



**Linnæus University**

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Bachelor Thesis

# Sex Trafficking

*Why it is so hard to escape, and how victims do escape*



*Author:* Emma Solbrekke  
*Supervisor:* Manuela Nilsson  
*Examiner:* Susanne Alldén  
*Term:* VT21  
*Subject:* Peace and Development  
*Level:* Undergraduate  
*Course code:* 2FU33E



## **Abstract**

Human trafficking has turned into a global criminal industry that makes 32 billion dollars annually and enslaves about 800,000 individuals every year. Eighty per cent of those 800,000 are women or girls, and 50 per cent are minors. Individuals can be subjected to trafficking in many ways; however, the most common form of human trafficking is sex trafficking which involves sexual exploitation. Escaping sex trafficking is not easily done, and in this paper, one will get a better understanding of why it is hard. Knowledge of how girls get entrapped and enmeshed will be shown, but the most important part is showing how hard it can be to escape or what is stopping the victim; it will also show how victims escaped and what happened after they did. This paper looks further into escapes mechanisms from sex trafficking by analysing the stories of four victims of sex trafficking. Joan Reid's research on Entrapment and Enmeshment (2014) will be used as a theory and the basis for how it is hard for victims to escape and then how they do escape. Research questions for this paper is Which forms of entrapment did the victims in this study experience? Which forms of enmeshment did the victims in this study experience? How did the victims escape from sex trafficking, and which patterns, if any, are observable in terms of escape strategies? The stories of four victims describe how they were entrapped and enmeshed and how they later escaped. With their stories, this study wanted to investigate if they all could be placed into Reid's categories and if those categories were, therefore, all-inclusive. Most of the stories fit into some category; however, there was always at least one story that did not fit in both entrapment and enmeshment. This shows that the subject should be studied further in order to gain more information.

## **Keywords**

Sex Trafficking, Entrapment, Enmeshment, Autobiographies



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## 1 Introduction

The trafficking of individuals, similar to the dealing of drugs, has developed into a broad worldwide criminal industry. The UN Office on Drugs and Crime reports that the pandemic of global illegal exploitation has come to influence pretty much every country on the planet to some degree (Tolar, Autumn D, 2020, p. 127-128). Human trafficking is increasingly responding to the demand for prostitutes; thus, the dealers have to fulfil this need. Around 800,000 human trafficking cases are accounted for each year. This figure has been said to address only a fraction of cases occurring because of how many trafficked individuals die or are reluctant to report their circumstances out of dread of additional harm as a consequence. The trafficking of individuals industry is said to net an expected 32 billion dollars annually (Tolar, Autumn, 2020, p. 129). One of the most common ways of human trafficking is sexual exploitation, where victims are individuals that are forced into one or more ways of sexual exploitation. When hearing sex trafficking, most think about prostitution; however, it also includes exotic dancing, pornography, mail-order brides, live sex shows, sexual tourism and military prostitution. Victims of sex trafficking can be of any sex or age; however, most victims are adolescent girls and women. Of those 800,000 individuals being trafficked each year, eighty per cent of them are women or girls, and fifty per cent are minors (Deshpande and Nour 2013).

The start of slavery can be traced back roughly 11,000 years (Iddings, 2019), but even if slavery was formally abolished between the 1830s to 1860s, slavery still exists today and can be found in every corner of the world, and this may surprise some people (Kara, 2017). A part of modern slavery is sex trafficking, and in 2000 the United Nations (UN) established a definition of trafficking that is generally accepted:



the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.....Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (Kara 2017, p. 4).

It should also be mentioned that in the United States of America, there is a specific law that applies to children under the age of eighteen that are prostitutes,

Child Sex Trafficking is prohibited by 18 USC § 1591. This statute makes it a federal offense to knowingly recruit, entice, harbour, transport, provide, obtain, or maintain a minor (defined as someone under 18 years of age) knowing or in reckless disregard of the fact that the victim is a minor and would be caused to engage in a commercial sex act. “Commercial sex act” is defined very broadly to include “any sex act, on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person.” In other words, it is illegal both to offer and to obtain a child and cause that child to engage in any kind of sexual activity in exchange for anything of value, whether it be money, goods, personal benefit, in-kind favours, or some other kind of benefit. (www.justice.gov, 2015)

According to Alyssa M. Barnard, 80 per cent of the individuals that works in the commercial sex industry in the US traded sex for money before they were eighteen years old. Many trafficked young individuals are trying to escape dysfunctional homes, different types of neglect, and sexual abuse (Barnard, 2014, p.1467). The most common type of sex trafficking in the US is violent pimp-controlled prostitution, and these traffickers primarily target underage individuals because they are easier to manipulate and more vulnerable. Traffickers will often look for targets at foster homes, group homes, halfway houses, parks, playgrounds, homeless shelters and middle or high schools. If the trafficker finds a potential female victim, ways to gain her trust is to give her gifts, flattery, take her on dates, or they might give her the promise of a bright future together (Barnard, 2014,



p.1468). When the traffickers are grooming their victims, they do this by emotional and physical abuse, and the process of grooming can be sexual assaults, verbal abuse, confinement, document confiscation, beatings and brainwashing. By controlling the victims, the traffickers will make rules that are to be followed; they will decide when and what victims should eat when to sleep, what to wear and how to walk (Barnard, 2014, p.1469).

To control the victim further, the traffickers will enforce a monetary quota that will need to be met every night. If the quota is not met, the traffickers can force the victim to continue working until the quota is met. In order to punish them more, they will likely not be able to sleep or eat. The trafficker might also give other physical retaliation. Keeping the victims from escaping is to remind them often that the criminal records that they have obtained will prevent them from getting proper employment. They explain that this will make it difficult for the victims to provide for themselves and their families. Traffickers will also inform the victims that no one will ever believe them if they report them due to their criminal records. The victim's criminal records can also be used as a threat for child custody or other types of family- court proceedings. These types of threats prevent many of the victims from leaving or reporting their traffickers (Barnard, 2014, p.1470-72).

That shows how sex trafficking works in the US; however, it can be different in the world. In the book *Sex Trafficking: Inside the Business of Modern Slavery* by Siddharth Kara (2017), we get a look at sex trafficking in several places in the world, and he explains that sex traffickers give the girls a false promise of freedom, and this is a powerful tool in order to control the girls. After some time, the girls will start to accept their fates, and they might even be "freed" and start to serve as a working prostitute who mentors new girls. This Kara explains is some Stockholm Syndrome- like transformation.





In order to make sure that the girls will be submissive and never try to escape, the traffickers will break their spirits by humiliation, torture and rape. A girl in Mumbai that Kara (2017) met told him that victims are tortured and murdered every day. When they first arrived, the underage girls were relentlessly abused, and they would be given opium so that they would have sex with clients. She keeps on telling how if the girls ever misbehaved, the traffickers would break their arms, and if they ever tried to escape, they might have their throats cut. The other girls would be forced to watch and then later have to do the clean-up. The traffickers show this to the girls to know what would happen to them if they ever tried to escape.

Girls who work on the street are unlikely to escape because they are far away from home and do not speak the language. Furthermore, the girls have no money or passports, so they would risk getting deported or incarcerated if the girls escaped. Kara (2017) explains that in almost every country he has visited, going to the police is not an option for the girls because police officers are purchasers of sex slaves. Furthermore, it was also common that the police were corrupt and would accept bribes to look the other way if they saw sex slaves working on the streets and warn the brothels of raids and investigations. Some police officers would also accept sexual favours from the girls as a part of the bargaining.

Kara (2017) found that many of the girls who did escape return to the traffickers in hopes of getting a better deal than they did the first time. The girls return because, after their escape, they are often forced to return to the same conditions they lived in before they were trafficked, such as domestic violence, poverty, lack of economic opportunities, and social biases.



## 1.1 Research problem and Relevance

Escaping sex trafficking is not easily done, and in this paper, one will get a better understanding of why it is hard. As mentioned in the introduction, slavery has existed for centuries, and many might think that slavery was abolished in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. However, it still exists and is more significant than ever. So, with this paper, knowledge on how girls get entrapped and enmeshed will be shown, but the most important part is showing how hard it is for victims to escape and how some girls have succeeded in escaping. The data used for this will be collected from four autobiographies written by victims of sex trafficking. Knowing why victims do not escape or how their traffickers trap them is of great importance on many levels. When we have information on why victims cannot or do not escape, we can help them.

