Hunter, 1995). Besides rape, battery, employment discrimination, one major women’s issue addressed by the second wave feminism was the portrayal of women as sexual object by the media (TV, magazines, and rap music), especially pornography over which the war came to its peak (Hunter, 1995). Different groups of feminists affirmed the difference in their views of women sexuality in a political arena. 1984 to 1986 saw the rivalry between feminists who advocated for criminalizing pornography of women and children and the liberalists who supported the freedom of sexual expression over the passage of the ordinance that rules pornography of women and children illegal, written and proposed by an anti-pornography group in 1984. The ordinance was attacked and defeated in 1986 by Feminist Anti-Censorship Taskforce (FACT) (Hunter, 1995). The ordinance was rule unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. At the end of this War, feminists are deeply divided in their ideologies regarding

women's sexuality. This divide is reflected in their approaches to sex trafficking, which will be discussed shortly.

Development in Third World Countries

The 1980s also saw a growing interest and concern about the state of underdevelopment in indebted global south countries. The structural adjustment policies in the 1980s allowed international bodies such as World Bank and International Monetary Fund to interfere in the economic and social development strategies of indebted states (Jaggar, 2002). During this time, feminist interest in women was directed to women in developing countries, the result of which are different approaches to leverage gender equality in developing countries, such as Women in Development (WID) or Women and Development (WAD).

The increase of women's migration, the rising concern of economic powers about how to "help" poor countries develop, the Western interventions in the development of the global south, the divide in feminist perspectives on female sexuality and the interest on Western feminists in women in developing countries are a series a event that have framed the earliest concern about human trafficking as an issue of transnational migration for prostitution of poor women from developing countries.

Human Trafficking and the US Government

The movements to fight against the White Slave Traffic taking place earlier in the century were led mostly by European countries. The fight against human trafficking in

late the 20th and early 21st century has seen the major involvement and leadership of the U. S government. In October 2000, Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act 2000 became public law in the Trafficking Protection Act 2000 Division in this Act provides a legal framework for responses and initiatives against human trafficking in the as well as in foreign countries. It allows incorporating anti-human trafficking efforts into its foreign assistance policies and its international monitoring of human rights violation. Under this Act, starting from 2001, the Secretary of State is required to make an annual evaluation and report (known as Trafficking on Persons report or TIP report) on how foreign governments comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking set forth in the Act. The ranking of a country's compliance level (Tier 1, Tier 2, Watch List and Tier 3) based on this evaluation will be considered in the government's decision about its non-humanitarian assistance and aid to the country (H.R.3244 - Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000).

Although trafficking in women for sexual exploitation was seen to be more common, there was awareness of the existence of trafficking for other purposes such as labor exploitation or debt bondage and trafficking in men. Therefore, international conventions and agreements signed prior to this point by more developed countries, which focus excessively on forced prostitution of (white) women, did not provide a comprehensive and appropriate definition of human trafficking in this newer context, which required a new international agreement to combat human trafficking. In December 2000, two months after TVPA 2000, the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children was open for signature. This Protocol is the first international document that provides a definition of human

trafficking. Although the Protocol was seen to be an initiative of the Government, this country had not signed and ratified the protocol until five years later in 2005. In fact, the September 11 Event in 2001 affected greatly the overall landscape of the country's resource allocation, with priority placed strongly on national security and the war against terrorism, therefore affecting its commitment to combating human trafficking in terms of resources at the least (Destefano, 2007). Nevertheless, this delay (and the end of it) in signing and ratifying the Protocol did not affect very much the country's narrative about human trafficking in the country, at least during the previous and following years.

Trafficking in Persons Reports (TIP reports)

TIP reports from 2001 to 2009 were mainly concerned about transnational "human trafficking" in countries in the world and foreigners being trafficked into the US from foreign countries. While from 2001 to 2003, transnational sex trafficking was at the locus of TIP reports, in 2005, the focus started to be placed on trafficking for labor exploitation within a country by sanctioning countries that did not respond effectively to this form of trafficking. Although in 2004, for the first time, the report acknowledged the significance of "domestic trafficking", not until 2010 did the US government acknowledge in the report that there were US citizens fell victims of domestic sex trafficking, when the US was included in the report for the first time (The US Department of State, 2010). This is an important turning point of the state discourse about human trafficking. In other words, "human trafficking", until recently, was viewed as a crime committed by foreigners with only foreigners falling victims to it.

While the causes of human trafficking in foreign countries have been attributed consistently to poverty, “political and economic instability” and other “social factors”, the cause of sex trafficking in the US is attributed to the “demand for commercial sex... to which traffickers respond” (US Department of State, 2010, page 342). On the other hand, victims of sex trafficking in the US are identified as “runways, troubled and homeless youth”.

The presentation of US counter trafficking efforts in the report shows an overwhelming promotion of law enforcement’s role. The reports celebrate the achievement of law enforcement system in prosecuting trafficking cases and in developing legal tools to criminalize and punishing traffickers. Nevertheless, more recommendations were made focusing on training, cooperation, reporting, collecting data and enhancing measures and tools for law enforcement agencies.

Some other main points in US policies about human trafficking presented in TIP reports include:

- The US Government confirms its disapproval of prostitution and the legalization of the practice. It holds prostitution accountable for “fueling” sex trafficking.

“In fact, prostitution and its related activities, including pimping, pandering, and patronizing or maintaining brothels, contributes to trafficking in persons by serving as a front behind which traffickers for sexual exploitation operate.” (US Department of State, 2004)

- TIP reports only address “severe forms of trafficking in persons” which count elements of “force, fraud and coercion” as well as victims under 18 years old.

- “Human trafficking” is framed as a violation of human rights and a serious crime. Because it is a violation of human rights, governments are held accountable if ignoring the practice. Because it is a crime, law enforcements are key to the solution.

- The idea of “holding traffickers accountable” is central to counter-trafficking efforts. In fact, prosecution and conviction of traffickers is an important indicator to evaluate a country’s efforts to fight against human trafficking.

“A more lasting and effective way to secure a victim's freedom is through the application of law: holding traffickers and the exploiters of trafficking victims accountable under criminal justice systems. Through raids that rescue victims without monetary compensation, and arrests of those who enslave, judicial tools extract a high price from the merchants of this heinous trade. Applying criminal laws also provides society with a measure of justice, which is why law places a priority on governments criminalizing and punishing forms of trafficking in persons.” (Emphasis added, US Department of State, 2004)

- However, victims and potential victims of “human trafficking” are visualized frequently in TIP reports in forms of photographs and testimonies.

- The role of media is “invaluable”. Media is appraised for its ability to “educate” and “present the problem in human terms and in all its painful detail”. The following excerpt from the TIP 2005 is worded identically to material authored by The United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking. Other than the vagueness of authorship, this fact shows the international consensus about the role and functions of media in combating human trafficking.

The media's role is most effective when it:

• Illuminates the problem. By writing an article or airing a segment focusing on trafficking in persons, media not only educates the public but also shines a light on an issue typically shrouded in darkness. We know of many cases, particularly in corrupt systems, in which scrutiny by international media has made the difference between a trafficker's release and imprisonment.

• Provides a help line. When the media prints or airs an item on trafficking, it is beneficial to include a local anti-trafficking help line number and other assistance sources, for potential victims and community members who may want to get involved.

- Shames the perpetrators. Identify traffickers and protect victims. Press accounts tend to focus on victims. It is ethical and respectful for the media to protect victims by altering details of identity and personal story. Identify and photograph traffickers — they deserve the limelight.” (US Department of State, 2005)

- The reports promote the implementation of the 3Ps paradigms (Prevention, Protection and Prosecution) to fight against human trafficking and later 4Ps, adding the fourth P – Partnership.

- In 2005, we see the shift in victim-centered approach from 3Rs of Rescue, Removal and Reintegration to Rescue, Rehabilitation and Reintegration in recognizing the “damages” that trafficking experience leaves on its victims.

Sex Trafficking in the US

First of all, observing a series of reports about human trafficking by the US Department of Justice, there has been a major shift in the language used to describe “human trafficking” since 2007 (see tables 4, 5, 6 and 7). The language used in the report by the US Department of Justice for the time period from 2001 to 2005 shows that the focus on anti-human trafficking efforts of the country was placed on different forms of trafficking for labor exploitation. However, the later reports on human trafficking from 2007 to 2008 and from 2008 to 2010 show a different way of categorizing human trafficking, with the highlight placed on sex trafficking in terms of number of incidents, number of traffickers and numbers of victims.

Secondly, according the latest report from 2008-2010 by US Department of Justice, sex trafficking (82.1 %), female victims (477 out of 527), male traffickers (368 out of 488) and Black traffickers (224 out of 488) are disproportionally statistically greater than their counterparts.

TABLE 4: SUSPECTS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING 2001-2005
(US DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, 2006)

Lead charge	Suspects	
	Number	Percent
Total	555	100.0%
Peonage/involuntary servitude	63	11.4%
Sale into involuntary servitude	155	27.9
Transportation for slavery ^a	16	2.9
Forced labor ^b	134	24.1
Trafficking slaves ^b	49	8.8
Sex trafficking of children ^b	129	23.2
Other ^{b,c}	9	1.6

^aIncludes vessels for the slave trade, enticement, and transport of slaves from the U.S.
^bOffenses added to the human trafficking statute by the TVPA.
^cIncludes misuse of documents and general provisions.
Source: Executive Office for U.S. Attorneys, National LIONS database, fiscal year.

Thirdly, it is interesting to see that people are at risk of other forms of trafficking and foreign women are at risk of sex trafficking mainly because of their class status (poverty). It means they may fall victims because of low social, economic, political status that make them vulnerable to human trafficking. Other roots of human trafficking abroad may also be disasters, political economic instability, and incompetent governments. However, in the US, interestingly, women fall victims to sex trafficking

because first of all they are women, then, because they love, they care, they trust and they are not protected (runaway and throwaway children⁴).

TABLE 5: NUMBER OF ALLEGED HUMAN TRAFFICKING INCIDENTS, 2007-2008
(US DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, 2009)

Type of human trafficking incident	Total incidents	
	Number	Percent
All incidents	1,229	100.0%
Sex trafficking	1,018	82.8%
Forced prostitution*	596	48.5
Child sex trafficking	391	31.8
Other sex trafficking	31	2.5
Labor trafficking	146	11.9%
Other/unknown	65	5.3%

*Includes any suspicion of force, fraud, or coercion.

A majority of factors that are identified to contribute to the vulnerability of potential sex trafficking victims is attributed to personal (substance abuse, sexual identities and disabilities) and family problems (physical or sexual abuse, unconventional families and poverty) (see table 8).

⁴ Runaway and throwaway youth is defined as follows:

A runaway episode is one that meets any one of the following criteria:

- A child leaves home without permission and stays away overnight.
- A child 14 years old or younger (or older and mentally incompetent) who is away from home chooses not to come home when expected to and stays away overnight.
- A child 15 years old or older who is away from home chooses not to come home and stays away two nights.

A throwaway episode is one that meets either of the following criteria:

- A child is asked or told to leave home by a parent or other household adult, no adequate alternative care is arranged for the child by a household adult, and the child is out of the household overnight.
- A child who is away from home is prevented from returning home by a parent or other household adult, no adequate alternative care is arranged for the child by a household adult, and the child is out of the household overnight. (Hammer, Finkelhor, & Sedlak, 2002)

TABLE 6: HUMAN TRAFFICKING INCIDENTS, 2008 – 2010
(US DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, 2011)

TABLE 1
Human trafficking incidents opened for investigation between January 2008 and June 2010, by type of trafficking

Type of trafficking ^a	Number	Percent ^b
All incidents	2,515	100.0%
Sex trafficking	2,065	82.1%
Adult prostitution/commercial sex act	1,218	48.4
Prostitution or sexual exploitation of a child	1,016	40.4
Sexualized labor	142	5.6
Other	61	2.4
Labor trafficking	350	13.9%
Commercial industry labor	132	5.2
Unregulated industry labor	230	9.1
Other	26	1.0
Other suspected trafficking	65	2.6%
Unknown	172	6.8%

TABLE 7: CHARACTERISTICS OF VICTIMS AND SUSPECTS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING, 2008- 2010 (US DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, 2011)

TABLE 5
Victim characteristics in cases confirmed to be human trafficking by high data quality task forces, by type of trafficking

Victim characteristic	Total ^a	Sex trafficking	Labor trafficking
Sex			
Male	49	27	20
Female	477	432	43
Age			
17 or younger	257	248	6
18-24	159	142	17
25-34	68	46	22
35 or older	27	12	15
Unknown	16	12	3
Race/Hispanic origin			
White ^b	106	102	1
Black/African American^b	167	161	6
Hispanic/Latino origin	129	95	34
Asian ^{b, c}	26	17	9
Other ^{b, d}	35	23	11
Unknown	63	61	2
Citizenship			
U.S. Citizen/U.S. National	346	345	1
Permanent U.S. resident ^e	6	6	0
Undocumented alien ^f	101	64	36
Qualified alien ^e	19	1	15
Temporary worker	2	0	2
Unknown	50	41	9
Number of victims identified	527	460	63

TABLE 6
Suspect characteristics in cases opened between January 2008 and June 2010 and confirmed to be human trafficking by high data quality task forces, by type of trafficking

Suspect characteristic	Total ^a	Sex trafficking	Labor trafficking
Sex			
Male	368	314	54
Female	88	71	17
Unknown	32	25	7
Age			
17 or younger	11	10	1
18-24	147	145	2
25-34	114	105	9
35 or older	100	65	35
Unknown	116	85	31
Race/Hispanic origin			
White ^b	24	22	2
Black/African American ^b	224	219	5
Hispanic/Latino origin	119	89	30
Asian ^{b, c}	28	18	10
Other ^{b, d}	20	5	15
Unknown	73	57	16
Citizenship			
U.S. Citizen/U.S. National	276	269	7
Permanent U.S. resident ^e	12	2	10
Undocumented alien ^f	44	39	5
Qualified alien ^e	8	2	6
Unknown	148	98	50
Number of suspects identified	488	410	78

TABLE 8: RISK FACTORS FOR MINOR DOMESTIC SEX TRAFFICKING
(“HUMAN TRAFFICKING INTO AND WITHIN THE UNITED STATES: A
REVIEW OF LITERATURE,” N.D.)

Risk Factors for Minor Domestic Sex Trafficking Victims
▪ Age
▪ Poverty
▪ Sexual abuse
▪ Family substance/physical abuse
▪ Individual substance abuse
▪ Learning disabilities
▪ Loss of parent/caregiver
▪ Runaway/throwaway
▪ Sexual identity issues
▪ Lack of support systems

Definition of Sex Trafficking

The “Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000” defines “sex trafficking” as “the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act,” and “a commercial sex act” is “any sex act on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person.” In other words, the act of a person or group of persons that arranges the prostitution of a person or a group of persons even without means of “force, fraud or coercion” is sufficient to be identified as “sex trafficking”. “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” is classified as a “severe form of trafficking in persons.”

