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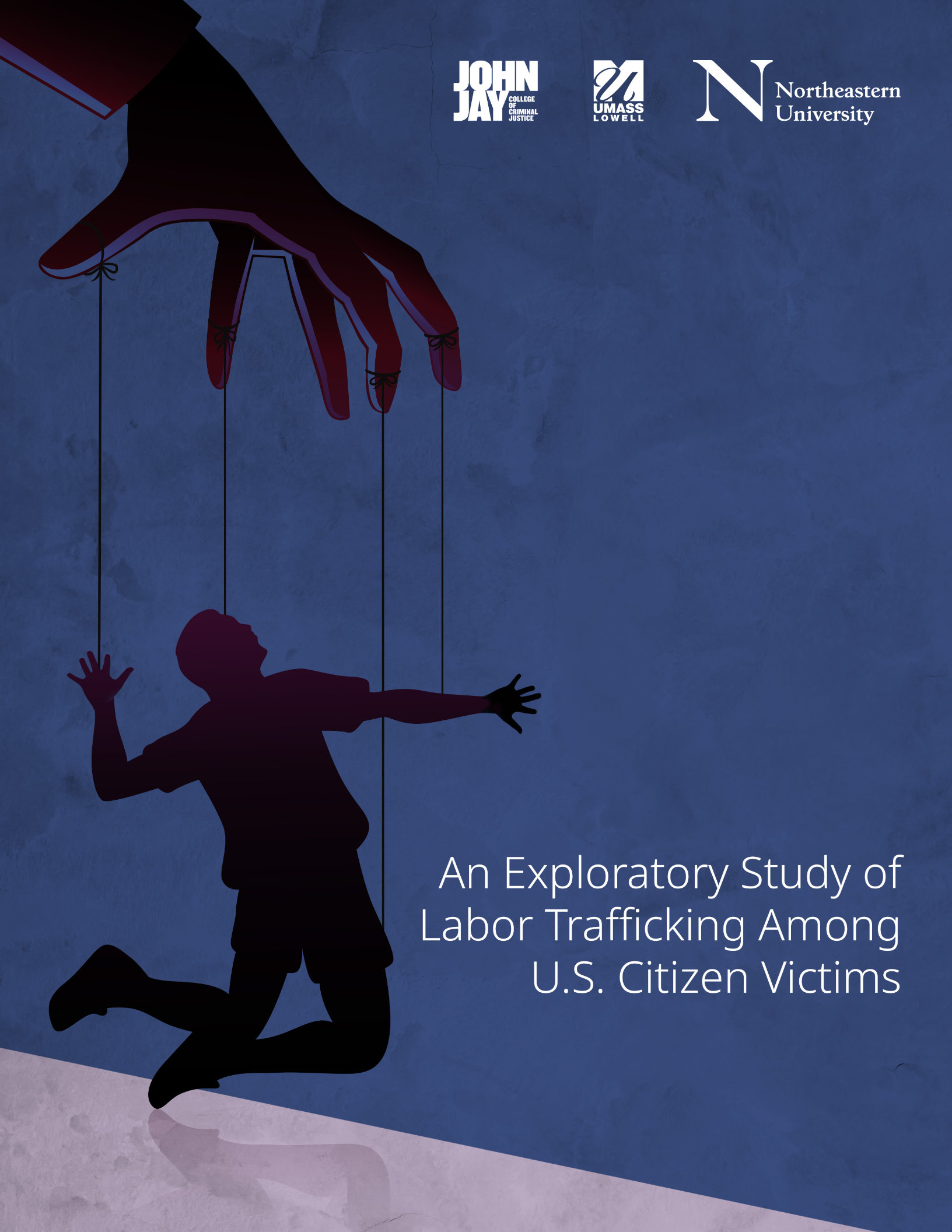
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An Exploratory Study of
Labor Trafficking Among
U.S. Citizen Victims

An Exploratory Study of Labor Trafficking Among U.S. Citizen Victims

Final Research Report June 30, 2021

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| 01 Introduction and Problem Statement

01

Introduction and Problem Statement



Labor trafficking is a devastating crime that robs victims of their humanity and denies workers basic human rights. According to the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA) defines labor trafficking as: "The recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage or slavery. The International Labor Organization (ILO) estimates that 1.5 million of the 20.9 million global victims of forced labor come from Developed Economies and the European Union (International Labour Office, 2012). Yet measuring the extent of both sex and labor trafficking within the United States has proven difficult (de Cock, 2007; Farrell et al., 2010; Tyldum, 2010; Zhang et al., 2014). In large part, researchers

attribute this challenge to the hidden and criminal nature of human trafficking. Law enforcement and victim service agencies experience additional challenges that complicate efforts to identify and respond to cases, such as language barriers, citizenship status, and work industry-specific practices. Despite identification challenges (Barrick et al., 2014; Brennan, 2005; Farrell et al., 2010, 2015; Farrell & Pfeffer, 2014), we know that labor trafficking exists in both formal and informal industries within the United States. Data from the National Human Trafficking Hotline shows over 5,000 calls have been made about potential cases of labor trafficking since 2007, with most calls concerning the domestic servitude, agriculture, traveling sales crews, restaurant/fast food, and health and beauty service industries (Polaris Project, 2019).

Existing research on labor trafficking in the U.S. has mainly focused on the experiences of legal or undocumented migrant communities. As a result, we know very little about the phenomenon of labor trafficking or the attributes and profiles of its U.S. citizen victims. There are numerous reasons to believe U.S. citizens are vulnerable to and are victims of labor trafficking. U.S. citizens have a multitude of factors that increase their risk of labor trafficking victimization, including disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds, cognitive disabilities, low levels of education, drug addiction, and homelessness (Bales, 2004; Barrick et al., 2014; Shamir, 2012; Zhang, 2007, 2012). Furthermore, research by Owens et al. (2014) suggests that foreign national labor trafficking victims commonly entered the U.S. on visas and sometimes worked in exploitive industries alongside U.S. citizen workers. Despite the potential vulnerabilities of U.S. citizen workers, there have been few efforts to collect data on labor trafficking among this group.

Law enforcement identify few U.S. citizen victims of labor trafficking because the police are more likely to think of U.S. citizen victims of human trafficking as sex trafficking victims (Farrell et al., 2015). In sex trafficking investigations involving U.S. citizens, authorities have uncovered some cases of sexualized labor or situations where both sex and labor trafficking are present, but identification of labor trafficking victimization is much less common.

Like their foreign-born counterparts, U.S. citizens may face exploitative practices that fall under a range of labor law violations, such as wage and tip theft, hazardous housing conditions, pay deductions, unsafe working conditions, and legal exemptions; however, these practices alone would not constitute labor trafficking. For example, tipped- employees are subjected to a lower wage standard (Minkler et al., 2014) and agricultural industries are often exempt from overtime pay requirements and require workers to work long hours, sometimes in toxic environments (Arcury et al., 2015; Human Rights Watch, 2014; McCurdy & Kwan, 2012), For domestic workers, living in their employers' homes can lead to working

extensive hours and a lack of sleep, privacy, and communication with their support systems that makes them vulnerable to exploitation (Burnham & Theodore, 2012).

Particular groups may also be vulnerable to labor trafficking. Runaway and homeless youth are commonly forced by employers to participate in door-to-door sales, begging networks, and peddling in dangerous neighborhoods over long workdays (Walts, 2017). They receive little pay, limited food, and unhealthy living conditions in return for unrealized promises of stable housing and income (Murphy, 2017; Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2018; Roe-Sepowitz & Bracy, 2020; Walts, 2017). In a ten-city study, Murphy (2017) found that 81% of homeless youth who were victims of labor trafficking were forced into drug dealing through the use of coercion and violence. Employers maintain power over youth workers through psychological and physical violence, yet authorities often do not label these cases as trafficking (Murphy, 2017).

Despite the reality that U.S. citizens experience labor trafficking, researchers have conducted no studies specifically on the vulnerability of U.S. citizen populations to this form of trafficking. This study fills this void by exploring labor exploitation and labor trafficking violations among U.S. citizens, with the goal of building basic knowledge about the phenomenon and the attributes of this victim population. Four research questions and objectives guide the present study. First, it is intended to **help us understand how U.S. citizens experience labor trafficking victimization**. Second, because U.S. citizens are typically provided numerous workplace and labor protections, we examine **where labor trafficking experiences fall in a continuum of labor exploitation for U.S. citizens**. Third, we also examine **the personal and structural vulnerabilities that put U.S. citizens at risk for labor trafficking**. Finally, **we explore how U.S. citizen labor trafficking victims seek help or exit exploitative labor situations**.

To answer these questions and achieve our objectives, we surveyed individuals (N = 240) who

were at high risk for labor trafficking victimization and conducted one-on-one interviews with a subsample of 27 respondents. We conducted this study in three U.S. sites: Anchorage, Alaska; San Diego, California; and the Northeast (New York City (NYC), New York and Boston, Massachusetts). The survey questions captured different trafficking indicators that align with both international and U.S. government definitions of human trafficking, as well as abusive or exploitative labor practices. Structured items identified common elements for statistical analysis and open-ended questions explored the unique experience of victimization. The surveyed population includes both U.S.-born citizens and those who were naturalized citizens at the time of their victimization. In addition to the one-on-one interviews with a subsample of survey respondents, the research team interviewed 20 service providers across all three sites who provide services ranging from workforce development to housing and shelter to U.S. citizens.

The most significant challenge in understanding labor trafficking victimization is identifying people who have likely experienced victimization but not reached out to authorities or service providers who could identify their situation as trafficking. Previous research studies have recruited survivors via specialized victim service providers who work with identified victims seeking T visa authorization (Owens et al., 2014). Because labor trafficking service providers commonly work with immigrant communities or within agencies that provide immigration advocacy, they identify few U.S. citizen victims. Absent an identified victim population, researchers must utilize sampling techniques that identify hidden populations. We utilized several forms of conventional snowball sampling strategies, which previous studies draw on to identify human trafficking victims within population samples. Our sampling methods do not intend to generate prevalence estimates or claim any representativeness of labor trafficking violations among U.S. citizens. Rather, we strive to capture the maximum range of labor trafficking experiences by including diverse individuals and employment situations in our data. In basic terms, we sought to begin to describe the terrain where little is known.

Our sampling strategies relied on collaboration with social service providers, government agencies, and community contacts who have specific knowledge of the existence of labor trafficking violations among U.S. citizens. Our purposive snowball sampling included screening criteria that deliberately sought individuals at risk of being victimized, such as runaway or homeless youth, people with various forms of developmental and physical disabilities, and individuals engaged in underground or unregulated industries. The three study sites represent different structural, economic, and demographic risks for labor trafficking.

This study provides critical information about the least researched group of labor trafficking victims in the country. This study attempts to answer fundamental questions about U.S. citizen victims of labor trafficking, including their characteristics and the nature of their victimization. This preliminary look at the typology and basic patterns of U.S. citizen labor trafficking victimization is necessary to improve the recognition of and response to such victimization and inform the development of national and international anti-trafficking initiatives. Understanding the pathways by which workers are connected to and recruited into situations of gross labor violations is essential to closing off such paths. The findings from this study also provide insights into the key service needs of this population, how this population may encounter social service agencies and justice systems, and the degree to which existing services can assist U.S. citizen labor trafficking victims.





02 Methodology

02

Methodology

Research Questions

This study was designed to answer four main research questions:

1. How do U.S. citizens¹ experience labor trafficking victimization?
2. Where does labor trafficking fall on a continuum of labor exploitation for U.S. citizen workers?
3. What personal or structural vulnerabilities put U.S. citizens at risk for labor trafficking?
4. What types of help do people seek when trying to change their work conditions or leave an exploitative job?

Data Collection

Since this is an exploratory study and the first to focus on the labor trafficking of U.S. citizens, the research team employed a snowball methodology to identify and recruit individuals who self-identified as having had abusive work experiences. Such methods are necessary since labor trafficking of U.S. citizen victims is likely underreported in official records. For someone to be eligible to participate in the study, they had to satisfy three criteria, they had to: 1) be at least 15 years old; 2) be a native-born or naturalized U.S. citizen or Lawful Permanent Resident (Green Card holder); and 3) experienced at least one abusive work situation.

The research team worked with local service providers in each of the three

study sites [Anchorage, Alaska, San Diego, California and the Northeast corridor (New York and Boston)] to identify the initial survey respondents. These initial respondents would ideally then help recruit others from their social network who met the eligibility criteria for the study via the principles of snowball sampling. The service providers, which included workforce development programs, runaway and homeless youth programs, and anti-trafficking organizations, identified current and former clients who met the study criteria and provided them with a number to call.

Clients who called this number received an initial screening by the research team to determine their eligibility for the survey.

¹ For the purposes of this study, U.S. citizens are defined as individuals born in the United States, those who have been naturalized or Lawful Permanent Residents (Green Card holders).

This screening included having the caller provide a short description about their abusive work experience. Following the screening, a research team member and survey participant decided on a date and location to meet and self-administer the Qualtrics survey via a tablet computer.² Respondents received a \$30 Visa gift card upon completing the survey. Participants who successfully recruited someone from their network (up to three people) into the study received \$15 cash for each person.

We initially thought snowball sampling would be the ideal way to recruit respondents. Early on in the study, however, survey participants disclosed that they didn't share their experiences of workplace abuses with friends and family. As a result, snowball sampling methods developed few referral chains. To recruit additional participants, we worked with our service provider partners to post English and Spanish recruitment flyers at their offices and through social media. They also posted flyers at health clinics, bodegas, and parks. Given the slow pace of recruitment, the research team decided to add a fourth city, Boston, to the project and form a two-part Northeast site. Unfortunately, just as we added Boston as a site, COVID-19 started to spread rapidly throughout the country and forced most offices and nonprofit organizations to shut down and transition to remote meetings and service provision. We received IRB approval to administer the surveys online instead of in-person, but understandably the study was not a priority for most partner organizations and prospective participants, especially as a large number of people were losing their jobs across the country and focusing on staying healthy and safe. In the end, we were able to complete 240 surveys across all three sites.

The survey asked respondents about their demographic information, health history, and life circumstances (e.g., prior incarceration, involvement in the child welfare system, and gang membership). The survey asked respondents whether they had experienced various forms of exploitation.

We divided these experiences into six conceptual blocks, each with a distinct form of exploitation:

1. restrictions of physical and communicative freedom;
2. deceptions and lies;
3. exploitative labor practices;
4. intimidations, threats, and fears;
5. other intimidations, threats, and fears; and
6. sexual victimization.

The labor exploitation and abuse experiences were largely drawn from previous research by Sheldon Zhang (2012). Exploitation items in the survey were dichotomous (1 = yes, 0 = no), with respondents reporting whether they had ever experienced each of them. If respondents indicated experiencing exploitation, they were asked a series of follow-up questions about whether they sought help, the type of help they sought, and if they did not seek help, what factors prevented them from seeking assistance. Appendix A contains a full version of the survey instrument.

To capture more details about extreme cases of labor abuse or labor trafficking, the research team contacted survey respondents who disclosed that they experienced more than five exploitative labor abuses on the survey, and consented to follow-up communication to schedule a one-on-one, semi-structured interview. ***We conducted one-on-one interviews with 27 respondents (New York City, N = 7; Alaska, N = 8; San Diego, N = 12).*** Interviews provided additional information about the context of respondents' labor trafficking experiences and possible vulnerabilities to exploitation.

We also conducted interviews with local service provider and law enforcement agencies to gather their perspectives on U.S. citizens' experiences of labor trafficking in each site. Most respondents were social service providers and a few were law enforcement officials and prosecutors. Our questions for service providers focused on the experiences of their clients and the trends they perceived related to individuals

² There were less than five respondents who preferred a researcher-administered survey where the researcher read the survey questions out loud and recorded participants' responses.

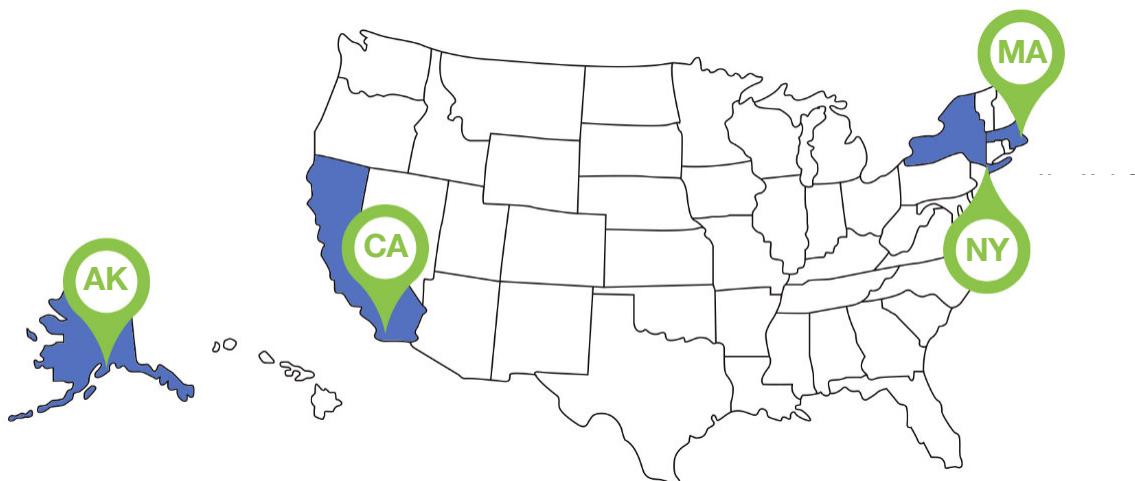
being exploited at work. We also asked about their experiences in assisting labor trafficking victims and those who report work-related challenges. We interviewed representatives of **20 service provider organizations (Northeast, N = 9; Alaska, N = 6; San Diego, N = 5)**. Each agency's number of participants ranged on average from **1 to 3 and one NYC agency interview had 15 participants**.

Data Analysis

At the end of the study period, we extracted survey data from Qualtrics and imported it into Stata 16.1 for cleaning. A central component of data cleaning included the recoding of participants' exploitation items. We recoded missing answers within each block to be "no" if a participant had indicated "yes" to at least one of the questions within the block, under the rationale that the participant had not skipped the blocks but only marked the items they had experienced.

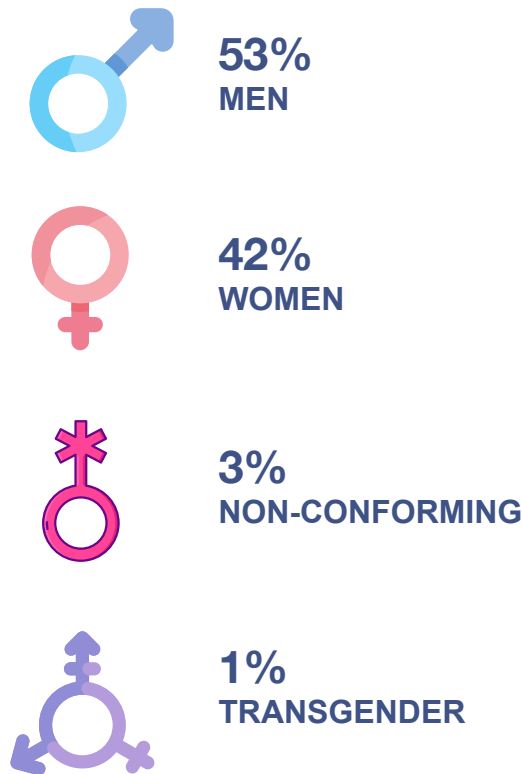
Bivariate correlations describing associations of respondent characteristics with exploitive labor and labor trafficking and counts of exploitive labor and labor trafficking indicators across employment sectors help us answer the first research question (how do U.S. citizens experience labor trafficking victimization?). To answer the second research question (where does labor trafficking experience fall on a continuum of labor exploitation for U.S. citizen workers?), we developed counts to capture the distribution of individual exploitation experiences within thematic blocks representing categories of exploitive work and labor trafficking that have been developed through previous research (Zhang, 2012).