Furthermore, by having a better understanding, we will understand the victims much better and give them better help. By understanding, we can give better help for the victims to escape, and we can also give the victims better help with rehabilitation after their escape. Moreover, if people understood the victim's circumstances, maybe changes in laws could be done to protect the victims instead of convictions. Also, maybe people overall would get a better understanding as well, and then when they do see something suspicious, they would not just judge the victim and look the other way; they would start to report to the police or call trafficking hotlines. In the literature already done on sex trafficking, there is no research done with the primary focus on escaping. It is mentioned in almost all literature, but it is only briefly and explains shortly why it can be hard to escape. This paper will see how hard it can be to escape or what is stopping the victim, but it will also show how victims escaped and what happened after they did.



## 1.2 Research Objective

This paper looks further into escapes mechanisms from sex trafficking by analysing the stories of four victims of sex trafficking. Reid's entrapment and enmeshment will provide the basis for how it is hard for victims to escape and then how they do escape. So, to gain more information on entrapment, enmeshment and escaping, four autobiographies will be used to collect data. The girls tell their stories of how they were entrapped and enmeshed and how they escaped in these books. Then with the help of Reid's (2014) already started categorisation, this paper might help add new categories and, with the help of Reid, do some categories on escaping.

## 1.3 Research Questions

- Which forms of entrapment did the victims in this study experience?
- Which forms of enmeshment did the victims in this study experience?
- How did the victims escape from sex trafficking, and which patterns, if any, are observable in terms of escape strategies?

## 1.4 Disposition

After this introduction, Chapter two provides a literature review on the process of recruitment and what has been written so far on escaping. This chapter will help understand what sex traffic is, how girls get recruited and how hard it is to escape. Chapter three will explain the theory of Entrapment and Enmeshment by Reid (2014) and the categories Reid has already established to categorise entrapment and enmeshment. Reid's categorisations might help to explain why victims do not escape, but it does not explain how they finally escape. Chapter four shows what type of methodology is used in this study and explain what that implies. Chapter five explains all the findings found in the four autobiographies; it is divided into four categories: recruitment, incentives to stay, threats that kept the victims from leaving, the final escape and what happened then. Chapter six contains the analysis, and here the paper will look at the four girls' stories and see if Reid's (2014) categories apply to the cases



used in this study. Also, it will look at how the girls escaped and then categorise that. Chapter seven is the conclusion of the paper and wraps it up.

## 2 Literature Review

One can say that sex trafficking has its origins in the slave trade. Slavery can be traced back to the 1200s (Anon, 1999). The first person I could find to ever comment on slavery and prostitution was Victor Hugo, an author who wrote in his book *Les Misérables* (1862):

"We say that slavery has vanished from European civilisation, but this is not true. Slavery still exists, but now it applies only to women, and its name is prostitution."

Literature on sex trafficking abounds and can be divided into three main categories; literature that deals with the process itself, literature on recruitment and literature on escaping.

### 2.1 The process

In his book *Sex Trafficking: Inside the Business of Modern Slavery*, Kara (2017) gives an intriguing report of his travels into the sex trafficking industry, sharing victims moving histories and uncovering the shocking states of their abuse. He draws on his finance, economics, and law experience to give the first-ever business analysis of contemporary slavery worldwide, zeroing in on its most productive and barbaric structure: sex trafficking. In this book, one gets immense information on sex trafficking and what the phenomenon is. This can be used in the study to help explaining sex trafficking. It discusses things such as the economics of sex slavery, the anatomy of sex trafficking, why does sex slavery continue to thrive? Etc.



The book *Human Sex trafficking*, edited by Bernat (2012), argues that in the international and domestic sex trafficking trade, there are millions of victims, and also that this type of trafficking is the most common form of modern-day slavery. The book looks at sex trafficking in several different nations of origin and destination; it is done from a perspective that seeks to understand its causes, and in order to do that, it required to pay attention to global conditions.

The article "Female Sex Trafficking: Conceptual Issues, Current Debates and Future Directions" by Meshkovska et al. (2015) gives an in-depth overview of issues relevant to female sex trafficking in the field of human trafficking. It looks at and takes help from disciplines such as gender and sexuality studies, sociology, law, economics, social work and psychology. Meshkovska et al. (2015) discusses the definition of human trafficking and also compare it to human smuggling; between the issues of sex trafficking with sex work and prostituting, they outline their connections. They write about the current estimations of female sex trafficking and history. Main actors seen in female sex trafficking is outlined, such as client's, service providers, trafficked persons and traffickers.

## 2.2 The recruitment

Katariina Rosenblatt argues in her article "Determining the Vulnerability Factors, Lures and Recruitment Methods used to Entrap American Children into Sex Trafficking" (2014) that researching and study family dynamics in American families is important in order to see if the dynamics can be a reason for creating vulnerabilities for victims that makes them easier to deceit into sex trafficking. Rosenblatt's (2014) study was made through an examination that looked at understanding what deceits and tactics that traffickers used into recruiting children to sex trafficking. The study also examined pimps' characteristics that led the victims into trusting them. Contributing factors that made children vulnerable to traffickers were abuse in the home, the basic need



for love and affection, food, exposure to poverty, clothing, security and shelter. Rosenblatt (2014) reveals how traffickers use children's weaknesses to gain their trust; they mirror their needs with a home-like family, romantic or parental figure.

In his article "Methods of sex trafficking: findings of a case study in Turkey", Demir (2010) argues that in Turkey, the sex industry has grown dependent on foreign women, especially women from the former Soviet Union. How the women are recruited, transferred and exploited in Turkey is something that is little known about. Demir's (2010) primary data was made using police-recorded victim interviews and key personnel interviews. The data showed that most victims were recruited by being proposed with attractive job offers done by persons they knew. Most of the victims then entered Turkey with legal papers and by different transports. When arriving, traffickers then sell the victims in public and private settings to control the victim's traffickers use methods such as violence, confiscations of travel documents, confinement, debt bondage, and threats.

Raphael, Reichert and Powers article "Pimp Control and Violence: Domestic Sex Trafficking of Chicago Women and Girls" (2011) uses interviews with young women that are prostitutes and is managed and controlled by pimps to look at their experiences. This means that Raphael, Reichert and Powers (2011) look at what methods were used by the pimps to deceive young women. They also looked at the method and compared them to federal trafficking legalisation to see if the method meets its definition of coercion.

### 2.3 Escaping

In their article "Human Trafficking: The Local Becomes Global", Bernat and Winkeller (2010) argue that today, many of the victims in human trafficking are women, and the most common way to deceive them is to lie about the



labour service that they are supposed to provide. After being deceived into prostitution, many of the victims find it very hard to escape. It is also hard to identify trafficking victims, and they might not be recognised or even seen as needing assistance. Bernat and Winkeller (2010) also explain that the victims might hide from service officials and the police trying to help them. Then victim might be identified just as prostitutes, immigrants or dismissed as homeless, poor vagabonds.

In their article “Sex Trafficking and the Exploitation of adolescents”, McClain and Garrity (2010) talk about how hard it is for adolescents to escape trafficking due to countless barriers. For those adolescents that are internationally trafficked, barriers done by traffickers can be that they confiscate or hold all legitimate immigration paper and/or passports. Then when arriving in the United States, they have to work off the debt they collected by being brought into the country by the traffickers. Then some barriers keep the victim from finding help or escape, such as limited knowledge of their rights as victims, fear of the complicated legal system, and language barriers. McClain and Garrity (2010) also explain that for those victims that are domestically trafficked, traffickers might try to allure with drugs in order to get them addicted, have them arrested for petty crimes or rape them. By using these tactics, the traffickers intimidate the victims so that they feel fearful and vulnerable. This makes it less likely that the victims will try to escape, seek help or return to their families.

In the article "Sex Trafficking in South Asia", Huda (2006) researches the as said in the title sex trafficking in South Asia. The writer looks at how social and economic inequalities and political conflicts have led to an increase in sex trafficking. The article mentions escape and how it is hard for victims to escape. By using threats, systematic social isolation, physical abuse, denouncing irregular domestic migrant works to public authorities, traffickers



prevent the victims from escaping or asking for help. These exploitive situations remain invisible to the public eye and are there for hard to understand.