These definitions of sex trafficking assume that making profit through prostitution by a third party (other than the prostitute and her client) is sex trafficking and “force, fraud or coercion” are aggravating factors when it comes to prosecution and punishment.

Feminist Perspectives on Sex Trafficking and Prostitution

As mentioned above, feminist perspectives on human trafficking, especially sex trafficking in women are deeply divided. The anti-prostitution group argues that sex acts performed by women in prostitution are sexual violence against women. Anti-prostitution activists incorporate the fight against sex trafficking into their goal of abolishing prostitution. On contrast, sex worker rights advocate fight for the recognition of prostitution as a legitimate profession and sex workers’ legitimate rights to protection against exploitation that is perpetuated in illegal prostitution. They argue against the belief that all sex workers are trafficking victims and need rescuing from their sex work.

Sex Is Women’s Oppression

The abolitionist argument about the inherent violence of prostitution rests upon the belief that male dominance is the source of women’s oppression. According to them, such dominance of men is perpetuated in prostitution, a manifestation of hatred of women, in which men are profited, sexually and profitably from women’s bodies. As a result, abolitionists explain prostitution experience along a simple gender line: Those who are exploited and victimized are women and those who benefit from the exploitation are men. For example, Parker (2004) portrays the power dynamic in prostitution as simply as

a situation in which male pimps and male customers exploit female prostitutes. One gets money, one gets pleasure and the woman suffers. Similarly, Jeffreys (2004) refers to prostitution as a practice “for the benefits of men” (page 393). She contends that prostitution is similar to female genital mutilation practice in a way that they are both conducted by women but are actually responses to “male ideas of female sexuality” (page 393). Barry (1979/1984) argues that pimping and procuring practices in prostitution are the “crystallization of misogyny” (page 86) and “the most ruthless displays of male power and sexual dominance” (page 86).

Women’s Oppression Is Not in Their Sex

Rubin (1975), as other feminists said to belong to the liberal school of feminism (i.e. Doezema (2010), Kempadoo (2005)), suggests looking at matters of women and their oppression in an even greater context. She criticizes feminist perspectives seeking to establish an understanding of and a strategy to eliminate women’s oppression based on male dominance. Employing concepts in theories of kinship systems by Levi-Strauss and psychoanalysis theory of Oedipal phase by Sigmund Freud, Rubin develops an alternative framework - “sex/gender systems” (page 159) - to explain women’s oppression as a product of the sexual relations established in the “exchange of women” (page 177) in kinship systems and “obligatory heterosexuality” (page 179) as the result of individual psychic development and adjustment to fit in the existing social and cultural conditions. She argues that women’s oppression needs to be viewed in a sex/gender system - “a set of arrangements by which the biological raw material of human sex and procreation is shaped by human, social intervention and satisfied in a conventional manner...” (page

165). Kinship systems, which used to function as a tool to organize society, shape and maintain the relations among its male and female members. Organization is based on the exchange of women between men. In other words, kinship is a hierarchy where men have rights over women. The Oedipal phase makes sure that individuals, depending on their sexes, will take on the roles of men or women to fit in the kinship system that they are born to. Rubin further suggests that eradication of women's oppression should not be the only goal of the feminist movement and is definitely not the fight against male dominance. A society free of gender oppression is not a society free of male dominance but a society where "one's sexual anatomy is irrelevant to who one is, what one does, and with whom one makes love" (page 204). Rubin's explanation of women's oppression puts women (and men) into a bigger social and cultural arrangement that produces gender hierarchy and the political and economic relations that maintain such order.

Consent and Choice

Abolitionists argue that consent is an irrelevant criterion to determine a sex trafficking experience because the social and political arrangements do not allow a woman to exercise her choices freely. Anti-pornography feminist Mackinnon (1990) argues that being constrained within patriarchal values and standards, women's choices are made within limited possible options and are not a choice made out of consent. Leidholdt (1990) contends that while anti-pornography are "against sexual oppression of women" (page 125), the pro-sex opponents are "defending sexual oppression of women" (page 126) because it accepts the "choice" given by the oppressive social and political structure .

Also, by arguing that prostitution is so harmful that women would not choose to become prostitutes, abolitionist proponents have effectively dismantled the argument that women's choice to engage in prostitution should be recognized and respected. Barry (1979/1984) argues that the definition of sexual slavery needs to consider whether or not a woman has the freedom to "change the conditions of their existence". According to this author, if a woman is sexually exploited, subjected to sexual violence or sexual abuse and she cannot reject, she is a victim of sexual slavery regardless of whether it is her intention to engage in the practice. In addition, Barry claims that prostitution is inherently violent and abusive to the women and that no woman would choose to suffer it. Prostitutes would change their conditions if they could. Those are still involved in prostitution only because they are not able to escape.

Anti-prostitution advocates also try to explain the Stockholm syndrome in prostitution – the victims become attached and protective to their abusers. It is argued that because sexual violence terrorizes all women, for those who are held in slavery conditions of prostitution, "terrorism becomes her 'normal'" (Barry, 1979/1983, page 43). While non-victim women are protected or self-protected, victim women have to survive by making terrorist conditions of prostitution a way of life (Barry, 1979/1984). Barry criticizes the refusal of a victim status of those women who try to survive by adopting the way of life that they are forced into. She argues that when women accept prostitution as their way of life, adopting tricks to survive, they are still victims even though they may not think they are victims or do not appear to be victims. This means that even if a woman declares that she has chosen to work as a sex worker, her "choice" may not be taken meaningful because she might have taken "terrorism" to be her

“normal”. This anti-prostitution argument about women’s “choice” and “consent” renders irrelevant the argument by sex workers’ rights advocates who use sex workers’ “choice” and “consent” to challenge the anti-prostitution argument that all prostitutes are victims and need rescuing.

Prostitution and Sex Trafficking

In accordance to their perspective on female sexuality, anti-prostitution partisans refuse to see prostitution as a professional option that should be legalized. Because prostitution is abusive and violent to women, Barry (1984) argues that normalizing prostitution as a form of labor is to accept violence against women by mistaking prostitution “as paid sex between two consenting adults” (page 135). Jeffreys (2004) objects to the legalization of prostitution by forming a causal relationship between the sex industry and trafficking in women and children. She claims that legalizing prostitution shoots up the demand for women in the sex industry and as a consequence “the import of vulnerable women from poorer countries is required” (page 386). In other words, anti-prostitution argument frames trafficking in women in the sex industry as the consequent of tolerating prostitution. Consequently, liberal feminists are put into a difficult discursive matrix. While they are trying to dismantle the discourse about women’s prostitution as sexual oppression, they also have to struggle to detach sex work from the “human trafficking umbrella”.

Migrant Workers and Sex Workers Rights

Anti-prostitution writers such as Barry (1979), Jeffreys (2004) and Parker (2004) tend to back their arguments with close-up and specific sexual experience and acts by specific groups of women (street prostitutes), proponents of female sexual liberty such as Jo Doezema (2001), Gayle Rubin (1975) and Kamala Kempadoo (2005) have a tendency to consider “sex work” as an available legitimate option that allow women to cope with the bigger political and economic context that they find themselves in.

Liberal feminists who advocate for sex workers’ rights believe that sex is not inherently destructive to women and that women possess the rights over their sexuality and agency to make a choice to engage in prostitution as a profession. Their rights should be respected and protected. Liberal feminists believe that criminalizing and banning prostitution make sex workers to more vulnerable to exploitation, violence and abuse.

Similar to many other advocates of sex workers’ rights, Kempadoo (2005) is concerned about sex workers’ rights as migrant workers. She asserts that international attention and legal responses to trafficking in women early in the twenty first century were formed and shaped by the anxiety to control illegal cross-border immigration and suppress international crimes rather than to ensure migrants a safer environment to pursue their career interests. The author asserts that this approach to human trafficking, which restricts women’s migration to protect them, perpetuates and exaggerates injustice and violation of human rights for all of those who choose to migrate for economic reasons. Kempadoo argues, under the umbrella of human trafficking, not only trafficking but also sex work is treated as a crime. Therefore, rescuing women from transnational prostitution

has become central to the anti-trafficking crusade. Such approach to human trafficking does not address environmental and structural economic and political inequalities that render migration of certain groups of people (including women who migrate for prostitution) vulnerable to exploitation.

Galusca (2012) also expresses her concern about the implications on women's migration as the result of the domination of "melodramatic" (page 5) sex trafficking rhetoric produced and promoted by anti-prostitution feminists and investigative journalists. Their discourse on human trafficking and prostitution, she criticizes, levies unjustified impacts on migrant women since women's migration process is taken as a "narrative of sexual trauma" (page 4).

Agency and Victims' Representation

Liberal feminists also attack the portrayal of helpless victim women in their "melodramatic" sex trafficking and prostitution rhetoric. Sex workers' rights advocates accuse abolitionists of robbing women of their autonomy. Kempadoo (2005) criticizes that the excessive practice of labeling and overemphasizing women, as helpless and innocent victims of male traffickers, discredited women's autonomy and capacity to make choices by "privileging external forces in the conceptualization of the trafficked person" (page xxiii).

Jo Doezema (2001) explains why the portrayal of female trafficking victims is central to prominent sex trafficking discourse by employing Wendy Brown's (1995) explanation of the "emergence of 'politicized identities'" (page 19) and concept of "injured identity" (page 1). According to the author, "politicized identities" are identities

formed on the base of social, political and economic characteristics such as women, gay, poor and ethnic minority. Brown's examination of the "emergence of 'politicized identities'" demystifies the relationship between the identity formation process and the state – the structure that makes those identities possible. Brown's theory shows a catch-22 in the relationship between the subordinate and the state. That is, the identities of the subordinate stem from the "wounded history" (page 22) which the subordinate fight to eradicate. However, an end to "pain" also means that they lose the identity foundation. As the result of this characteristic, the subordinate's confrontation with the state is to look for protection instead of freedom and power and their political weapon is morality argument.

Doezema relates to Brown's theory in examining the "injured identity" of sex workers at the heart of anti-prostitution organizations and activists such as Coalition against Trafficking in Women (CATW) and Barry Kathleen – CATW's founder. The author analyzes Barry's works to prove that her discourse about prostitution relies on the "injury" of sex workers and the harms of prostitution (page 27) which are necessary to form their identity - women who are subordinate to men and sexually exploited by men because of their sexual activities with men. Doezema argues that this feminist monopoly of truth about sex work and sex workers' experience refuses to acknowledge the existence of injury-free experience.

As theorized by Brown, Doezema argues that Barry and her organization's efforts are to obtain protection from the state by equating all sex work experience with sex trafficking. The author argues that such a tactic levies great punishment on women

because, in the name of their safety, women's migration is restricted and all of those who are involved in a woman's path to prostitution are accused of human trafficking.

In this chapter, I have contextualized the contemporary sex trafficking discourse and discussed the main arguments about it. The next chapter will present the findings of the research.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS

In this chapter, I will present the data in four sections. In the first section, I will unfold the public image of sex traffickers that are collectively and selectively promoted and reinforced by news coverage of the topic. In the second section, I will present the portrayal of sex traffickers in smaller racial and gender groups such as Black traffickers and female traffickers. In the third section, I will present data that portray traffickers' agency by examining the activeness that the news has portrayed them to answer the question about the relationship between the portrayals of traffickers and their victims. The fourth section is about the operation of knowledge about sex traffickers. I will examine whose voices contribute to the construction of sex traffickers' portrayals. It is important to point out that the portrayals of sex traffickers that are presented in the first three sections mainly come from news that rely heavily on citations of institutional sources such as police, prosecutors, judges, and attorneys. That means rather than taken as truth or partial truth, the portrayal of sex traffickers is a product of a complicated process of exercising powers, which selectively accepts the legitimacy of certain knowledge, while it silences the others. This will be unpacked in the discussion chapter.

The news coverage of specific sex trafficking cases often involves two types of prostitution operations: one that operates sexual services via online ads, phone calls and motels and one that solicits clients on the street. Comparing to the legal definition of sex trafficking, the sex trafficking practices that are reported in the news narrowly focus on prostitution activities – (having sexual intercourse in exchange for money) as opposed to

other forms of commercial sex acts such as stripping and pornography. In addition, news coverage of sex trafficking is dominated with cases of “severe forms of trafficking in persons” which is defined by laws to involve the use of “force, fraud and coercion”. The majority of news stories of specific cases of sex trafficking involves traffickers’ use of “force, fraud, and coercion” and victims who are under 18 years old.

Another kind of news that is not part of the data set is one that covers multiple raids of “indoor prostitution” activities such as massage parlors, hotels or brothels. Such kinds of news are, more often than not, not about the portrayal of sex traffickers but about the promotion and appraisal of law enforcement power.

The Public Image of Sex Traffickers:

Sexually and Physically Violent, Deceptive and Coercive

The portrayal of sex traffickers in the news presented in this section is based on two components of the news: the titles and the news bodies.

Child Sex Trafficking and Teen Sex Trafficking

Highlighted in the titles of the news are the ages and genders of the victims who are teenagers and children. It shows the importance of age in producing the striking and saddening public sentiment by associating sex with children because it violates brutally the idea that children are innocent. The association of children and sex in the titles assumes the consensus of wrongness of whoever commits such crime against children.

“Child prostitution” (“Man Gets 20 Years in Craigslist Child Prostitution Case,” 2010)

“Child sex trafficking” (“Police Officer Charged with Child Sex Trafficking,” 2004)

“Sex trafficking of a child” (“S.F. Man Indicted on Charges of Sex Trafficking of a Child,” 2006)

“Girl’s sex trafficking” (“Woodbury Man Convicted in Girl’s Sex Trafficking,” 2011)

“Pimping underage girls” (Fraley, 2012a)

Traffickers’ Genders

Based on photographs and pronouns (e.g. “he” or “she”) used in the content, traffickers’ gender can be identified in 100% cases. Among them, there are 44 cases in which traffickers are male, 10 cases in which traffickers are female and 14 cases in which traffickers are both male and female, of which traffickers are identified as couples in 7 cases. However, the evidence that talks to the importance of traffickers’ genders in the news is that traffickers’ genders appear first thing in the titles in 40 cases (58.82%), 30 of which are men (75%). This promotes the idea that sex trafficking and prostitution are gender-based violation in which perpetrators are often male and victims are often female.