To answer the third research question, (what personal or structural vulnerabilities put U.S. citizens at risk for labor trafficking?) we conducted correlations via tetrachoric matrices in the case of two dichotomous variables and point biserial correlations (PBC) for dichotomous and continuous or ordered variables (Demirtas & Hedeker, 2016; Divgi, 1979). The benefit of tetrachoric and PBC calculations are indications of association directionality. To answer the last research question (What types of help do people seek when trying to change their work conditions or leave an exploitative job?) we describe the distribution of help-seeking and exiting behaviors across the sample. Data from in-depth qualitative interviews supplement and extend our findings across all four research questions. We transcribed all interviews and uploaded transcripts into NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software package. We used a grounded theory content analysis approach to code transcripts in multiple phases. In the first phase of analysis, we conducted open coding on a subset of transcripts to generate initial codes. In the second phase, we used axial coding to organize codes into themes by relating categories to their subcategories (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). In this phase, we filtered and focused analysis on the relevant features of the narrative data for theme-generation and theory-building. We created two coding structures for the qualitative interview data: one focused on survey participant interviews and another focused on service providers. The third phase of coding involved applying the coding schemes to any remaining interview transcripts. A team of two trained coders analyzed survey participant interviews and a team of three researchers coded service provider interviews.



Participants

A final sample of **240 individuals who are at high risk of labor exploitation (107 from Alaska, 60 from the Northeast, and 73 from San Diego)** completed the survey. The average age of participants was 36.7 years old, with the range being 17 to 68 years old. The study sample was 53% men, 42% women, 3% gender non-conforming, and 1% transgender (male to female). Racially, the respondents were 28% Black, 26% White, 30% Native, 22% Latino, 4% Asian, and 3% Other. The list of all demographic information about the sample can be found in Table 1.



Participants had a diverse range of living situations. Most either lived in an apartment (28%), homeless shelter (26%), or a house (11%). Participants also reported other residences, including couch surfing, outdoors, street or parks, owned trailer, and other housing types. The majority of respondents indicated they either paid for housing via rent (35%) or did not own or rent (44%).

Participants reported being involved in a wide range of occupational industries. We recoded occupations into the four most reported industries, with the rest encompassing an “other” category.

A full list of occupations and their distribution can be found in Appendix B. In these five industry categories, 21% of participants worked in construction (N = 50), 34% in food services (N = 81), 19% in janitorial services (N = 46), 15% in retail (N = 35), and 66% (N = 158) in the “other” category. Respondents were able to report working in multiple industries.

Regarding life circumstance, 65% of the sample (N = 155) noted they had been arrested, 73% (N = 175) had received public assistance, and 52% (N = 125) had left their home due to violence at some point. Beyond this, 50% (N = 121) of participants had been diagnosed with anxiety, 49% (N = 118) with depression, and 40% (N = 96) with post-traumatic stress disorder.

Table 1 also compares respondent demographics across the three study sites. There are some notable respondent characteristics by site. First, respondents in the Alaska site disproportionately identified as Native American (56%). Similarly, the San Diego sample was disproportionately Latinx (45%) and born outside of the U.S. (15%), even though all survey participants had U.S. citizenship or legal permanent resident status.

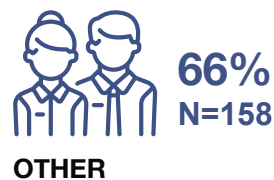
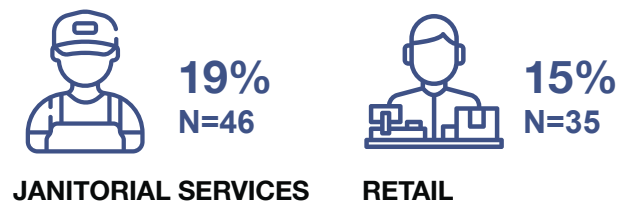
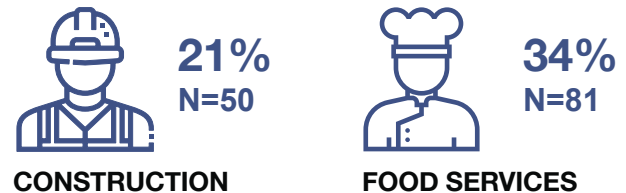


Table 1. Respondent demographics and background characteristics

	Overall (N = 240)	Alaska (N = 107)	Northeast (N = 60)	San Diego (N = 73)
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Age				
15-30	36.3 (87)	27.1 (29)	53.3 (32)	35.6 (26)
31-45	33.8 (81)	30.8 (33)	28.3 (17)	42.5 (31)
46-60	21.3 (51)	28 (30)	11.7 (7)	19.2 (14)
60+	3.3 (8)	3.7 (4)	5 (3)	1.4 (1)
Sexual orientation				
Straight	79.6 (191)	81.3 (87)	68.3 (41)	86.3 (63)
Gay	3.8 (9)	1.9 (2)	10 (6)	1.4 (1)
Lesbian	2.1 (5)	2.8 (3)	1.7 (1)	1.4 (1)
Bisexual	9.6 (23)	8.4 (9)	15 (9)	6.8 (5)
Asexual	0.4 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1.4 (1)
Pansexual	1.7 (4)	0.9 (1)	3.3 (2)	1.4 (1)
Other	0.8 (2)	0.9 (1)	0 (0)	1.4 (1)
Race				
Black	27.5 (66)	17.8 (19)	45 (27)	27.4 (20)
Asian	4.2 (10)	4.7 (5)	5 (3)	2.7 (2)
Latinx	21.7 (52)	3.7 (4)	25 (15)	45.2 (33)
Native	29.6 (71)	56.1 (60)	8.3 (5)	8.2 (6)
White	25.8 (62)	22.4 (24)	26.7 (16)	30.1 (22)
Other	2.9 (7)	1.9 (2)	6.7 (4)	1.4 (1)
Gender				
Male	53.3 (128)	57 (61)	48.3 (29)	52.1 (38)
Female	41.7 (100)	37.4 (40)	43.3 (26)	46.6 (34)
Transgender/Non-conforming	2.9 (7)	1.8 (2)	2.2 (4)	1.4 (1)
Born in U.S.				
No	6.7 (16)	0.9 (1)	6.7 (4)	15.1 (11)
Yes	91.7 (220)	95.3 (102)	93.3 (56)	84.9 (62)
Relationship Status				
Single	63.8 (153)	59.8 (64)	65 (39)	68.5 (50)
Married	13.8 (33)	10.3 (11)	20 (12)	13.7 (10)
Living Together	5.4 (13)	9.3 (10)	3.3 (2)	1.4 (1)
Widow	2.9 (7)	3.7 (4)	1.7 (1)	2.7 (2)
Divorced	7.9 (19)	5.6 (6)	6.7 (4)	12.3 (9)
Separated	3.8 (9)	7.5 (8)	0 (0)	1.4 (1)
Children				
No	42.5 (102)	29.9 (32)	60 (36)	46.6 (34)
Yes	54.6 (131)	65.4 (70)	38.3 (23)	52.1 (38)
Highest level of education				
High school or less	49.6 (119)	63.6 (68)	31.7 (19)	43.8 (32)
Some college or more	47.1 (113)	29.9 (32)	66.7 (40)	56.2 (41)
Jobs worked in the last 12 months				
Construction	20.8 (50)	29.9 (32)	3.3 (2)	21.9 (16)
Food service	33.8 (81)	39.3 (42)	26.7 (16)	31.5 (23)
Janitorial	19.2 (46)	25.2 (27)	11.7 (7)	16.4 (12)
Retail	14.6 (35)	7.5 (8)	20 (12)	20.5 (15)
Other	65.8 (158)	64.5 (69)	73.3 (44)	61.6 (45)
Job setting				
Rural	28.3 (68)	38.3 (41)	13.3 (8)	26 (19)
Suburban	27.5 (66)	20.6 (22)	21.7 (13)	42.5 (31)
Urban	55 (132)	49.5 (53)	68.3 (41)	52.1 (38)

	Overall (N = 240)	Alaska (N = 107)	Northeast (N = 60)	San Diego (N = 73)
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Housing				
Apartment	27.5 (66)	24.3 (26)	41.7 (25)	20.5 (15)
Couch surfing	9.2 (22)	14 (15)	5 (3)	5.5 (4)
Homeless shelter	26.3 (63)	23.4 (25)	36.7 (22)	21.9 (16)
House	10.8 (26)	12.1 (13)	6.7 (4)	12.3 (9)
Outdoors/abandoned building	3.8 (9)	6.5 (7)	0 (0)	2.7 (2)
Treatment center	6.7 (16)	0.9 (1)	1.7 (1)	19.2 (14)
Street/park	2.1 (5)	0.9 (1)	0 (0)	5.5 (4)
Trailer	0.4 (1)	0.9 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Other	10.4 (25)	11.2 (12)	6.7 (4)	12.3 (9)
Pay for housing				
Rent	35.0 (84)	32.7 (35)	41.7 (25)	32.9 (24)
Own	4.2 (10)	3.7 (4)	8.3 (5)	1.4 (1)
Neither own nor rent	43.8 (105)	44.9 (48)	40 (24)	45.2 (33)
Own trailer – rented	0.4 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1.4 (1)
Squat (no permission)	2.5 (6)	4.7 (5)	0 (0)	1.4 (1)
Other	7.9 (19)	3.7 (4)	3.3 (2)	17.8 (13)
Live with				
Relatives	26.3 (63)	25.2 (27)	26.7 (16)	27.4 (20)
Partner	11.3 (27)	10.3 (11)	20 (12)	5.5 (4)
Friends	10 (24)	13.1 (14)	5 (3)	9.6 (7)
Co-workers	0.4 (1)	0.9 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Other homeless individual	26.3 (63)	23.4 (25)	28.3 (17)	28.8 (21)
No one	14.2 (34)	17.8 (19)	10 (6)	12.3 (9)
Other	7.9 (19)	2.8 (3)	6.7 (4)	16.4 (12)
Life circumstances				
Leave home due to violence	52.1 (125)	56.1 (60)	48.3 (29)	49.3 (36)
Violence in home affects job	33.8 (81)	38.3 (41)	25 (15)	34.2 (25)
Been in alcohol or drug treatment	43.8 (105)	52.3 (56)	18.3 (11)	52.1 (38)
Alcohol or drug affected job prospect	25.4 (61)	31.8 (34)	11.7 (7)	27.4 (20)
Alcohol or drug affected job keeping	29.2 (70)	34.6 (37)	11.7 (7)	35.6 (26)
Been involved in gang	15.4 (37)	15.9 (17)	11.7 (7)	17.8 (13)
Been arrested	64.6 (155)	71 (76)	38.3 (23)	76.7 (56)
Served time in prison	38.3 (92)	53.3 (57)	21.7 (13)	30.1 (22)
Placed in foster or kinship care	31.3 (75)	38.3 (41)	25 (15)	26 (19)
Child welfare involvement	21.3 (51)	26.2 (28)	16.7 (10)	17.8 (13)
Have children	51.7 (124)	62.6 (67)	26.7 (16)	56.2 (41)
Received public assistance	72.9 (175)	77.6 (83)	61.7 (37)	75.3 (55)
Health diagnosis				
Depression	49.2 (118)	46.7 (50)	45 (27)	56.2 (41)
Anxiety	50.4 (121)	44.9 (48)	53.3 (32)	56.2 (41)
Bipolar disorder	18.8 (45)	19.6 (21)	20 (12)	16.4 (12)
Schizophrenia	5.4 (13)	5.6 (6)	8.3 (5)	2.7 (2)
ADHD	21.7 (52)	24.3 (26)	20 (12)	19.2 (14)
PTSD	40 (96)	45.8 (49)	30 (18)	39.7 (29)
Traumatic brain injury (TBI)	9.6 (23)	15.9 (17)	3.3 (2)	5.5 (4)
Autism spectrum disorder	3.3 (8)	3.7 (4)	5 (3)	1.4 (1)
Intellectual disability	5.4 (13)	7.5 (8)	5 (3)	2.7 (2)
Other	5 (12)	1.9 (2)	6.7 (4)	8.2 (6)

Most participants in the study (67%) indicated they had been diagnosed with at least one health condition. Respondents' most commonly cited diagnoses were anxiety (50%), depression (49%), and PTSD (40%). Over half of survey respondents (52%) marked that they had been diagnosed with two or more health conditions.

The survey lists a variety of life experiences that may also contribute to increased likelihood of labor exploitation and trafficking. These experiences include circumstances such as having parental responsibilities, receiving public assistance, prior arrests, violence in the home affecting their work, and others (see Table 1 for full list). The vast majority of participants (90%) indicated at least one of the listed life circumstances, with 85% marking two or more. The most common life circumstances were receiving public assistance (73%), prior arrests (65%), and having children (52%).

As previously discussed, 27 one-on-one interviews were conducted with survey respondents who indicated that they experienced moderate to severe abuses at work. The subsample of interview participants reflects the demographics of survey respondents. They included 11 individuals between 15-30 years old, 14 between 31-45 years old, and two individuals aged 46 and older. Six individuals identified as Black, six as Latinx, seven as White, one as Native, and seven as more than one race. There were 17 female, 8 male, 1 transgender (male to female), and 1 gender non-conforming participant. Interview participants also reported their sexual orientation: straight (N = 17), gay (N = 1), bisexual (N = 7), pansexual (N = 1), and other (N = 1).

We asked interview participants about their job histories and any particularly difficult work experiences. The majority of interviewees reported having more than one exploitative job: one job (N = 3), two jobs (N = 6), three jobs (N = 7), four jobs (N = 5), and five jobs (N = 6). The types of jobs where participants experienced exploitation were diverse. We re-coded jobs into five broad categories: food service (N = 29), construction (N = 8), janitorial (N = 2), retail (N = 5), and other (N = 40), which included modeling, sales, fishing, a forced criminalization.

To learn more about interviewees' early life challenges that could potentially make them vulnerable to future labor exploitation and trafficking, we asked them to briefly describe their childhood.

Respondents described a range of childhood experiences prior to entering the world of work. While several participants explained that their childhood was relatively stable, most shared significant challenges early in life, such as violence in the home, abuse, and child welfare system involvement. For example, one 53-year-old Native American man from Alaska described his childhood as the following: ***"I was in a foster home. I was just beat on by my parents and stuff like that. I had a rough childhood"***. Another 28-year-old mixed-race woman from Alaska described her childhood as:

Very hard, especially coming from two different backgrounds. I lived at home for the first six years of my life with my real parents... Lots of drugs, lots of alcohol, lots partying, very irresponsible to the point where a lot was put on my shoulders at six years old of cooking, cleaning, taking care of four children. I finally reported my parents and was put into the foster care system for a year and then later was adopted.



Interview participants also portrayed a multitude of challenging life circumstances in adulthood, such as managing mental health conditions, rebuilding their lives after criminal justice involvement, and struggling to raise children. One 30-year-old White woman from San Diego who reported growing up with violence in the home described additional traumatic experiences in adulthood and the impact it had on her mental health and ability to work:

Eight months after my dad was murdered, my mom actually passed away. So, by the time I turned 21, I lost both of my parents. So then, my PTSD, my depression, everything had really kicked in and I just, I had to be on welfare for some time 'cause I had to take care of me...So, I took some time away from employment and then... in 2011, 2012 I wasn't working, 2013 I wasn't really working. I still had a lot within me. I was doing a lot of counseling, a lot of therapy, I was on meds at that time and I just, I had to take a timeout.



Study participants faced numerous adversities that put them at greater risk for labor exploitation and labor trafficking. These challenges ranged from experiencing violence in the home, battling addiction, previous incarceration, to struggling with mental health issues. As the findings will discuss in more detail, some individuals who experienced labor exploitation and/or trafficking struggled with just one adverse life circumstance whereas others had been dealing with numerous adversities throughout their life course.

A close-up photograph of a person's hand wiping a car engine with a grey cloth. The image is overlaid with a blue tint. The hand is positioned in the center, with fingers spread, and the cloth is being moved across the engine's surface. The background shows various engine components, including a yellow cap and a black hose.

03

Findings About Labor Trafficking and Labor Exploitation

03

Findings about Labor Trafficking and Labor Exploitation

RESEARCH QUESTION 1

How do U.S. citizens experience labor trafficking victimization?

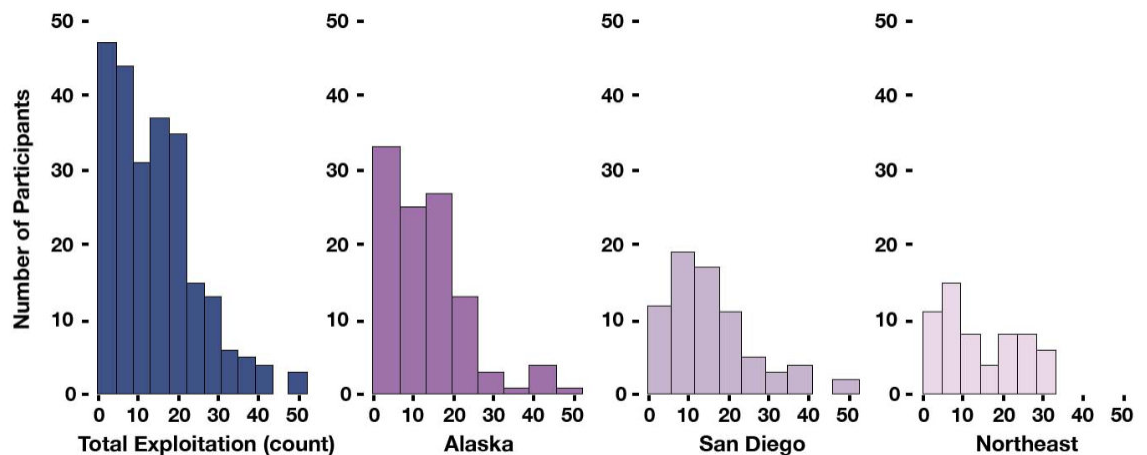
Out of the survey’s 52 possible forms of labor exploitation and abuse, survey participants on average experienced 13.8 different forms (SD = 10.7). Respondents in Alaska experienced the smallest number of different forms³ of exploitative acts (mean = 12.5, SD = 10.7), followed by respondents in the Northeast (mean = 13.9, SD = 9.9), and San Diego (mean = 15.5, SD = 11.1). Table 2 shows the average number of forms of exploitation experienced by respondents and Figure 1 provides visual representations of the number of exploitative experiences in a respondent’s lifetime.

Table 2. Forms of exploitation by site (N = 240)

Site	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Overall	240	13.8	10.7	0	52
Alaska	107	12.5	10.7	0	52
Northeast	60	13.9	9.9	0	33
San Diego ¹	73	15.5	11.1	0	52

¹ T-test indicating significantly more exploitation experiences than rest of sample.

Figure 1. Counts of exploitation by site



³ Note: not a count of number of acts within each type.

As mentioned above, we designed the survey to contain 6 blocks of questions that encompassed broad categories of labor exploitation and abuse experiences. Table 3 shows how many respondents indicated at least one experience in each block. The two blocks with the highest percentage of participants were deceptions and lies (83%, N = 199) and exploitive labor practices (83%, N = 198). For restriction of physical and communicative freedom, 60% (N = 138) of the sample had at least one experience (an important note here is that the final item in this block “you were not allowed visitors” was ultimately not included in any of the analyses as it was decided that this experience was not indicative of exploitation). Additionally, more than half of respondents (60%, N = 143)

experienced at least one form of intimidation, threat, or fear in the workplace from block one (e.g., verbal abuse and blacklisting) and over a third experienced a form in block two (e.g., threats of physical abuse and actual physical abuse) (38%, N = 90). The block with the lowest number of reported experiences was abuses of a sexual nature, with a third of the sample (33.33%, N = 80) experiencing at least one event.