## 2.4 Summary

One common thing repeated in the existing literature on sex trafficking is the difficulty of escaping. While this is an important aspect of the topic, research has treated it lightly. In most of the literature, escaping trafficking is mentioned. However, the emphasis is placed on why they cannot escape instead of how they manage to escape. Also, finding literature that explains and discusses the difficulties, or how girls do escape, was hard. It was more common finding literature on how girls get recruited and how they are kept inside the system, unable to escape—the three topics entrapment, enmeshment and escaping connected, especially the last two. Reasons why victims do not escape or are afraid of trying, is connected to how they are enmeshed, so when looking more at enmeshment to see if more information on escaping could be found in the article *Entrapment and Enmeshment Schemes Used by Sex Traffickers* by Reid (2014). Reid (2014) argues that how victims get entrapped and enmeshed can be categorised. Further explanation of her work and the categories will be explained in the theory chapter. However, after seeing the categorisation, an idea of reading autobiographers came to. If reading four autobiographies, can Reid's categories be applied to the four stories, how did they escape. This paper's research will be different from previously done research due to looking more in-depth on escaping trafficking, explaining how girls escape and later categorise them. Knowing how victims escape trafficking is of considerable importance, and it needs to be more research done. By gaining more knowledge and information surrounding victims escape, more victims could be helped to escape. Also, the paper will look at Reid's (2014) categorisation on both entrapment and enmeshment to see if they can be applied to the four stories; if not, can new categories be made.





## 3 Analytic Framework

### **Entrapment and Enmeshment by Joan A. Reid**

Joan Reid's (2014) purpose in doing the research was to understand the tactics used by sex traffickers when recruiting or entrapping minor girls in the US. She also wanted to identify strategies sex traffickers used/ or specific circumstances that could prevent girls from exiting. Lastly, she wanted to apply the crime script approach to inform prevention. In order to collect information and data, Reid (2014) decided to review case files from social services that provide case management and counselling to girls who were victims of sex trafficking. The case files contained information from law enforcement procedures or guardians with reports on circumstances surrounding the exploitation, physiological assessment, results from the girls' psychological testing, and records of interviews done by the participating agencies. Reid decided to perform semi-structured interviews with service providers who had knowledge and information on the case files to provide validation and more in-depth knowledge on the case files.

In the analysis, Reid (2014) found different strategies used by the traffickers to entrap and enmeshed girls, and she decided to categories them. Entrapment she categorised into seven different strategies.

1. *Romancing and spending money*

Sex traffickers commonly used this strategy in order to lure girls into engaging in prostitution. The trafficker would romance, spend money and buy them gifts, this would make the girls feel like they were a family, or some would even fall in love with their traffickers.



2. *Built dependence and/or trust by helping them*

Several girls mentioned that when they were in a difficult situation, the traffickers would show up and offer to help and take care of them.

3. *Normalised/glamorised engaging in prostitution*

This means that the sex traffickers would encourage the girls and make it seem normal with prostitution. However, the traffickers would rarely do this themselves; they would use other girls to recruit. In order to glorify prostitution, the traffickers would tell the girls that when selling sex, it would show their worth.

4. *Isolated*

Traffickers would isolate girls by taking girls to other states or cities, and they could also control the access to social media and cell phones.

5. *Abducted and/or drugged*

Girls being abducted or drugged, then forced to have sex with men for money, forced prostitution and kept hostage.

6. *Coerced by financial con/debt bondage*

This could be that the trafficker will help the girls in some way and then expect payment for their help.

7. *Recruited by “boyfriend/girlfriend” gang member*

Girls who ran away with their boyfriends and were later exploited because of him; this also happened with girlfriends (the girls' friends) and gang members.

Enmeshment was categorised by Reid (2014) into seven different strategies, which will give explanations for why the girls stayed and did not escape.



Enmeshed entails procedures used by the traffickers how the victims stay trapped and obedient to the traffickers:

1. *Shame and blackmail*

The traffickers would convince the girls that no one would ever want her; they would use comprising photos and threaten to show them to family or friends; they would also post photos on the internet without consent.

2. *Obligate*

Traffickers would convince some girls that they were rescued and could have it so much worse. Also, loyalty to the traffickers was common amongst many girls, and to snitch on the traffickers would be an act of betrayal.

3. *Make complicit in a crime*

Some of the girls were forced to shoplifting or recruiting other girls.

4. *Control by threatening pregnancy/child*

Traffickers using pregnancy or children as a way to gain/keep control over the girls.

5. *Isolated*

Same as mentioned previously on entrapment, keeping track and controlling the girl's communication with others.

6. *Financial control*

The traffickers are keeping all the money, and the girls never get a dime. However, some traffickers would give money to the girls, and because they were making money, they wanted to stay.



## 7. *Intimidate*

Traffickers would use several different ways to frighten the girls not to leave; tactics used were to get routinely beaten and raped, threatened at gunpoint or show weapons, threaten to kill them or family members, threaten to kill or take their children etc.

## 8. *Provide hope, connection and faux family*

Some girls stated that they were in love with their traffickers, and even though they wanted to leave prostitution, they would never betray their traffickers. Other girls stated that the traffickers would make all the girls feel special, and they were somewhat of a family.

With these findings on the strategies used by sex traffickers, Reid (2014) hopes it can be used to inform on prevention efforts. By exposing the trafficker's entrapment strategies, she hopes that empirically informed psychoeducational curriculums can be done and shown to high-risk girls. With the study's findings on enmeshment, Reid explains how this can be used to inform intervention and generate avenues of assistance that could be beneficial for girls being trafficked.

In this study, Reid's theories and categorisations are applied to victims' stories from four autobiographies. The study will analyse if the entrapment and enmeshment categories can be applied to four autobiographies, and if not, can new ones be made. Reid's categorizations was developed and used on sex trafficking cases in the United States, in this paper stories from different countries as well as stories from the United States will be used. This in order to as mentioned see if more categorizations can be made. And if the same system and categorizations can be used on how victims escape.



## 4 Methodology

### 4.1 Desk Study

In order to gain data to be analysed for this study, written autobiographies from sex trafficking victims who managed to escape will be used. In order to gain a better understanding of why autobiographies will be used, there will be a small introduction on what field research is and how that is done. This study is not doing a field study; however, the research being done is in a grey area and does not have a name, the one way to explain it is that it is opposite to how a field study is done.

A field study is a way of collecting data through participant observation, interviews and document analysis. The reason for collecting data this way is so that the researcher can get a better understanding of individuals by observing and interacting in their natural settings. This means that the researcher is out in the real world and is involved in the people of the study's everyday life. (Github.io,2009) So, as we can see here, by doing a field study, the researcher interacts with the people being studied.

As mentioned earlier, this study will be using autobiographies as the data source. When deciding on doing a study on sex trafficking, one thing became clear: finding individuals that are or have been trafficked and doing a field study would be hard. Furthermore, it was just not finding victims that would be hard; it would also be challenging in many ways. The time to complete this paper is ten weeks, and that means the time to collect the data is very limited and short. This would be problematic because the victims that would be observed and interviewed have gone through a traumatic experience that needs to be handled delicately. Having time pressure to collect the data in one to two weeks could mean that the researcher would unintentionally miss substance of importance. However, it is not just the ten weeks being a problem. As



mentioned, the victims have been through big traumas, and when observing or interviewing them, they are asked to relive their trauma. So, the researcher would need to know how to properly interview and observe individuals with trauma because if not, the trauma could be made worse.

So, as we can see, doing fieldwork on sex trafficking was not an option. However, today many victims are telling their stories through autobiographies. These books give an in-depth look into the victim's time when trafficked, and one can observe their lives from home.

## 4.2 Qualitative Study

This is a qualitative research using autobiographies written by victims of sex trafficking that managed to escape. This is a research strategy that, rather than focusing on analysing data and quantification in the collection, usually highlights attempts to discover the meaning of narratives (Bryman, 2016, p. 374). It also indicates an abductive approach between the relationship of research and theory, that in turn, an emphasis is placed on the generation of theories. Qualitative research rejects the natural scientific model, especially its norms and practices, especially on positivism. Instead, it prefers to focus on individuals and how they interpret their social world. Also, this type of research strategy demonstrates a view of how social reality is constantly shifting due to an individual's subjective creation of reality (Bryman, 2016, p. 33).

The decision to do qualitative research was an easy one because the decision to use autobiographies as the data source instantly narrowed it down to qualitative research.



## 4.3 Sources

### 4.3.1 Primary Sources

Primary sources mean that the source is a present-day or first-hand account of a topic or event. The source is the most direct evidence of that time or event, and this because they were made by people present at the time or for the event. Furthermore, primary sources give new information or an original thought without having been modified in any way by interpretation. This means that the sources are original materials regardless of in what format they are done. Examples of sources created during an event or time can be photographs, interviews, letters, sound or video recordings and dairies. Sources that are oral histories, which means that they are created after a time or event; however, they do offer a first-hand account. So, examples are memoirs, autobiographies, newspapers or journal articles (Delozier, n.d.).