“Two men who pimped Duluth teens in St. Paul sentenced to over 21 years.” (Gurton, 2013e)

“5 VA. Men charged in teen sex ring.” (Jouvenal, 2012a)

“Man who drugged, sold girl for sex gets 17 years.” (Cook, 2012)

“Man faces human trafficking charges.” (Morel, 2013)

“2 men jailed in sex crimes.” (Summers, 2013)

Traffickers' Age

Age is another important biological element of traffickers' portrayal. Traffickers' age is always mentioned right after traffickers' full names. Besides information about victims' age in the titles, to a lesser extent, victims' age is also an essential fact in sex trafficking news bodies. In the cases that there are multiple victims, the age of the youngest one, often under 18 years old is more likely to be stated. The data shows that the average age of traffickers reported in the news is 31.22 years old and that of the victims is 15.95 years old. In average, traffickers are almost twice older than their victims. This difference in age highlights the seniority in terms of wisdom and experience of traffickers comparing to their victims. It renders other aspects of sex trafficking such as older traffickers' violence, deception, coercion and younger victims' submission to traffickers self-explained.

Traffickers' Races

Although there is no language indicator of traffickers' race, traffickers' race can be determined by traffickers' photographs. 32 out of 45 cases with traffickers' photographs accessible are of black traffickers.

Traffickers' Ethnicity and Nationality

Sex traffickers' ethnicity and nationality are not often identified in the news, except for a small number of cases in which traffickers are foreigners. As many as 95.6% of the cases do not identify traffickers' nationality.

Sex Traffickers Are “Brutally” Violent

The use of force, fraud and coercion is essential in identifying a case of human trafficking. The portrayal of sex traffickers in the news is consistent with these indicators of “severe forms” of human trafficking. Through their use of force, fraud and coercion, sex traffickers are portrayed to be violent, manipulative and oppressive. Moreover, the focus of news about sex trafficking is placed majorly on different forms of violence and harms that traffickers personally cause to the victims rather than the harms caused by the act of selling sex itself.

Traffickers’ violence is portrayed with three forms: concrete actions, threats, and “use of violence”.

Concrete Actions. Traffickers’ violence is portrayed through violent actions such as “brutal beating” (Summers, 2013), “beaten, raped, handcuffed and forced to snort cocaine” (Stevens, 2012), “strangling” (Melvin, 2012c), “pinning her down on the bed” (Kurhi, 2012), “slapped, punched and hit her in the head, ribs and arms with a baseball bat while threatening to kill her” (Chin, 2013), and “locked her in the kennel overnight” (Visser, 2011).

Trafficker’s violence is also involved the use of weapons such as baseball bats, guns and knives, of which guns are the more frequent weapons.

Threatening. Traffickers are described to frequently use threats of violence to force their victims to do things they are not willing to. While in many cases, forms of

threatening are not specify, it is noticeable that among those cases that are specified, traffickers' threats to harm victims' lives are the most frequent.

“Threatening to kill” is used by traffickers to force victims to have sex with them, to have sex with other people, to keep them quiet, to keep them from escaping, to make sure something done properly such as making enough money. In these cases, victims are described to surrender and be submissive to their traffickers.

“She was raped, assaulted, threatened with bodily harm or death if she fled.” (Blackwell & Farlow, 2009)

“One girl said Lewis had threatened her with a gun when she refused to prostitute herself.”(Morel, 2013)

“She is afraid that she would be shot or physically assaulted if she did.” (Morel, 2013)

“After the 15-year-old refused to prostitute herself again for Arteco Marvell Rhodes, the 38-year-old Chicago man beat her with a baseball bat, strangled her, urinated on her and threatened to kill her and burn her body or throw it in the river, according to a criminal complaint filed in Ramsey County District Court.” (Chin, 2013)

“Threatened to kill her if she left or called anyone.” (Vezner, 2012)

“Threatened her with a gun if she didn't follow his rules.” (Melvin, 2012b)

“They would be harmed or killed if they escaped or talked to anyone.” (Blackwell & Farlow, 2009)

“Washington threatened the girls with a gun, telling them they were going to work as a prostitute for him.”(Harris, 2013)

“Use of Violence”. In many cases, traffickers' use of violence is only described in general terms, for example, “using violence”, “use of force”, or “physical violence”.

The level of physical violence of sex traffickers is significantly high. This trait couples with traffickers' masculinity. 62.8 % of male trafficker cases is associated with physical violence.

"A Sacramento man who used drugs and violence to govern a teenage prostitution ring in South San Francisco and San Jose hotels." (Melvin, 2012a)

"He also admitted physical violence was used to ensure she would participate." ("Man gets 15 years for sex trafficking," 2010)

"There were three woman in this guy's stable that he manipulated through sex, emotional control, physical violence and drugs," deputy district attorney Chad Mahalich said." (Fraley, 2013)

Sex Traffickers Are Manipulative

Traffickers are described to be very clever in gaining trust and pretending to be "kind" to their victims. Traffickers' deceptive strategies include those that exploit victims' needs for care, for friendship or for a romantic relationship.

"Brought her to live with him in Sacramento and then put her to work." (Melvin, 2012c)

"Enticed them with romance and promises of a better life in the United States." (Rankin, 2004)

"Recruiting the teens with the promise of a "family-like environment." (Melvin, 2011b)

"Curtis claimed he would [take care of her]. Instead, he put her into work, enlisting adult prostitutes to school the girl in the ways of street." (Cauvin, 2006)

"He offered a seeming act of kindness but the next day he wanted money for the room and he had a way for the woman to earn it." (Kurhi, 2012)

"She thought Bell was interested in her romantically." (Levesque, 2012a)

"Parker befriended her only to exploit her." (Hanners, 2013)

This aspect of traffickers' trait is associated with the portrayal of female victims being easy to fall for the love of their traffickers.

"She fell in love, and she believed he loved her." (Gurnon, 2013b)

"Anything to make him love me at that point." (Gurnon, 2013b)

"She has to pay him back. By then, the girl often cares for him." (Gurnon, 2013a)

"The woman met Diggs online and considered him her boyfriend." (Gurnon, 2013e)

"'With some of these women, they truly believe the trafficker were their boyfriends,' he [a police officer] stated in the release." (Kurhi, 2012)

In many others cases, deception is simply described as an act of "luring" and "fraud" without specific examples.

Sex Traffickers Use Force

Coercion is frequently stated in the news, either briefly by using languages such as "forcing", "coercion", "coerced", and "forced" in many other cases without specific examples, or by providing details about how coercion takes place and for what purpose. Often sexual abuse and physical abuse are used as means of coercion.

"Forced the three women and 17 year old girl in prostitution." (Melvin, 2013a) (Jouvenal, 2012b)

"Forced to have sex with Reddy and his sons." (Mangaliman, 2002)

"Forced to stay through threats and violence, including rape." (Jouvenal, 2012a)

"If girls refused to work, it sometimes turned violent." (Jouvenal, 2012a)

*“He also admitted physical violence was used to ensure she would participate.”
 (“Man gets 15 years for sex trafficking,” 2010)*

“She was forced to have sex with several men there” (Gurnon, 2013e)

“Were forced to continue working through threat, violence and rape.” (Jouvenal, 2012b)

Sexual Assaults and Rapes

Although it is not an essential element to define sex trafficking, sex traffickers’ sexual abuse against their victims is often stated in the news, all of which are cases of male traffickers. In the cases that have both female and male traffickers, sexual assaults and rapes are attributed solely and independently on the male traffickers. Traffickers’ sexual abuse against their victims highlights three types of sexual acts: forcible sex, rape, and illegitimate sex.

Forcible sex is the cases in which male traffickers are described to force females into having sex with them, with other people and for a number of times.

“[He] forced her to have sex with him three times.” (Vezner, 2012)

“Forcing her to have sex with 14 men.” (Jouvenal, 2012b)

“Other girls were often required to submit to sex with gang members as a ‘try out’.” (Jouvenal, 2012a)

“Forced to have sex with Reddy and his sons.” (Mangaliman, 2002)

Raping and sexual assaults are other frequent sexual acts that traffickers committed against their victims. In some cases, rapes are described to be forms of masochism such as “[he] rape her friend in front of her” (Rossetter, 2010), “[he] raped

them for his own enjoyment” (Levesque, 2012b), or “when he wanted to punished her, he would rape her anally” (Gurnon, 2013d).

In the text, the act of having sex between traffickers and victims is not always associated with coercion. However, it is presented to be problematic for different reasons, such as illegitimate sex, having sex with the underage, or “free of charge” sex.

“Rhodes had sex with the 15 year old.” (Chin, 2013)

“[The husband] engaging in sexual acts with many of the women.” (Stockwell & Lengel, 2004)

“Gang members had sex with her for no charge.” (Zapana, 2011)

The sex rule concerning the age of those who participate in sexual acts is highlighted, emphasizing the fact the girls had sex with “adult men” or the age difference between the two who participate in sexual acts.

“According to US attorney... they took the Wisconsin girls to area hotels and residences where adult men would pay to have sex with them.” (Pina, 2003)

“This is a very serious offense and the age [difference] between you and the victim was tremendous,” the judge said.” (Cook, 2012)

Sex is used by traffickers as a form of punishment and a means to control the victims.

“They were controlled through sexual assaults and brutal beatings.”(Summers, 2013)

“His abuse was violent: mental, physical, sexual with an attempt to control their minds.” (Blackwell & Farlow, 2009)

“When he wanted to punished her, he would rape her anally”. ” (Gurnon, 2013d)

In summary, sexual activities of traffickers in the news are often with a connotation of “wrong sex”, with or with explicit reasons. Traffickers’ social and biological characteristics in the news are very limited to gender, age and race. In addition to physical violence, fraud and coercion, sexual violence and sexual assault of traffickers against victims is highlighted throughout the news. Moreover, the harmful acts that traffickers have against the victims are covered in greatly more details than the act of selling sex and having sex with clients.

The Portrayal of Male Black Traffickers and Female Traffickers

Among the 25 cases that involved sexual abuse acts, 18 cases are male traffickers and 12 cases are black traffickers. Of 35 cases of physical violence, 22 cases are male traffickers and 21 are black traffickers. Of the 22 cases that involve deception, 15 are male traffickers and 11 are black traffickers. Of 44 cases that involve coercion, 26 are male traffickers and 23 are black traffickers (see Table 9 and 10).

Because of the fact that the majority of those who are convicted and reported by the news as sex trafficker are black and male and that the number of traffickers from other gender and racial groups is significantly small, it is not statistically meaningful to compare different genders and racial groups. The data below will present the

representation of three groups of traffickers: male black traffickers, gang traffickers and female traffickers with no attempt to draw comparison.

TABLE 9: TRAFFICKERS' PORTRAYAL AND TRAFFICKERS' GENDER

Genders	Number of cases	Sexual abuse/total	Physical abuse/total	Emotional abuse/total	Deception /total	Coercion /total
Men	44	18/25	22/35	5/8	15/22	26/44
Women	10	0	2	0	1	7
Couples	7	3	5	2	3	6
Mixed	7	4	5	1	3	5

TABLE 10: TRAFFICKERS' PORTRAYAL AND THEIR RACE

Races	Number of cases	Sexual abuse/total	Physical abuse/total	Emotional abuse/total	Deception /total	Coercion /total
Black	32	12/25	21/35	5/8	11/22	23/44
White	8	4	4	3	2	5
Asian	5	2	1	1	2	3
Non-white	6	3	3	0	2	1
Unknown	22	7	10	1	8	16

A majority of representation of sexual abuse, physical abuse and deception is attributed to male traffickers. The reason is that, in the news, the number of men who were accused of sex trafficking and the number of news items reporting about them are disproportionately higher than other gender groups. Among the 46 cases in which traffickers' race can be identified, there are 32 cases in which at least one trafficker is black. Of which 17 cases are male.

Within the group of male traffickers, there are two groups that will be discussed in this part: traffickers who are gang members and Black traffickers.

Black Male Traffickers

Black male traffickers reportedly committed physical assaults against women in many cases. They “brutally assaulted young women” and often “threaten to kill”. Physical violence by black male traffickers is portrayed to be “brutal”. For example, “over the course of three hours slapped, punched, and hit her in the head, ribs and arms with a baseball bat” (Chin, 2013), “Cross became upset that she didn't make enough money so he punched her in the face and she left with a black eye” (Gurnon, 2013e), and “threatened to beat them unrecognizable” (Ahmed, 2007). Details such as “he ordered other streetwalkers to beat their recalcitrant co-worker” (Visser, 2011) and “locked her in the kennel overnight” (Visser, 2011) highlighted the unusual nature of black traffickers’ violence. The level of violence that victims are subject to from traffickers may provoke more resentment than the act of selling sex itself.

Raping and sexual assaults are frequent sexual acts that traffickers committed against their victims. In male black traffickers’ cases, rapes are detailed in terms of traffickers’ pleasure, coercion and pain.

“[He] raped them for his own enjoyment.” (Levesque, 2012b)

“Raping a 17-year-old girl at knifepoint.” (Jouvenal, 2012b)

“When he wanted to punished her, he would rape her anally.” (Gurnon, 2013d)

Black male traffickers “lured” their victims into prostitution by tackling their needs for an intimate, romantic, friendship or family relationship. Black male traffickers are described to be able to manipulate “through emotional control”, “brainwash to the point that they [the victims] feel they have nowhere else to go” and “to kick them [the

victims] down and made them feel worthless”. The ability to “control” that traffickers are described to have renders traffickers “dangerous” force who “prey on” vulnerable individuals in the society and harm them. On the other hand, it also implies that what makes an individual, especially women, vulnerable in the face of sex traffickers is their intention to have a romantic or close relationship with black male traffickers.

“Brought her to live with him in Sacramento and then put her to work.” (Melvin, 2012c)

“He asked if she wanted to make money and be ‘part of the family’.” (Chin, 2013)

“She though Bell was interested in her romantically.” (Levesque, 2012a)

“They got their trust.”(Gurnon, 2013e)

“Promise them money drug and a family-like environment, used drug, force and threat to control the girl.” (Melvin, 2011b)

“Befriended them and promised to take care of them.” (Levesque, 2012b)

Male black traffickers use force to coerce victims to prostitute. It is also used to prevent them from escaping, to discipline victims and to force them to work hard.

“Forcing a runaway teenager girl to prostitute herself to help pay his bills.” (Bluestein, 2012)

“She were forced to have sex with Washington's customers to earn food, shelter and clothing.”(Garner, 2013)

“Forced to stay through threats and violence, including rape.” (Jouvenal, 2012a)

“[The trafficker] had tracked her down and warned her to stop ‘running away’.”(Visser, 2011)

“One girl said Lewis had threatened her with a gun when she refused to prostitute herself.”(Morel, 2013)

“She was raped, assaulted, threatened with bodily harm or death if she fled.” (Blackwell & Farlow, 2009)

“They would be harmed or killed if they escaped or talked to anyone.” (Blackwell & Farlow, 2009)

“Threatened to kill her if she left or called anyone.” (Vezner, 2012)

“Threaten her with a gun if she didn’t follow his rules.” (Melvin, 2012b)

“Threatened her with a gun when she refused to prostitute herself.” (Morel, 2013)

Gang Members

Gang member traffickers are described to be violent. However, specific violent acts are not detailed as in other cases. Their violence is portrayed through the presence of a “machete”, a nickname (e.g. “Murder” (Wilber, 2011)), and the fact that they are gang members makes them inherently violent.