Each block encompasses disparate forms of labor exploitation which allows us to explore their similarities and differences. Table 4 shows the distribution of specific items in each block across the study sites.

Table 2. Forms of exploitation by site (N = 240)

Block	YES (%)	NO (%)
Deception and lies	199 (82.92)	33 (13.75)
Exploitative Labor Practices	198 (82.50)	26 (10.83)
Restrictions of Physical and Communicative Freedom	138 (60.00)	92(40.00)
Intimidations, Threats, and Fears (1)	143 (59.58)	72 (30.00)
Intimidations, Threats, and Fears (2)	90 (37.50)	124 (51.67)
Abuses of a Sexual Nature	80 (33.33)	134 (55.83)

Table 4. Distribution of block items by site

Block	Overall	Alaska	Northeast	San Diego
	%(N)¹	%(N)	%(N)	%(N)
Exploitative Labor Practices	N = 198	N = 107	N = 60	N=73
Paid with things other than money (e.g., gift cards, tickets for goods, food, alcohol/drugs, housing/hotel room)?	32.8 (65)	28 (30)	28.3 (17)	24.7 (18)
Worked without workers compensation insurance?	46 (91)	29 (31)	45 (27)	45.2 (33)
Worked without medical insurance?	53.5 (106)	39.3 (42)	46.7 (28)	49.3 (36)
Worked on holidays without extra pay?	49 (97)	35.5 (38)	43.3 (26)	45.2 (33)
Worked longer than 8 hours a day without overtime pay (hourly employees only)?	66.2 (131)	48.6 (52)	55 (33)	63 (46)
Worked longer than 4 hours without a break?	76.8 (152)	61.7 (66)	56.7 (34)	71.2 (52)
Received a bad check (bounced) from your employer?	32.3 (64)	21.5 (23)	20 (12)	39.7 (29)
Denied pay for work you performed in the United States?	50.5 (100)	38.3 (41)	38.3 (23)	49.3 (36)
Employer disappeared before paying you?	35.9 (71)	30.8 (33)	23.3 (14)	32.9 (24)
Paid less than minimum wage (Alaska \$9.75/hr; NYC \$12-13/hr; SAN \$10.50/hr)?	47.5 (94)	43 (46)	35 (21)	37 (27)
Told to work in hazardous environments (e.g., unknown chemicals) without proper protection?	43.9 (87)	36.4 (39)	30 (18)	41.1 (30)
Other exploitative experiences	36.9 (73)	24.3 (26)	33.3 (20)	37 (27)
Deceptions and Lies	N = 199	N=107	N = 60	N = 73
The amount of work was different from what you were promised?	71.4 (142)	56.1 (60)	58.3 (35)	64.4 (47)
The type of work was different from what you were promised?	60.8 (121)	50.5 (54)	50 (30)	50.7 (37)
Pay was less than you were promised?	79.4 (158)	65.4 (70)	66.7 (40)	65.8 (48)
The work environment was different from what you were promised?	57.3 (114)	42.1 (45)	53.3 (32)	50.7 (37)
Housing was different than what was described to you at recruitment?	23.1 (46)	19.6 (21)	16.7 (10)	20.5 (15)
Told that you will not be believed if you try to seek help from the police or other authorities?	28.1 (56)	21.5 (23)	21.7 (13)	27.4 (20)
Instructed to lie about the identity of your employer?	14.6 (29)	10.3 (11)	10 (6)	16.4 (12)
Instructed to lie to any other official?	23.1 (46)	15.9 (17)	15 (9)	27.4 (20)
Instructed to lie about your identity?	9.5 (19)	7.5 (8)	5 (3)	11 (8)
Restrictions of Physical/Communicative Freedom	N = 138	N = 107	N = 107	N = 73
You were prevented or restricted from communicating freely with others outside the workplace?	33.3 (46)	16.8 (18)	21.7 (13)	20.5 (15)
You were prevented or restricted from communicating freely with your family?	26.8 (37)	15 (16)	13.3 (8)	17.8 (13)
You were prevented or restricted from communicating freely with other workers?	55.1 (76)	29.9 (32)	30 (18)	35.6 (26)
You were not allowed to seek or receive medical services, including medication?	21 (29)	7.5 (8)	11.7 (7)	19.2 (14)
You were not allowed adequate food, water, or sleep for more than TWO days?	40.6 (56)	26.2 (28)	20 (12)	21.9 (16)
You were restricted where you could go during non-working hours?	42.8 (59)	19.6 (21)	28.3 (17)	28.8 (21)
You were forbidden from leaving the workplace?	66.7 (92)	31.8 (34)	35 (21)	50.7 (37)
Your identification papers (e.g., passport, visa, or birth certification) were taken away?	10.9 (15)	6.5 (7)	8.3 (5)	4.1 (3)

Intimidation, Threats, and Fears (1)	N = 143	N = 107	N = 60	N = 73
Have you ever been belittled, humiliated, or put down by your employer or people who help your employer (such as the contractor or direct supervisor) for not doing exactly what you were told, such as “don’t even try to seek help”; “how weak you are”; “ you are worthless”...)?	74.8 (107)	39.3 (42)	48.3 (29)	49.3 (36)
Has your employer or people who help your employer (such as the contractor or direct supervisor) ever told you “stories” of how bad things had happened to others who did not follow orders?	41.3 (59)	21.5 (23)	28.3 (17)	26 (19)
Have you ever been threatened by your employer or people who help your employer (such as the contractor or direct supervisor) to behave or follow their orders or you would not be able to work anymore in this industry (blacklisted)?	53.8 (77)	25.2 (27)	38.3 (23)	37 (27)
Have you ever been threatened by your employer or people who help your employer (such as your contractor or direct supervisor) to behave or follow their orders or bad things would happen to you?	42.7 (61)	24.3 (26)	26.7 (16)	26 (19)
Have you ever been forbidden (or prevented from/or told not to) to socialize with outsiders (such as health workers, outreach workers, government inspectors, or union representatives)?	31.5 (45)	15.9 (17)	21.7 (13)	20.5 (15)
Have you ever suffered consequences (e.g., docked pay or hours; verbal abuse; physical abuse) because you failed to follow an order from your employer or someone who helps your employer (such as the contractor or direct supervisor)?	66.4 (95)	33.6 (36)	41.7 (25)	46.6 (34)
Intimidation, Threats, and Fears (2)	N = 90	N = 107	N = 60	N = 73
Threats to harm your co-workers?	21.1 (19)	10.3 (11)	1.7 (1)	9.6 (7)
Threats to deny you food?	31.1 (28)	13.1 (14)	3.3 (2)	16.4 (12)
Threats to call the police on you?	32.2 (29)	11.2 (12)	10 (6)	15.1 (11)
Threats to your family?	15.6 (14)	7.5 (8)	1.7 (1)	6.8 (5)
Threats of harm to your family or pet in any form?	14.4 (13)	6.5 (7)	1.7 (1)	6.8 (5)
Threats of harm to you in any other form?	44.4 (40)	18.7 (20)	13.3 (8)	16.4 (12)
Has your employer or someone working with your employer, ever threatened you in any manner (such as verbal threats) when you tried to leave, complain, report, or seek help for your situation?	51.1 (46)	15.9 (17)	21.7 (13)	21.9 (16)
Threats of physical abuse (including beating, kicking, slapping, etc.)?	43.3 (39)	18.7 (20)	10 (6)	17.8 (13)
Physical abuse (including beating, kicking, slapping, etc.)?	26.7 (24)	13.1 (14)	10 (6)	5.5 (4)
Has your employer, or someone working with your employer, ever harmed you physically in any form when you tried to leave, complain, report, or seek help for your situation?	23.3 (21)	9.3 (10)	8.3 (5)	8.2 (6)
Kept in an enclosed environment where you could not leave (including physically restrained)?	28.9 (26)	8.4 (9)	13.3 (8)	12.3 (9)
Abuses of a Sexual Nature	N = 80	N = 107	N = 60	N = 73
Sexist work environment	71.3 (57)	14 (15)	33.3 (20)	30.1 (22)
Verbal harassment of a sexual nature	70 (56)	15.9 (17)	30 (18)	28.8 (21)
Unwanted touching or physical contact	57.5 (46)	15 (16)	28.3 (17)	23.3 (17)
Any unwanted sexual advances	62.5 (50)	12.1 (13)	30 (18)	20.5 (15)
Threatened to show explicit photos or videos to others or post on social media	15 (12)	3.7 (4)	10 (6)	2.7 (2)
Encouraged or pressured into sexual acts or to have sex	33.8 (27)	4.7 (5)	20 (12)	13.7 (10)
Forced to do something sexually you did not feel comfortable doing	21.3 (17)	6.5 (7)	8.3 (5)	6.8 (5)
Forced you to engage in sexual acts with family, friends, or business associates	13.8 (11)	4.7 (5)	1.7 (1)	6.8 (5)
Forced to trade sex for money, shelter, food, or anything else	15 (12)	5.6 (6)	5 (3)	4.1 (3)

¹Percentages in this column are based on the number of individuals who had at least one experience in each block.

We describe each type of exploitation and abuse experience in more detail below and supplement survey findings with qualitative data from individuals who experienced more egregious instances labor exploitation and labor trafficking.

Exploitative Labor Practices

A majority of the respondents (83%) reported experiencing some form of exploitive labor practices. Interview participants shared numerous stories of exploitative labor practices they experienced at work, such as being paid less than minimum wage, not being paid at all for the work they completed, working without overtime pay, and working in hazardous conditions without proper protection. One 18-year-old Alaska Native man working in the Alaskan fishing industry recounted an experience of working long hours and not getting paid:

I mean, we would be there for ten days just sitting there for 14-hour days cleaning the boat...I mean, I did 21 days. I did three weeks of work on that boat to get it ready for salmon, sometimes doing 13- or 14-hour days in the harbor and didn't get paid for any of it.

A few participants described delays in payment from their employers. These individuals explained that their pay was delayed due to situations such as the employer failing to deliver the checks to worksites and postponing pay dates. Several interviewees had paychecks that bounced. A 39-year-old African American man in San Diego recounted a job where the checks bounced on a regular basis:

Participant: Yeah, there was, there was times that checks bounced. Like we couldn't get our money from the bank. The account was closed. Not closed but, you know, overdrawn.

Interviewer: How often did that happen?

Participant: At one point it was at least, at least once, twice a month.

Interviewer: For how long, like a year, two years?

Participant: Umm about six months, half a year. You know, especially during the Christmas time, Thanksgiving, New Years when you really need the money. People used to grab checks and run, like hightail it... to get to the bank, you know, 'cause the check cashing around the company refused to take 'em. Refused to take 'em, wouldn't even cash 'em.

Several individuals worked in hazardous conditions without proper safety measures and equipment, primarily in the construction industry. As one 57-year-old White man in San Diego described:

They were sending me in a tunnel and they didn't have proper ventilation. It smelled like straight sewage. We were drilling horizontal bores under the highway...uh 15, right there before you come into Vegas. And, we're supposed to have a suit. Right? He got and bought trash can bags. And cut holes so they go like this and like this and tie it [over your arms].

Deception and Lies

Most of the sample (83%) also experienced forms of deception and lies. Respondents shared stories of employers lying about important work issues during the hiring, retention, and termination process, including lies about payment and payment structure. A few participants who worked sales positions described employers lying about salary and payment during their interviews and not realizing there was an issue until they did not receive payment after an extended period. One 22-year-old African American woman from New York explained how an employer lied about the pay structure during the interview process, resulting in her not being paid for the weeks of work she completed:

He's like, "no you don't get paid weekly, you get paid when you actually sell a package." I'm like, "well that's not what you told me in the interview, you told me I'm supposed to get paid fifteen dollars an hour, and then also a bonus when I sell my first package. I get a bonus of two hundred dollars." He's like "no, that's what happens after you sell something". I'm like, okay you're just contradicting yourself at this point, and you're making it really confusing. And I just kept arguing with this guy like, week after week. And I'm like, you know, why even show up anymore. This isn't even a real job. Like I had to come to my senses and I just stopped showing up.

So I'm like first of all, if I'm not a manager, I shouldn't have the same password [as one]. Technically, I shouldn't be having a key to the damn store. I shouldn't be able to have all the money for the safe and deposits and doing all this. So if I'm going to be doing all this extra stuff, and then not only that but telling the employees which day they're going to work and doing her job and all that, and then I'm doing paperwork at the end of the night... I'm like, regular employees at [fast food company] don't do paperwork, so if I'm not the manager... I mean where's my title? Where's my pay?

Lastly, a few participants talked about how they were not paid for their work because their employers abruptly closed their businesses without notice. One 42-year-old Latina woman from NYC who worked in the food service industry explained:

"So I don't know how many people didn't get paid, but the company ended up closing. They ended up filing for chapter eleven and then reopening under somebody else's name"

Employers also added responsibilities to respondents' jobs without paying them for their additional work. One 30-year-old transgender woman from Alaska who worked in the food service industry explained how she found herself with management responsibilities but without the title or pay:

Intimidation, Threats, and Fear

More than half of respondents (60%) experienced intimidation, threats and fear in their workplace.

The majority of interview participants described verbal abuse in the workplace, including experiences where supervisors and employers would yell and scream at the staff and workplace culture where verbal abuse was common. One 36-year-old mixed race man from San Diego who worked in the food industry spoke of the volatile culture of the restaurant kitchen he worked in: ***“Oh yeah people screaming at you.***

Chef would scream at you. I seen people told ‘get the fuck out of here.’ It’s like, I’ve seen somebody throw things at somebody... It gets out of hand in kitchens”. A few participants also spoke of verbal abuse that included hurtful, humiliating, and degrading personal attacks. One 33-year-old White woman from NYC described how difficult it was being belittled and depersonalized by her employer:

[It was] like mental abuse and them, you know, telling me how fat and ugly and horrible [I am], you know, all these horrible things... Like I would see them three times a week and leave almost every day crying and calling my mom crying. They wouldn’t call me by my name.

The culture of fear that employers and supervisors created by yelling and screaming at staff served to silence employees and prevent them from complaining. One 36-year-old White woman from San Diego explained, ***“I do remember, nobody wanted to talk to him because they were afraid that he was going to yell at somebody. But nobody really talked about where to file a complaint or any formal process or it’s kind of like, you know, just deal with it”.*** Similarly, a few participants reported work situations in which their employers directly intimidated and threatened them to prevent them from leaving or reporting workplace abuses. One 30-year-old mixed race woman from NYC who worked in the modeling industry described:

I remember, [the owner of the modeling agency] was condescending. She was really nasty. At first she seemed really nice. Then if you questioned her about something, she would get snappy. Like for example, she stole a lot of pay from many models. Many of us walked during Fashion Week and she kept our pay. And she said “if you say anything or if you keep talking, I’m gonna have you blacklisted.”

Restrictions of Physical and Communicative Freedom

Over half of the sample (60%) also experienced restrictions on their physical and communicative freedom. In most interviews where respondents identified restrictions, they were challenges around adhering to traditional workplace rules, such as arriving to work on time and not using a personal cell phone during work hours. However, in several cases, restrictions of freedom went beyond these expected workplace rules and regulations and were clearly more exploitative, such as not being able to take breaks or meals. One 23-year-old White and Costa Rican woman from San Diego explained that she was only allowed a 15-minute break during an 8-hour shift:

Our breaks would be like, we would be able to have a dinner break but it would only be fifteen minutes. And I know that by law you’re allowed to have a fifteen-minute smoke break and then a thirty-minute lunch thing. Or you can do like, a forty-minute lunch thing and a five-minute smoke break and a five-minute smoke break, or whatever. It’s something like that but I know it’s not just one little fifteen minute.

The three interviewees who worked in the modeling industry reported experiencing numerous types of restrictions on freedom during both work and personal hours. They explained that they were frequently treated as objects and dehumanized by employers who not only verbally abused them, but prevented them from taking breaks despite incredibly long work days. When asked about their ability to take breaks during work hours, one 36-year-old White woman from New York explained, ***“Even at the best companies, they always say, oh you can go to the bathroom whenever you want. But I have to like ask to go to the bathroom and everyone gets really mad. And one person said ‘I’m not paying you to go to the bathroom’.”*** Employer control also extended into their personal lives, as the participants reflected on how employers tried to control their physical appearance, relationships, and social media usage. One 25-year-old White woman from NYC who worked in the modeling industry described the control employers had on her life:

I understand, like at the end of the day, the French word for model is mannequin. I know that's problematic, but that's just how the industry is so I understand that's like, part of the job or whatever. But just the impersonal way that you're touched and, not even, not in a sexual way, just as, like you're an object. And yeah, so in the beginning there's a lot of that. It's a lot of like, them transforming you. I was told to delete pictures of my boyfriend and not post about a boyfriend because that makes you seem more desirable.

Abuses of a Sexual Nature

While questions around abuses of a sexual nature have not traditionally been included in labor trafficking research to date, because these types of abuses can create coercive work environments, we felt it was important to ask a series of questions to better understand the nature of sexual victimization in the workplace. One third of survey respondents and half of the interviewees shared stories of workplace abuses of a sexual nature. These experiences include groping, inappropriate touching, sexual comments, dating propositions, and, in one case, stalking by a co-worker. These situations were perpetrated by employers, supervisors, or co-workers. Some participants described a pervasive culture of sexual harassment in their workplace. One 36-year-old White woman from San Diego who worked in the fast-food industry described her experience as follows:

Working fast-food sucked. You get a lot of sexual harassment, especially from the male managers... Managers would make comments about your body. That was kind of one of the big things. They'd have conversations about sexual activities in the back of the restaurant or they'd be flirting with other coworkers. And, yeah, it was pretty hostile in that sense.

One 22-year-old African American woman from NYC who worked in door-to-door sales reflected on situations with her female co-workers who were experiencing inappropriate behavior perpetrated by their supervisors. The circumstance she described is concerning, given that she and her colleagues were isolated from each other and worked in areas of Queens, New York where there was little access to public transportation:

And there's a lot of like, umm, what they call sales managers that are men, that work in those industries and a lot of times they would do things and say things to the employees that they would take into these territories in Queens. They particularly wanted to take the girls that were new, that were particularly attractive to them, that they would want to take with them to the territory just alone by themselves and then train them there. And it's a whole conversation that the girls at the office talk about and they find it very weird, and they come back to the office and talk about the experiences that they had throughout the entire day. And I'm like, that's blatant sexual harassment. Like you would go through this entire day with this one guy. Like, he took her to a restaurant and then took her to like a clothing store, and oh my gosh just nonsense that was happening, like picking out clothes for her, and I'm just like oh my god.

The majority of study participants experienced multiple exploitative work experiences. In many instances, those abuses were not limited to one job, but rather a series of jobs. The next section will discuss where these experiences fall on a legally defined spectrum ranging from labor exploitation to labor trafficking.

03

Findings about Labor Trafficking and Labor Exploitation

RESEARCH QUESTION 2

Where does labor trafficking experience fall on a continuum of labor exploitation for U.S. citizen workers?

To answer our second research question, we visualized the counts of each of the items included in the previously described blocks (exploitive labor practices; restrictions of freedom; deception and lies; intimidation, threat and fear; and sexual abuse) by severity. In Table 5, yellow items represent labor trafficking indicators and blue items are associated with labor exploitation, all of which have been used in previous research (Owens et al., 2014; Zhang, 2012). The data in Table 5 illuminates where labor trafficking experiences fall on the exploitation continuum. Beyond this it is necessary to examine how many individuals exclusively experienced each item. Table 5 also shows item frequencies by block, organized along the labor exploitation spectrum.