This study's primary sources will be autobiographies written by victims of sex trafficking. The victims have written their stories after they escaped from trafficking. By using autobiographies as the primary source, one will better understand the victim's experiences. Also, by using autobiographies, there is no need to find victims to interview.

#### 4.3.1.1 *The road of lost innocence, Somaly Mam (2009)*

Somaly was born around 1970 or 1971 in the countryside of northeast Cambodia. Somaly's mother was Phnong and her father Khmer, and when she was still a young child, they left Somaly with her grandmother. Not long after that, her grandmother also left; one day, she went into the forest and never returned. Somaly took care of herself after this until she was around nine or ten, then a man came to the village and claimed that he was her grandfather. Somaly left with the man, and her life took a bad turn after.



#### 4.3.1.2 *Runaway Girl*, Carissa Phelps and L. Warren (2013)

At the age of twelve, Carissa, who lived in California, USA, had dropped out of school and had run away from home, where she suffered from neglect and abuse from her mom and stepdad. The stepdad would use a belt to discipline the children; one time, when Carissa was in second grade, he tossed her out of the door onto the ground, her mother standing by doing nothing.

#### 4.3.1.3 *The Slave Across the Street- how a fifteen-year-old girl became a sex slave*, Theresa L Flores (2013)

When Theresa grew up, her family moved a lot, and when she was a freshman in high school, the family had to move once again due to her fathers' job. They moved to a neighbourhood called Birmingham, which is a suburb of Detroit, USA. In her new school, Theresa met a boy called Daniel; over freshman year, Theresa started to have a crush on Daniel, and he also pretended to like her. Later he would be the one that got Theresa trafficked.

#### 4.3.1.4 *Sold*, Vera Efron and Natasja T (2014)

When Natasja was sixteen, she decided to leave the small village of Trudoljubovka, Russia. In the village, she lived with her grandmother and mother, who was an alcoholic, they were poor and did not have much. So Natasja left for Sankt Petersburg in the hope of being accepted to the university. However, Natasja did not get accepted, and because she did not want to go back to the village, she tries to find a job. When looking, she meets an older-, nice- and good-looking man that offers her a job in a casino in Vilnius, Latvia. She accepts the offer and is then smuggled across the border by traffickers.

### 4.3.2 Secondary Sources

Secondary sources mean using data collected by other researchers. The one using other researchers work might use it for purposes and reasons not





envisioned by those responsible for the data or research (Bryman, 2016, p. 309).

In this study, the secondary sources will be articles and books written about sex trafficking. These books and articles are of great relevance to this study; they all have researched some aspect of sex trafficking. To provide some examples of the secondary literature used, the books and the article *Sex Trafficking: Inside the Business of Modern Slavery* by Siddharth Kara (2017), "Female Sex Trafficking: Conceptual Issues, Current Debates and Future Directions" Meshkovska et al. (2015) and *Human Sex trafficking* edited by Bernat (2012) gives in-depth knowledge on what sex trafficking is and its history. Moreover, the article "The Second Chance They Deserve Vacating Convictions of Sex Trafficking Victims" written by Alyssa M. Barnard (2014) gives a good explanation of what sex trafficking looks like in the United States and also on how girls get entrapped. Reid's article "Entrapment and Enmeshment Schemes Used by Sex Traffickers" (2014) categorises how victims get entrapped and enmeshed.

The article "Determining the Vulnerability Factors, Lures and Recruitment Methods used to Entrap American Children into Sex Trafficking" by Katariina Rosenblatt (2014) also looks at what methods of entrapment. However, it also takes a look at what makes victims vulnerable to traffickers. "Methods of sex trafficking: findings of a case study in Turkey", an article by Omer Demir (2010), looks at what methods traffickers use to entrap women in Turkey. Raphael, Reichert and Powers article "Pimp Control and Violence: Domestic Sex Trafficking of Chicago Women and Girls" (2011) looks at the methods of entrapment in Chicago.

The articles "Human Trafficking: The Local Becomes Global" by Bernat and Winkeller (2010), "Sex Trafficking and the Exploitation of adolescents" by



McClain and Garrity (2010) “Sex Trafficking in South Asia” Huda (2006) writes about and explain the hardship of escaping trafficking.

#### 4.4 Narrative

Narrative analysis is an approach that makes it possible to achieve an analysis using data that are sensitive to the sense of temporal sequence. Individuals themselves provide accounts that can be used as data, which means that individuals provide stories about events or themselves that they have been affected by (Bryman, 2015 p. 589). According to Bryman (2015), when using a narrative approach, the focus point changes from ‘what actually happened to ‘how do people make sense of what happened.’ The last point can also be extended to ‘how do people make sense of what happened and to what effect’. This can be done because stories are almost always told with a purpose in mind; one could say that there is a pre-determined effect. Those who advocate narrative analysis explain that the most commonly used methods in collecting and analysing data disregard that people experience their lives in terms of continuity and process. Then, attempts to understand social life that is not attuned to this feature neglect the perspective of those studied. Something that is considered a good fit for narrative analysis is life history research (Bryman, 2015 p. 590). As has been earlier explained, autobiographies will be used as the primary data source for this study, and due to that, the individuals writing these stories have themselves provided the data. This is the reason for doing a narrative analysis.

#### 4.5 Abduction/Deduction

In the start of writing this paper it was difficult to know if a deduction or abduction approach was the right one, however when reading more on the approaches abductive was chosen. Both approaches will be explained and choosing adductive will be argued for.



In social research, deduction theory represents the most common perception of the relationship between theory and praxis. Based on the knowledge a researcher sustains within a particular field and the theoretical deliberations within the said field, the researchers deduce one or several hypotheses that will later be subjected to empirical scrutiny (Bryman, 2015 p. 21). In the hypotheses, there will be concepts that are in need of translation into researchable entities; this means that the researcher must skillfully be able to both deduce the hypotheses and later translate them into operational terms. So, the researcher must specify how the data can be collected in relation to the concepts that make up the hypothesis (Bryman, 2015 p. 21).

Abductive reasoning is when a researcher establishes a theoretical understanding of the contexts and the people being studied; this is based on the meanings, perspectives, and languages that form their view of the world. The most vital step in abduction is that the researcher must come to a social scientific account of the social worlds that have been described and understood by the participants and their perspectives (Bryman, 2015 p. 395). Abductive reasoning is inductive primarily in its approach; however, it is worth separating the two due to abduction relies on understanding and explaining participants perspectives and approaches and, in other words, using a theory as a lens through which to understand a specific phenomenon (Bryman, 2015 p. 395).

However, as the objective of this paper is not to verify Redis analytic framework but rather use it as a lens through which we can look at the autobiographical narratives, the decision fell on an abductive approach.

#### 4.6 Limitations, Delimitations and Ethical Considerations

One limitation of this study is having to use autobiographies, and even though this gives good data for the paper, there is no chance to interviews or follow



up questions. The reason for this is that it would have been hard to get in touch with the writers of the autobiographies and then get them to agree to be a part of the study.

Furthermore, interviews with victims of sex trafficking would have been challenging due to finding people who had been victims and getting them to agree to be a part of the study. Furthermore, this is just one part of the problem; even if individuals who would agree to be interviewed, observed, or answer a survey were found, I would not have been comfortable doing that. Because of not having a professional education in talking with victims traumatised, not knowing how to talk or appropriately react to their stories can worsen their trauma. It would also not have been ethically correct, especially when only having ten weeks to finish the paper, which means that there will be pressure to finish with the interviews or survey, and that could be damaging and not fair to the victims. That is why doing this type of analysis is good to do; I can get victims stories on what happened to them by reading their autobiography.

Delimitations for this paper is using autobiographies. With more time, more books could have been read and more data collected. Furthermore, the delimitation of using autobiographies is that some books already read of the topic were the reason for narrowing it down to sex trafficking.

## **5 Findings**

### **5.1 Recruitment**

When Somaly was around fourteen- fifteen years old, her grandfather sold her to a lady called Nop; he explained that Nop was her aunt and that she would take care of Somaly. However, after he left, Somaly learned that he had sold her to Nop to pay off some of his debts. Nop later took her to a brothel, and



there, a Lady called Peuve told her she had to have sex with strangers, which her aunt and the lady made money off (Somaly Mam and Marshall, 2009).