“The gang also known as MS-13 is known for being violent.” (Zapana, 2011)

Gang member traffickers often rape the victims. Another unique aspect of gang member traffickers is that their victims have to provide sex to other gang members.

“Submit to sex with gang members as a ‘try out’.” (Jouvenal, 2012a)

“Gang members had sex with her for no charge.”(Zapana, 2011)

Gang member traffickers' exploitation of their victims is described in terms of number of men victims have to have sex with and the price for a specific time length of sexual service.

"Forced her to have sex with 14 men." (Jouvenal, 2012b)

"\$40 for 15 minutes." (Wilber, 2011)

"Customers lined up for her." (Zapana, 2011)

"M.W. and another girl had sex with 10 to 15 men, charging them each \$30 for 10 minutes." (Jouvenal, 2012a)

"From the moment he laid his eyes on the victim, [he] did not see a young 12-year-old runaway in need of help", [but] he saw a money making opportunity." (Zapana, 2011)

Traffickers' Photographs

Traffickers' photographs are related closely to black traffickers and gang member traffickers due to the great level of visibility of their racial and gang identity in their photographs. 15 news items with photos contain a total of 18 photos, 15 of which are of traffickers (83.33%). 30 photos of traffickers were found online for those news items that do not provide a photo of traffickers. 32 cases in which traffickers are identified with black have photos of traffickers. 12 cases have photos published with the news items. 22 were found online, from news published by other news agencies. The visual aspects of news coverage of sex trafficking encourage an impression that the majority of traffickers are black as well as other people of colors (see Appendix B).

Traffickers who are gang members tend to be represented in association with their gangs in terms of gang signs such as tattoos, clothes, and body representation that depict their nature of violence (see Appendix B).

Female Sex Traffickers

Sexual abuse and physical abuse are not highlighted often in cases in which traffickers are female. However, the aspect of coercion is essential. Yet, coercion is expressed in a milder way. In five out of seven news items, means of coercion is not specified.

In cases in which co-conspirers are both male and female, the data show consistently that most of the actions are attributed to men or to both more than to women in the same trafficking case. Female conspirers are also described to play a minor role by doing what is instructed by their male partners.

They are identified as “his girlfriend”, “his wife”, “a sex trafficker’s girlfriend” or “one of his top prostitutes”. They often have to prostitute themselves or be offered for prostitution by their male partner.

“Foreman then placed an ad on Backpage.com offering Green [the woman facing human trafficking charge with Foreman] and the girl for prostitution.” (“Pair Accused of Forcing Girl into Prostitution,” 2013)

“The woman, who met Washington in February 2012 and was selling sex for him by April, repeatedly told him she didn't want to do it, she testified. She loved him, she said.” (Gurton, 2013d)

Testimonies by female co-conspirers are used against male traffickers. On the one hand, those testimonies are used as strong evidence to confirm the evil nature of male

traffickers. On the other hand, they portray the female conspirers as less powerful (e.g. “he told her”) and being even exploited herself (e.g. being offered her for prostitution).

“He told her to look for addicts and other needy women who could be lured into the ring, she said”. (Krueger, 2013)

“I do specifically remember him telling me, ‘The more vulnerable, the better,’” she testified.” (Krueger, 2013)

“[He] ordered other streetwalkers to beat their recalcitrant co-worker.” (Visser, 2011)

In most cases, female traffickers are not described as violent. When appearing, they are described to be in charge of minor tasks such as posting ads, collecting money, “responsible for such ‘day-to-day affairs of the business’ as exerting control, psychologically and otherwise over the prostitutes” (Stockwell & Lengel, 2004), recruiting and anything told by a male trafficker.

How Did the Portrayal of Sex Traffickers Make Their Victims Appear More Vulnerable and Helpless?

In order to observe the portrayal of “agency” in the use of active and passive voices of verbs describing actions by traffickers and victims against each other, I developed a tool call “chart of actions”. The chart is a table with columns to record passive and active action verbs by victims and traffickers (See table 11). The data collected using this tool help to visualize the weight of “agency” that is placed on victims and traffickers in the news based on their actions (See Figure 4)

TABLE 11: TABLE TOOL TO COLLECT DATA ABOUT SEX TRAFFICKERS' AND VICTIMS' ACTIONS

Victims		Traffickers	
Acted upon	Acting	Acting	Acted upon
Abused sexually and mentally		Promising... better life	
Recruited		Delivering hell on earth	
Held hostage		Looking for young women	
Held against her will		Watching them	
Raped		Warning them	
Assaulted		Offering help	
Threatened			
Forced to work as prostitute			
Lured			
Cell phones taken			
Forced to dance and sell themselves			
Forced to recruit			
Enduring brainwash			

Figure 4 is how I visualize the patterns of levels of agency of traffickers and victims (Find example for each pattern in Appendix C). The bars represent the level of activeness and passiveness of traffickers and victims. The bars do not represent the quantity of actions. Instead, they represent the absence and presence and the relative comparison among each category of actions.

The light blue bars in figure 4 are action that traffickers actively do to their victims. Darker blue bars are also traffickers' actions but are expressed in passive form, for example: "she was sexually abused". The red bars are actions that victims actively do to their traffickers, most of which are "escaping, fleeing, running away".

The degree of actions by victims and actions done to victims vary from pattern to pattern. However, it is quite consistent that traffickers' active roles in making decisions and taking actions against victims are obvious throughout all patterns (light blue columns). In patterns 2, 3, 4 and 5, victims are subject to a high level of actions done by traffickers.

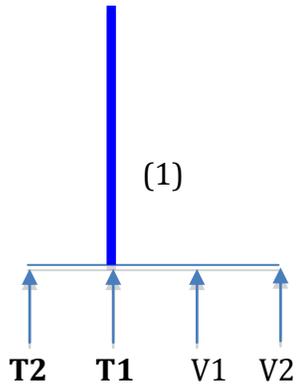
For example: “*She was raped, assaulted, threatened with bodily harm or death if she fled.*”

The actions that victims actively do to their traffickers in patterns 4, 5 and 6 are often actions with no harms intended: “fleeing”, “escaping”, “loving”, “meeting” and “sending money”.

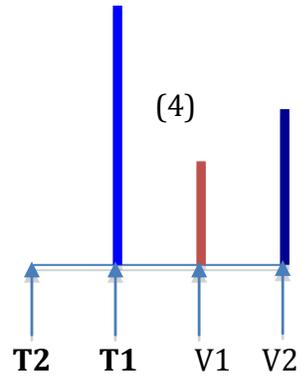
The one category that is consistently silent in all cases is the action that are done upon traffickers, for example, “the trafficker was hit on the face by the victims”. I would like to suggest that the silence of such actions in the news does not necessarily reflect the absence of those actions in reality. Instead, the function of this silence is to make sense the simple portrayal of sex traffickers as the bad guy and of victims as harmless, passive, weak, submissive figures.

In the cases of gang traffickers, the charts show a consistently excessive level of active actions on the side of the traffickers. The most popular pattern is number 4 in which victims are subject to a high level of actions done by traffickers. In addition, they are also described to actively act themselves. Their actions include “working”, “having sex”, “buying ...drugs”, “refusing to work” and “turning to [the trafficker] for help”.

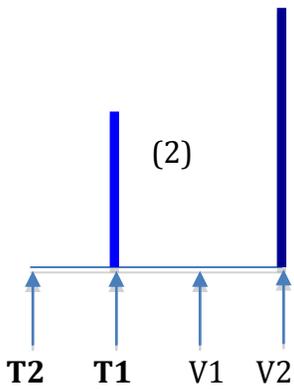
FIGURE 4: SIX PATTERNS OF ACTIONS



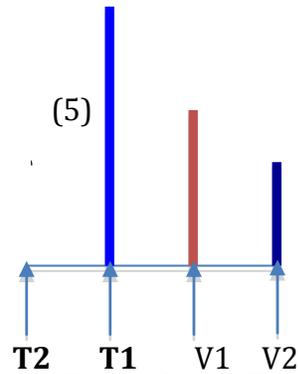
Pattern (1): There are only traffickers' active actions (i.e. the trafficker hit the victim).



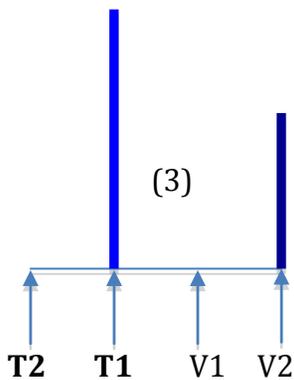
Pattern (4): Beside traffickers' actions (active and passive), there are some active actions by victims.



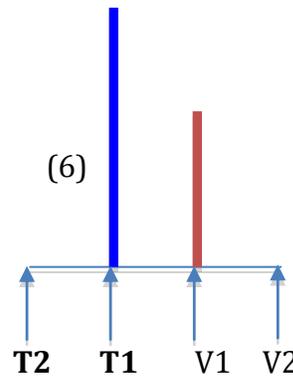
Pattern (2): There is a greater level of traffickers' actions that are expressed in passive voice (i.e. The victim was beaten).



Pattern (5): There are fewer traffickers' actions in passive voice than victims' active actions. However, traffickers' active actions still dominate.



Pattern (3): There is a greater level of traffickers' actions that are expressed in active voice than passive voice.



Pattern (6): There is a confrontation between victims and traffickers whose actions are expressed in active voice. However, traffickers' active actions still dominate.

Legends:

*T2: Level of actions **done** upon traffickers by victims in passive voice*

*T1: Level of actions traffickers **do** to victims in active voice*

*V1: Level of actions victims **do** to traffickers in active voice*

*V2: Level of actions **done** upon victims by traffickers in passive voice*

In general, sex traffickers are portrayed in the news with a great level of “agency”. They are described to have great capacity to act and to make decisions. Most of the time, their actions are harmful to victims. To highlight the level of violence and “agency” of traffickers, victims’ agency is dismissed.

The excessive level of traffickers’ harmful actions done to their victims is stopped only by law enforcement actions such as “arrest, jail, charge, hold, accuse, sentence, question and convict”. In the titles of the news, punishment is highlighted very often. In 16 titles, traffickers’ sentences are stated. Among the remaining 52 titles, 36 titles include languages signifying traffickers’ legal accountability such as “charged”, “convicted”, “accused”, “sentenced”, “arrested” and “indicted”.

On the one hand, all of these actions mean to put an end to those actions that are described to be committed by traffickers, which may sound very assuring to public readers. On the other hand, it implies a promotion of a single solution to end sex trafficking: keeping them in check by imprisonment and monitoring (in some cases, sex traffickers are required to register as sex offenders upon their completion of prison term).

Moreover, I argue that the portrayal of trafficking victims as passive and powerless as reflected in news discourse is made possible because of the acceptance of

the “cruel, violent and manipulative” traffickers. The portrayals of these two figures are “mutually inclusive” – one cannot exist without the other. In other words, victims cannot convincingly appear to be innocent and helpless without a shrewd and violent trafficker.

The Knowledge about Sex Traffickers

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, different aspects of the portrayal of sex traffickers in the news that has been presented in the above sections are a product of a complicated process of exercising powers and selecting knowledge. In the news, this process is most apparent with the overwhelming presence of law enforcement’s and judiciary’s voices. These governmental agencies, in the news, help to stop the crime and decide what level of punishment is just. Marginal voices of victims, traffickers and defendant attorneys are also included selectively. This section will examine the knowledge about sex traffickers across these groups of power in the news that contribute to the public portrayal of sex traffickers, focusing on four sources: law enforcement and judiciary, victims, defendants’ attorneys and traffickers.

Law Enforcement’s and Judiciary’s Voices (Governmental Officials’ Voice)

Traffickers’ Strategies. Through governmental officials (GOs), the public is informed about the general strategies that traffickers use to approach their victims (making false promises, gaining trust, using social media), and to “turn” a woman into a prostitute (use of force, “brainwashing”, sexual violence, “control their mind”, and drug). GOs provide the knowledge of who is the target of sex traffickers.

“They got their trust, made promises to them and then turned on them and used them for the worst possible purposes,’ the judge said.”(Gurnon, 2013e)

“Why the victims stayed with their abusers is complicated, Smith said [St. Paul Police Chief], referring to ‘indentured servitude.’ ‘There’s fear, intimidation, threats of violence, acts of violence,’ he said.”(Gottfried, 2010)

“The girls were recruited on Facebook, at bus stops and even in school, according to authorities, then forced to stay through threats and violence, including rape.” (Jouvenal, 2012a)

“Federal prosecutor said the operation was unusual because it preyed on girls living at home, not runaways and used social media to lure teens from Virginia, Maryland and West Virginia.” (Jouvenal, 2012a)

Punishment and Justice. GOs provide justification for the punishment for sex traffickers.

“And the man who turned her out, putting the runaway on the streets of the District at age 12 to turn tricks, should suffer just as long [as for a life time], a federal judge said yesterday.”(Cauvin, 2006)

“[The judge] concluded that Curtis should never walk free again.” (Cauvin, 2006)

“‘The defendant is a dangerous person,’ Assistant US Attorney wrote in a sentencing memorandum to the court.” (Cauvin, 2006)

“‘All children, particularly, vulnerable children, need to be protected from this predator,’ Assistant US Attorney wrote in urging the judge to impose the life sentence”. (Cauvin, 2006)

“I think it was a just verdict, especially in the case of Fields because he is a predator,” Malice [attorney](Fraley, 2012b)

“Frazier said in a news release that human traffickers such as Nwuzi ‘prey upon the most vulnerable members of our society.’” (Kurhi, 2012)

Victims. GOs identify victims (“young”, “down-on-luck”, runaways and “stay at home” girls) and inform about the consequence of traffickers’ crimes on their victims. Those harms are often “permanent”.

“The very people they are looking to for help end up taking advantage of them,” Torres said [government official]. (Wilber, 2011)

“There are physical and psychological repercussions that can take years for them to overcome.”(Wilber, 2011)

“They are taking away the childhood” of the girls who become prostitutes and ruining their lives, said Police Chief. (Pina, 2003)

“Assistant US Attorney Jill Steinberg said the girl has moved on and has ‘a new life. But she is forever scarred.’” (Cook, 2012)

“Desautu ‘earned his substantial sentence in federal prison when he drugged and sexually exploited a 12 year old girl, forever altering the course of her life,’ said US Attorney Sally Quillian Yates.” (Cook, 2012)

Specific Actions. GOs highlight specific actions that traffickers commit against the victims, such as beating, threatening with weapons, giving commands, and sexually assaulting.