Table 5. Labor Exploitation to Labor Trafficking Spectrum by Block

Block	% (N)
Exploitative Labor Practices	N = 198
Have you ever been paid with things other than money, such as gift cards; tickets for goods; food; alcohol/drugs, housing/hotel room as a substitute to your wage?	32.8 (65)
Worked without workers compensation insurance?	46.0 (91)
Worked without medical insurance?	53.5 (106)
Worked on holidays without extra pay?	49.0 (97)
Worked longer than 8 hours a day without overtime pay (hourly employees only)?	66.2 (131)
Worked longer than 4 hours without a break?	76.8 (152)
You received a bad check (bounced) from your employer?	32.3 (64)
You were denied pay for work you performed in the United States?	50.5 (100)
Your employer disappeared before paying you?	35.9 (71)
Pay less than minimum wage (Alaska \$9.75/hr; NYC \$12-13/hr; SAN \$10.50/hr)?	47.4 (94)
You were told to work in hazardous environments (e.g., unknown chemicals) without proper protection?	43.9 (87)
Other exploitative experiences	36.9 (73)
Deceptions and Lies	N = 199
The amount of work was different from what you were promised?	71.4 (142)
The type of work was different from what you were promised?	60.8 (121)
Pay was less than you were promised?	79.4 (158)
The work environment was different from what you were promised?	57.3 (114)
Housing was different than what was described to you at recruitment?	23.1 (46)
You were told that you will not be believed if you try to seek help from the police or other authorities?	28.1 (56)
You were instructed to lie about the identity of your employer?	14.6 (29)
Have you ever been instructed to lie to any other official?	23.1 (46)
You were instructed to lie about your identity?	9.5 (19)

Block	% (N)
Restrictions of Physical/Communicative Freedom	N = 138
You were prevented or restricted from communicating freely with others outside the workplace?	33.3 (46)
You were prevented or restricted from communicating freely with your family?	26.8 (37)
You were prevented or restricted from communicating freely with other workers?	55.1 (76)
You were not allowed to seek or receive medical services, including medication?	21.0 (29)
You were not allowed adequate food, water, or sleep for more than TWO days?	40.6 (56)
You were restricted where you could go during non-working hours?	42.8 (59)
You were forbidden from leaving the workplace?	66.7 (92)
Your identification papers (e.g., passport, visa, or birth certification) were taken away?	10.9 (15)



Intimidation, Threats, and Fears (1)	N = 143
Have you ever been belittled, humiliated, or put down by your employer or people who help your employer (such as the contractor or direct supervisor) for not doing exactly what you were told, such as “don’t even try to seek help”; “how weak you are”; “ you are worthless”...)?	74.8 (107)
Has your employer or people who help your employer (such as the contractor or direct supervisor) ever told you “stories” of how bad things had happened to others who did not follow orders?	41.3 (59)
Have you ever been threatened by your employer or people who help your employer (such as the contractor or direct supervisor) to behave or follow their orders or you would not be able to work anymore in this industry (blacklisted)?	53.8 (77)
Have you ever been threatened by your employer or people who help your employer (such as your contractor or direct supervisor) to behave or follow their orders or bad things would happen to you?	42.7 (61)
Have you ever been forbidden (or prevented from / or told not to) to socialize with outsiders (such as health workers, outreach workers, government inspectors, or union representatives)?	31.5 (45)
Have you ever suffered consequences (e.g. docked pay or hours; verbal abuse; physical abuse) because you failed to follow an order from your employer or someone who helps your employer (such as the contractor or direct supervisor)?	66.4 (95)



Intimidation, Threats, and Fears (2)	N = 90
Threats to harm your co-workers?	21.1 (19)
Threats to deny you food?	31.1 (28)
Threats to call the police on you?	32.2 (29)
Threats to your family?	15.6 (14)
Threats of harm to your family or pet in any form?	14.4 (13)
Threats of harm to you in any other form?	44.4 (40)
Has your employer or someone working with your employer, ever threatened you in any manner (such as verbal threats) when you tried to leave, complain, report, or seek help for your situation?	51.1 (46)
Threats of physical abuse (including beating, kicking, slapping, etc.)?	43.3 (39)
Physical abuse (including beating, kicking, slapping, etc.)?	26.7 (24)
Has your employer, or someone working with your employer, ever harmed you physically in any form when you tried to leave, complain, report, or seek help for your situation?	23.3 (21)
Kept in an enclosed environment where you could not leave (including physically restrained)?	28.9 (26)



Abuses of a Sexual Nature	N = 80
Sexist work environment	71.3 (57)
Verbal harassment of a sexual nature	70.0 (56)
Unwanted touching or physical contact	57.6 (46)
Any unwanted sexual advances	62.5 (50)
Threatened to show explicit photos or videos to others or post on social media	15.0 (12)
Encouraged or pressured into sexual acts or to have sex	33.8 (27)
Forced to do something sexually you did not feel comfortable doing	21.3 (17)
Forced you to engage in sexual acts with family, friends or business associates	13.8 (11)
Forced to trade sex for money, shelter, food or anything else	15.0 (12)



Each block represents a type of workplace abuse that ranges from labor exploitation to trafficking. The most frequent block of abuse reported was Deceptions and Lies (N = 199), with the most common form being paid less than what was promised (N = 158). Overall, most study participants experienced a variety of labor exploitation forms, with the most common types being Exploitative Labor Practices and Deceptions and Lies. Additionally, over 100 respondents reported that they were belittled, humiliated, or put down by their employer or people who helped their employer (such as the contractor or direct supervisor) for not doing exactly what they were told under Intimidation, Threats and Fears (1). Respondents often experienced multiple forms of abuse that often began as labor exploitation situations and then escalated to become more abusive, crossing into clearer forms of labor trafficking.

The following case study represents just one of respondents' many complex stories of labor exploitation and abuse. In some cases, exploitation escalated within one job. In others, respondents experienced multiple forms of exploitation across different jobs—a sign that vulnerability to abuse may traverse more than one single exploitative work experience. Unsurprisingly, these complexities make the identification and response to labor trafficking victimization more challenging for law enforcement and service providers and may undermine victims' ability to recognize their abuses.



Case Study

A 28-year-old Latino male (Mr. X) from San Diego reported growing up in a safe, supportive environment, attending college, and experiencing homelessness and mental health challenges at one point in his life. During his interview, he detailed a work history that included many abuses, including restrictions of freedom, deceptions and lies, exploitative labor practices, intimidation and fears, and abuses of a sexual nature.

As a teenager, Mr. X worked in construction and was paid regularly and treated well. He had no complaints with his first job and sought a second job to earn additional money. Mr. X frequently worked several jobs at once while attending school. In his late teens, Mr. X started working at a sports company, which he learned about through a friend. Again, Mr. X was paid regularly and was making more than minimum wage; however, he experienced a significant amount of physical abuse by the owner under the guise of “pranks.” He explained:

It was uncomfortable to go to work because I didn't know what to expect. Like sometimes I didn't feel in the mood to joke around, but it was going to happen inevitably...It was gonna be all bad. So I got really paranoid. I wasn't relaxed at work...It was like all bad.

Mr. X stayed at this job for several years and eventually left when he could not withstand the abuse. Just as Mr. X experienced in this job and his next job, 11% of survey participants reported physical abuse by their employers.

Mr. X's next job was working as a valet. He reported being paid well and receiving overtime pay, with some exceptions. He explained that he and his colleagues would be sent to work sites where they were supposed to be paid more, but they would not receive the pay increase. He said it ***“never get resolved.”*** The staff ignored this issue because reconciling it would delay their check: ***“so it's just better to like, go with it you know, and get paid your regular [pay] than not get paid on time.”*** In addition, his supervisor was verbally abusive and would say things such as, ***“you're a piece of shit' you know, like 'I don't know why you're still working here,' you know. Like 'you're legit a piece of shit.’”*** Another supervisor would physically push and kick Mr. X and other staff. At one point, Mr. X asked to be transferred and worked in an underground environment with inadequate ventilation. He developed health issues due to the exhaust he was breathing in, so he transferred back to his previous position. Mr. X eventually left this valet job because he was so stressed by the abuse.

While working as a valet, Mr. X was also working in the tourism industry as a cook. While he was paid appropriately, he experienced unsafe working conditions and sexual harassment. For the second time in his work history, Mr. X was placed in an environment without proper protective gear. As a cook, he was regularly burned due to faulty safety gear: ***“the protection stuff wasn't good enough, like too thin. By the time you realize it, the cloth is already burned through and your arm is burned.”*** He was also sexually harassed by his female co-workers, which is a departure from mostly female respondents' reports of men-perpetrated sexual abuse. Mr. X experienced verbal harassment and unwanted touching from his female coworkers who were ***“like talking about my private parts...just being really hands on. They would grab me or make sure I saw their cleavage... they would do it on purpose, put their chest in front of me or just grab my privates and just make sexual references and tell me their sex stories.”***

After Mr. X left both the valet and the tourism industry positions, he started working in night clubs as a bouncer. This was another job that paid him regularly and appropriately. However, the type of work he did was significantly different than what he was hired to do. Mr. X worked in increasingly dangerous circumstances as his boss involved him in confiscating and distributing drugs in the club.

He was also asked to revive individuals who overdosed on drugs to avoid calling an ambulance. Mr. X was scared of the escalating danger. Mr. X was one of the fifty-nine survey participants who reported an employer putting restrictions on where they could go during their non-working hours. While he usually wanted to go home right after his shift, but he often had to stay late and reported his boss regularly saying, **“hey man if you want to work here you got to be involved with like extracurricular activities, like maybe you’re not working but you got to at least party with us, you know.”** After leaving his job at the nightclub, Mr. X returned to the construction industry. He has been receiving treatment for mental health conditions, many of which stemmed from his work experiences. He hopes to return to college and finish his degree.

Mr. X’s story helps illuminate the complex ways that U.S. citizens experience a spectrum of labor exploitation and labor trafficking experiences. As illustrated in Table 5, people experience a range of abuses that fall on the labor exploitation and trafficking continuum. This makes identification of labor trafficking difficult for both service providers and law enforcement. That said, researchers in other studies have validated the yellow-shaded items in Table 5 as labor trafficking indicators (Owens et al., 2014; Zhang, 2012). These previously validated indicators can help disentangle and categorize the different abuses that someone like Mr. X might experience across jobs.





03

Findings about Labor Trafficking and Labor Exploitation

RESEARCH QUESTION 3

Where personal and structural vulnerabilities put U.S. Citizens at risk for labor trafficking?

The third research question explores personal and structural vulnerabilities that are associated with each labor exploitation category. To quantitatively show these associations, we conducted bivariate analyses between each of the demographic, health, life circumstances, housing characteristics, and industry characteristics with each block. Table 6 contains personal and structural vulnerabilities by block and bivariate analyses of risk factors. To calculate these correlations, we created a dichotomous variable to represent participants who had at least one experience in each block (coded 1 for yes, coded 0 for no). We then calculated correlations between potential factors associated with each block of exploitation and abuse.



Table 6. Personal and Structural Vulnerabilities by Block

	Overall	Exploitative Labor Practices	Deceptions and Lies	Intimidation, Threats, and Fear	Restriction of Freedoms	Sexual Abuse	Other Intimidations
Total	N = 240	N = 198	N = 199	N = 143	N = 138	N = 80	N = 90
Age							
15-30	36.3 (87)	37.4 (74)	37.7 (75)	34.3 (49)	38.4 (53)	36.3 (29)	35.6 (32)
31-45	33.8 (81)	34.3 (68)	35.2 (70)	37.8 (54)	39.9 (55)	40 (32)	33.3 (30)
45-60	21.3 (51)	21.7 (43)	20.6 (41)	23.1 (33)	17.4 (24)	18.8 (15)	26.7 (24)
60+	3.3 (8)	3.5 (7)	3 (6)	2.8 (4)	1.4 (2)	2.5 (2)	2.2 (2)
Sexual orientation							
Straight	79.6 (191)	81.8 (162) *(p)	81.9 (163)	81.1 (116)	78.3 (108)	77.5 (62)	81.1 (73)
Gay	3.8 (9)	3.5 (7)	3.5 (7)	4.2 (6)	4.3 (6)	7.5 (6) †(p)	5.6 (5)
Lesbian	2.1 (5)	1 (2) **(n)	1 (2) *(n)	1.4 (2) †(n)	1.4 (2)	1.3 (1)	1.1 (1)
Bisexual	9.6 (23)	11.1 (22)	10.1 (20)	9.8 (14) †(n)	10.9 (15)	12.5 (10)	8.9 (8)
Asexual	0.4 (1)	0.5 (1)	0.5 (1)	0.7 (1)	0.7 (1)	0 (0)	1.1 (1)
Pansexual	1.7 (4)	1.5 (3)	2 (4)	2.1 (3)	2.9 (4)	0 (0)	1.1 (1)
Other	0.8 (2)	0.5 (1)	1 (2)	0.7 (1)	1.4 (2)	1.3 (1)	1.1 (1)
Race							
Black	27.5 (66)	26.8 (53)	28.6 (57)	26.6 (38)	29.7 (41)	27.5 (22)	26.7 (24)
Asian	4.2 (10)	4 (8)	3.5 (7)	3.5 (5)	4.3 (6)	1.3 (1)	2.2 (2)
Latinx	21.7 (52)	23.7 (47)	21.1 (42)	21.7 (31)	23.9 (33)	30 (24)	22.2 (20)
Native	29.6 (71)	27.8 (55)*(n)	28.1 (56)	23.1 (33)	22.5 (31)	23.8 (19)	20 (18)
White	25.8 (62)	29.3 (58)	29.1 (58)	32.2 (46)	30.4 (42)	35 (28)	36.7 (33)*(p)
Other	2.9 (7)	3.5 (7)	2.5 (5)	3.5 (5)	4.3 (6)	5 (4)	2.2 (2)
Gender							
Male	53.3 (128)	53 (105)	54.3 (108)	52.4 (75)	51.4 (71)	36.3 (29) *(n)	56.7 (51)
Female	41.7 (100)	43.4 (86)	42.2 (84) †(n)	44.8 (64)	44.2 (61)	58.8 (47) **(p)	38.9 (35)
Transgender/Non-conforming	2.9 (7)	3.5 (7)	3.5 (7)	2.8 (4)	4.3 (6)	5.0 (4)	4.4 (4)
Born in U.S.							
No	6.7 (16)	7.6 (15)	7 (14)	9.1 (13)	9.4 (13)	11.3 (9)	8 (8.9)
Yes	91.7 (220)	92.4 (183)	93 (185)	90.9 (130)	90.6 (125) †(n)	88.8 (71) *(n)	82 (91.1)
Relationship Status							
Single	63.8 (153)	63.6 (126) †(n)	63.3 (126)	63.6 (91)	64.5 (89)	63.8 (51)	62.2 (56)
Married	13.8 (33)	14.6 (29)	15.1 (30)	14.7 (21)	14.5 (20)	13.8 (11)	22.2 (20) *(p)

	Overall	Exploitative Labor Practices	Deceptions and Lies	Intimidation, Threats, and Fear	Restriction of Freedoms	Sexual Abuse	Other Intimidations
Living together	5.4 (13)	6.1 (12)	5.5 (11)	4.9 (7)	5.1 (7)	2.5 (2)	1.1 (1)
Widow	2.9 (7)	3 (6)	3.5 (7)	3.5 (5)	2.9 (4)	5 (4)	3.3 (3)
Divorced	7.9 (19)	8.6 (17)	7.5 (15)	10.5 (15)	8 (11)	11.3 (9)	6.7 (6)
Separated	3.8 (9)	3.5 (7)	4.5 (9)	2.8 (4)	4.3 (6)	3.8 (3)	3.3 (3)
Children							
No	42.5 (102)	43.9 (87)	44.7 (89)	46.2 (66)	47.8 (66)	51.3 (41)	44.4 (40)
Yes	54.6 (131)	55.6 (110)	54.3 (108)	53.8 (77)	50.7 (70)	48.8 (39) †(n)	55.6 (50)
Highest Level of Education¹							
High school or less	49.6 (119)	49.5 (98)	49.2 (98)	45.5 (65)	49.3 (68)	35 (28)	50 (45)
Some college or more	47.1 (113)	50.5 (100)	49.7 (99)	54.5 (78)	50 (69)	65 (52) *(p)	50 (45)
Job worked in past 12 months							
Construction	20.8 (50)	21.7 (43)	22.1 (44)	21 (30)	23.9 (33)	20 (16)	27.8 (25)
Food service	33.8 (81)	33.3 (66)	34.7 (69)	31.5 (45)	31.2 (43)	33.8 (27)	33.3 (30)
Janitorial	19.2 (46)	19.7 (39)	20.6 (41)	17.5 (25)	22.5 (31)	16.3 (13)	18.9 (17)
Retail	14.6 (35)	14.1 (28)	15.1 (30)	11.9 (17)*(n)	18.1 (25)	13.8 (11)	12.2 (11)
Other	65.8 (158)	69.7 (138)	70.4 (140) *(p)	69.2 (99)	71 (98)	67.5 (54)	72.2 (65)
Job setting							
Rural	28.3 (68)	29.8 (59)	30.2 (60)	25.2 (36)	28.3 (39)	15 (12) †(n)	24.4 (22)
Suburban	27.5 (66)	28.3 (56)	29.1 (58)	25.2 (36)	29 (40)	31.3 (25)	32.2 (29)
Urban	55 (132)	58.6 (116)	57.3 (114)	60.1 (86)	60.9 (84)	66.3 (53)	60 (54)
Housing							
Apartment	27.5 (66)	26.8 (53)	26.1 (52)	29.4 (42)	23.2 (32)*(n)	26.3 (21)	28.9 (26)
Couch surfing	9.2 (22)	9.1 (18)	9 (18)	12.6 (18)	10.1 (14)	11.3 (9)	11.1 (10)
Homeless shelter	26.3 (63)	28.3 (56)	28.1 (56)	23.1 (33)	30.4 (42) †(p)	32.5 (26)	22.2 (20)
House	10.8 (26)	11.6 (23)	10.6 (21)	10.5 (15)	8 (11)	8.8 (7) †(n)	6.7 (6)
Outdoors/abandoned Bus	3.8 (9)	4 (8)	4.5 (9)	3.5 (5)	4.3 (6)	5 (4)	6.7 (6)
Treatment center	6.7 (16)	7.1 (14)	7 (14)	8.4 (12)	8 (11)	6.3 (5)	7.8 (7)
Street/park	2.1 (5)	2 (4)	1.5 (3)	2.8 (4)	1.4 (2)	2.5 (2)	4.4 (4)
Trailer	0.4 (1)	0.5 (1)	0.5 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Other	10.4 (25)	10.1 (20)	11.6 (23)	9.1 (13)	14.5 (20)*(p)	7.5 (6)	12.2 (11)
Pay for housing							
Rent	35.0 (84)	36.9 (73)	36.2 (72)	38.5 (55)	30.4 (42)*(n)	32.5 (26)	38.9 (35)
Own	4.2 (10)	4.5 (9)	3.5 (7)	4.9 (7)	4.3 (6)	6.3 (5)	4.4 (4)
Neither own nor rent	43.8 (105)	46 (91)	44.7 (89)	42.7 (61)	48.6 (67) †(p)	46.3 (37)	40 (36)
Own trailer - rented	0.4 (1)	0.5 (1)	0.5 (1)	0.7 (1)	0.7 (1)	1.3 (1)	0 (0)
Squat (no permission)	2.5 (6)	2 (4)	2 (4)	2.8 (4)	2.2 (3)	3.8 (3)	4.4 (4)
Other	7.9 (19)	7.6 (15)	8 (16)	7 (10)	9.4 (13)	6.3 (5)	8.9 (8)

