



ARCHIWUM KRYMINOLOGII

Archives of Criminology

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Labour trafficking victim participation structures in the United States, Russia, and globally: Strategic implications

Typy angażowania się ofiar w pracę przymusową w Stanach Zjednoczonych, w Rosji i na świecie: implikacje strategiczne

Abstract: Using data from the Counter Trafficking Data Collaborative (CTDC; N = 9,900), we developed breakdowns of labour trafficking victims worldwide, for two countries (the USA and Russia), and by job category (e.g. 'domestic worker'). These tables refer to the frequency with which each of nine victim types occur, based on their motivation to participate in a trafficking arrangement. For instance, 'Tricked and Trapped' comprises a large segment of US labour trafficking victims. Such victims willingly begin jobs, but are subsequently forced to continue. Based on attitude-behaviour and marketing theory, the intervention framework prescribes specific interventions for each victim type. These include 'information sharing,' 'radical and moderate confrontation,' 'economic and noneconomic rewards,' and more. The results of our study indicate that labour trafficking victim types can vary substantially by region and job category. For instance, Russia's highest percentage of labour trafficking victims hold construction jobs as 'Enlightened Apostates' (e.g. those tricked by a friend) while most US victims perform 'unspecified' work as 'Trapped and Robbed' (i.e. minors and coerced adults) victims. Thus, the interventions prescribed for them will vary.

Keywords: human trafficking, intervention marketing, social marketing, social activist marketing

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Abstrakt: Bazując na danych z Counter Trafficking Data Collaborative (CTDC, n=9.900) została opracowana charakterystyka ofiar handlu ludźmi do pracy przymusowej na poziomie globalnym, ponadto wykonano analizę dwóch krajów jako studiów przypadków (USA i Rosji), w tym uwzględniając podział na poszczególne kategorie zawodów (np. dla pracowników wykonujących prace domowe w prywatnych gospodarstwach). Charakterystyka ta (participation structures) odnosi się do częstotliwości, z jaką pojawia się każdy z dziewięciu typów ofiar w zestawieniu „Victim Intervention Marketing”. Na przykład ofiary zaliczone do grupy „oszukani i uwięzieni” stanowią dużą część ofiar pracy przymusowej w Stanach Zjednoczonych. Są to osoby, które rozpoczęły pracę dobrowolnie, po czym zostały zmuszone, by ją kontynuować. W oparciu o teorię postaw-zachowań oraz teorię marketingu został opracowany model interwencji dla każdego typu ofiar pracy przymusowej. Obejmuje on takie płaszczyzny, jak m.in.: wymianę informacji, konfrontację frontalną lub umiarkowaną, analizę korzyści ekonomicznych i pozaekonomicznych. Wyniki przeprowadzonego badania pokazują, że struktura udziału ofiar pracy przymusowej może się znacznie różnić w zależności od regionu oraz kategorii zawodów. Przykładowo największy odsetek takich ofiar w Rosji stanowią osoby wykonujące prace budowlane jako tzw. „oświeceni odstępcy”, czyli osoby które zostały oszukane przez znajomego. Z kolei w USA większość ofiar wykonuje proste prace i wpisuje się w kategorię osób „uwięzionych i okradzionych” (są to np. osoby niepełnoletnie lub osoby dorosłe, które zostały do tego zmuszone). Dlatego też interwencje podejmowane wobec każdej z tych grup muszą się od siebie różnić.

Słowa kluczowe: handel ludźmi, marketing interwencyjny, sytuacje konsumenckie, marketing społeczny, marketing działaczy społecznych

Introduction

The International Labour Organization (ILO) defines labour trafficking as ‘all work or service which is extracted from any person under the threat of a penalty and for which the person has not offered himself or herself voluntarily.’ The ILO’s description of forced labour also includes ‘manipulated debt,’ ‘retention of identity papers,’ and ‘threats of denunciation to authorities.’

Labour trafficking is a global problem that affects millions of men, women, and children each year. Bales (2012: 194–195), Kara (2012: 1), and others have provided many narratives of forced labour. Bracy, Lul, and Roe-Sepowitz (2019) found that labour trafficking in the United States primarily occurs in private homes, followed by restaurants, hotels, and other industries. They noted that ‘the scope of labour trafficking [...] has been difficult to estimate due to [...] [its] [...] hidden nature.’ Lasocik, Rekosz-Cebula, and Wieczorek (2014) noted, ‘there is not enough knowledge on certain aspects of human trafficking, and there are some significant gaps in the system which has been built to eliminate it.’

National labour trafficking interventions are typically based on the paradigm of the ‘4 Ps’ of human trafficking: ‘protection,’ ‘prosecution,’ ‘prevention,’ and ‘partnerships’ (Winterdyk 2018). Alternatively, Murray, Dingman, Porter, and Otte (2015) suggested the heavy use of victim-focused ‘influence strategies’ (Frazier, Sheth 1985) as interventions. As these two approaches are complementary, they

may be combined. For instance, when interventionists target job-seekers (victims), an awareness campaign can indicate which employers tend to enslave. This would be an example of both 'information sharing' (Murray et al. 2015) as an 'influence strategy' (Frazier, Sheth 1985) and 'prevention' as a 4-P strategy.