“He didn’t beat her, but he pinned her down on the bed and threatened to kill her,” Franzier said [Attorney] (Kurhi, 2012)

“Washington was arrested Nov 4 at his apartment, where the girls were held against their will after being threatened at gunpoint, police said.”(Harris, 2013)

“At the apartment Washington threatened the girls with a gun, telling them they were going to work as prostitutes for him, authorities said.” (Harris, 2013)

“Police said Washington took the 16 year old into a bedroom and began sexually assaulting her while the 15-year-old girl was in another room, where she could hear her friend screaming.” (Harris, 2013)

“Kitt carried a bullet in his pocket and would threaten to kill the women, police said, or the men subjected them to beatings so severe that at least one woman ended up in the hospital.”(Summers, 2013)

“She kept the money they made, authorities said.”(“FBI: Woman Pimped Out Teens,” 2013)

“‘Minus some choice words, Gospel said something to the effect of ‘If she tried to stop, she would beat her up so badly she wouldn’t be working for anybody,’ Wagstaffe said.” (an attorney) (Melvin, 2013b)

In summary, in the news GOs provide comprehensive knowledge about traffickers and victims. GOs have the knowledge about traffickers’ strategies to victimize their targets, who victims are, what traffickers did to the victims and what harms and how serious those harms are for the victims.

Victims’ Voices

Victims’ voices are in forms of direct quotations (i.e. “she said...”) and indirect quotations (i.e. “She told the police that...”). Comparing to the voice of law enforcement, the voice of victims are very modest. Their voices are used to highlight traffickers’ violence, their fear of traffickers, their being manipulated by traffickers and their making profit for traffickers with their prostitution.

“He then took the money, she said.” (Gurnon, 2013b)

“He would ‘yell at me, sometimes he’ll hit me, pull my hair or just hurt me.’” (Gurnon, 2013b)

“He also told her to look for addicts and other needy women who could be lured into the ring, she said.”(Krueger, 2013)

“One girl said Lewis had threatened her with a gun when she refused to prostitute herself.” (Morel, 2013)

“The girl told authorities Laguna-Guerrero raped the friend in front of her.” (Rossetter, 2010)

“One told the police she was afraid of being shot if she refused.” (Morel, 2013)

“The 24-year-old woman also told police that all the money from the prostitution was going to Gospel.” (Melvin, 2013b)

“I do specifically remember him telling me, ‘The more vulnerable, and the better’ she testified.” (Krueger, 2013)

Traffickers’ Voices

Traffickers’ voices, when used, serve as evidence of their aggressive nature.

“‘Call me now!’ Otis Deno Washington texted her on March 29, 2012, according to phone records.”

“‘B---, if you don’t answer your phone, you’re gonna really see another side of me.’” (Gurnon, 2013b)

“M.W.: Lol u tryna make sum money . . . ?

Girl: Howwww

M.W.: Trickin . . . Like u get 50% n u get all da drugs . . . uwwant basically.’” (Jouvenal, 2012a)

“Washington wrote, ‘This (expletive) of mine is (expletive) up the stuff for me. She (expletive) up on the ads on purpose!’” (Gurnon, 2013d)

They are also used to illustrate their lying and their challenging the justice.

“Otis Washington denied being a pimp. He never placed ads promoting women for sex. He didn’t use prepaid credit cards to pay for the ads, didn’t drive women to the customers and didn’t make money off them.”(Gurnon, 2013c)

“Washington repeatedly insisted that statements to the contrary – including those he himself made in a recorded police interview – were lies.” (Gurnon, 2013c)

“I never said that” (Gurnon, 2013c)

“He [a police officer]’s lying.” (Gurnon, 2013c)

Singh said that the teens were his stepdaughters, but the 16-year-old runaway eventually told officers she was being held against her will. (Melvin, 2011a)

Traffickers also asked for mercy and sympathy and showed regrets.

“Called upon the jurors to take seriously their duty to follow the law, heed the presumption of innocence and ‘follow your gut.’” (Gurnon, 2013d)

“He said he worked picking strawberries to supplement the money the girl made.” (Rossetter, 2010)

“Laguna-Guerrero said his smuggler threatened to cut off his fingers if he didn’t pay.” (Rossetter, 2010)

“He told the special agent with a human trafficking task force that he had been dating the girl for about two years and had been sexually active with her since she was 14.” (Rossetter, 2010)

“‘I have great, great remorse,’ Desautu told US District Judge Orinda Evans at his sentencing. ‘I know I should have done something to help the victim. Instead I made it worse.’” (Cook, 2012)

“Her loss, Singh said, set him on the path to his current wife and eventually pimping.” (Melvin, 2011a)

Defense Attorneys’ Voices

Defense attorneys’ voices are interesting because they are the only voices that possibly speak for traffickers’ sake. However, their voices are very limited to news reporting about traffickers’ trials. Some of them are reported to be unable to reach or refuse to comment on the case. In other cases, their voices are about denial of traffickers’ crimes and attempts to attack the victims, refusing to consider them victims.

“The women who said they were victimized have an interest in the outcome, and jurors should “factor that in,” the defense attorney said.” (Gurnon, 2013d)

“Walker’s lawyer, Maxwell Schardt, described his 30-year old client as a hustler who began making money off the street after dropping out of the ninth grade.”(Visser, 2011)

“He [the lawyer] described Walker as sharing a communal criminal lifestyle with several prostitutes, who were more co-conspirators than victims.” (Visser, 2011)

“‘This case has always been to me about hustling and different people hustling and getting by,’ said Schardt said. ‘Walker was associated with these girls who were prostituting themselves and they are just getting by, they lived as a unit, they partied as a unit He hustled, they hustled.’” (Visser, 2011)

“‘The bottom line is these girls were all runaways giving fake names and exaggerating to avoid going back to the receiving home or (juvenile hall),’ Feasel said.” (Fraley, 2012a)

In one special case of a female trafficker, the defendant attorney’s voice is quoted arguing that the trafficker is a victim herself.

“Her attorney argues that the Eagan teen who ran a sex ring off the Internet was as much a victim of a difficult childhood as a criminal.” (Melo, 2008)

“Reisdorf ‘is a 19 year old single mother, raised primarily by a single mother’, Katherine, a federal public defender, in a position brief to the court, ‘Her experience as a young prostitute, first turned out by an older male... distinguishes this case from most.’” (Melo, 2008)

Summary

The important findings will be discussed in the next chapter include:

First, there is a clear illustration of the equation of the practice of sex trafficking and the practice of prostitution with pimps. The condemnation is placed strongly on the

practice of pimping young girls and children, which can be seen in the titles of the news that summarize and highlight key elements in the stories.

Second, sexual violence is an important add-on to the portrayal of sex traffickers. The definitions of sex trafficking and of “severe” forms of sex trafficking do not require sexual violence as an indicator of sex trafficking or its severe form other than “force, fraud and coercion”. The portrayal of sex traffickers tends to conform to the severity indicators of “force, fraud and coercion”. However, sexual violence of traffickers play an equally and sometimes more important part in the public image of sex traffickers.

Third, the level of activeness of traffickers in taking actions against and upon their victims is tremendous. On the one hand, it portrays a great level of agency on the side of traffickers who have a capacity to act, make choices and decisions. On the other hand, this excessive level of activeness automatically squeezes up and dismisses the possibility and conditions that allow victims the capacity to act and make choices and decisions. This coupling with the great emphasis on traffickers’ practice of coercion in the news confirms the centrality of the concept of victims’ “choice” and “agency” in defining sex trafficking reflected in the literature.

Fourth, the portrayal of traffickers in the news is a product of a complicated operation of knowledge and powers. The news about sex trafficking relies greatly on the official sources of information. Therefore, the portrayal of traffickers is framed by the legitimate knowledge of those who are at the higher positions in the social hierarchy (police, judges, attorneys, prosecutors and law makers). In addition, the operation of power does not just lie in the production and reproduction of knowledge about sex traffickers. It also lies in the celebration of certain solutions for the issues: punishment.

Fifth, besides explicit sex traffickers' portrayal in the press, there are aspects that are silenced. One of the examples is the social background of sex traffickers such as education, family and childhood. Very often, sex traffickers come out of nowhere, being extremely harmful to the society and then being locked up. The next chapter will explore more about the silenced aspects of sex traffickers' portrayal.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The Blind Spot of Critiques about Sex Trafficking Discourse

This project shows that underlying arguments to reject or promote the concept of “consent” or “choice” - when identifying an event as sex trafficking and a person as trafficking victims - is the portrayal of sex traffickers. In the mainstream discourse about sex trafficking in developing countries, choice and consent of women are argued to be impossible because of what they are, for example, poverty-stricken, lacking education, lacking economic skills, lacking employment opportunities and lacking awareness. This project shows that, in a context where issues such as women’s poverty, lack of education, lack of economic skills and lack of employment opportunities are not discussed as “root causes”, consent and choice are also determined by how “bad” their traffickers are.

I argue that the portrayal of “helpless and naive” trafficking victims is made possible because of the acceptance of the “cruel, violent and manipulative” traffickers. As illustrated in Figure 5, it is traffickers’ acts that decide the presence or relevance of “consent”. Jo Doezema critiques that the dominant sex trafficking discourse promotes an image of naive helpless victims and uses their “pains” to justify interventions which, in turn, help to advance certain political agendas (i.e. anti-prostitution). The findings of this research show that the vulnerability of victims in the news is constructed and promoted mainly through the portrayal of “capable” sex traffickers. Challenging the

representation of trafficking victims without problematizing the representation of sex traffickers is to fail to recognize that the portrayals of these two figures are “mutually inclusive” – one cannot exist without the other. In other words, victims cannot convincingly appear to be innocent and helpless without a shrewd and violent trafficker. The “mutually inclusive” effect that the portrayal of sex traffickers has on that of victims shows in the news through aspects of age difference, deception, coercion and violence, and the level of activeness. Following, I am going to discuss each of these aspects.

Age

As presented in the findings, victims’ ages are often addressed first thing in the title of news about sex trafficking. It may be because age is closely related to the idea of “consent” and “choice”. When a person is identified as “teens” or “children”, he/she is not capable of giving meaningful consent. At the same time, as shown in the findings, traffickers’ age is a frequent biological characteristic of their portrayal in the news. The vulnerability of these young victims makes more sense in the relationship with older traffickers. Moreover, in the news, age of consent is not merely an arbitrary rule by laws. The incapability to give consent to sexual acts by “girls” and “teens” is naturalized. Female bodies are reduced to “girls”, “teens” and “children” who are, due to their age, simply manipulated by older people.

Deception

Traffickers are portrayed as manipulative. They have the ability to “control” the women they “prey” upon. In order to fall victims of traffickers, victims are portrayed to be young and naive. Victims are also portrayed to be “caring” and “loving”. These supposedly female characteristics are not problematic until they are put in the relationship with traffickers, who are portrayed to be the lustful, greedy and deceptive. Then, their “caring” and “loving” natures are taken as being naive.

Coercion and Violence

The little window that the news opens up for us to view The Sex Trafficker makes visible a great level of coercion and violence. Where there is traffickers’ coercion, with or without specific evidence, it implies the impossibility of victims in making a “choice” or providing “consent”. The level of physical and sexual violence that sex traffickers use to coerce their victims seems to make it self-evident that no one would volunteer to be subject to such treatment, unless they are forced to.

Agency

My research has shown how, in the news, victims’ (lack of) agency is closely related to sex traffickers’ agency (the ability to act). The data shows that sex traffickers are portrayed to exercise a great level of agency. They actively acted upon their victims and at the same time, their victims passively received traffickers’ actions. Victims’ ability to act is simply impossible due to sex traffickers’ activeness. In other words, the interaction between traffickers and their victims is reduced to a series of purposeful

actions and manipulation by traffickers and victims' passive submission. The exceptions are victims' efforts to escape, which is important because such information supports the fact that they are forced.

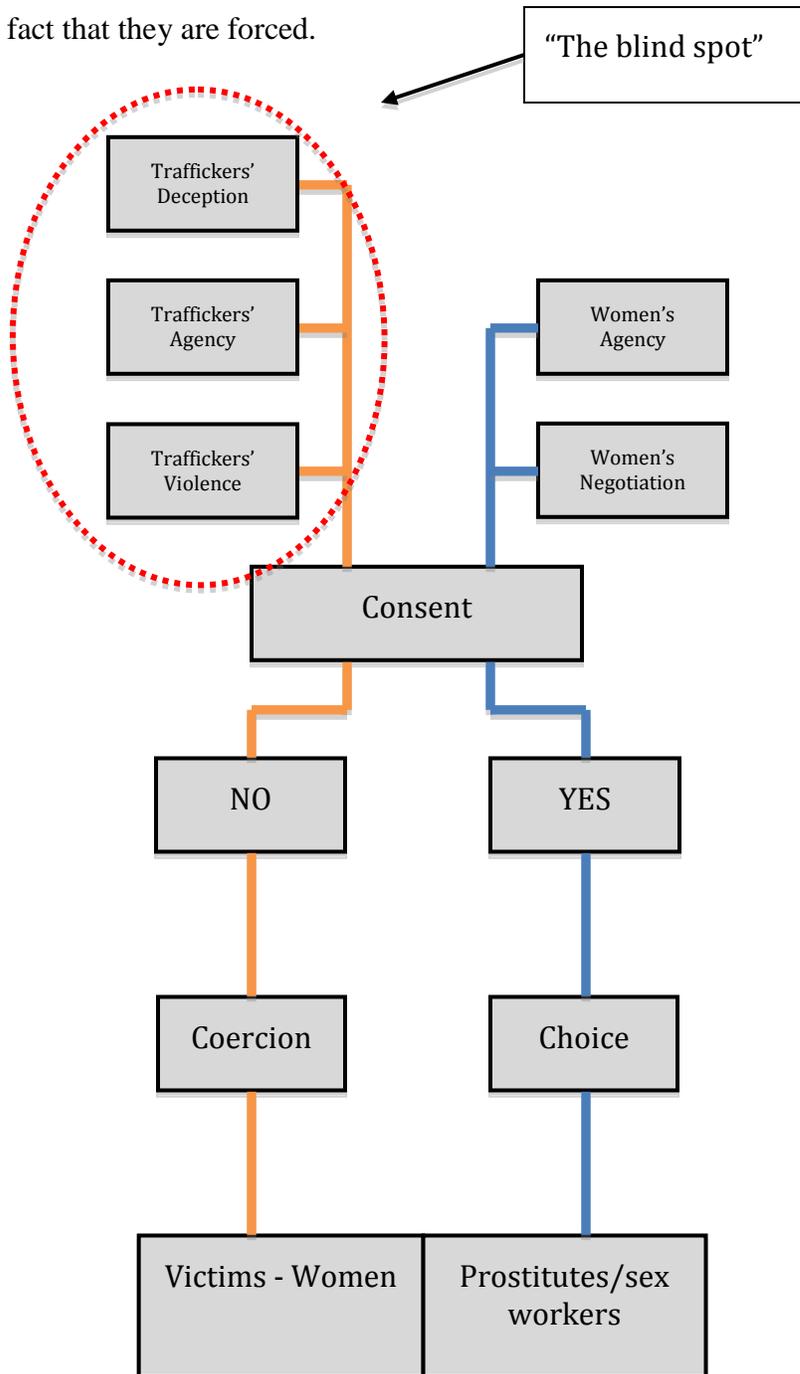


FIGURE 5: SEX TRAFFICKERS IN SEX TRAFFICKING DISCOURSE

As demonstrated in Figure 5, because the portrayal of sex traffickers is related to the possibility of consent, the portrayal is related to whether the involved female bodies are seen as “women” who are forced into prostitution or as “prostitutes” by anti-prostitution groups and as sex workers by sex workers’ right groups. In other words, the portrayal of sex traffickers decides the “fate” of the female bodies.