	Overall	Exploitative Labor Practices	Deceptions and Lies	Intimidation, Threats, and Fear	Restriction of Freedoms	Sexual Abuse	Other Intimidations
Live with							
Relatives	26.3 (63)	26.3 (52)	25.1 (50)	25.2 (36)	16.7 (23) †(n)	17.5 (14)	22.2 (20)
Partner	11.3 (27)	10.1 (20)	10.1 (20)	11.2 (16)	12.3 (17)	12.5 (10)	8.9 (8)
Friends	10 (24)	11.1 (22)	11.6 (23) †(p)	14 (20) †(p)	11.6 (16)	12.5 (10)	13.3 (12)
Co-workers	0.4 (1)	0.5 (1)	0.5 (1)	0.7 (1)	0.7 (1)	1.3 (1)	1.1 (1)
Other homeless individual	26.3 (63)	28.3 (56)	28.1 (56)	24.5 (35)	34.1 (47) †(p)	30 (24)	27.8 (25)
No one	14.2 (34)	14.1 (28)	14.6 (29)	13.3 (19)	13 (18)	15 (12)	14.4 (13)
Other	7.9 (19)	8.6 (17)	8 (16)	9.8 (14)	10.1 (14)	10 (8)	11.1 (10)
Life circumstances							
Leave home due to violence	52.1 (125)	53.5 (106)	54.8 (109) †(p)	55.9 (80)	58.7 (81)	61.3 (49)	55.6 (50)
Violence in home affects job	33.8 (81)	39.4 (78)	38.2 (76)	39.9 (57)	47.1 (65)**(p)	52.5 (42) **(p)	42.2 (38)
Been in alcohol or drug treatment	43.8 (105)	44.4 (88)	44.7 (89)	45.5 (65)	44.9 (62) †(p)	42.5 (34)	50 (45)
Alcohol or drug affected job prospect	25.4 (61)	26.8 (53)	26.6 (53)	28.7 (41)	26.1 (36)	20 (16)	32.2 (29)
Alcohol or drug affected job keeping	29.2 (70)	29.3 (58)	29.6 (59)	30.8 (44)	30.4 (42)	30 (24)	35.6 (32)
Been involved in gang	15.4 (37)	16.2 (32)	15.1 (30)	17.5 (25)	19.6 (27)	12.5 (10) †(n)	16.7 (15)
Been arrested	64.6 (155)	67.7 (134)	66.8 (133)	65 (93)	65.9 (91)	60 (48) *(n)	64.4 (58)
Served time in prison	38.3 (92)	38.4 (76)	38.2 (76)	39.2 (56)	38.4 (53)	32.5 (26) **(n)	43.3 (39)
Placed in foster or kinship care	31.3 (75)	31.3 (62)	32.2 (64)	28.7 (41)	34.8 (48)	25 (20) *(n)	30 (27)
Child welfare intervention	21.3 (51)	23.2 (46)	23.1 (46)	23.8 (34) †(p)	24.6 (34)	23.8 (19)	21.1 (19)
Have children	51.7 (124)	53.5 (106)	51.8 (103)	52.4 (75)	50 (69)	43.8 (35) *(n)	53.3 (48)
Received public assistance	72.9 (175)	77.3 (153)	76.4 (152)	74.1 (106)	76.1 (105)	76.3 (61)	78.9 (71)
Health conditions							
Depression	52.1 (125)	55.1 (109)	53.3 (106)	51 (73)	60.1 (83)	60 (48)	62.2 (56)
Anxiety	33.8 (81)	57.1 (113)	55.3 (110)	53.8 (77)	61.6 (85)	62.5 (50)	61.1 (55)
Bipolar disorder	43.8 (105)	19.7 (39)	21.1 (42)	21.7 (31)	26.1 (36)	26.3 (21)	30 (27) *(p)
Schizophrenia	25.4 (61)	6.6 (13)	6.5 (13)	5.6 (8)	7.2 (10)	5 (4)	10 (9) †(p)
ADHD	29.2 (70)	22.2 (44)	24.1 (48)	24.5 (35)	29.7 (41)*(p)	22.5 (18)	26.7 (24)
PTSD	15.4 (37)	43.4 (86)	43.7 (87)	44.1 (63)	48.6 (67)	48.8 (39)	50 (45)

	Overall	Exploitative Labor Practices	Deceptions and Lies	Intimidation, Threats, and Fear	Restriction of Freedoms	Sexual Abuse	Other Intimidations
Traumatic brain injury (TBI)	64.6 (155)	10.1 (20)	11.1 (22)	11.9 (17)	10.9 (15)	11.3 (9)	14.4 (13)
Autism spectrum disorder	38.3 (92)	3 (6)	3 (6)	2.8 (4)	4.3 (6)	2.5 (2)	1.1 (1)
Intellectual disability	31.3 (75)	6.1 (12)	6.5 (13)	7.7 (11)	6.5 (9)	2.5 (2)	7.8 (7)
Other	21.3 (51)	4.5 (9)	5.5 (11)	7 (10) †(p)	6.5 (9)	7.5 (6) †(p)	7.8 (7) *(p)

Coefficients calculated Spearman's Rho via tetrachoric correlation matrices for dichotomous variables

† < .1; * <.05; ** <.01; *** <.001

(p) signifies positive correlations: (n) signifies negative correlations

†Point biserial correlation calculated for dichotomous and continuous variables

Age had a negative association with restrictions of freedom, while sexual orientation was significantly associated with experiencing deceptions and lies, exploitative labor practices, intimidations, threats, and fears, and sexual victimization. Native American participants were less likely to report deceptions and lies and exploitative labor practices; Black respondents were less likely to report restrictions of freedom; and White participants were more likely to report other forms of intimidations, threats, and fears. Those who had experienced violence in the home were significantly more likely to report more freedom restrictions and sexual victimization. Several life circumstances were negatively associated with sexual victimization, such as being arrested, serving time in prison, or being placed in foster care. This is likely due to the high associations of these items with male respondents. Attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) diagnosis has disproportionate associations with freedom restrictions and bipolar disorder has disproportionate associations with exploitative labor practices. Both post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and schizophrenia had more marginal, yet positive, correlations with freedom restriction and exploitative practices respectively.


Qualitative interviews with respondents and service providers provided further context for the potential risk factors in the survey, including the complex personal and structural issues that may increase a person's vulnerability to labor exploitation and trafficking. One key insight that emerged from these interviews is the intertwining of personal and structural vulnerabilities, including: low socio-economic status; prior victimization; institutional demands; physical and mental health; and age/inexperience.

Low Socio-Economic Status

The vast majority of individuals reported experiencing homelessness and receiving public assistance at some point in their lives, indicating they had experienced high levels of poverty. Several indicators of poverty are associated with forms of victimization. Individuals who reported experiencing homelessness were more likely to experience restrictions of movement and exploitative practices than

respondents who did not experience homelessness. Respondents with more housing security (rented housing or lived in apartments) were less likely to experience restrictions of freedom compared to those unstably housed and living in a shelter, and living in a house was negatively associated with exploitative practices. Those who received public assistance were also more likely to experience exploitative practices. Qualitative interviews revealed a similar pattern. Individuals who had little financial security were particularly vulnerable to exploitation by employers because they desperately needed money and they needed it immediately. One NYC service provider who works with homeless and runaway youth described an employer who sold CBD products and would park across the street from their site where there were a lot of **“young people on the street”** and **“lots of social service agencies”** around. They explained:

It was uncomfortable to go to work because I didn't know what to expect. Like sometimes I didn't feel in the mood to joke around, but it was going to happen inevitably...It was gonna be all bad. So I got really paranoid. I wasn't relaxed at work...It was like all bad.



Of the 27 interviewees, 25 had experienced homelessness and/or received public assistance at some point in their lives, with the majority experiencing both. As the survey revealed, individuals who experienced high rates of poverty also experienced high incidents of labor exploitation by employers. Poverty stricken interview respondents also described repeated exploitative practices by employers. One 25-year-old African American woman from San Diego who had experienced homelessness found herself struggling to be properly compensated by her employer who did not explain the pay structure when they hired her to sell mobile phones. She explained:

I mean in the interview, they didn't say anything about not getting paid for phones if like the person lied to you about their information and their phone got cut off. They never say anything about that. I didn't find out about that until like, way later that I might not get paid for one of the phones that I gave out. Like [the employer] never said that.

The employer had told the respondent that she would be paid for each phone sold, but did not specify that payment would come only after the phone remained activated for several weeks. This respondent also noted how she was recruited outside of the welfare office to sell the phones:

The girl walked up to me from the welfare office and was like, "do you have a job?" And I was like no. She's like, "would you like to do this?" And I was like, maybe so she like gave me, like her number and then told me that she would tell her boss to give me an interview and everything.....So they make it seem like it's gonna be all professional and should be in an office setting, but like, in reality you're outside the welfare office giving out Obama phones and they never really make that clear in the interview but like, everybody knows 'cause like, that's how you get the interview. You met somebody doing it outside.

This employer purposely recruited individuals who were vulnerable by nature of receiving public assistance and deceived them regarding the job and payment specifics. Because the participant was in a precarious living and financial situation, she stayed at the job between several months to a year even though she never received a paycheck that reflected the hours she worked.

Prior Victimization


Survey participants were asked about violence in the home, as family violence can negatively impact employment. Experiencing violence in the home and this violence affecting respondents' job was positively associated with sexual victimization and restrictions of freedom. While the survey did not explore victimization history outside of family violence, interview questions explored participants' child welfare involvement and diagnosis of PTSD—experiences that may indicate additional victimization. Survey analysis confirms that individuals with PTSD diagnoses were more likely to experience restrictions of freedom, similar to those who reported violence in the home that affected their job.

Twenty-one of the twenty-seven interview participants reported experiencing violence in the home and/or a diagnosis of PTSD, indicating prior victimization was highly prevalent among the interviewees. One domestic violence service provider from San Diego described the types of jobs many survivors obtain after leaving an abusive situation:

So it's a range of employment that they will enter into. I think some of it is very close to minimum wage entry level stuff, like fast food or service industry, housekeeping, sometimes in the hotel/motel industry. There's an occasion where we see some other stuff. But I think generally, in my years of experience, if I could summarize, there's the caretaking industry, so they become caretakers for other people or maybe are getting paid to caretake for someone in their life. And then [they] also work like a little part-time job. There's the food service or service industries. So retail... Subway, Macy's, those kinds of things. And the third one, which you wouldn't think a lot because we serve a lot of trauma victims, but security. They do a lot of—and I will clump into there parking attendants—but security at events and that kind of thing.

The study's sample size is too small to establish the connection between individuals reporting violence in the home affecting one's job with experiences of sexual abuse in the workplace. However, many of the survey participants had employment in the types of minimum wage jobs described by the service provider where sexual harassment was rampant. For example, one 28-year-old African American woman from Alaska who had experienced family violence, prior involvement in child welfare, PTSD, and worked at a fast-food restaurant explained:

I got fired. I don't like it when people touch me. And if I complain about somebody touching me more than once, like it's alright to shake my hand, yeah, but it's not alright to grab my shoulder. If I sit down, you cannot grab my thigh. I felt like no one was listening. Like you can't be my boss and be creepy just because you're my boss. And you cannot tell me what to do if it does not concern my job.




Interview participants described multiple incidents of sexual abuse and sexual harassment in the workplace. However, it is unclear if, as with the participant above, their history of victimization is related to exploitation and sexual abuse at work, or if it is because they were working in industries that tend to be exploitative. These experiences layer abuse upon abuse, potentially contributing to a diagnosis of PTSD and other mental health outcomes in addition to other vulnerabilities, such as homelessness, domestic violence, and criminal justice system- involvement.

Institutional Demands

The majority of study participants reported navigating various government institutions, including homeless services, the criminal justice system, the child welfare system, and public assistance. Respondents' involvement in these institutions can also increase the likelihood of their experiencing workplace exploitation and labor trafficking. Institutional involvement often has various requirements, such as finding and maintaining employment, and any institutional support may be time-limited, such as temporary public assistance or housing from the shelter system. One service provider who ran a temporary housing shelter found it challenging to prevent her clients from being exploited in home health care jobs. She struggled to help clients with the pressure they felt to obtain whatever job they could because their time in the shelter was temporary and prevent them from falling into exploitative employment situations. She explained:

It was bad. So just trying to talk to women about those situations but also recognizing there's all these other pressures like saying, "okay, you have to leave in a month" or, you know, "your time is coming to the end" and "you need to be doing something."



Formerly justice system-involved individuals were exceptionally vulnerable to exploitation because employment was often a condition of their parole. One San Diego service provider described how her clients were extra vulnerable to taking whatever job they could find because they were dealing with a multitude of issues and seeking stability:

They're here because they're homeless, they're hungry, they're just coming off of some opioids and they don't have the ability to get medically assisted detox or treatment. So, people don't hear anything you say if they're like "I'm hungry, cold, and dope sick." We understand that so we tailor our workshops and our orientation around how do we stabilize that person because they're not gonna sit in a workshop and talk about fidelity bonding. But that's the time they're the most vulnerable too because they'll jump at any job or do anything.

In addition to taking whatever job is available, justice system-involved respondents may need to maintain employment as a condition of their parole. Survey analysis found that serving time in prison was positively associated with experiencing threats and fears by the employer. Individuals may remain in exploitative work environments because they need to keep their jobs, making employers' use of threats and fears a viable means of control. One service provider in Alaska described about how employers would exploit formerly justice system-involved individuals and threaten to fire them if they disobeyed:

Formerly incarcerated. We see this a lot, too, because they know that they're supposed to be working as a condition of their parole. Kind of like threaten them, "oh, well, we will fire you if you know, if you can't come in, if your shift is 11:00 to 4:00" and all of a sudden they want you to come in at 6:00 in the morning or stay to 2:00 in the morning. A lot of these guys are living in homeless shelters, you know, so naturally they feel compelled to do whatever the employer says for them to do versus what they agreed upon to do.

Both service providers illustrate the vulnerability of formerly justice system-involved individuals to workplace exploitation. In addition to needing employment as a condition of their parole, they may also be experiencing homelessness and other life conditions that would make them fearful of losing their jobs.



Physical and Mental Health

There was no association between health conditions and sexual victimization or exploitative practices, but there are strong correlations between several health conditions and labor trafficking victimization, such as restrictions of freedom and threats, deception and fear. Participants with ADHD diagnoses were more likely to experience restrictions of freedom. Threats and fears were positively associated with a diagnosis with depression and a diagnosis with Schizophrenia.⁴

Service providers described mental health and substance abuse conditions as possible risk factors for exploitation, particularly for clients who had multiple conditions. As one service provider in Boston explained in response to a question about populations vulnerable to workplace exploitation:

Yeah, the hospitalization, like an inpatient. Then I would say the most vulnerable people are the ones who are very high needs and don't fit certain buckets. So we have a lot of kids, like just a lot of substance use and a lot of mental health. And it's hard 'cause you get services trying to figure out what is the main issue here?

This service provider's clients needed support for their health challenges and basic life skills to obtain and maintain employment. However, it can take time for clients to develop workplace navigation skills and understand their rights. Another service provider in Alaska described how mental health challenges makes their clients vulnerable to exploitation:

...but like our folks who are kind of high functioning yet still have mental barriers, some health stuff going on, like they're vulnerable to all the different pieces of this. Because you know, whether if it's a legal job, they're vulnerable to being exploited in that they don't fully maybe understand what they should be getting compensated or how to navigate any systems, or even that they have some sort of voice and you know, to be able to say like "this isn't right."

According to survey analysis, substance abuse alone is a potential vulnerability to exploitation. There is no relationship between alcohol or drug abuse affecting job prospects and victimization. There is, however, a positive relationship between alcohol or drug abuse affecting job keeping and experiencing restrictions of movement and threats and fears. One 39-year-old African American man from San Diego described how he was exploited by his employer after leaving a substance abuse program:

And then once I started getting a rapport with people, you know, I'll do six, seven jobs in a day... You do two jobs, you got eight hours. Anything over that, I was supposed to get time and a half, if not double. Nope. They're like "no, you don't get that because it's not the same company. We can't bill them." Well then you need to stop putting me out on jobs then...And then the way you get a raise is that you complain. But if you complain, then you don't get no hours because they'll keep you at the same exact. You could be working next to another person doing the exact same job and he'll be making four dollars more.

⁴ We do not establish a causal direction or time-order for these results (e.g., it is unclear if people with depression are more likely to experience threats and fears or if employers' threats and fears caused depression) came as a result of threats and fears.

Age/Inexperience

Individuals who had little employment experience and/or were of young age were also vulnerable to labor exploitation. One NYC service provider described a situation with a client who had recently received his Green Card and didn't have a work history in the United States:

It was like a cleaning company. A situation where you had to put out \$125 just in the hope of getting a job with them. Actually, I called on his behalf. He might possibly have gotten the job. Maybe there's a happy ending and he got a job somewhere. But it was definitely someone who had just gotten his Green Card. And, you know, I tried to explain the risks about his money, but he had no working record in the United States for a job.

Some employers and companies that provide employment training take advantage of individuals who are eager to gain work experience. Respondents both with and without challenging life experiences lacked work experience and/or were young and could be exploited. For example, one 33-year-old White woman from NYC who did not report life challenges, such as homelessness, former incarceration, or substance abuse, experienced exploitation in the modeling industry due to her inexperience and age:

They were one of my first big clients so I didn't know any different. And everybody would joke that, you know, "oh, no model lasts at that company." Like "I can't believe you've been there so long." And I would leave town and one of my friends subbed for me, like she did my job while I was away. And she said she'd never go back again. And she was like, "your clients are crazy." I'm like, "they are? Really?" It was a like "oh I didn't know." Like I didn't know that certain circumstances they put me in weren't appropriate.

In addition to demographic and contextual factors in participants lives that may increase their vulnerability to exploitation, some work industries may be riskier than others. Figure 2 illustrates overall exploitative experiences by block and by industry. Table 7 provides results of independent sample t-tests which show that respondents working in construction experienced more restrictions of freedom, intimidations, exploitative practices, and general exploitation than respondents in other industries. Those who had worked in the janitorial sector experienced significantly more restrictions of freedom and exploitative practice and exploitative practices than respondents in other industries.