When being on the run, Carissa got into a lot of trouble; she was in juvenile hall and tossed around to different group homes, which she always ran away from. One day when trying to escape a bad situation, Carissa met a woman named Natara, who later introduced Carissa to her boyfriend, Icey. Icey promised Carissa that he would help her out and keep her safe; however, she would need to get enough money to bail out his car. That was Carissa's first night as a prostitute (Phelps, C. and Warren, L. 2013).

One day just before her sixteen birthday, Daniel asked Theresa if she would like a ride home from school; she was so happy to spend some time alone with Daniel. Instead of taking Theresa home Daniel drove them to his home; she never thought anything was wrong because she trusted Daniel. Carissa went inside the house with Daniel, and he raped her. Theresa stayed home from school a couple of days; however, when she got back, she was approached by Daniel, who told her that a couple of his cousins had seen them and that they had taken pictures. With these pictures, Theresa was blackmailed into sneaking out of the house at night to go to Daniels house and to have sex with whomever the cousins ordered her to (Flores, T.L. 2013).

The man Sergej that Natasja had met and who offered her a job was a recruiter. He was a charming man who would give Natasja many compliments and made her feel important. Sergej also makes big promises about a good job where she will earn much money. When it is time to leave for Vilnius, he takes Natasja to the train station and has promised her that he would escort her to Latvia. However, when they arrive, they meet a man named Marat and a woman Avelina (who is also a victim); the man paid Sergej and told Natasja that Marek would escort her to Minsk they would meet an old classmate called Radik.



Radik would drive them from Minsk to Vilnius. Natasja did not know that Sergej had sold her Marat and that he and Radik would later become two of the captors that would rape and sell her (Efron, V. 2014).

As can be seen, all four girls have been recruited in different ways. However, they have all been deceived somehow. Somaly and Natasja were both sold to traffickers by persons they knew or were acquainted with. Theresa was deceived and entrapped by a boy she liked, while Carissa was targeted due to being vulnerable and in need of help.

## 5.2 Incentives to stay

For Somaly and Therese, there were not any positive things that kept them from leaving; they were all negative. Because even though when Somaly's grandfather's debt was paid, Somaly still chooses to stay and work at the brothel (Somaly Mam and Marshall, 2009). As for Theresa, she always wanted to escape what was happening. However, she believed that it was impossible. The negative reasons will be explained in the next paragraph (Flores, T.L. 2013).

For Carissa, there was one incentive that could be found, and that was that even though Icey turned out to be mean and would also rape her, Carissa thought that he cared for her. She thought that he was looking out for her and keeping her safe, and it was better with him than being in group homes or juvenile hall (Phelps, C. and Warren, L. 2013).

Natasja never really had any positive reasons that kept her from leaving either; she tried to escape and thought about it a lot. However, in some ways, a positive reason that kept her from leaving was the drugs and alcohol that the traffickers supplied. In order to numb the physical and mental pain, she was in



Natasja used drugs and alcohol, and if she left, there was no way of getting those drugs due to her being an immigrant and having no job (Efron, V. 2014).

So, what can be seen from all the girls is that Carissa was the only one having a real positive reason that kept her from leaving; for Natasja, it was more of a way to self-medicate than an incentive. Somaly and Theresa both had no incentives whatsoever for staying.

### 5.3 Threats that kept the victims from leaving

Somaly wanted and tried escaping the brothel; however, she learned from escaping that she would never be free and safe. The one time she escaped, she went with a man that promised that he loved her and wanted to marry her; however, when trying to get to the border of Thailand, he sold her. The men that bought her raped her that night, and the following day she escaped. Somaly learned by hard lessons that poor Cambodian men could not be trusted during several different times, and they would always be violent, and there was always a chance they would sell her. She had also learned that the police were just as violent and had no problems with raping women or young girls. After getting back to the brothel after her escape, she was tied naked to a bed for a whole week; anyone who wanted could just rape and beat her. And then the brothel owner found out what Somaly was afraid of, maggots.

Moreover, because the owner wanted the girls to be subdued entirely, the punishment had to make the girls scared, so when he realised that maggots scared Somaly, they would pour buckets of maggots on her and in her mouth and all over her body. After this, Somaly decided never to try and escape again because it would be the same no matter where she went, and at the brothel, she was safe from the police, so she capitulated. It should also be mentioned that even if one could escape, there would be no place to go if they have families they could never go back because in Cambodia, after working in a brothel, nobody wants you back, because you are broken, and it is a way that cannot



be mended. You are seen as forever ruined, and your existence is a shame for the family (Somaly Mam and Marshall, 2009).

Carissa felt obligated to stay with Icey because she was convinced that he was helping her, keeping her safe and caring about her wellbeing. However, he also threatens her; one day, he put a belt around her neck and forced her to perform oral sex; she could not move her head because every time she tried, the belt choked her. After Icey was done, he made it clear that he owned her and that she belonged to him, and that meant that he could do whatever he wanted to her and that it even said so in the bible. After that, Icey would get violent and would threaten to kill Carissa; there was even one time that if not for one of Icey's friends stopping him, he properly would have killed her (Phelps, C. and Warren, L. 2013). Carissa also had nowhere to go if she left Icey; she tried to contact her mother on time in an attempt to get help. So, she reached out to her mom and asked if she could come and pick her up, the mother told her that she was the one that ran away and if she got herself there, she could get herself back home. With no place to go or no one to help her, she stayed with Icey.

The first time Theresa was brought back to Daniel's house, his cousins were waiting for her. One of them, called Nick, told her that she had to do everything they told her to or they would spread the photos and shame her family. They also threaten to kill her puppy and hurt her family. She now worked for Daniel's cousins and was told that she had to work off the pictures. Theresa was gang-raped by several men that night and most nights after that. After every night, Theresa would ask if she could get the pictures back, and every time she was told that it was not earned yet, and one time Nick beat her naked body with a belt. Also, they would follow her around, not just at school but everywhere she went, so she was scared of telling someone or try to escape. However, Theresa tried telling one person what was happening to her and asked for help. However, the person was a boyfriend she had met over summer





break when Daniel and his cousins were away. When she told the boyfriend, he let her know that if she got involved with those men, she had only herself to blame, and she had to get out by herself. Carissa could trust no one, and no one would help her. One time after she was left at a motel, a police officer drove to her home, and even though she did not tell him anything and because she was watched, they knew she met the police. That same night Therese got a phone call where the only noise was a dog barking and a gunshot. Theresa was so terrified that she never told anyone what had happened until she was an adult (Flores, T.L. 2013).

When Natasja arrived in Latvia, they arrived at a big house that belonged to Leandra's, her third captor. Other than herself, there was Avelina, who had been with her since Natasja left Russia and a second girl named Tanya. Natasja had no idea why she was brought to the house and not to the casino where she would work. The girls explained that Sergei had tricked her and that she had been sold to the three men, their pimps and that she was now a slave. Natasha tried to escape but was stopped by a guard dog, Marat that heard the commotion came to ask what was happening, and Avelina told him that she tried to escape. Marat then gave Natasja her first beating, and later that night, the men made Avelina rape Natasja, and then they raped her. That night, Natasja escaped; however, when she arrived at a village, she sought help from a man; that man brought her back to Leandras' house. When she got back, she was beaten by the men. Natasja learned that escaping was not an option; no one would help her; they would just bring her back. Beatings were something that happened every time their captors were not pleased with their work or if they would not be obedient enough. Natasja was slowly worn down and started drinking to numb her pain, and she became obedient. There was no way out, so it was better not to fight back and then beaten; it was better just to accept what was happening and obey the men (Efron, V. 2014).



All the girls were threatened in some way which kept them from escaping. A common thing that could be seen in all the stories was that traffickers would beat and rape the girls. Theresa was the only girl where family members were threatened and used as a way of control; Carissa and Somaly had no way of escaping due to not having any place to go. So even though their stories had some things in common, there were differences as well.