What I am trying to argue here is that it is not complete to be critical about just the portrayal of trafficking victims because, as discussed above, victims’ portrayals are also constructed by the portrayal of traffickers. However, being critical about the portrayal of sex traffickers is not to deny the maltreatment, violence and abuse committed in incidents labeled as sex trafficking. My point is that the portrayal of sex traffickers in the news is dangerously simplistic because it is constructed to make (simple) sense of sex trafficking. In other words, the representation of sex trafficking is simplistic because it does not only simplify the representation of victims (by simply making them vulnerable) but also simplify that of traffickers (by simply making them extremely cruel and manipulative).

Sex Traffickers’ Visibility and the Simplicity of Sex Traffickers’ Portrayal

The following posters (see Figures 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10) are among the images that could be obtained from a casual search on the Internet about sex trafficking. Besides the portrayal of female bodies, which has been critiqued very much by those who argue for women’s agency and their choice, is the representation of sex traffickers – the mysterious figure who is supposed to cause and be responsible for the pains and fear

portrayed in those posters. On these posters, sex traffickers are made visible by only what they have done to their victims (covering the girl's mouth, figuratively engraving barcodes on the woman's face, putting a robe around her neck, handcuffing and scarring their bodies). Similarly, sex traffickers in the news are also portrayed only by what they have done to their victims.



FIGURE 6: [SEX TRAFFICKING POSTER]. Retrieved May 5, 2014, from: <http://themississippilink.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/TRAFFIC.jpg>



FIGURE 7: [SEX TRAFFICKING POSTER]. Retrieved May 5, 2014, from: https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcQfyrrjdR1tB7iRehHnK6pcK6gYEELo1awNuLdS9V_YuOYCjBnkkQ



FIGURE 8: [SEX TRAFFICKING POSTER]. Retrieved May 5, 2014, from:
http://4.bp.blogspot.com/-WxGv19FkEaw/UozeKz5CWsI/AAAAAAAAATTs/TgUh5YGLqdE/s1600/SexHuman_Trafficking_0.JPG



FIGURE 9: [SEX TRAFFICKING POSTER]. Retrieved May 5, 2014, from:
http://fightslaverynow.files.wordpress.com/2009/08/17_humantraffic.jpg

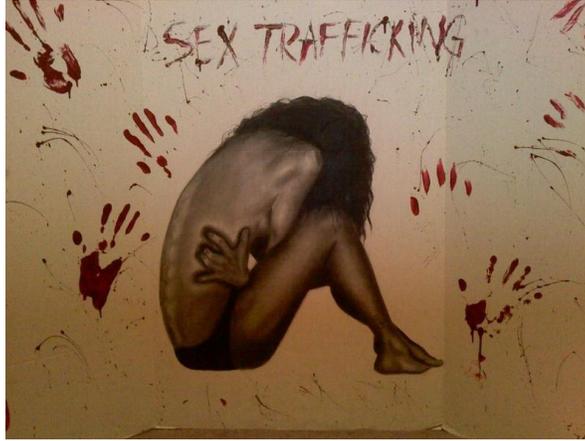


FIGURE 10: [SEX TRAFFICKING POSTER]. Retrieved May 5, 2014, from: http://3.bp.blogspot.com/-j0m0q_Ahf14/UaX_BNOfSdI/AAAAAAAAAro/F-CLAHfDdjU/s1600/Sex_Trafficking_.jpg

As Ericson and his colleagues point out, the news' focus is placed on the “aspects which violate expectations about organized life or which suggest tendencies towards disorganization”. This explains why the portrayal of sex traffickers in the news is concerned mainly with the criminal moments and acts that “violate expectations about organized life”. In other words, the news provides justification to categorize sex traffickers as “bad guys”.

As discussed at the beginning part of this chapter, the portrayal of sex traffickers and that of trafficking victims are constructed to be mutually making sense of each other. In addition, the portrayal of sex traffickers, as deviants, is also constructed on the opposing poles of the good and the bad. The construction and representation of deviance is the act of policing “morality” using “evaluative dualism to access objects” (Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1987, p. 6). Traffickers, victims and law enforcement in the news assume numerous of dualistic characteristics: lust and innocence, greed and care, men

and women, predator and prey, trapping and rescuing, activeness and passiveness, freedom and enslavement, criminal and police, and fear and protection. These binary contrasting properties serve as a means to achieve consensus public judgment and sentiment toward the “good guys” and “bad guys”. It mobilizes public consensus for punishment of the bad guys and for the government’s role to ensure social safety and security.

This simplification of the “bad guys” in the news about sex trafficking creates an impression that sex traffickers come from nowhere and the punishment for them is removing them from the society. The flashing appearance of sex traffickers in the news is greatly reassuring to the public yet disturbing. Sex traffickers are often portrayed on anti-human trafficking posters as a faceless mysterious figure with two big dark hands covering the mouth of a female figure. One day, they suddenly pop out in the news briefly and are taken out of sight again. While imprisoning them creates a feeling of security, it also evokes fear. No one would know who a sex trafficker is prior to his or her appearance in the news.

The simplicity of sex traffickers’ portrayal is ideological. It is apparently not sex worker rights advocates’ interest to outlaw prostitution or to frame making profit from prostitution as sex trafficking. Instead, they advocate the idea that exploiting sex workers is sex trafficking. Sex workers are protected as workers as opposed to as vulnerable women. It is also apparent that the portrayal of sex traffickers in the news is clearly aligned with the binary divide between violent and manipulative male traffickers and young naive female victims supported by the anti-prostitution school of thought. The emphasis on criminal aspects of sex traffickers is aligned with the state’s focus on

criminal control. The simplicity of sex traffickers' portrayals is also used to justify certain interventions such as victims' rescuing, victims' protection, rehabilitation and reintegration, outlawing prostitution, holding sex traffickers accountable, and reinforcing the law enforcement. It is evident that these interventions are favored by certain political interests.

The simplicity of sex traffickers' portrayals serves to simplify the sentiment about sex trafficking as well as about sex traffickers. Resenting the evil and being sympathetic with the innocent are what is needed for action: punishing the evil and protecting the innocent. Therefore, ideology is not only "a sort of 'map' that helps people make sense of complicated reality" (Geerts, 1969, cited in Doezema, 2010, P. 38), but also simplifies people's sentiment towards a complicated phenomenon such as sex trafficking. It makes it easy to pinpoint from the news the evil and the innocent because they are already labeled.

Following is an example of how extreme the sentiment evoked by a simplistic portrayal of a sex trafficker could be. Below the article "Portland pimp who beat teen until ears bled, yelled expletives at jurors, gets 100 years" (Green, 2013) is a section where readers can post their comments which do not often present in news printed on paper (see Figures 11 and 12). Although these comments have been removed from the website, I took screen shots of them before the removal. Among those comments, some suggest "use him for medical experiments", "crack open the skull and see what he is made off" while another hopes "he'll get shot dead in the prison". This is to say that the portrayal of sex traffickers in the news has effectively trigger the necessary resentment and consensus that it is justice to remove the "bad guy" from the society and that the

government has done what is needed to be done. Moreover, the portrayal of “very bad” sex traffickers seems to make it morally acceptable to be, at the least, verbally violent against sex traffickers.

The image shows a vertical list of six social media comments. Each comment includes a profile picture, a name, a timestamp, the text of the comment, and interaction options like 'Like', 'Reply', and 'Share'. The comments are as follows:

- BlueBasset** 8 months ago: His Mugshot says it all. ANGRY little boy. Pretty sad, really. I feel safe saying he is a victim of the system. Fell through all the cracks.
- Winston Smith** 3 months ago: TNB. Subhuman freak.
- MechServ** 8 months ago: Yeah, he's a tough guy. He'll do some REAL screamin of expletives once on the inside. Cya, in a hundred years or so! LULZ!!!
- char_inman** 8 months ago: Use him for medical experiments. Thats about all the sob is good for. Crack open that skull and see what he is made of. Of course give him some pain killer before you do that. But wait. He didnt give his victims any. His Mother had it right when she ditched him right when he was born. He was a born loser.
- Oregon Taxpayer** 8 months ago: She's likely responsible for starting the process to make him the way he is. He was taken away from her by the state.
- JPalto FromUtube** 3 months ago: His mommy didn't breast feed him that is why he is like this.

FIGURE 11: SCREEN SHOTS OF COMMENTS ABOUT A SEX TRAFFICKING ARTICLE

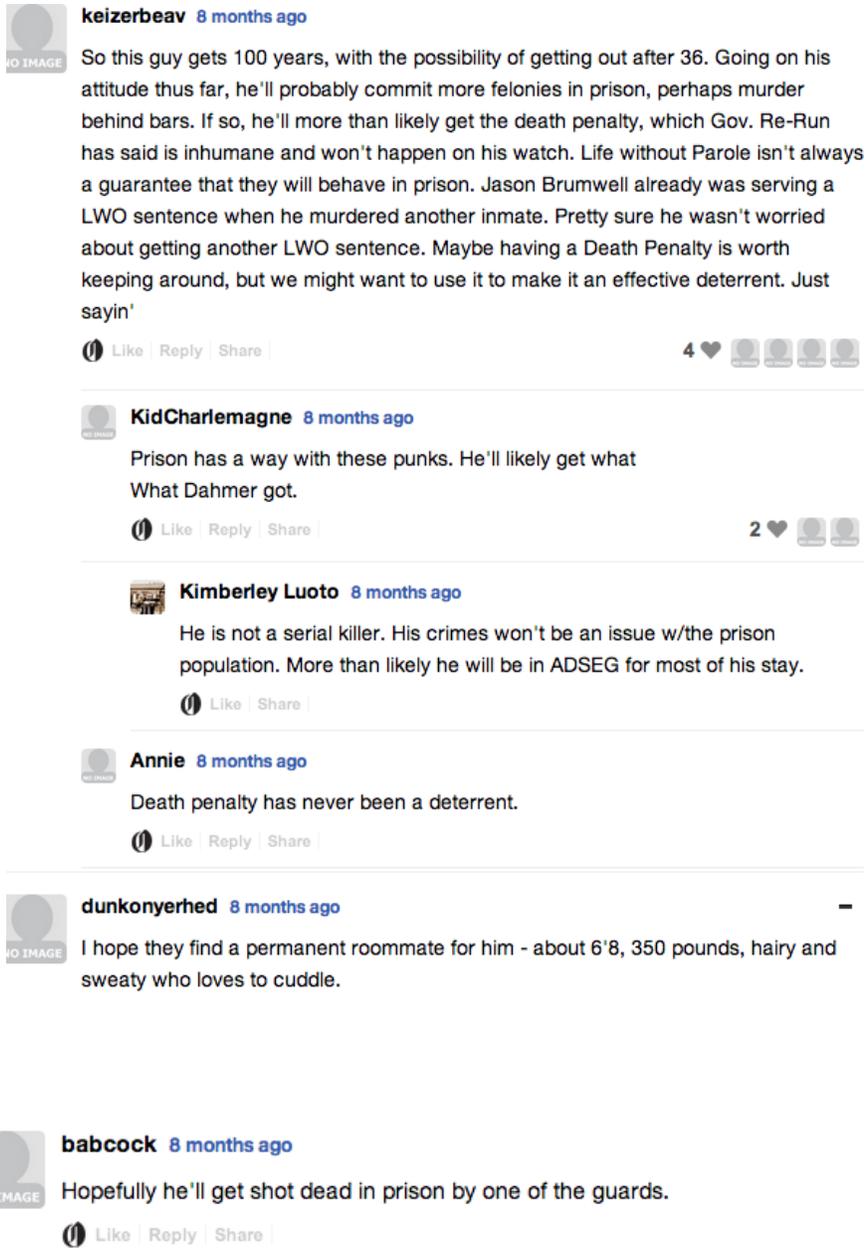


FIGURE 12: SCREEN SHOTS OF COMMENTS ABOUT A SEX TRAFFICKING ARTICLE

Race and Ethnicity in Traffickers' Portrayals

In this project, the question about how factors of race and ethnicity of sex traffickers are translated into their portrayed is not the right question to ask. The majority of sex traffickers in the news appears to be people of color. Therefore, the portrayal of sex traffickers in the news is a portrayal of sex traffickers who are people of color.

Factors of race and ethnicity of sex traffickers do not matter in the portrayal of sex traffickers in the news because the majority of sex traffickers whose race and ethnicity could be identified in the news via photographs and textual content is people of colors. The disproportional presence of people of color in the news is aligned with the higher rate of prosecution of traffickers who are people of color according to government reports. I argue that the higher rate of prosecution of people of colors as sex traffickers does not necessarily reflect that there are more people with color who are sex traffickers. Instead, it is only the output of the operation of a certain identifying and prosecuting system in which factors of race and ethnicity matter. In addition, because of the overwhelming presence of photographs of people of color as sex traffickers, beside violence, deception and coercion, the public image of sex traffickers is also one with a face of people of color which may reinforce common stereotypes and representation of “violent”, “untrustworthy” “others” in this society.

Sex Traffickers' Sexual Transgression

This research found that the most important marker of sex trafficker deviants is their violation of “sex rules”. As mentioned briefly in the findings, it is interesting that sexual activities of sex traffickers are often given greater details in the news than other traits (physical violence, deception and coercion). The portrayal of sex traffickers in the news zooms in on their violation of many “sex rules”, such as having sex with women without or outside marriage, raping, big age gap between those who have sex and having sex with “underage” women. Among those rules, age is an important marker of sex traffickers' deviant behaviors. It seems apparent because victims' age is a key indicator of “severe forms of trafficking in persons” defined by the states. However, in the portrayal of sex traffickers, traffickers' age is key to determine that their sexual behaviors are immoral.

“Rhodes had sex with the 15 year old”. (Chin, 2013)

The sex that Rhodes had with a female changes completely when it is read with their ages. That she is 15 years old and he is older than her makes the sexual act between them unacceptable and he is responsible for that act.

Sex traffickers are also responsible for “inappropriate” sexual behaviors of the victims such as having sex with multiple people, having illegitimate sex and having sex for sexual pleasures. It seems important that victims are not portrayed to commit any deviant acts, especially sex.