Figure 2. Distribution of Exploitation by Industry

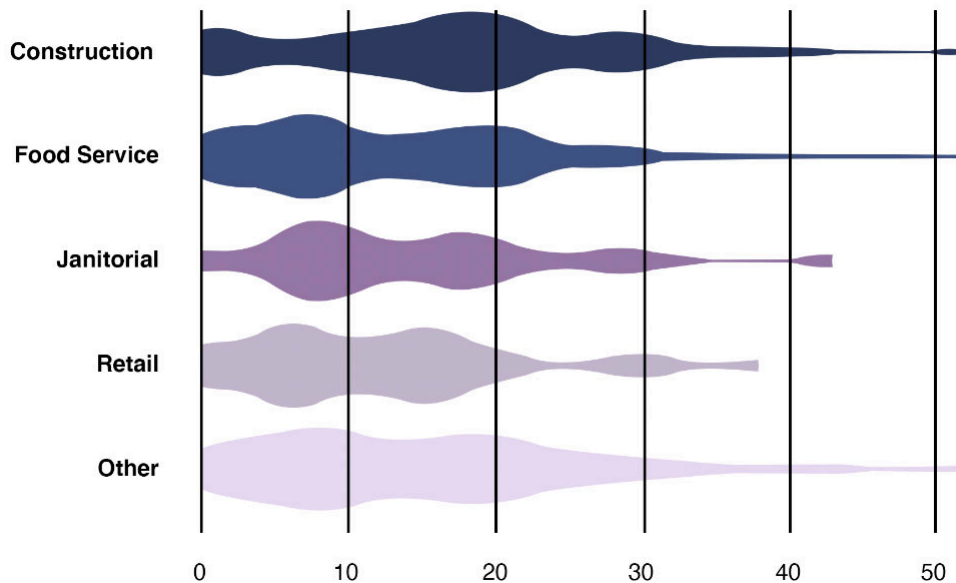


Table 7. Factor exploitation by industry

Industry	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Total exploitative experiences					
<i>Full Sample</i>	240	13.76	10.69	0	52
Construction ¹⁽⁺⁾	50	17.76	11.53	0	52
Food Service	81	13.60	10.25	0	52
Janitorial	46	15.09	10.20	0	43
Retail	35	12.54	9.22	0	38
Other	158	15.27	11.09	0	52
Exploitative Labor Practices					
<i>Full Sample</i>	224	5.05	3.36	0	12
Construction ¹⁽⁺⁾	47	6.60	3.46	0	12
Food Service	74	4.93	3.21	0	12
Janitorial	43	5.93	3.31	0	12
Retail	31	4.74	3.22	0	12
Other	150	5.28	3.27	0	12
Deceptions and Lies					
<i>Full Sample</i>	232	3.15	2.32	0	9
Construction ¹⁽⁺⁾	48	4.13	2.45	0	9
Food Service	80	3.29	2.61	0	9
Janitorial	46	3.33	2.48	0	9
Retail	34	3.00	2.20	0	9
Other	157	3.46	2.34	0	9
Restrictions of Physical and Communicative Freedom					
<i>Full Sample</i>	230	1.78	2.10	0	8
Construction ¹⁽⁺⁾	49	2.49	2.35	0	7
Food Service	79	1.70	2.00	0	7
Janitorial ¹⁽⁺⁾	45	2.38	2.28	0	8
Retail	33	2.39	2.16	0	7
Other	155	2.02	2.22	0	8

Industry	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Intimidations, Threats, and Fears (1)					
<i>Full Sample</i>	215	2.07	2.03	0	6
Construction ¹⁽⁺⁾	42	2.69	2.28	0	6
Food Service	72	2.11	2.11	0	6
Janitorial	39	1.95	2.13	0	6
Retail	31	1.61	2.02	0	6
Other	142	2.20	2.07	0	6
Intimidations, Threats, and Fears (2)					
<i>Full Sample</i>	214	1.40	2.46	0	11
Construction ¹⁽⁺⁾	43	2.12	2.84	0	11
Food Service	69	1.57	2.60	0	11
Janitorial	39	1.64	2.94	0	11
Retail	30	0.87	1.43	0	5
Other	141	1.72	2.82	0	11
Abuses of a Sexual Nature					
<i>Full Sample</i>	214	1.35	2.26	0	9
Construction	43	1.26	2.41	0	9
Food Service	70	1.14	1.89	0	9
Janitorial	39	1.00	1.72	0	6
Retail	31	1.13	1.88	0	6
Other	141	1.48	2.42	0	9

¹signifies significant ($p < .05$) variation from full sample

⁽⁺⁾indicates higher mean average

As illustrated in Figure 2 and Table 7, respondents who worked in the construction industry, on average, experienced more forms of exploitation than those who worked in food service, janitorial, retail, and other industries. As we reported in our findings under Question 1, respondents most commonly experienced exploitative labor practices compared to the other forms of exploitation (restrictions of freedom; deceptions and lies; intimidation, threats and fears; and sexual victimization). However, when we examine the specific types of exploitation, there are several surprising findings. Those in the construction industry experienced, on average, more instances of sexual abuse (1.26) compared to those in the restaurant industry (1.14), even though the respondents in the construction industry were disproportionately male and those in the restaurant industry were disproportionately female. On average, those who worked in retail were less likely to experience multiple forms of exploitation compared to the other industries. Additional research is needed to understand these findings.

03

Findings about Labor Trafficking and Labor Exploitation

RESEARCH QUESTION 4

What types of help do people seek when trying to change their work conditions or leave an exploitative job?

Our final research question examines how U.S. citizens who experience labor exploitation and labor trafficking seek help. For survey respondents who experienced victimization, a majority (69%) stated that they never sought help regarding their exploitative work conditions. On the other hand, most interviewees sought help for their situations. Participants most frequently sought help from individuals in a position of authority at work, such as managers, supervisors, bosses, and human resources. In all of these cases, respondents were not looking to leave their jobs but instead improve the negative conditions they were experiencing.

One 52-year-old man from Alaska in the restaurant industry reported working unpaid overtime for over a month and not being able to take any days off. When we asked whether he ever complained to the manager, he stated,

“I finally did [complain to a manager] after that month and a half. And it was like, hey, you know, I’m not going to be doing this anymore. You’re not paying me overtime wages and I’m doing a lot of overtime”

Survey respondents sought help from different sources (see Table 8), with the most common sources being friends (23%), co-workers (20%), and service providers, counselors, and/or lawyers (15%). Only half of survey participants who sought help stated that they received the help they needed.

Table 8. Where interview respondents sought help

Source of Help-Seeking	% (N)
Friend	23.0 (17)
Co-worker	20.3 (15)
Service Provider/Counselor/Lawyer	14.9 (11)
Relative	10.8 (8)
Other	8.1 (6)
Supervisor or HR	6.8 (5)
Police officer	5.4 (4)
Government agency	4.1 (3)
Multiple	4.1 (3)
Teacher	1.4 (1)
Stranger	1.4 (1)

Similarly, interviewees' pleas for help also did not result in their issues being successfully addressed. Most participants' complaints fell on deaf ears and were quickly dismissed and swept under the rug. That was the case for a 23-year-old mixed race woman from New York, who at the time was working at a grocery store chain. She had been experiencing instances of inappropriate touching and harassment while at work:

[I told our supervisors] about it, and it kinda was like, "alright, we'll talk to the person. Thanks for letting us know." ...There were a lot of females that were targeted by a very, very select group of males... At least three of the gentlemen [had complaints against them], and I think it was to the point where like, something definitely should have been done.



Oftentimes, participants even experienced retaliation for bringing up their concerns to a superior. After complaining to the business owner where she worked about being ill-treated by a direct supervisor, a 20-year-old gender non-conforming interviewee from Alaska reported having their work hours reduced to the point that they could no longer afford their bills: ***"I went from working five days a week, to working five, six-hour shifts two days a week, to maybe working four hours a day or so"***

Their hours were reduced so significantly that they decided to start looking for a different job and eventually quit their initial position.

However, not all interviewees voluntarily left their jobs. A 26-year-old woman from San Diego had complained to a manager about instances of sexual harassment at work, which was a departure from the behavior of her colleagues: ***"[my co-workers] complain to each other. They don't complain because they don't want to lose their jobs. A few days [after I complained], I lost my job"***

Like survey respondents, interviewees were likely to report seeking help from co-workers. Instead of asking for practical help, they were usually searching for emotional support from someone in a similar situation. That was true for a 21-year-old man who had been working as a boat skipper in Alaska. He was afraid that bringing up his concerns to a supervisor would result in his blacklisting from the industry. Instead, he and his co-workers commiserated about their work conditions. Asked whether venting to his co-workers was helpful, the participant stated, ***"Yeah, definitely. Because, I mean, you're constantly reaffirming to the other person how pissed off you are, and how pissed off they are. Yeah. So, you know, that's just the reality"***

Again in line with the survey findings, interviewees reported reaching out to outside organizations or individuals, such as attorneys, service providers, the Better Business Bureau, or the Department of Labor, with mixed results. A 52-year-old man from Alaska reported a bounced check to the Department of Labor's Wage and Hour Division, and they were able to help her address the problem: ***"they made sure we got our money and everything. So, after that, I never had to worry about it because [my employer] always paid"***

On the other hand, a 60-year-old man from San Diego working construction was less successful in getting his complaints of hazardous conditions at his workplace addressed: ***"I turned to the labor board., I turned to whatever I could do, but [my employer] bought his way out of all of it... OSHA had ahold of it, everything. And it just went away"*** A 45-year-old woman from New York contacted an attorney regarding her lost wages case but the case was never resolved:

I contacted a lawyer, but I don't know what happened after that so. I've like, got half a, a court paper that has like the court, uhh, information and uhh, docket number and all that stuff that I don't know, I never, like maybe I should contact them and see what happened you know. Uhh, we never got paid. I know a lot of us didn't get paid, so.

When asked about why they did not seek help, respondents' most common reasons were that they thought they could handle it on their own (28%) and that they didn't think that anyone could help (27%).



Table 9. Reason to not seek help

Reason to not seek help	% (N)
Overall N	152
I was scared	17.11 (26)
I didn't think anyone could help	28.95 (44)
I didn't know who to go to for help	17.11 (26)
I thought I could handle it on my own	30.92 (47)
Other	5.92 (9)

Interviewee’s fear of retaliation and potentially losing a job was another barrier to help-seeking. When asked whether he ever considered reporting his workplace exploitation, a 24-year-old man from New York who was a restaurant server responded, ***“what’s that gonna do? I’d lose a job, I ain’t got no money, and now I’m a snitch”***. Similarly, a 22-year-old woman from New York decided against going to her supervisor even if it could help her situation because she did not want to cause any trouble at work or face retaliation for complaining:

[I would think], “well maybe if I do tell [my boss], she’s just gonna use that against me, or something.” And I don’t want to create a bad environment, being that I’m not gonna be here for this long, So, I just don’t wanna, you know, burn a bridge.



Barriers to Leaving

Survey participants listed several barriers to leaving their jobs. More than half of respondents (60%) who experienced exploitative labor practices reported at least one barrier or “exit cost” to leaving their job. Similarly, the 56% of participants who experienced restrictions of physical and communicative freedom at work reported at least one barrier to leaving their job (see Table 10). These findings show that U.S. citizen workers can face challenges in leaving exploitative jobs.

Table 10. Exit Costs Reported that Prevented Victims from Leaving Abusive Conditions

Block	Number of participants with at least 1 exit cost N
Restrictions of physical and communicative freedom	134
Deceptions and lies	123
Exploitative labor practices	144
Intimidations, threats, and fears (1)	118
Intimidation, threats, and fears (2)	65
Abuses of sexual nature	65

Table 11 lists participants' reported employment exit costs. Notably, 58 survey respondents reported fear of physical harm if they were to leave their job. The same number of respondents reported receiving threats from an employer as a barrier to leaving. A greater number of respondents were afraid of being blacklisted from their industry (N = 95), ridicule, shame, or harassment from their employer (N = 82), and losing payment owed to them (N = 99).

Table 11. Type of Exit Costs Reported for Any Type of Abusive Situations

Type of exit cost	Number of people Reported N
I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would physically harm me (e.g., actual or threatened, sexual or bodily, via beating or restraining) if I were to leave.	58
My employer or people working for my employer made explicit or implicit threats that immigration and/or the police would be called so I would be deported or jailed.	34
My employer or people working for my employer made explicit or implicit threats to do something against me (e.g., withholding food, medical care, embarrassing you).	58
My employer or people working for my employer withheld or prevented me from accessing my immigration/identity documents.	29
My employer or people working for my employer would not let me leave (e.g., blocked access, locked-down dorms/workplace, no access to public roads/transportation, isolated/remote work location). It was not feasible to walk to the nearest public phone/store/other location where others might be available to help.	38
My employer or people working for my employer put restrictions on my communication (e.g., I was forbidden or prevented from accessing phones, internet, or other forms of communication).	56
I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would ridicule me, call me names, shame me or harass me.	82
I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would blacklist me.	95
I owed a debt to my employer or people working for my employer.	39
My boss or people working for my employer threatened to hurt my family or those close to me in some way.	29
I was afraid that I would lose all the money owed to me because my employer or people working for my employer would refuse to pay me if I were to leave without his/her permission.	99
I was afraid that people in my community would ridicule me, call me names, shame me, or harass me upon my return from escaping the situation.	65
I was afraid that people in my community would blacklist me.	68
I was afraid others (police/friends) could not help me or would do nothing.	84
I was afraid my employer would harm someone else at the worksite if I left as a form of retribution.	45

Interviews with participants and service providers provided additional themes that explain why individuals do not leave their jobs when they are experiencing exploitation and unsafe work environments. Prevailing cultural discourse is that U.S. citizens could “just leave” their jobs if they don’t like their jobs or are being treated unfairly. However, while most respondents did eventually leave their exploitative jobs, they delayed quitting for as long as possible. One NYC service provider explained, **“People tend to deal with a lot of harassment and discrimination in employment. But it seems like generally speaking, people will tolerate a lot if they are getting paid. You try to get paid, that’s the goal, but when that’s not happening...”**

Given that 76% of survey respondents said they have received public assistance, it is unsurprising that participants cited their need for money as the most common barrier to leaving an exploitative job. As noted in the survey data, 99 participants said that they were afraid of losing money their employer owed them as the barrier to leaving their job. This fear was also prevalent in interviews. When asked if they ever considered cutting their losses and leaving their job, one 18-year-old Alaska Native man who had been working without pay in the fishing industry explained:

It was kind of like earlier this year for salmon. I almost [cut my losses]. But I was so close and waited so long that it was like everybody was so close to leaving for the season that I was kind of like, well, where am I going to go to get another job at this point? So I wasn't really sure. You know, I was going to be able to go and find another boat. Was going to be pure luck at that point if I was going to quit and then go and find someone else.

This individual was also concerned that they wouldn’t be able to find another job if they were to leave their current position. So, they had to make a choice between staying and possibly receiving payment at some point or leaving and not having a job at all. Service providers also shared that clients’ fear of losing money owed to them was a significant barrier to leaving an exploitative job. One service provider in Boston said that they regularly heard of people staying in jobs for a long time hoping they would eventually be paid:

You see that in waves of cases, you'll see like, oh, this person, you know, worked on this project for two years and they're owed two years' worth of back pay. And it's like, you initially think, how did you work for two years without getting paid? But you realize that like these people, like the promise of the pay is more important than, you know, raising a complaint. It's like, I want, I need that money. I need to feed my family. I need to do these things. So like, I'm going to keep working because if I just walk away and I'm not going to get anything, but at least I have the promise of being, um, agreeing to being paid.

Most interview respondents had life circumstances where they could not leave their jobs without bearing extreme financial hardship. One 22-year-old African American woman was trying to support herself and put herself through school, worked in a volatile retail situation for a year that she felt she could not leave because of her financial instability, and ended up homeless after losing her employment:

And that's what led to me becoming homeless to begin with, because I lost my income and my family situation just kept getting worse. And it was hard for me to even just get back to, from like, going to the [university], moving back to New York. Because this was, this was my intention to leave New York and actually go to school somewhere else and start off like a new life, life after high school and it wasn't working out.

Another service provider in Alaska reflected on how individuals with socioeconomic vulnerabilities working abusive jobs must choose between two bad options that would both significantly impact their lives. This provider talked about jobs, such as home health care, where the employer may also be providing housing in addition to payment, and the difficult choice to stay because the alternative would be homelessness:

The whole thing's just ripe for them to say, you know, "you're gonna do whatever I feel like you doing, and if you don't... I'm just gonna get rid ya." They don't say "I'm gonna beat ya"... they'll just say "I'm going to terminate you, and then I'm not gonna give you your final paycheck." So now you have no money, you have no food, you have no place to stay, and so quitting your job, even if it's a bad situation, you're essentially saying "I'm going to step into homelessness now, because I don't want to work here anymore." So a bad situation is not as bad as the situation we have created by quitting.

We know and understand little about U.S. citizens who experienced labor trafficking. Unlike foreign nationals who are either employed in the U.S. legally through a visa or illegally, there is perception that U.S. citizens are afforded more rights in the workplace and therefore are free to leave at their discretion without significant repercussions (Bihari, 2011; Gleeson, 2010). As these findings have illustrated, U.S. citizens face many barriers to exiting a job, including housing and food instability and fear of being blacklisted. Finding the necessary help to seek legal action or even other viable employment options is often difficult and defeating. This often forces workers to stay exploitative and abusive jobs because the alternatives are potentially even worse.



04

Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions and Recommendations

Main Conclusions

This exploratory study of U.S. citizen labor trafficking yielded numerous interesting findings. We found indicators of trafficking and other abusive employment conditions to be common amongst a diverse set of high-risk U.S. citizens. Across 240 survey respondents, they reported experiencing an average of 14 different forms of labor exploitation and abuse. Respondents most commonly reported workplace abuses in the deceptions and lies and exploitative labor practices categories (83%). More than half (60%) reported experiencing at least one incident of intimidation, threat, or fear at workplace. Similarly, 59% of respondents reported having experienced at least one incident of restriction of physical and communicative freedom at work. Finally, one third of respondents (33%) reported having experienced at least one incident of abuse of a sexual nature.

As for the life circumstances associated with victimization, we found that those under the age of 45 were more likely to have experienced restrictions of freedom and respondents' sexual orientation, namely those who identified as lesbian, straight or gay, was significantly associated with experiencing many categories of abuses, including deceptions and lies, exploitative labor practices, intimidations, threats, and fears, and sexual victimization. Race and ethnicity were less clearly associated with abusive employment practices among U.S. citizens. That said, Native American participants reported fewer deceptions and lies and exploitative labor practices, Black respondents reported fewer restrictions of freedom, and White participants were less likely to have experienced intimidations, threats, and fears than other groups, respectively.

Unlike previous research on labor trafficking, this study paid particular attention to physical and mental health conditions and living conditions as risk factors for experiencing trafficking among U.S. citizens. We found that respondents who had experienced violence at home reported more incidents of restrictions of physical/communicative freedom at work. Respondents who had been previously arrested, served time in prison, or been placed in foster care reported fewer incidents of sexual victimization. Respondents diagnosed with ADHD were more likely to report experiencing restrictions on their personal freedom. Having bipolar disorder had a statistically significant association with experiencing exploitative labor practices. We suggest future research should pay attention to these respondent characteristics and life circumstances when looking at experiences of both U.S. citizen and foreign national labor trafficking victims.

We also examined the labor sectors in which study participants worked. We found that respondents working in construction were more likely to encounter abuses, followed by respondents in the food service and janitorial sectors. These findings were consistent with what Zhang (2012) found in his study of labor trafficking in San Diego, California.

We also examined respondents' barriers to leaving their abusive jobs. For survey respondents who experienced victimization, the majority (69%), never sought help. Respondents reported many barriers to leaving their abusive workplaces. For example, 58 respondents claimed fearing they would be physically harmed by their employer if they were to quit. More victims reported non-physical threats, including being blacklisted; being ridiculed, shamed, or harassed; or losing payment owed to them. Although most interviewees did not seek formal help and reported many barriers to leaving abusive jobs, some interviewees did share their experiences with other employees or managers and supervisors.

Qualitative interviews with a subsample of survey respondents helped provide additional context to U.S. citizens' experiences of workplace abuse. These vivid accounts revealed how employers were able to prey on their U.S. citizen employees' vulnerabilities and take advantage of workers' unfortunate circumstances. Respondents described hazardous working conditions in Alaska's fishing industry, forced pay deductions or bounced paychecks, outright lies and deceptions by employers, and various restrictions of personal freedom.

Due to the exploratory nature of this study, we opted for a continuum of measures to capture a wide spectrum of abusive employment practices experienced by U.S. citizens. Some practices are clearly labor trafficking, while others represent exploitive work that, when experienced alone, may not rise to the level of labor trafficking. This measurement flexibility allowed us to explore greater nuances in respondents' experiences and create different configurations of measurement items. Future research should explore a more deterministic approach in determining what specific items collectively define labor trafficking.

Below are a series of recommendations to help improve the identification of and response to U.S. labor trafficking victims and inform future research on this important and underrecognized area of victimization. Recommendations come largely from the voices of interview participants and service providers.

Recommendations

1. Increase education and reporting options for workers

Increase national and state education around worker's rights: Designate resources to fund national and local campaigns that educate individuals about their rights as employees. This would include, but is not limited to, education and training in workforce development centers, vocational schools, programs for the homeless and individuals with disabilities, domestic violence shelters, and re-entry programs. Many individuals, including U.S. citizens, do not know what their rights are as a legally employed worker, regardless if they are employed by a large corporation or a small business run by a family member. Those who experience abusive may not fully comprehend that there is recourse available and that they do not need to tolerate abuse.

Increase availability and access to information about worker's rights: Make education about workers' rights readily available in businesses, local media outlets, social media, service providers, and other locations to increase awareness. Information should be provided in multiple languages to ensure all individuals have access to the information.

Increase education around reporting options: While there are hotlines and many states have anonymous reporting options for labor violations, many people do not know they exist, how to access them, and what will happen when they reach out to report incidents. Workers may also be skeptical that reporting will result in action. Providing additional education and avenues to report violations would allow individuals to obtain assistance and report abusive situations more effectively.