## 5.4 The final escape

After three years of working in the brothel, Somaly was given a choice to leave the brothel because the grandfather's debt was paid. However, she knew that if she left, the chances of being sold again were high, so Somaly decided to stay at the brothel. Then one day, Somaly met a Swiss-German man named Dietrich who worked for a relief agency. She was working, and he paid the brothel for sex with Somaly. Dietrich was a nice man who took her to dinner and tried to have conversations with her; he then took her to the room he was renting, where he let Somaly shower to wash up. He had sex with Somaly, and he was not cruel or brutal, and later he gave her money that was just hers. Dietrich became a regular who would send a translator to pick up Somaly; she would spend all night with Dietrich; the following day, he would drive Somaly back to the brothel and pay the owner and give Somaly some. He would give Somaly enough money so she did not have to work in the brothel for a few weeks. However, she would also always give most of the money to the brothel owner. After some time and when Somaly was nineteen, Dietrich asked if she would be his "special friend" and come live with him, and she would also get spending money, she accepted. So, Somaly left all she had and the brothel behind, and because Dietrich was white and rich in Cambodian standard, he had power, and this power protected Somaly, and nobody could bother her anymore (Somaly Mam and Marshall, 2009).



One day when Carissa was out driving with Icey and Natara, they got pulled over by the police. Icey used his brother's name in an attempt to escape a ticket; however, the brother had a warrant for his arrest. Icey was arrested and later got convicted for 144 years. When the police drove away with Carissa, she took one last look at Icey, and he winked at her, and at that moment, she did not want him to go. Because even though he had raped her, Carissa thought he was nice and that he wanted her to be safe and all right. Carissa never told the police anything about Icey or what he had done because, in her mind, it was not his fault; it was hers. All her bad decisions were on her, and she was already used to taking the blame, which had happened at her mom's, so there was no reason to get Icey in trouble. Carissa was sent to juvenile hall, where she spent thirty days; after that, she was pushed around to different group homes, sent back to juvenile hall for probation violations and ran away again. She even went home a few times, but it never lasted. After that, Carissa was never prostituted or raped again. However, she got into a lot of trouble and even ended up in youth authority, which in the end was good for her and helped her (Phelps, C. and Warren, L. 2013).

Theresa's way out was that her father got a new job, and they had to move. Strangely enough, Daniel and his cousins never came after her; they just let her go and did not care. However, for some time, Theresa was nervous and always looked over her shoulder just in case they reappeared (Flores, T.L. 2013).

After some months in Latvia, Natasja and Tanya were moved to Stockholm, Sweden. During their journey, Natasja contemplated escaping several times. However, she had no clue what would happen if she tried. Would someone help her? Believe her? Also, the language barrier was a problem. So, she never made an escape effort during the journey. In Sweden, there was a new man named Aron that looked after her and Tanya, and one day he told them that the



people buying sex have no idea that it is not the girls' choice and that the girls are forced. The men believe that they are doing this to earn money; little do they know that the girls never see any money. One day, one man called Leif, one of Natasja's customers, gave her a gift, and she broke down, and she told him everything that had happened, that she was a slave. Natasja was sick and had no idea what time it was or how many days it had been since she saw Leif. However, one day she woke up due to a big commotion in the apartment, all of a sudden, in her room, there were several policemen. Leif had called the police, and which saved her life and got her out of prostitution. (Efron, V. 2014).

All of the girls eventually escaped their traffickers. The police saved both Carissa and Natasja; however, for Natasja, a third party was involved. For the other two girls, Somaly's way out was to still be a prostitute, just not for the brothel but a wealthy foreigner, and Thresa, it was enough just to for the family move.

## 5.5 What happened after the escape?

Somaly did not stay long with Dietrich because he had to go back home; before he left, he asked his friend Guillaume if he would look after Somaly, which he promised he would. After Dietrich left, Guillaume let Somaly stay at his place and help her get a proper job as a cleaning lady. One day she met the French man Pierre whom she later married and had two children with; today, they are divorced. Today Somaly is the spokesperson and president of a foundation called the Somaly Mam Foundation. The foundation fights sex trafficking and is of today one of the most prolific activists' foundations. Somaly has also helped rescue, rehabilitate, and reintegrate over 4000 children and women with the organisation Acting for Women in Distressing Circumstances- AFEISP, in which she was one of the founding members. Somaly has also received several



awards such as CNN Hero, Women of the Year 2006 by Glamour magazine and the Prince of Asturias Prize (Somaly Mam and Marshall, 2009).

Carissa, as mentioned, still got into a lot of trouble after escaping Icey; she ended up in a youth authority facility called Wakefield, where she spent six months. While at Wakefield, she met a counsellor and a teacher who helped her through the trauma she had experienced and helped her get back on track. When she got out, she moved in with her mom. However, things were rocky initially, and Carissa moved to her dad for a couple of months but ended up living with her mom. She had to fight her way back up again, start school all over, but she got through and even went to college. Carissa graduated from UCLA with a law degree and an MBA. Today she is the CEO of Runaway Girl FPC, an organisation that protects youths by inspiring and guiding local community efforts and also helping with making resources available as a networking option (Phelps, C. and Warren, L. 2013).

Theresa's family moved, and she was free, at least in a sense. She graduated from high school and started college. She explains that her first two years at college felt like being in and out of consciousness. She had undiagnosed PTSD and found refuge in alcohol and sex. After getting pregnant and terminating the pregnancy, it was as if something changed within her, she got determined to change her lifestyle, and she did. She graduated college with a degree in social work and later got a master's degree in counselling education, specialising in human development. Theresa is the founder of Save Our Adolescents from Prostitution (SOAP). The company makes soaps labelled with phone numbers so victims can call for help; the soaps are distributed to hotels and motels (Flores, T.L. 2013).

In the raid on the apartment by the police, it was found drugs, guns and a lot of money. In the apartment, three girls in the ages of 16, 18 and 20 were also



found. When rescued, Natasja was very sick; she was suffering from pneumonia, urinary tract infection and chlamydia. After the raid, Natasja and the other girls were questioned by the Swedish police, and she explains that it was a horrible experience. She felt that they did not believe her and that they were disgusted by her. The police asked questions such as if she showed displeasure or tried resisting, did she scream, and if she did could possibly the clients perceive it as a scream of pleasure when having group sex, did you ever object. One question that made Natasja feel cold inside was when they asked if the clients or trafficker ever held her down by her legs and arm so that she would not be able to object or resist. Natasja answered the question honestly and told the police that they would sometimes hold down her arms. However, it was not because they were afraid of resistance; they were never afraid of objections or resistance. The police then told her that then it could not have been rape; you were not raped. Natasja then went back to Sankt Petersburg; after only being back for a short time, she tried to commit suicide and was admitted to a mental hospital for six months. Natasja felt that she had no longer any reasons for living, and she had lost all her faith in humanity. Also, she did not want to testify in the trials against Marat, Radik and Aron. Being in the hospital helped Natasja a lot; it was a long way to recover and feel good again. When the book was written, Natasja studied psychology at university with the dreams to help girls that have ended up in the same or similar situations as her; she also did volunteer work at a woman shelter. There she answers the hotline where girls and women call when in need of help or advice (Efron, V. 2014).

Every girl has handled escaping trafficking differently; both Theresa and Natasja struggled with their mental health afterwards. Also, Carissa struggled a bit; however, she got into a lot of trouble after, and this might have been a way of reaction to what happened. For Somaly, though she escaped but did not really until Dietrich left Cambodia, and after that, she got her freedom. One thing that can be seen that all of the girls have in common is that they work



with prevention and helping other girls escaping sex trafficking. All of them have done great work against trafficking.

## 6 Analysis

When we look at each of the four girls, we can see that they have been entrapped and enmeshed in different ways. This chapter will see if Reid's categories can be applied to the girl's stories or if they do not fall into any of the categories.

### 6.1 Entrapment

#### 1. *Romancing and spending money*

In a way, this can be applied to Theresa's story. Daniel, the boy she had a crush on, was aware of this, and he used that knowledge. Daniel would seek her out in school and look as if he was interested in Theresa, so when he offered to drive her home, she was giddy and happy because she thought it meant that he liked her too (Flores, T.L. 2013).

#### 2. *Built dependence and/or trust by helping them*

This can be applied to Carissa's story. When she was in that motel room and had nowhere to go and no one that could help, Icey stepped in. He offered her help to get her away from the room and keep her safe. However, he could not help her for free; she had to do something to get his help (Phelps, C. and Warren, L. 2013).

#### 3. *Normalised/Glamorised engaging in prostitution*



This could not be seen in any of the girl's stories. None of the traffickers would use the girls to recruit, and other girls did not recruit the girls. The traffickers never glamorised it either by telling the girls that by prostituting themselves, they would show their worth.

#### 4. *Isolated*

Both Somaly and Natasja was isolated when being entrapped. Somaly was taken to a new city by her grandfather, who sold her to the brothel (Somaly Mam and Marshall, 2009).