“[He] forced her to have sex with him three times.” (Vezner, 2012)

“[He] forced her to have sex with 14 men.” (Jouvenal, 2012b)

“[He] forced to have sex with Reddy and his sons.” (Mangaliman, 2002)

“Other girls were often required to submit to sex with gang members as a ‘try out.’” (Jouvenal, 2012a)

Another sex rule that is violated is the association of sex with “children” and “teens” which is highlighted in many titles of the news. The FBI Initiative to prevent child prostitution is called “Innocence Lost”. Somaly Mam named her book about her experience of human trafficking “The Road of Lost Innocence”. Figuratively, sex – a specific act - ends “innocence” - a state of morality. Sex traffickers are condemned for damaging children’s innocence by actively participating and arranging those acts. These acts are highlighted often in news titles.

Sex traffickers are responsible for all sexual behaviors presented in the news. In other words, sexual behaviors reported in the news are only those that sex traffickers are held responsible for. It is not only that their victims do not desire any of those sexual acts, but also the sexual transgression is between traffickers and the victims not between victims and clients.

Sex Traffickers and Victims’ Accountability for Sex Trafficking

Reflected in Trafficking in Persons reports is the idea that people are at risk of other forms of trafficking such as labor exploitation mainly because of their class status, meaning they may fall victim because they want to work abroad. This is true for foreign women who are at risk of sex trafficking too. They may fall victims to sex trafficking because of poverty or lack of education. Other roots of human trafficking abroad may

also be disasters, political economic instability, and incompetent governments. In the US, interestingly, women fall victims to sex trafficking because of their sex, meaning that they fall victims because first of all they are women, then, because they love, they care, they trust and they are not protected (runaways, throwaways).

The portrayal of sex traffickers in the news as it conveys the same spirit, that the accountability for sex trafficking in the US is on individual traffickers' greed and immorality as well as on victims' and their families' "abnormality" (disabilities, runaways, throwaways, history of drug abuse and sexual abuse). This helps to justify the solutions emphasizing punishing traffickers and protecting victims. The social, political and economic arrangements that make such practice as sex trafficking possible are not a topic for discussion.

Power Operation in Sex Traffickers' Portrayal

Deviance is "the behavior of a thing or person that strays from the normal" (Erricson, Baranek, & Chan, 1987, p. 4), meaning what is deviant actually depends on what is "normal". The question of who decides what is "normal" is the question of power. Therefore, the portrayal of sex traffickers in the news is not simply a report about who sex traffickers are. It is a ground on which certain norms and values are reinforced.

As presented in the previous chapter, the news content about sex trafficking is dominated with voices from different law enforcement agencies and judiciary. It is apparent in this project that the knowledge about sex traffickers is dominated by law

enforcement and reproduced by the news. Law enforcement and news informs the public about “the truth” of sex trafficking: what sex trafficking is, who is responsible, what kind of people sex traffickers are, what have happened, who need help, who to be punished and what justice is.

Governmental officials’ voices frame the portrayal of sex traffickers into a criminal track with emphasis placed on their criminal acts – those that caused pain and suffering to others. At the same time, those who are affected by traffickers’ criminal acts are led down to the victim track.

The 3Ps paradigm (Prevention – Prosecution – Protection) promoted by the US government may also play a role in constructing the “myth” of The Sex Trafficker. Among Prevention, Prosecution and Protection of the 3Ps, Prosecution is for traffickers and Protection is for victims (and Prevention is for potential victims, not traffickers). There simply are no other ways to portray a group of people except as criminals if they must fit in the prescribed solution of prosecution and punishment.

Conclusion

The goal of this project is to raise the attention for the need to be more critical of sex traffickers’ representation in sex trafficking discourse. I argue that to be critical of the representation of female trafficking victims, we have to be equally critical of the representation of sex traffickers. I criticize the tendency to simplify the representation of sex trafficking and sex traffickers in the news. By doing that, the news about sex

trafficking in the US has exclusively justified the state's interventions (punishment and prosecution of sex traffickers).

I also argue that news about sex trafficking has focused much on the sexual transgression of traffickers but not of prostitution clients. In the news, it is the violence and brutality of sex traffickers that are often detailed and highlighted instead of the act of sex trafficking itself – the sexual transaction between victims and clients.

News coverage of sex trafficking in the US frames individual and family issues as the main factors that make a person become either traffickers or victims of trafficking. At the same time, the news promotes the efficiency of criminal justice system in fighting against sex trafficking. I argue that this simplistic representation of sex trafficking is political and does not help to address the complexity of the phenomenon. The simplicity of sex trafficking as well as human trafficking in general is related to the 3Ps and later 4Ps (Prevention – Prosecution – Protection – Partnership) paradigm to fight against human trafficking because the paradigm implies a simplistic divide between victims (protection) and traffickers (prosecution). During the last 14 years, this paradigm has produced an “industry” that drives a majority of resource (employment, funding and institutionalization) to serve programs and projects to raise awareness, to train law enforcement, to prosecute traffickers, to rescue and to protect victims. This industry has been naturalizing the “myth” of sex trafficking and reinforcing certain ways of understanding sex trafficking so that the status quo, the importance of their roles, therefore, of the resources to fulfill their roles are not challenged.

Further studies about this topic can focus on addressing the portrayal of sex traffickers in movies, awareness-raising campaigns and documentaries by governments

and by non-governmental organizations to develop a stronger body of literature on this topic. This would help to complicate our understanding of and responses to sex trafficking and human trafficking, challenging the current institutionalized interventions that promote stereotypical gendered differences, and reproduce and reinforce the power of the government and their political allies over its citizens' lives.

APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA

Number of news containing "human trafficking" from 2001-2013:

Newspapers	Number of news containing "human trafficking" from 2001-2013
McClatchy Tribune non-restricted (8)	2102
The New York Times (9)	818
The Washington Post (9)	681
University Wire (9)	516
San Jose Mercury News (9)	410
The Washington Times (9)	392
Contra Costa Times (9)	353
Tampa Bay Times (9)	353
The Orange County Register (9)	313
The Atlanta Journal-Constitution	279
St. Paul Pioneer Press (Minnesota) (9)	273
El Paso Times (Texas) (9)	283
Deseret Morning News	274
Daily News (New York) (8)	231
Star Tribune (Minneapolis MN) (9)	216
St. Louis Post-Dispatch (7)	175
Chicago Daily Herald (8)	181
McClatchy Tribune News non-restricted (8)	181
The Virginian-Pilot (Norfolk, VA) (7)	180
The New York Post (7)	173
The Daily Oklahoman (Oklahoma City, OK) (8)	175
Providence Journal (8)	172
The Tampa Tribune (Florida) (8)	168
The Denver Post (8)	157
The Bismarck Tribune (9)	159
The Philadelphia Inquirer (8)	143
The Record (Bergen County, NJ) (7)	149
Tulsa World (Oklahoma) (8)	148
The Christian Science Monitor (7)	147

Las Cruces Sun-News (New Mexico)	145
The Star Phoenix (12 hour delay) (7)	140
USA Today (6)	127
The Palm Beach Post (6)	130
The Buffalo News (8)	132
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (9)	131
Las Vegas Review-Journal (9)	128
Dayton Daily News (9)	118
The Austin American-Statesman (5)	118
The Spokesman-Review (9)	114
Monterey County Herald (CA) (7)	113
The Salt Lake Tribune (8)	105
North Jersey Community Newspapers (8)	100
Lowell Sun (Lowell, MA) (6)	97
Star-News (Wilmington, NC) (8)	91
San Bernardino Sun (California) (7)	88
The Charleston Gazette (6)	85
Inland Valley Daily Bulletin (Ontario, CA) (6)	83
Lancaster (Pennsylvania) Newspapers (9)	81
Richmond Times Dispatch (6)	81
The Augusta Chronicle (5)	81
Topeka Capital-Journal (6)	78
Inside Bay Area (California)* (6)	75
The Florida Times Union (3)	75
Mail & Guardian (6)	72

Ruidoso News (New Mexico) (4)	69
The Daily News of Los Angeles (8)	69
Pittsburgh Tribune Review (4)	66
Daily Variety* (4)	62
The Hollywood Reporter (7)	65
Herald News (Passaic County, NJ) (4)	64
The Capital (Annapolis, MD) (5)	62
Bangor Daily News (Maine) (9)	60
Enterprise Record (Chico, California) (4)	59
The Columbian (Vancouver, WA) (5)	59
San Gabriel Valley Tribune (San Gabriel Valley, CA) (4)	57
Brattleboro Reformer (Vermont) (7)	53
Sarasota Herald-Tribune (8)	52
The York Dispatch (York, PA) (4)	52
The Herald-Sun (4)	48
The Patriot Ledger* (6)	51
Telegram & Gazette (Massachusetts) (4)	50
The Philadelphia Daily News (PA) (5)	50
Discover America's Story (5)	47
Telegraph Herald (Dubuque, IA) (8)	46
The State Journal-Register (Springfield, IL) (5)	43
South Bend Tribune (3)	42
The Santa Fe New Mexican* (4)	44

Digital Archives* (7)	42
Sentinel & Enterprise (Fitchburg, Massachusetts) (3)	42
Wall Street Journal Abstracts (3)	42
Marin Independent Journal (Marin, CA) (3)	39
The Union Leader (3)	39
Investor's Business Daily (3)	38
The Berkshire Eagle (Pittsfield, Massachusetts) (4)	38
Daily Camera (Boulder, Colorado) (5)	37
Wisconsin State Journal (3)	37
Variety (3)	35
Los Angeles Times (most recent 6 months) (6)	32
Silver City Sun-News (New Mexico) (4)	32
The Hill (4)	31
New York Sun* (3)	30
Maryland Gazette (3)	28
News-Journal (Daytona Beach, Florida) (2)	28
The Roanoke Times (Virginia) (3)	28
Charleston Daily Mail (2)	27
Omaha World Herald* (5)	27
McClatchy Washington Bureau (3)	26
The Forward (2)	26
Journal Record Legislative Report (Oklahoma City, OK) (3)	25
The Baltimore Sun (most recent 6 months) (5)	24
The Lebanon Daily News (Pennsylvania) (1)	24

Vallejo Times-Herald (California) (2)	24
The Daily Record of Rochester (Rochester, NY) (4)	23
The Morning Call (most recent 6 months) (1)	23
Deming Headlight (New Mexico) (3)	22
Lincoln Journal Star (Nebraska)* (3)	21
Metropolitan Corporate Counsel (3)	21
The Chronicle of Higher Education (3)	21
The Daily Record (Baltimore, MD) (3)	21
Whittier Daily News (California) (3)	20
Newsday (most recent 6 months) (6)	19
Roll Call* (2)	19
The Capital Times (Madison, Wisconsin) (2)	19
Arizona Capitol Times (2)	16
Pasadena Star-News (California) (2)	16
The Alamogordo Daily News (New Mexico) (1)	16
New York Observer (2)	14
Portland Press Herald* (4)	14
Information Bank Abstracts (3)	11
Oroville Mercury Register (California) (2)	14
Al-Shorfa (2)	13
Missouri Lawyers Media (1)	12
The Legal Ledger (St. Paul MN) (2)	12
The Wyoming Tribune-Eagle (2)	12

Chapel Hill Herald (2)	11
Farmington Daily Times (New Mexico) (1)	11
Public Opinion (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania) (3)	11
The Hartford Courant (most recent 6 months) (3)	11
The Pantagraph (2)	11
The Chronicle of Philanthropy (2)	10
The Evening Sun (Hanover, PA) (2)	10
Carlsbad Current-Argus (New Mexico) (2)	9
The Ledger (Lakeland)* (2)	9
Eureka Times-Standard (California) (2)	8
Advertising Age (2)	7
CongressNow* (2)	7
Kansas City Daily Record (Kansas City, MO)* (2)	7
Tribune-Review (2)	7
Daily Journal of Commerce (Portland, OR) (1)	6
Dolan Publications (2)	6
Massachusetts Lawyers Weekly (3)	6
American Banker (2)	5
Lawyers USA* (2)	5
Virginia Lawyers Weekly (1)	5
Idaho Falls Post Register (1)	4
Rhode Island Lawyers Weekly (1)	4
St. Louis Daily Record/St. Louis Countian (St. Louis, MO)* (1)	4
Colorado Springs Business Journal (Colorado Springs, CO)* (1)	3

Education Week (1)	3
Fairbanks Daily News-Miner (Alaska)* (2)	3
Metropolitan News Enterprise* (1)	2
North Carolina Lawyers Weekly (1)	3
San Mateo County Times (San Mateo, CA)* (1)	3
Crain's Detroit Business (1)	1
Long Island Business News (Long Island, NY) (1)	2
Michigan Lawyers Weekly (2)	2
North Norfolk News (1)	2
South Carolina Lawyers Weekly (1)	2
The Indianapolis Business Journal (1)	2
Business Insurance (1)	1
Finance & Commerce (Minneapolis, MN) (1)	1
New Orleans CityBusiness (New Orleans, LA) (1)	1
Pensions and Investments (1)	1
SqueezeOC*	1
The Idaho Business Review	1

Number of news items containing “sex trafficking” from 2001 to 2013:

Newspapers	Number of news items containing “sex trafficking” from 2001 to 2013
McClatchy Tribune non-restricted (9)	861
The New York Times (9)	403
University Wire (8)	339
The Washington Post (9)	277
The Washington Times (9)	173
Daily News (New York) (9)	180
San Jose Mercury News (California) (9)	167
The Atlanta Journal-Constitution	159
Contra Costa Times (8)	157
St. Paul Pioneer Press (Minnesota)	157
Star Tribune (Minneapolis MN) (8)	154
The New York Post (9)	127
Deseret Morning News (Salt Lake City) (8)	122
Tampa Bay Times (9)	117
St. Louis Post-Dispatch (8)	104
The Orange County Register (5)	103
The Express (8)	101
The Gazette (12 hour delay) (9)	92
El Paso Times (Texas) (9)	79
The Daily Oklahoman (Oklahoma City, OK) (8)	76
Dayton Daily News (7)	75
Tulsa World (Oklahoma) (8)	74
Chicago Daily Herald (9)	73
The Tampa Tribune (Florida) (9)	73
The Philadelphia Inquirer (8)	62
Providence Journal (9)	70
The Record (Bergen County, NJ) (6)	70
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (7)	67
The Denver Post (4)	60
Star-News (Wilmington, NC) (9)	62
Las Vegas Review-Journal (9)	61
The Columbian (Vancouver, WA) (6)	61
The Christian Science Monitor (7)	58
The Express Newspapers (6)	54
The Virginian-Pilot (Norfolk, VA) (5)	52
Lowell Sun (Lowell, MA) (7)	50
The Palm Beach Post (5)	50
McClatchy Tribune News non-restricted (6)	47