Increase funding for reporting options: Allocate additional resources to organizations who address labor abuses to increase their capacity to respond to reports and support those reporting workers. Clear structures should be in place for individuals to obtain assistance if their initial reports are ignored or mishandled.

2. Improve service providers' and law enforcement agencies' competencies at recognizing labor trafficking

Screen and assess for labor exploitation and trafficking: All service providers and workforce development providers should screen and assess for current labor exploitation and trafficking, as well as within their clients' past work histories. Some providers stated in their interviews that they are hesitant to screen for labor exploitation and trafficking because they do not know how they would assist someone who they believed to be labor trafficked namely due to a lack of resources and appropriate referrals. Learning about a client's history of work abuses will help providers support clients with knowing their rights, safety planning for the workplace, enhancing self-esteem and self-worth, addressing trauma, and decreasing their chances of re-victimization. Many participants in this study experienced multiple abusive employment situations. Assessment and supportive services can break this cycle.

Allocate additional resources for employment services: Increased funding would allow service providers and workforce development providers to prevent labor exploitation and trafficking. For example, funding for organizations to properly vet potential employers could help to decrease the probability that one of their clients will be exploited.

Increase training and support for law enforcement agencies: Law enforcement professionals should receive specialized training on identifying labor trafficking victims, including U.S. citizen victims. Trainings for law enforcement on labor trafficking investigations currently focus on foreign national victims. This study's findings can help develop a profile of U.S. labor trafficking victims that can aid law enforcement identification and investigation.

3. Increase trust of the U.S. legal system

Improve reporting to law enforcement: While both foreign national and U.S. citizen victims distrust the U.S. legal system, they do so for important, different reasons. Foreign national victims fear arrest and deportation. U.S. citizens, on the other hand, tend to have more extensive experience state systems, such as the criminal justice and child welfare systems. This decreases the chances that they would go to the police to report workplace abuses. Law enforcement must overcome legitimacy and trust hurdles before individuals will report exploitation and trafficking and assist them in the investigation and subsequent prosecution of employers. Law enforcement and prosecutors could build partnerships with labor rights advocates and workforce development

programs to generate trust within the community and potentially streamline the reporting, victim engagement, and investigative process.

Increase access to free and affordable legal services: Many individuals cannot afford legal representation to review contracts or fight a wrongful termination. While there are free legal assistance programs available, they often can only take specific types of cases and have low capacity. Increasing access to legal services in order to address past and current abuses will be vital for individuals to receive the assistance they need and to strengthen labor protections for workers.

4. Regulate and enforce of existing labor protection laws

Increase oversight and regulations for the workplace: There are several industries, such as home health care and construction, and employment structures, such as sub-contracting, that provide employers with extensive opportunities to evade oversight and labor regulations. Future research should explore these dynamic and fluid employment structures that make it difficult for labor authorities to monitor workplace abuses. Government authorities should also develop regulations appropriate for these industries.

Enforce existing labor protection laws: While many laws exist to prevent and respond to sexual harassment, lost wages, and other workplace abuses, they are unevenly enforced in the workplace. Study participants reported their experiences to managers, human resources, and other entities with minimal response. Employers were oftentimes not held accountable for their actions. Enforcement of the existing labor protection laws is vital to protecting workers from exploitation and labor trafficking.

5. Make labor trafficking of U.S. citizens visible

Increase awareness of labor trafficking: As we have seen in previous research on labor trafficking, victims knew something “bad” was happening to them but didn’t have a name for their victimization (Owens et al., 2014). Knowledge of labor trafficking and exploitation is essential for minimizing its occurrence and help victims. While the trafficking field has generated more attention for labor trafficking in the past several years, there is an urgent need for additional awareness-building at the national, state and local levels. The prevalent myth and portrayal of labor trafficking victims is one of foreign national individuals, not U.S. citizens. Future labor trafficking awareness campaigns that provide research-based information and highlights the experiences of U.S. citizens, as well as foreign national victims, will significantly reduce the invisibility of U.S. citizen victims.

Conduct a needs assessment for U.S. citizen labor trafficking victims: To truly ensure the identification, acknowledgement, and support of U.S. citizen labor trafficking victims, XYZ should conduct a needs assessment. We need additional research to determine victims’ financial, housing, medical, legal, and other needs for recovery and obtaining non-exploitative employment. Anti-trafficking efforts, victim services, and victim compensation efforts should, with additional resources, ensure the inclusion of U.S. citizen victims.

6. Address victims' underlying needs and vulnerabilities

Address victims' underlying needs and vulnerabilities: While anyone can be a victim of labor exploitation, people's past experiences of abuse, violence in the home, mental health issues, poverty, and homelessness increase their risk of labor trafficking. It is important to continue developing and allocating resources to programs that support individuals who have experienced these life challenges, as these programs can minimize future victimization.

Embrace a social justice- and human rights-based approach: Structural inequalities put U.S. citizens at risk for labor exploitation and trafficking. To truly address labor trafficking and exploitation, individuals need to have equal access to good education, living wage jobs, and social supports to minimize their likelihood of staying in exploitative employment. We must eradicate the cultural belief that poverty and life challenges are a personal failing. A human rights-based approach is necessary to ensure the right of people to support themselves and be free from exploitation and abuse.



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| Appendices

Appendix A

U.S. Citizen Trafficking Survey Questionnaire

Q1. How do you identify your gender?

- a. Male
- b. Female
- c. Transgender (M-F)
- d. Transgender (F-M)
- e. Transgender (non-binary)
- f. Gender non-conforming
- g. Other (specify) _____

Q2. Sexual Orientation

- a. Straight
- b. Gay
- c. Lesbian
- d. Bisexual
- e. Asexual
- f. Pansexual
- g. Other (specify) _____

Q3. Year of birth _____

Q4. Your ethnicity (you can choose more than one):

- a. African American
- b. Asian/Pacific Islander
- c. Latino/a
- d. Native American
- e. Caucasian
- f. Other (specify) _____

Q5. Were you born in the United States?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q6. If foreign born, which YEAR did you become a naturalized citizen, green card holder, or DACA member: _____

Q7. If foreign born, how much did you have to pay to enter the U.S. or to get your legal status in the U.S.? _____

Q8. Did you have to sign over or mortgage anything of value (land, house, or any other properties) in order to be able to come and work in the U.S.?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q9. Have you paid off this debt?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q10. How long did it take you to pay off the debt (in months)? _____

Q11. To whom do/did you pay the money?

- a. Contractor
- b. Coyote/pollero (human smugglers)
- c. Recruitment agency
- d. Relatives/friends
- e. Staffing Agency
- f. Other (specify) _____

Q12. How did you get the money to pay?

- a. Family savings (own or immediate family members)
- b. Provided land or something of value (e.g. jewelry) as collateral
- c. Promised to work off over time
- d. Took a loan from someone else
- e. Took a loan from a bank
- f. Other (specify) _____

Q13. How long will it take you to repay all the debt (in months)? _____

Q14. (For those who work to pay off debt or pay on installment) How often are you given an accounting of your debt payment?

- a. Every time I make a payment
- b. Weekly
- c. Monthly
- d. Never
- e. Other (specify frequency) _____

Q15. Did your employer ever threaten to get you deported?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q16. Primary language spoken at home

- a. English
- b. Other (specify) _____

Q17. Relationship Status:

- a. Single
- b. Married
- c. Living Together d. Widow
- e. Divorced
- f. Separated

Q18. Do you have any children?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q19. How many children? _____

Q20. Highest Level of Education Completed:

- a. Elementary (Kindergarten - 5th grade)
- b. Middle School (6th - 8th grade)
- c. High School (9th grade - 12th grade)
- d. Some college
- e. Associate's Degree
- f. Bachelor's Degree
- g. Master's Degree
- h. PhD/MD/PsyD
- i. No formal education

Q21. Jobs YOU worked in the past 12 months:

- a. Administrative work (receptionist, assistant, etc.)
- b. Childcare
- c. Commissioned Sales
- d. Construction
- e. Delivery (postmates, Uber eats, Seamless, etc.)
- f. Driving/Uber/Lyft
- g. Fishery
- h. Food Services
- i. Health home aide
- j. Assisted living facility worker
- k. Janitorial/Maid/Housekeeping
- l. Landscaping/Lawn Care
- m. Manufacturing
- n. Packing/Moving drugs

- o. Panhandling
- p. Religious or spiritual organization
- q. Retail
- r. Salaried
- s. Street vendor
- t. Strip club
- u. Other (specify) _____

Q22. Was/were the job(s) in a:

- a. Rural Setting
- b. Suburban Setting
- c. Urban Setting

Q23. How many workers on site: _____

Q24. Are you a member of the Armed Forces?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q25. I served for ____ years

Q26. If yes, did you serve in a combat zone?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q27. Have you ever experienced homelessness?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q28. If yes, what was the longest time period you were homeless?

- a. Less than 6 months
- b. Between 6 months and 1 year
- c. Over 1 year

Q29. How old were you when you first experienced homelessness?

- a. Child (less than 10 years old)
- b. Adolescent (10 to 19 years old)
- c. Adult (20 years and older)

Q30 How old were you when you last experienced homelessness?

- a. Child (less than 10 years old)
- b. Adolescent (10 to 19 years old)
- c. Adult (20 years and older)

Q31. What kind of housing do you currently live in?:

- a. Apartment
- b. Couch Surfing
- c. Homeless shelter
- d. House
- e. Outdoors/Abandoned Building/Car
- f. Street/park
- g. Trailer
- h. Other, specify _____

Q32. How do you pay for your housing?

- a. Rent
- b. Own
- c. Do not own and do not pay rent
- d. Own Trailer - rented lot
- e. Squat (No permission)
- f. Other, specify _____

Q33. Who are the people you are living with now?

- a. Relatives
- b. Partner
- c. Friends
- d. Co-workers
- e. Other homeless individuals
- f. No one
- g. Other, specify _____

Q34. Sometimes we experience things in life that make it challenging to find or keep a job. Have you experienced any of the following:

	YES	NO
Have you ever had to leave your home and live in a shelter, or with friends or other family members due to violence in the home?		
Has violence in the home ever affected your ability to get or keep a job?		
Have you ever been in an alcohol or substance abuse treatment program?		
Has alcohol or substance use ever affected your ability to get a job?		
Has alcohol or substance use ever affected your ability to keep a job?		

	YES	NO
Have you ever been involved in a gang?		
Have you ever been arrested?		
Have you ever served time in prison?		
As a child, were you ever placed into foster care or kinship care?		
If you are a parent, did child welfare ever become involved with your family because of issues that made it difficult to care for the children?		
Do you have children?		
Have you ever received public assistance benefits, such as SNAP, cast assistance, TANF, or housing assistance?		

Q35. If yes to gang involvement, when (year to year)?

- a. From _____
- b. To _____

Q36. You mentioned you were placed in foster care or kinship care as a child, how long were you in foster care or kinship care?

- a. Less than 1 year
- b. 1-3 years
- c. 4-10 years
- d. Over 10 years

Q37. If yes to receiving public assistance benefits, how many years did you receive benefits?

- a. Less than a year
- b. One to three years
- c. Four years or more

Q38. You answered "yes" to serving time in prison. While many of the following experiences may have happened to you while incarcerated, please focus on experiences that happened outside prison. Sometimes health or mental health conditions can affect our ability to work.

	Have you ever been diagnosed with any of the following?		If yes, how old were you when you were diagnosed?			
	YES	NO	Less than 10 yo	10-19 yo	20 & older	N/A
Depression						
Anxiety						
Bipolar Disorder						
Schizophrenia						
Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD)						
Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)						
Traumatic Brain Injury (TBI)						
Autism Spectrum Disorder						
Intellectual Disability						
Other (write in)						

Q39.

- a. Have any of the conditions you were diagnosed with affected your ability to get a stable job?
- b. Have you left your job or lost your job because of any of these conditions?
- c. Have you ever been diagnosed with physical health issues and/or disabilities that affected your ability to obtain or keep a job?

Q40. If you selected yes to being diagnosed with a physical health issue and/or disabilities that affected your ability to obtain or keep a job, what were you diagnosed with and what year did you receive this diagnosis? _____

Q41. Employers, and people who help them, may use rules and controls to make it harder for you to leave, complain about mistreatment, or seek help. Have any of the following incidents happen to you at the hands of your employer or people working for your employer in the United States outside any incidence of incarceration?

	Has this ever happened to you in your lifetime?		If yes, did this happen in the last 12 months?		How many times in the last 12 months?
	YES	NO	YES	NO	Number
You were forbidden from leaving the workplace?					
You were restricted where you could go during non-working hours?					
Your identification papers (such as passport, visa, or birth certification) were taken away?					
You were not allowed adequate food, water, or sleep for more than TWO days?					
You were prevented or restricted from communicating freely with other workers?					
You were prevented or restricted from communicating freely with your family?					
You were prevented or restricted from communicating freely with others outside the workplace?					
You were not allowed to seek or receive medical services, including medication?					
You were not allowed to have visitors?					

Q42. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous questions, did the above happen in a single job or multiple jobs?

- a. Single
- b. Multiple

Q43. What were the jobs YOU worked in past 12 months where your employer used rules and controls to make it harder for you to leave, complain about mistreatment, or seek help?

- a. Administrative work (receptionist, assistant, etc.)
- b. Assisted facility living worker
- c. Childcare
- d. Commissioned Sales
- e. Construction
- f. Delivery (postmates, Uber eats, Seamless, etc.)
- g. Driving/Uber/Lyft
- h. Fishery
- i. Food Services
- j. Health home aide
- k. Janitorial/Maid/Housekeeping
- l. Landscaping/Lawn Care
- m. Manufacturing
- n. Packing/Moving drugs
- o. Panhandling
- p. Religious or spiritual organization
- q. Retail
- r. Salaried Job
- s. Street vendor
- t. Strip club
- u. Other (specify) _____

Q44. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous questions, where did it happen (city, state)?

Q45. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous question, did you tell anyone about this incident?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q46. Who did you tell?

- a. Family members
- b. Friends
- c. Another worker
- d. An outreach worker
- e. Police or government authority
- f. Some other person, specify: _____

Q47. You answered "yes" to your employers or people who help them, using rules and controls to make it harder for you to leave, complain about mistreatment, or seek help. Have you ever witnessed anyone else who suffered this same abuse as yours?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q48. You answered "yes" to your employers or people who help them, using rules and controls to make it harder for you to leave, complain about mistreatment, or seek help. Of all the people you personally know who are US citizens, out of every 100, how many would say had the same experience?

- a. less than 10
- b. 10-20
- c. 21-40
- d. 41-60
- e. 61-80
- f. 81-100

Q49. You answered yes to the previous question. Do any of the following apply to you? (Select all that apply)

a. I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would physically harm me (e.g., actual or threatened, sexual or bodily, via beating or restraining) if I were to leave.

b. My employer or people working for my employer made explicit or implicit threats that immigration and/or the police would be called so I would be deported or jailed.

c. My employer or people working for my employer made explicit or implicit threats to do something against me (e.g., withholding food, medical care, embarrassing you).

d. My employer or people working for my employer withheld or prevented me from accessing my immigration/identity documents.

e. My employer or people working for my employer would not let me leave (e.g., blocked access, locked-down dorms/workplace, no access to public roads/transportation, isolated/remote work location). It was not feasible to walk to the nearest public phone/store/other location where others might be available to help.

f. My employer or people working for my employer put restrictions on my communication— I was forbidden or prevented from accessing phones, internet, or other forms of communication.

g. I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would ridicule me, call me names, shame me or harass me.

h. I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would blacklist me.

i. I was afraid that people in my community would ridicule me, call me names, shame me or harass me upon my return from escaping the situation.

j. I was afraid that people in my community would blacklist me.

k. I owed a debt to my employer or people working for my employer.

l. My boss or people working for my employer threatened to hurt my family or those close to me in some way.

m. I was afraid that I would lose all the money owed to me because my employer or people working for my employer would refuse to pay me if I were to leave without his/her permission.

n. I was afraid others (police/friends) could not help me/would do nothing.

o. I was afraid my employer would harm someone else at the worksite if I left, as a form of retribution.

Q50. Have any of the following incidents ever happened to you at the hands of your employer or people working for your employer in the United States outside any incidence of incarceration?

	Has this ever happened to you in your lifetime?		If yes, did this happen in the last 12 months?		How many times in the last 12 months?
	YES	NO	YES	NO	Number
Pay was less than you were promised?					
The type of work was different from what you were promised?					
The work environment was different from what you were promised?					
The amount of work was different from what you were promised?					
You were told that you will not be believed if you try to seek help from the police or other authorities?					

	Has this ever happened to you in your lifetime?		If yes, did this happen in the last 12 months?		How many times in the last 12 months?
	YES	NO	YES	NO	Number
You were instructed to lie about your identity?					
You were instructed to lie about the identity of your employer?					
Housing was different than what was described to you at recruitment?					
Have you ever been instructed to lie to any other official?					

Q51. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous questions, did the above happen in a single job or multiple jobs?

- a. Single
- b. Multiple

Q52. What were the jobs YOU worked in past 12 months where your employer used deception and lies?

- a. Administrative work (receptionist, assistant, etc.)
- b. Assisted facility living worker
- c. Childcare
- d. Commissioned Sales
- e. Construction
- f. Delivery (postmates, Uber eats, Seamless, etc.)
- g. Driving/Uber/Lyft
- h. Fishery
- i. Food Services
- j. Health home aide
- k. Janitorial/Maid/Housekeeping
- l. Landscaping/Lawn Care
- m. Manufacturing
- n. Packing/Moving drugs
- o. Panhandling
- p. Religious or spiritual organization
- q. Retail

- r. Salaried Job
- s. Street vendor
- t. Strip club
- u. Other (specify) _____

Q53. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous questions, where did it happen (city, state)? _____

Q54. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous question, did you tell anyone about this incident?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q55. Who did you tell?

- a. Family members
- b. Friends
- c. Another worker
- d. An outreach worker
- e. Police or government authority
- f. Some other person, specify: _____

Q56. You answered "yes" to your employers or people who help them, using deception and lies. Have you ever witnessed anyone else who suffered this same abuse as yours?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q57. You answered "yes" to your employers or people who help them, using deception and lies. Of all the people you personally know who are US citizens, out of every 100, how many would say had the same experience?

- a. less than 10
- b. 10-20
- c. 21-40
- d. 41-60
- e. 61-80
- f. 81-100

Q58. You answered yes to any the previous questions. Do any of the following apply to you? (Select all that apply)

- a. I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would physically harm me (e.g., actual or threatened, sexual or bodily, via beating or restraining) if I were to leave.

- b. My employer or people working for my employer made explicit or implicit threats that immigration and/or the police would be called so I would be deported or jailed.

- c. My employer or people working for my employer made explicit or implicit threats to do something against me (e.g., withholding food, medical care, embarrassing you).
- d. My employer or people working for my employer withheld or prevented me from accessing my immigration/identity documents.
- e. My employer or people working for my employer would not let me leave (e.g., blocked access, locked-down dorms/workplace, no access to public roads/transportation, isolated/remote work location). It was not feasible to walk to the nearest public phone/store/other location where others might be available to help.
- f. My employer or people working for my employer put restrictions on my communication— I was forbidden or prevented from accessing phones, internet, or other forms of communication.
- g. I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would ridicule me, call me names, shame me or harass me.
- h. I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would blacklist me.
- i. I was afraid that people in my community would ridicule me, call me names, shame me or harass me upon my return from escaping the situation.
- j. I was afraid that people in my community would blacklist me.
- k. I owed a debt to my employer or people working for my employer.
- l. My boss or people working for my employer threatened to hurt my family or those close to me in some way.
- m. I was afraid that I would lose all the money owed to me because my employer or people working for my employer would refuse to pay me if I were to leave without his/her permission.
- n. I was afraid others (police/friends) could not help me/would do nothing.
- o. I was afraid my employer would harm someone else at the worksite if I left, as a form of retribution.