Furthermore, Natasja was escorted from Russia to Latvia by the pretence that she would get a job in a casino. Later she was taken from Latvia to Sweden against her will (Efron, V. 2014).

#### 5. *Abducted and/or drugged*

This can neither be seen in any of the girl's stories. None of them was abducted or drugged.

#### 6. *Coerced by financial con/or debt bondage*

According to Reid, the trafficker will help the girls in some way and then expect payment for this. However, what we saw in Somaly's story is that a family member has a debt and then uses a girl to pay them (Somaly Mam and Marshall, 2009).

#### 7. *Recruited by "boyfriend/girlfriend" gang member*

In a way, this can be applied to Carissa's story; she ran away from a group home with Mia and later, her uncle used Carissa. Later it was that man she needed help getting away from (Phelps, C. and Warren, L. 2013). So even if it was never intentional by Mia for Carissa to be exploited, she was. Mia never recruited her and never had intentions





for that to happened. However, she unintentionally helped put carissa in that situation.

We can see here that each of the four girls fall into some of the categories. Only Somaly's and Natasja's way of entrapment does not fit into any category. Her grandfather sells Somaly to pay off his debt, and according to Somaly, this is very common in Cambodia (Somaly Mam and Marshall, 2009). The category coerced by financial con/or debt bondage should be added by category that dept bondage can be done family members to entrap victims into trafficking. Then Natasja was deceived by the offer of a nice job in another country where she would be able to earn more money than in Russia (Efron, V. 2014). This type of entrapment cannot be seen in any of the categories, so one should be added because deceiving victims by offering them good and real jobs is a very common tactic.

No victims of trafficking want to stay on their own; they all want to escape and get out. However, it is not easy escaping their situation because the traffickers make sure that they are obedient and do not escape.

## 6.2 Enmeshment

### 1. *Shame and blackmail*

This is what happened to Theresa, Daniel raped her, and his cousins took photos. These photos were used to force Theresa to have sex with men that paid Daniel and his cousins. As mentioned in the findings, chapter Daniels cousin Nick told her that she had to do everything they told her to do, or they would spread the photos and shame her family (Flores, T.L. 2013).

### 2. *Obligation*



In a way, this can be seen in Carissa's story. However, instead of convincing her that Icey had rescued her, he made her believe that he had helped her and was the only one that could keep her safe. So, when Icey was arrested, and the police were driving away with Carissa, she took one last look at Icey, and he winked at her, and at that moment, she did not want him to go. Because even though he had raped her, Carissa thought he was nice and wanted her to be safe and all right (Phelps, C. and Warren, L. 2013).

### 3. Make complicit in a crime

This was not seen in any of the girl's stories; none of the girls was forced to commit crimes or recruit other girls.

### 4. *Control by threatening pregnancy/child*

Not one of the girls had children or got pregnant. So, this tactic could not be used on any of the girls.

### 5. *Isolate*

This category can be applied to Natasja's story. After being taken to Latvia, she had no contact with the outside world. She was kept in Leandra's house, and the only time she could leave was to meet a client. She was in a new country where she knew no one and had no way of contacting her family. She was utterly isolated (Efron, V. 2014).

### 6. *Financial control*

Traffickers keep control over the girls by never giving them a dime and never getting paid for the "job" that they are doing that happened to all four girls. However, it is Natasja's and Somaly's stories where it is a way of keeping them from escaping. When



given no money, they have nothing, and how can someone escape and get away without any money? Natasja was brought to two different and for her strange countries that she knows nothing about. How is she going to get anywhere if she escapes without money? Then for Somaly, she knew and learned that she could never escape the brothel without money because she would just end up being sold by someone new all over again (Somaly Mam and Marshall, 2009).

## 7. *Intimidation*

Being intimidated was seen in all four of the girl's stories. All of them were raped and beaten as a way of controlling and keeping them obedient. They used different tactics in how to intimidate the girls. For Somaly, it was getting beaten, raped, and pouring buckets of maggots on her; they put them in her mouth and all over her body (Somaly Mam and Marshall, 2009). For Natasja, it was getting beaten and raped, and she lived in constant fear because she knew that she was disposable. If they wanted her gone, they would just kill her and get a new girl, so after almost getting beaten to death, she just gave in and gave up (Efron, V. 2014). Theresa was intimidated by shame and blackmail but also by threats to her family. The cousins threaten to kill her puppy and hurt her family; she was beaten, raped and gang-raped. They were following her anywhere she went, and one time after a miss understanding by a police officer, the family's dog went missing. Later that night, she got a phone call where she could hear a dog bark and then a gunshot (Flores, T.L. 2013). Lastly, for Carissa, the violence was not as common, clients raped her, but experience violence from Icey was rarely in the start. However, after a while, he got violent, raped and



beat Carissa, and he made it clear that he owned her, and if she disobeyed, he would kill her (Phelps, C. and Warren, L. 2013).

## 8. *Provide hope, connection and faux family*

Not one of the girls explained feeling love towards their traffickers.

Furthermore, not one of them felt special or being a part of a family.

### 6.2.1 **New categorisations found in the four books**

In the category ‘obligation’, Reid mentions a loyalty between the victims and their traffickers because the victims were told that the traffickers rescued them. Also, believing that the traffickers love them and that victims are in love leads to victims never telling the police any information on the traffickers. However, in Carissa story, we get to see it in another way. Carissa never told the police anything about Icey or what he had done because, in her mind, it was not his fault; it was hers. All her bad decisions were on her, and she was already used to taking the blame, which had happened at her mom's, so there was no reason to get Icey in trouble (Phelps, C. and Warren, L. 2013). So as we can see, Carissa does not tell the police because she believes she is in love or has any loyalty to Icey; she does it because she believes that it is all her fault and only has herself to blame.

Another category missing is language barriers. In Natasja’s story, she explains that she wanted to try escaping when being moved to Sweden. However, a reason why she did not try was because of the language barrier. She barely knew any English and did not know any Swedish, so if she tried to escape, how could she seek out help, who could help her if she could not explain what had happened. Efron, V. 2014). This is common for victims brought to another county where they do not speak the language, which contributes to their isolation, so this should be a category of enmeshment. Furthermore, many times, it is just not the language barrier. They have no place to go, and this can



be seen in girls who are trafficked in their home country as well. In Carissa's story, we could see this if she left Icey; she had no place to go, this is not a strategy that Reid mentions, but perhaps it should be. By having no place to go if escaping, it might be even harder to escape.

So, most categories on Reid's enmeshment can be found in the girls' stories. However, it can also be seen that more categories can be made just from these four girls' stories. This means that Reid's categorisation is a good start that can be further developed by using more information from victims. It is essential to try and categorise as many ways of entrapment and enmeshment as possible; as Reid explains, by knowing why the girls cannot or will not escape, there can be more done in preventing sex trafficking.

### 6.3 Escaping

One thing that is also of great importance is knowing more of the way that made the victims' exit possible. What we have seen from Somaly, Natasja, Theresa and Carissa's stories they all escaped in different ways.

Somaly escaped with help from a wealthy client, the Swiss-German man Dietrich. He wanted Somaly to himself and wanted her to be his special friend, and he wanted her to come and live with him. Even if Somaly was still prostituting herself to Dietrich, she was safe because he was white and rich by Cambodian standards and a foreigner; he had power, and this power protected Somaly, and nobody could or would bother her anymore. So, for Somaly to escape the brothel, she had to meet a rich man with power (Somaly Mam and Marshall, 2009).

Then for both Natasja and Carissa, their escape was the police. However, it was in different ways. For Natasja, it was taking the big chance of telling one of her clients, Leif, what had happened to her and that she was a slave and not



selling sex because she wanted the money. By taking this chance which could have backfired and gotten her hurt or even killed if Leif had told her traffickers, she was saved. Leif had decided to tell the police (Efron, V. 2014). However, it should be mentioned that relying on a third party can be a risk. Yes, in Natasja's story, it went well, and she got help; as mentioned, it was a big risk. Then Theresa did tell a boyfriend she had while she was trafficked what was happening to her, and instead of helping, she was met with disgust and got no help at all (Flores, T.L. 2013).

Carissa escaped by pure luck and Icey's stupidity. They got pulled over by the police, and Icey used his brother's name in an attempt to escape a ticket; however, the brother had a warrant for his arrest. Icey got arrested, and Carissa was free from him (Phelps, C. and Warren, L. 2013).