The Bismarck Tribune (8)	46
Lancaster (Pennsylvania) Newspapers (5)	43
USA Today (4)	42
The Augusta Chronicle (7)	42
The Florida Times Union (5)	41
The Charleston Gazette (6)	40
The Spokesman-Review (8)	40
North Jersey Community Newspapers (6)	38
Monterey County Herald (CA) (5)	37
San Bernardino Sun (California) (5)	37
The Salt Lake Tribune (6)	37
The Berkshire Eagle (Pittsfield, Massachusetts) (7)	36
The Buffalo News (5)	36
Herald News (Passaic County, NJ) (4)	35
The Daily News of Los Angeles (6)	35
The Patriot Ledger* (6)	35
Bangor Daily News (Maine) (6)	34
Telegram & Gazette (Massachusetts) (5)	33
Inside Bay Area (California)* (6)	33
The Austin American-Statesman (5)	28
The Capital (Annapolis, MD) (5)	28
Topeka Capital-Journal (5)	28
Richmond Times Dispatch (4)	27
Daily Variety* (3)	26
Inland Valley Daily Bulletin (Ontario, CA) (4)	26
The Herald-Sun (4)	26
The Hollywood Reporter (3)	26
Daily Camera (Boulder, Colorado) (3)	25
Las Cruces Sun-News (New Mexico) (7)	25
Sarasota Herald-Tribune (2)	25
Pittsburgh Tribune Review (5)	23
Sentinel & Enterprise (Fitchburg, Massachusetts) (4)	23
The Philadelphia Daily News (PA) (3)	23
Wisconsin State Journal (4)	23
The Union Leader (5)	22
Wall Street Journal Abstracts (4)	22
South Bend Tribune (3)	20

Marin Independent Journal (Marin, CA) (4)	21
Brattleboro Reformer (Vermont) (3)	20
The Legal Ledger (St. Paul MN) (4)	19
Telegraph Herald (Dubuque, IA) (3)	17
Lincoln Journal Star (Nebraska)* (4)	17
New York Sun* (3)	17
Ruidoso News (New Mexico) (3)	17
The Santa Fe New Mexican* (4)	16
New York Observer (3)	15
The Chronicle of Higher Education	15
The Forward (3)	15
The Minnesota Lawyer	15
The State Journal-Register	15
Vallejo Times-Herald	15
Maryland Gazette (2)	14
The Roanoke Times (Virginia) (2)	14
Variety (2)	12
Oroville Mercury Register (California) (6)	13
The Baltimore Sun (most recent 6 months) (5)	13
The Daily Record of Rochester	13
Enterprise Record	12
News-Journal (Daytona Beach, Florida) (6)	12
The Express Tribune (5)	12
Charleston Daily Mail (2)	11
Los Angeles Times	11
The York Dispatch (York, PA) (4)	11
Arizona Capitol Times (3)	10
Public Opinion	10
Chapel Hill Herald (2)	9
Portland Press Herald* (2)	7
Discover America's Story (2)	8
Missouri Lawyers Media (2)	8
The Capital Times	8
The Chronicle of Philanthropy (3)	8
The Hill (2)	8
Digital Archives* (3)	7
Farmington Daily Times (New Mexico) (1)	7
Investor's Business Daily (2)	7
McClatchy Washington Bureau (1)	7
San Gabriel Valley Tribune (San	7

Gabriel Valley, CA) (2)	
The Evening Sun (Hanover, PA) (3)	7
The Hartford Courant (most recent 6 months) (5)	7
Metropolitan Corporate Counsel (2)	6
Whittier Daily News (California) (2)	6
Silver City Sun-News (New Mexico) (3)	5
The Wyoming Tribune-Eagle (1)	5
The Daily Record (Baltimore, MD) (2)	3
Dolan Publications (2)	4
Eureka Times-Standard (California) (1)	4
Journal Record Legislative Report (Oklahoma City, OK) (1)	4
Pasadena Star-News (California) (1)	4
Roll Call* (1)	4
San Mateo County Times (San Mateo, CA)* (2)	4
The Lebanon Daily News (Pennsylvania) (1)	4
Information Bank Abstracts (3)	0
Carlsbad Current-Argus (New Mexico) (1)	3
Colorado Springs Business Journal (Colorado Springs, CO)* (3)	3
Deming Headlight (New Mexico) (1)	3
Lawyers USA* (1)	3
The Alamogordo Daily News (New Mexico) (1)	3
The Journal Record (Oklahoma City, OK) (1)	3
Tribune-Review (2)	3
Finance & Commerce (Minneapolis, MN) (1)	2
Idaho Falls Post Register (1)	2
The Ledger (Lakeland)* (1)	2
Daily Journal of Commerce (Portland, OR) (1)	1
Education Week (1)	1
Fairbanks Daily News-Miner (Alaska)* (1)	1
Kansas City Daily Record (Kansas City, MO)* (1)	1

Long Island Business News (Long Island, NY) (1)	1
Metropolitan News Enterprise* (1)	1
New Orleans CityBusiness (New Orleans, LA) (1)	1
Rhode Island Lawyers Weekly (1)	1
St. Louis Daily Record/St. Louis Countian (St. Louis, MO)* (1)	1
Wisconsin Law Journal	1

APPENDIX B
TRAFFICKERS' PHOTOS



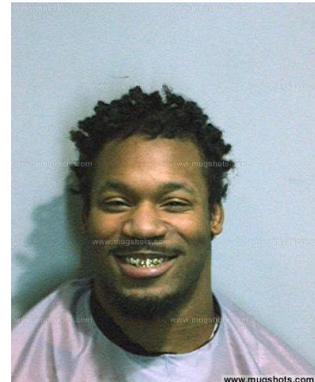
ERIC ANTWAN BELL

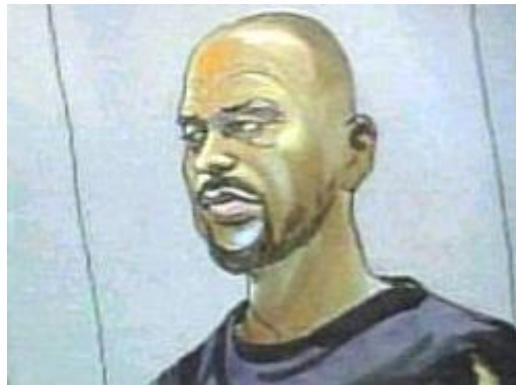


Captured

Photograph
taken in 2008

Multimedia: Images



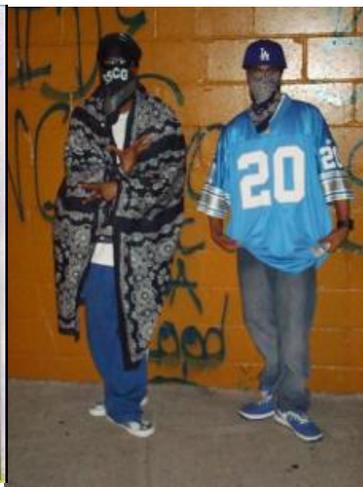
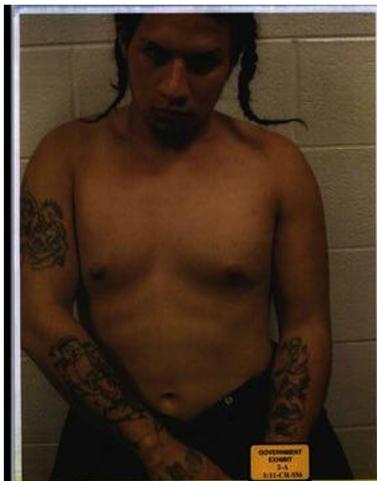




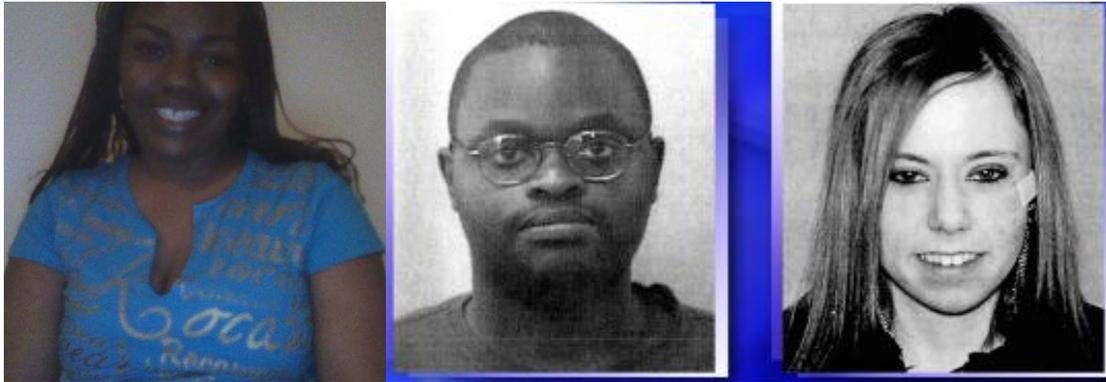
Official Use Only

 Abdullah James KERRY aka Sherry DOB: 1982 1	 Abdullah Sade AL-FAHED aka Fahad DOB: 1992 2	 Ahmed Fakhroon AHMED aka Fakhroon DOB: 1987 3	 Fahd Jamal AHMED DOB: 1988 4	 Abdourahman Ousain ALI aka Ousain, Big Abdi DOB: 1990 5	 Hassan Ahmed ALI aka Fat Bin DOB: 1987 6
 Hassan Ahmed ALI aka Mohamed Ali Hassan DOB: 1989 7	 Siba Ibrahim EFFRA aka Chi Eze DOB: 1987 8	 Khalima FADAL aka Sara, Fatima FADAL DOB: 1994 9	 Yusef Ahmed FADAL DOB: 1990 10	 Abdullah HADJI aka Omar DOB: 1996 11	 Fahd Haj HADJI aka Terry, JJ DOB: 1987 12
 Abdourahman Abdourahmane HADJI aka Dope DOB: 1992 13	 Muhaymin HADJON aka CD, Muhaymin HADJON DOB: 1987 14	 Lenny Jay BRANON aka Lenny Larky DOB: 1973 15	 Abdourahmane Sade ALI aka Cash Money, Ohio DOB: 1986 16	 Amirou KARACHEN aka Ak DOB: 1990 17	 Abdourahmane AHMED aka Hani DOB: 1985 18
 Hassan Ahmed KHALIF aka Mustafa KHALIF, Mustafa KHALIF DOB: 1986 19	 Sade Yusef KHALIF aka BK DOB: 1984 20	 Fahd Fahd KHALIF aka Yusef DOB: 1986 21	 Abdourahmane SHARIF aka Bino DOB: 1984 22	 Lenny Sharif KHALIF aka Sade, Big Lenny, Lenny DOB: 1988 23	 Hassan Sharif KHALIF aka Hani, Hani DOB: 1983 24
 Hassan ALI KHALIF aka Big Hani, Boss Larky DOB: 1988 25	 Haj Ousain SALAM aka Houssein DOB: 1988 26	 Siba Ahmed SALAM aka Big Ahmed Sadi DOB: 1988 27	 Ahmed Amr SALAM DOB: 1988 28	 Yusef Abdourahmane KHALIF aka Binar, Black Cat Binar DOB: 1990 29	

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TOLEDO CONNECTIONS

These men and women with ties to Toledo are among numerous people who are under federal indictment on prostitution-related charges as part of a nationwide crackdown.





APPENDIX C

EXAMPLES OF THE SIX ACTIONS PATTERNS

Example of pattern (1)

Victims		Traffickers	
Acted upon	Acting	Acting	Acted upon
		Pimping teens	
		Using drugs and violence	
		Governing teenage prostitution	
		Advertising the girls for sex	
		Setting up encounters	
		Recruiting	
		Promising them	
		Keeping control of the girls	

Example of pattern (2)

Victims		Traffickers	
Acted upon	Acting	Acting	Acted upon
Abused sexually and mentally		Promising... better life	
Recruited		Delivering hell on earth	
Held hostage		Looking for young women	
Held against her will		Watching them	
Raped		Warning them	
Assaulted		Offering help	
Threatened			
Forced to work as prostitute			
Lured			
Cell phones taken			
Forced to dance and sell themselves			
Forced to recruit			
Enduring brainwash			

Example of pattern (3)

Victims		Traffickers	
Acted upon	Acting	Acting	Acted upon
Forced		Trafficking	
Persuaded		Forcing	
Seduced		Enticing	
Lured		Physically assaulting	
		Smuggling	
		Bringing	
		Hitting	
		Kicking	

Example of pattern (4)

Victims		Traffickers	
Acted upon	Acting	Acting	Acted upon
Recruited	Refusing using drugs	Leading a human trafficking ring	
Trained as prostitutes		Pushing the women to develop addictions to cocaine	
Offered drugs		Setting them up in hotel	
Controlled through sexual assaults and brutal beatings		Checking in with women multiple times daily	
Held		Carrying bullets	
Instructed to solicit johns		Threatening to kill	

Example of pattern (5)

Victims		Traffickers	
Acted upon	Acting	Acting	Acted upon
Forced to have sex	Meeting Diggs online	Prostituting a pair of teens	
Befriended	Sending money to him	Forcing [to have sex]	
Looking for johns	Travelling with the younger girl by bus [to meet with the guys]	Getting trust	
		Making promises	

		Turning on them	
		Using them	
		Putting them on the street	
		Telling her to find men who would pay for sex	
		Punching her on the face	

Example of pattern (6)

Victims		Traffickers	
Acted upon	Acting	Acting	Acted upon
	Escaping	Ordering a prostitute beaten and then forced	
	Trying to flee	Tracking her down	
		Warning her to stop	
		Taking her back to his motel	
		Locking her in a kennel	

APPENDIX D

ACTION CHART OF MALE AND FEMALE TRAFFICKERS IN MIXED CASES

Male	Female	Both
Acting		
Placing an ad	Offering to have sex	Bringing girls
Offering Green and the girl for prostitution		Renting a room
Keeping 50% of the money		

Male	Female	Both
Acting		
		Kidnapping
		Trying to force
		Threatening
		Taking

Male	Female	All
Acting		
Helping to force	Helping a 15 year old girl commit sex acts	Posting ads
Threatening		Helping arranging encounters

Male	Female	Both
Acting		
		Denying food
		Depriving food
		Providing drugs
		Forcing

Male	Female	Both
Acting		
Running a brothel		Pimping women
		Bringing
		Rotating

Male	Female	Both
Acting		
Looking for	Posting ads	Preying
Befriending	Collecting money	
Promising		
Offering		
Building a stable of prostitutes		
Keeping most of the money		
Using		
Abusing		
Raping		
Apologizing		

Male	Female	Both
Acting		
Taking her to hotel		Soliciting
Forcing her to have sex		Threatening to kill
Taking out an online ad		
Soliciting 30 men		

Male	Female	Both
Acting		
Beating	Exerting control, psychologically	Preying upon girls
Engaging in sexual acts		Enticing
Proving drugs		Inducing
		Setting up 2

		web sites
--	--	-----------

Male	Female	Both
Acting		
Hiring a man to monitor the girls' every move	Teaching the teen how to be a prostitute	Dispatching
Offering to help		Forcing
Telling		Taking 50% of the money
		Recruiting

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