Q59. Employers, and people who help them, may take advantage of you because of your legal status, your skill/education, or your language barriers. Have any of the following incidents ever happened to you at the hands of your employer or people working for your employer in the United States?

	Has this ever happened to you in your lifetime?		If yes, did this happen in the last 12 months?		How many times in the last 12 months?
	YES	NO	YES	NO	Number
You were denied pay for work you performed in the United States?					
You received a bad check (bounced) from your employer?					
Your employer disappeared before paying you?					
Pay less than minimum wage (Alaska \$9.75/hr; NYC \$12- 13/hr; SAN \$10.50/hr)?					
Worked longer than 4 hours without a break?					
Worked longer than 8 hours a day without overtime pay (hourly employees only)?					
Worked on holidays without extra pay?					
You were told to work in hazardous environments (with unknown chemicals) without proper protection?					
Worked without medical insurance?					
Worked without workers comp insurance?					
Have you ever been paid with things other than money, such as gift cards; tickets for goods; food; alcohol/drugs, housing/hotel room as a substitute to your wage?					
Have you had any other work experience you consider abusive or exploitative?					

Q60. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous questions, did the above happen in a single job or multiple jobs?

- a. Single
- b. Multiple

Q61. What were the jobs YOU worked in past 12 months where your employer took advantage of you because of your legal status, your skill/education, or your language barriers?

- a. Administrative work (receptionist, assistant, etc.)
- b. Assisted facility living worker
- c. Childcare
- d. Commissioned Sales
- e. Construction
- f. Delivery (postmates, Uber eats, Seamless, etc.)
- g. Driving/Uber/Lyft
- h. Fishery
- i. Food Services
- j. Health home aide
- k. Janitorial/Maid/Housekeeping
- l. Landscaping/Lawn Care
- m. Manufacturing
- n. Packing/Moving drugs
- o. Panhandling
- p. Religious or spiritual organization
- q. Retail
- r. Salaried Job
- s. Street vendor
- t. Strip club
- u. Other (specify) _____

Q62. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous questions, where did it happen (city, state)?

Q63. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous question, did you tell anyone about this incident?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q64. Who did you tell?

- a. Family members
- b. Friends
- c. Another worker
- d. An outreach worker
- e. Police or government authority
- f. Some other person, specify: _____

Q65. You answered "yes" to your employers or people who help them, taking advantage of you because of your legal status, your skill/education, or your language barriers. Have you ever witnessed anyone else who suffered this same abuse as yours?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q66. You answered "yes" to your employers or people who help them, taking advantage of you because of your legal status, your skill/education, or your language barriers. Of all the people you personally know who are US citizens, out of every 100, how many would say had the same experience?

- a. less than 10
- b. 10-20
- c. 21-40
- d. 41-60
- e. 61-80
- f. 81-100

Q67. You answered yes to any of the previous questions. Do any of the following apply to you? (Select all that apply)

- a. I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would physically harm me (e.g., actual or threatened, sexual or bodily, via beating or restraining) if I were to leave.
- b. My employer or people working for my employer made explicit or implicit threats that immigration and/or the police would be called so I would be deported or jailed.
- c. My employer or people working for my employer made explicit or implicit threats to do something against me (e.g., withholding food, medical care, embarrassing you).
- d. My employer or people working for my employer withheld or prevented me from accessing my immigration/identity documents.
- e. My employer or people working for my employer would not let me leave (e.g., blocked access, locked-down dorms/ workplace, no access to public roads/transportation, isolated/remote work location. It was not feasible to walk to the nearest public phone/store/other location where others might be available to help).
- f. My employer or people working for my employer put restrictions on my communication— I was forbidden or prevented from accessing phones, internet, or other forms of communication.
- g. I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would ridicule me, call me names, shame me or harass me.
- h. I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would blacklist me.
- i. I was afraid that people in my community would ridicule me, call me names, shame me or harass me upon my return from escaping the situation.

j. I was afraid that people in my community would blacklist me.

k. I owed a debt to my employer or people working for my employer.

l. My boss or people working for my employer threatened to hurt my family or those close to me in some way.

m. I was afraid that I would lose all the money owed to me because my employer or people working for my employer would refuse to pay me if I were to leave without his/her permission.

n. I was afraid others (police/friends) could not help me/would do nothing.

o. I was afraid my employer would harm someone else at the worksite if I left, as a form of retribution.

Q68. Employers and people who help them may use intimidation, threats, and fear. Have any of the following incidents ever happened to you at the hands of your employer or people working for your employer in the United States?

	Has this ever happened to you in your lifetime?		If yes, did this happen in the last 12 months?		How many times in the last 12 months?
	YES	NO	YES	NO	Number
Have you ever been threatened by your employer or people who help your employer (such as your contractor or direct supervisor) to behave or follow their orders or bad things would happen to you?					
Has your employer or people who help your employer (such as the contractor or direct supervisor) ever told you "stories" of how bad things had happened to others who did not follow orders?					
Have you ever been threatened by your employer or people who help your employer (such as the contractor or direct supervisor) to behave or follow their orders or you would not be able to work anymore in this industry (blacklisted)?					

	Has this ever happened to you in your lifetime?		If yes, did this happen in the last 12 months?		How many times in the last 12 months?
	YES	NO	YES	NO	Number
Have you ever been belittled, humiliated, or put down by your employer or people who help your employer (such as the contractor or direct supervisor) for not doing exactly what you were told, such as “don’t even try to seek help”; “how weak you are”; “ you are worthless”...)?					
Have you ever suffered “consequences” (e.g. docked pay or hours; verbal abuse; physical abuse) because you failed to follow an order from your employer or someone who helps your employer (such as the contractor or direct supervisor)?					
Have you ever been forbidden (or prevented from / or told not to) to socialize with outsiders (such as health workers, outreach workers, government inspectors, or union representatives)?					

Q69. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous questions, did the above happen in a single job or multiple jobs?

- a. Single
- b. Multiple

Q70. What were the jobs YOU worked in past 12 months where your employer used intimidation, threats, or fear?

- a. Administrative work (receptionist, assistant, etc.)
- b. Assisted facility living worker
- c. Childcare
- d. Commissioned Sales
- e. Construction
- f. Delivery (postmates, Uber eats, Seamless, etc.)
- g. Driving/Uber/Lyft
- h. Fishery
- i. Food Services

- j. Health home aide
- k. Janitorial/Maid/Housekeeping
- l. Landscaping/Lawn Care
- m. Manufacturing
- n. Packing/Moving drugs
- o. Panhandling
- p. Religious or spiritual organization
- q. Retail
- r. Salaried Job
- s. Street vendor
- t. Strip club
- u. Other (specify) _____

Q71. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous questions, where did it happen (city, state)?

Q72. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous question, did you tell anyone about this incident?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q73. Who did you tell?

- a. Family members
- b. Friends
- c. Another worker
- d. An outreach worker
- e. Police or government authority
- f. Some other person, specify: _____

Q74. You answered "yes" to your employers or people who help them using intimidation, threats, or fear. Have you ever witnessed anyone else who suffered this same abuse as yours?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q75. You answered "yes" to your employers or people who help them using intimidation, threats, or fear. Of all the people you personally know who are US citizens, out of every 100, how many would say had the same experience?

- a. less than 10
- b. 10-20
- c. 21-40
- d. 41-60
- e. 61-80
- f. 81-100

Q76. You answered yes to the previous question. Do any of the following apply to you? (Select all that apply)

- a. I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would physically harm me (e.g., actual or threatened, sexual or bodily, via beating or restraining) if I were to leave.
- b. My employer or people working for my employer made explicit or implicit threats that immigration and/or the police would be called so I would be deported or jailed.
- c. My employer or people working for my employer made explicit or implicit threats to do something against me (e.g., withholding food, medical care, embarrassing you).
- d. My employer or people working for my employer withheld or prevented me from accessing my immigration/identity documents.
- e. My employer or people working for my employer would not let me leave (e.g., blocked access, locked-down dorms/ workplace, no access to public roads/transportation, isolated/remote work location. It was not feasible to walk to the nearest public phone/store/other location where others might be available to help).
- f. My employer or people working for my employer put restrictions on my communication— I was forbidden or prevented from accessing phones, internet, or other forms of communication.
- g. I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would ridicule me, call me names, shame me or harass me.
- h. I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would blacklist me.
- i. I was afraid that people in my community would ridicule me, call me names, shame me or harass me upon my return from escaping the situation.
- j. I was afraid that people in my community would blacklist me.
- k. I owed a debt to my employer or people working for my employer.
- l. My boss or people working for my employer threatened to hurt my family or those close to me in some way.
- m. I was afraid that I would lose all the money owed to me because my employer or people working for my employer would refuse to pay me if I were to leave without his/her permission.
- n. I was afraid others (police/friends) could not help me/would do nothing.
- o. I was afraid my employer would harm someone else at the worksite if I left, as a form of retribution.

Q77. Employers, and people who help employers, may use threats and other intimidating acts to make you feel too afraid to try to leave; or to try to leave, complain, report, or to seek help for your situation outside any incidence of incarceration. Have any of the following incidents ever happened to you at the hands of your employer or people working for your employer in the United States?

	Has this ever happened to you in your lifetime?		If yes, did this happen in the last 12 months?		How many times in the last 12 months?
	YES	NO	YES	NO	Number
Physical abuse (including beating, kicking, slapping, etc.)?					
Threats of physical abuse (including beating, kicking, slapping, etc.)?					
Kept in an enclosed environment where you could not leave (including physically restrained)?					
Threats of harm to you in any other form?					
Threats of harm to your family or pet in any form?					
Threats to call the police on you?					
Threats to your family?					
Threats to deny you food?					
Threats to harm your co-workers?					
Has your employer, or someone working with your employer, ever harmed you physically in any form when you tried to leave, complain, report, or seek help for your situation?					
Has your employer or someone working with your employer, ever threatened you in any manner (such as verbal threats) when you tried to leave, complain, report, or seek help for your situation?					

Q78. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous questions, did the above happen in a single job or multiple jobs?

- a. Single
- b. Multiple

Q79. What were the jobs YOU worked in past 12 months where your employer used threats and other intimidating acts to make you feel too afraid to try to leave; or to try to leave, complain, report, or to seek help for your situation outside any incidence of incarceration?

- a. Administrative work (receptionist, assistant, etc.)
- b. Assisted facility living worker
- c. Childcare
- d. Commissioned Sales
- e. Construction
- f. Delivery (postmates, Uber eats, Seamless, etc.)
- g. Driving/Uber/Lyft
- h. Fishery
- i. Food Services
- j. Health home aide
- k. Janitorial/Maid/Housekeeping
- l. Landscaping/Lawn Care
- m. Manufacturing
- n. Packing/Moving drugs
- o. Panhandling
- p. Religious or spiritual organization
- q. Retail
- r. Salaried Job
- s. Street vendor
- t. Strip club
- u. Other (specify) _____

Q80. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous questions, where did it happen (city, state)?

Q81. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous question, did you tell anyone about this incident?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q82. Who did you tell?

- a. Family members
- b. Friends
- c. Another worker
- d. An outreach worker
- e. Police or government authority
- f. Some other person, specify: _____

Q83. You answered "yes" to your employers or people who help them, using threats and other intimidating acts to make you feel too afraid to try to leave; or to try to leave, complain, report, or to seek help for your situation outside any incidence of incarceration. Have you ever witnessed anyone else who suffered this same abuse as yours?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q84. You answered "yes" to your employers or people who help them, using threats and other intimidating acts to make you feel too afraid to try to leave; or to try to leave, complain, report, or to seek help for your situation outside any incidence of incarceration?. Of all the people you personally know who are US citizens, out of every 100, how many would say had the same experience?

- a. less than 10
- b. 10-20
- c. 21-40
- d. 41-60
- e. 61-80
- f. 81-100

Q85. You answered yes to the previous question. Do any of the following apply to you? (Select all that apply)

- a. I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would physically harm me (e.g., actual or threatened, sexual or bodily, via beating or restraining) if I were to leave.
- b. My employer or people working for my employer made explicit or implicit threats that immigration and/or the police would be called so I would be deported or jailed.
- c. My employer or people working for my employer made explicit or implicit threats to do something against me (e.g., withholding food, medical care, embarrassing you).
- d. My employer or people working for my employer withheld or prevented me from accessing my immigration/identity documents.
- e. My employer or people working for my employer would not let me leave (e.g., blocked access, locked-down dorms/ workplace, no access to public roads/transportation, isolated/remote work location. It was not feasible to walk to the nearest public phone/store/other location where others might be available to help).
- f. My employer or people working for my employer put restrictions on my communication — I was forbidden or prevented from accessing phones, internet, or other forms of communication.
- g. I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would ridicule me, call me names, shame me or harass me.
- h. I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would blacklist me.

i. I was afraid that people in my community would ridicule me, call me names, shame me or harass me upon my return from escaping the situation.

j. I was afraid that people in my community would blacklist me.

k. I owed a debt to my employer or people working for my employer.

l. My boss or people working for my employer threatened to hurt my family or those close to me in some way.

m. I was afraid that I would lose all the money owed to me because my employer or people working for my employer would refuse to pay me if I were to leave without his/her permission.

n. I was afraid others (police/friends) could not help me/would do nothing.

o. I was afraid my employer would harm someone else at the worksite if I left, as a form of retribution.

Q86. Employers, and people who help employers, may use threats and other intimidating acts to make you feel too afraid to try to leave; or to try to leave, complain, report, or to seek help for your situation outside any incidence of incarceration. Have any of the following incidents ever happened to you at the hands of your employer or people working for your employer in the United States?

	Has this ever happened to you in your lifetime?		If yes, did this happen in the last 12 months?		How many times in the last 12 months?
	YES	NO	YES	NO	Number
Unwanted touching of physical contact of a sexual nature?					
Verbal harassment of a sexual nature?					
Any unwanted sexual advances?					
Encouraged or pressured you to do sexual acts or have sex, including taking sexual photos or videos?					
Threatened to show explicit photos or videos to others or post on social media?					

	Has this ever happened to you in your lifetime?		If yes, did this happen in the last 12 months?		How many times in the last 12 months?
	YES	NO	YES	NO	Number
Sexist work environment (sexist jokes, derogatory comments about people based on gender, calendars or photos of nude women or men)?					
Forced to do something sexually you didn't feel comfortable doing?					
Forced you to engage in sexual acts with family, friends, or business associates for money or favors?					
Forced you to trade sex for money, shelter, food or anything else through online websites, escort services, street prostitution, informal arrangements, brothels, fake massage businesses or strip clubs					

Q87. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous questions, did the above happen in a single job or multiple jobs?

- a. Single
- b. Multiple

Q88. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous questions, what were the jobs YOU worked in past 12 months?

- a. Administrative work (receptionist, assistant, etc.)
- b. Assisted facility living worker
- c. Childcare
- d. Commissioned Sales
- e. Construction
- f. Delivery (postmates, Uber eats, Seamless, etc.)
- g. Driving/Uber/Lyft
- h. Fishery
- i. Food Services
- j. Health home aide
- k. Janitorial/Maid/Housekeeping
- l. Landscaping/Lawn Care

- m. Manufacturing
- n. Packing/Moving drugs
- o. Panhandling
- p. Religious or spiritual organization
- q. Retail
- r. Salaried Job
- s. Street vendor
- t. Strip club
- u. Other (specify) _____

Q89. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous questions, where did it happen (city, state)?

Q90. If you answered "yes" to any of the previous questions, did you tell anyone about this incident?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q91. Who did you tell?

- a. Family members
- b. Friends
- c. Another worker
- d. An outreach worker
- e. Police or government authority
- f. Some other person, specify: _____

Q92. You answered "yes" to your employer or the people who help them using threats or intimidating acts of a sexual nature. Have you ever witnessed anyone else who suffered this same abuse as yours?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q93. You answered "yes" to your employer or the people who help them using threats or intimidating acts of a sexual nature. Of all the people you personally know who are US citizens, out of every 100, how many would say had the same experience?

- a. less than 10
- b. 10-20
- c. 21-40
- d. 41-60
- e. 61-80
- f. 81-100

Q94. You answered yes to the previous question. Do any of the following apply to you? (Select all that apply)

- a. I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would physically harm me (e.g., actual or threatened, sexual or bodily, via beating or restraining) if I were to leave.
- b. My employer or people working for my employer made explicit or implicit threats that immigration and/or the police would be called so I would be deported or jailed.
- c. My employer or people working for my employer made explicit or implicit threats to do something against me (e.g., withholding food, medical care, embarrassing you).
- d. My employer or people working for my employer withheld or prevented me from accessing my immigration/identity documents.
- e. My employer or people working for my employer would not let me leave (e.g., blocked access, locked-down dorms/ workplace, no access to public roads/transportation, isolated/remote work location. It was not feasible to walk to the nearest public phone/store/other location where others might be available to help).
- f. My employer or people working for my employer put restrictions on my communication— I was forbidden or prevented from accessing phones, internet, or other forms of communication.
- g. I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would ridicule me, call me names, shame me or harass me.
- h. I was afraid that my employer or people working for my employer would blacklist me.
- i. I was afraid that people in my community would ridicule me, call me names, shame me or harass me upon my return from escaping the situation.
- j. I was afraid that people in my community would blacklist me.
- k. I owed a debt to my employer or people working for my employer.
- l. My boss or people working for my employer threatened to hurt my family or those close to me in some way.
- m. I was afraid that I would lose all the money owed to me because my employer or people working for my employer would refuse to pay me if I were to leave without his/her permission.
- n. I was afraid others (police/friends) could not help me/would do nothing.
- o. I was afraid my employer would harm someone else at the worksite if I left, as a form of retribution.

**Q95. For the following questions, please think back to the incidents that you disclosed in this survey:
Have you ever sought help for ANY of the situations you disclosed throughout the survey?**

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q96. From whom?

- a. Relative
- b. Friend
- c. Co-worker
- d. Service Provider/Counselor/Lawyer
- e. Police officer
- f. Teacher
- g. Neighbor
- h. Stranger
- i. Other _____

Q97. What was the response?

- a. They provided me with basic services (shelter, food, clothing)
- b. They provided me with mental health counseling
- c. They contacted law enforcement
- d. They contacted the Department of Labor
- e. They provided me with emotional support
- f. They brought me to a medical doctor
- g. They didn't end up helping me
- h. Other _____

Q98. Did you get the help you needed?

- a. Yes
- b. No

Q99. If you didn't go to anyone for help, why not?

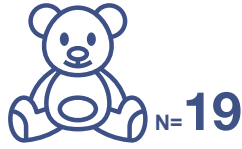
- a. I was scared
- b. I didn't think anyone could help
- c. I didn't know who to go to for help
- d. I thought I could handle it on my own
- e. Other _____

Appendix B

Full List of Industries



ADMINISTRATIVE



CHILDCARE



COMMISSION



CONSTRUCTION



DELIVERY



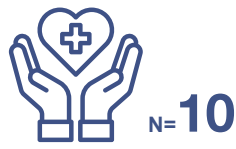
DRIVER



FISHERY



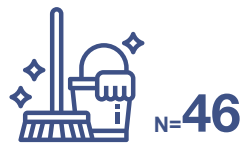
FOOD SERVICE



HEALTH HOME AID



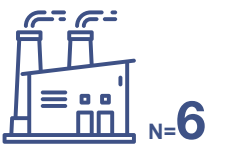
ASSISTED LIVING



JANITORIAL



LANDSCAPING



MANUFACTURING



PACKING



PANHANDLING



STREET VENDOR



STRIP CLUB



RETAIL



RELIGIOUS



SALARIED



ENTERTAINMENT



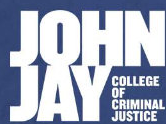
SERVICE



SKILLED



OTHER



An Exploratory Study of Labor Trafficking
Among U.S. Citizen Victims