Lastly, Theresa's escape was that her family had to move for her dad's new job. This shows that escaping does not have to be overly complicated with a lot of work. By just getting away from the town or city the traffickers operate, one can escape. However, Theresa was lucky that this was an opportunity for her, for, as explained earlier, for those victims who are isolated and have language barriers and/or no money, this is not something they can do. They do not have the resources to move to a new city or town (Flores, T.L. 2013).

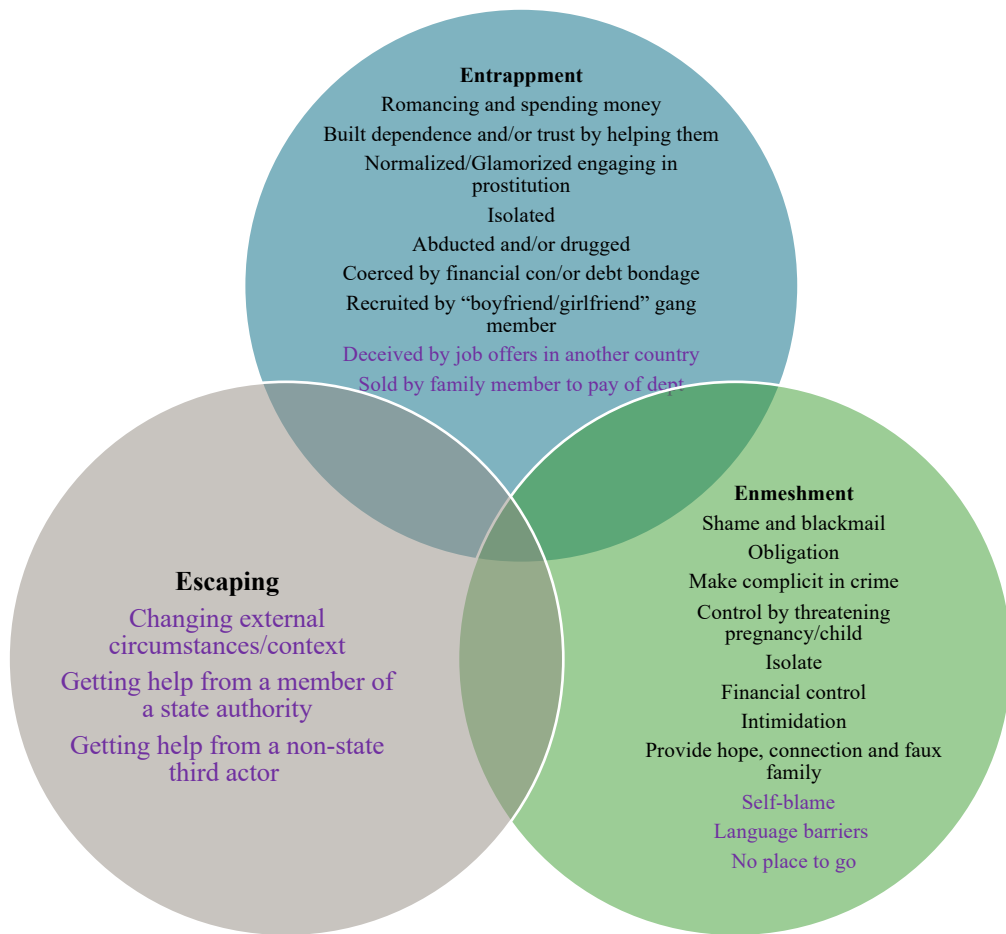
The bottom line of this is that maybe entrusting someone with what is happening and needing help is the way to go in order to escape. It is, as mentioned, a big risk, like in Natasja's story, to tell a client because it could have backfired, and the client could have told the traffickers. It can also be a risk because the client might not want to get involved because of the shame of being a client or being afraid of getting arrested. Still, by taking the chance, she was saved and did escape. Theresa had a bad experience telling someone; however, maybe if she had told her parents, they would have moved sooner or



could have helped in another way. Somaly also gained help from trusting someone; technically, she was still a prostitute while she was with Dietrich; however, he was one reason she did escape the brothel and never feared the risk of being sold again. Carissa story is a bit different because she did believe that she had no place to go and no one to turn to, and in her head, this was the truth. However, I do think that if she had met the right people to ask for help, she would have done so. Again, the bottom line in all of these girls' stories about escaping comes down to entrusting a third actor for help. Also, knowing more about this is important; by knowing more about the escape mechanism, it can be easier to help girls escape. So, by finding a way to categorise escape mechanism, we can start helping victims to a greater extent.

The following table will show the categorisations found by Reid and also the new categories found in this paper. Also, the categories of escape. The black ones are Reid's, and the Purple ones are ones found in the study.

**Table 1 Categorisations of Entrapment, Enmeshment and Escaping.**



## 7 Conclusion

In contrast to existing literature that has focused primarily on recruitment and life conditions for victims, this paper focused on experiences of escape from sex trafficking. That could not be done without taking into consideration the strategies used by sex traffickers that contribute to keeping victims within the system, hence the use of Reid's entrapment and enmeshment categorisation for this paper. The paper has looked into the stories of four victims describing how they were entrapped and enmeshed and how they later escaped. With their stories, the study wanted to investigate if they all could be placed into Reid's





categories and if those categories were, therefore, all-inclusive. Most of the stories fit into some category; however, there was always at least one story that did not fit in both entrapment and enmeshment. This shows that the subject should be studied further in order to gain more information.

The paper also took a deeper look at escaping, and how each girl got away, this was not something Reid mentioned in her research. How the victims are escaping is just as important as knowledge and information about entrapment and enmeshment. Categorising how the victims get lured or tricked into trafficking can help to prevent people from getting entrapped by making them aware of entrapment strategies currently used by sex traffickers. With the knowledge and the categorisation of entrapment and enmeshment, a curriculum on the subject can be made available and taught to children, especially young girls. They could learn what sex trafficking entails and how one can get entrapped and later enmeshed. Educating the girls in school, activities and also at home by parents can be a way to prevent many girls from becoming a victim. If they know the warning signs and have more knowledge of what happens to victims, they might be extra careful and cautious in certain situations.

This paper also demonstrated the importance of knowing how victims escape sex trafficking. By researching and gaining more information on how they escape and if they had help in escaping, there might be a way to make escape strategies that can be used by parents whose child is being trafficked or for the police and healthcare system. The initiative to leave the traffickers must come from the girls so that they are not forced, because then it is a risk that they go back to them. So, the girls cannot be forced; however, if the police and healthcare workers know the signs, they can inform the girls that if they want to escape, they are there to help.



It is not only by looking at how victims have escaped and then categorising that can be a big help in getting victims out. A big important step is also to educate others on sex trafficking. By educating people who work in healthcare and the police, they can learn to see the signs of people being sex traffickers and can then help the victim. It is important to also educate people in general by learning warning signs of sex trafficking and places they can turn to. If one suspects sex trafficking, many more victims can be helped and get a chance to escape.

Finally, further research should go more in-depth into victims' stories and see if they fall under a specific category, encouraging more victims to step forward so that it is possible to learn even more about the mechanisms of entrapment, enmeshment and escaping. If they do not, maybe it should be a new category. The more ways of entrapment, enmeshment and escaping we know and understand, the more we can prevent people from becoming victims but also in helping them escape. Also, what can be done is looking more at escaping and making categories for that as well. <sup>1</sup>As seen in the literature review, several books and articles mention escaping; however, it is about what is stopping the victims from escaping. I could not find any research on how victims do escape, so it is important that this gets more attention and more research done. When knowing more on this subject and the necessities of what victims need to escape and escaping, more victims can be helped. Necessities can be safe places for victims to go and have contact that can be reached when in need of help.

## 8 References

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<sup>1</sup> If you want to know how to report or get help with trafficking, there will be contact information in the appendix.



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## 9 Appendix

If you ever suspect someone being a victim of any type of trafficking and not just sex trafficking, you can visit these websites to get help and report what you have witnessed. Never hesitate to call, it might not be anything, or you might save someone's life and help them escape.

Europe: [https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/citizens-corner-national-hotlines/national-hotlines\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/citizens-corner-national-hotlines/national-hotlines_en)

United States of America: <https://humantraffickinghotline.org>

Canada: <https://www.canadianhumantraffickinghotline.ca>

Australia: <https://www.afp.gov.au/what-we-do/crime-types/human-trafficking>

National: <https://polarisproject.org/national-human-trafficking-hotline/>

If you are visiting a different country and witnessed trafficking, you can also look at different humanitarian projects in most countries.