The purpose of this discussion is two-fold. Firstly, it identifies the breakdown of labour trafficking victims at three levels: globally, for the USA and Russia, and by job category. The USA and Russia were selected because of their large sample sizes ($N > 1,000$). This size is intended to offer a sufficient representation of the variety of cases within a nation. The second purpose of this discussion is to offer interventions based on marketing theory and the 4-P human trafficking paradigm. Thus, in marketing language, it asks, 'What types of jobs do labour trafficking victims perform by region?', 'How does the breakdown of victims vary by job type?' and 'Given the breakdown by job type, what mix of interventions will most likely help victims in each job type?' In the language of human trafficking, this discussion asks, 'Given the breakdown of a region, which "Ps" should it emphasise?'

Two points should be noted. To avoid confusion, the '4 Ps' of marketing (i.e. product, price, promotion, and place) are not directly related to this discussion. In addition, we define a labour trafficking 'victim' as someone who is formerly, currently, or potentially exploited in a human labour trafficking context. 'Survivor' is less appropriate here, because victims who phoned in to hotlines may have still been working the exploitive job.

Human trafficking defined

The United Nations' Palermo Protocol of 2000 (UNODC 2000: 41) defined human trafficking as '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, 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 includes, at a minimum, the exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude, or the removal of organs' (UNODC 2000). Similarly, the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 defines human trafficking victims in terms of 'vulnerability' to sex, labour, and organ exploitation.

Since we approach human trafficking from a marketing perspective, we apply the definition from Murray et al. (2015). Thus, 'human trafficking involves the activities of an egregious, interorganisational, opportunistic, marketing distribution system wherein people (or their organs) are treated as products or property. All other things equal, egregiousness (severity of abuse) ranges from relatively low under voluntary participation, where fraud is often employed, to relatively high,

where traffickers use force and coercion to elicit involuntary participation (slavery).’ Thus, consistent with Murray et al. (2015), all slavery (involuntary servitude under conditions of force or coercion) is human trafficking, but not all human trafficking is slavery. This view of trafficking is also consistent with Weitzer (2014) and with Chuang (2012), who noted that ‘through exploitation creep, the concept of ‘slavery’ is now fully conflated [...] with trafficking.’

Human labour trafficking

Bakirci (2009) argues that labour trafficking victims should not be referred to as ‘workers’ or ‘labourers’ as the ILO describes them. However, the ILO does not regard ‘normal civic obligations’ as labour trafficking, where, ‘normal’ is subjectively determined. Similarly, Ollus (2015) argues ‘a rigid interpretation of forced labour is not always useful in understanding forms of labour exploitation.’ In addition, Petrunov (2014) distinguished ‘Forced Labour’ from ‘Forced Servitude,’ arguing that ‘pickpocketing’ and ‘begging’ are not ‘labour.’ According to Lasocik et al. (2014), ‘forced labour is a special form of enslavement and in extreme situations may take the form of slavery.’ Thus, their concept of forced labour aligns with the CTDC’s operationalisation of forced labour. The CTDC asked victims to reply ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to whether they were victims of ‘Forced Labour.’ However, in subsequent questions, roughly half of the victims replied ‘no’ when asked about violence, threats, coercion, etc. Thus, all slavery is forced labour, but not all forced labour is slavery. As there is disagreement over what should comprise labour trafficking, our definition is consistent with Murray et al. (2015). It does not exclude, and is not limited to the ILO’s categories of labour.

Labour trafficking intervention

Feasley (2016) identified four categories of labour trafficking accountability that a nation might employ. These include international regulation, market-based, civil liability, and domestic regulation. For instance, from a domestic regulation standpoint, Bowe (2007) suggested there was too little monitoring of labour trafficking among the South Florida orange groves. Arhin (2016) noted that in labour trafficking channels, the trafficker and the victim are often of the same ethnicity. The author suggests that this can impede intervention. Similarly, from the standpoint of international regulation, various efforts have sought to remove forced labour from product supply chains. For instance, the Harkin–Engel Protocol (Aronowitz 2018) attempts to minimise child labour in the cocoa industry.

Likewise, Kimberley Certification attempts to reduce slave mining for 'blood diamonds.' Overall, labour trafficking research and intervention have emphasised either law enforcement or consumer avoidance of goods tainted by slavery. Our approach incorporates law enforcement in some instances, whilst in others it focusses more on the social marketing aspect of intervention (e.g. awareness campaigns, information sharing, etc.).

Social marketing

Our analysis and the interventions we prescribe are anchored in social marketing. According to the United States Agency for International Development, 'social marketing is the use of commercial marketing techniques to achieve a social objective. Social marketers combine product, price, place, and promotion to maximise product use by specific population groups.' According to Lefebvre (2012), 'social marketing develops and applies marketing concepts and techniques to create value for individuals and society [...]. These inputs and perspectives are used to design more effective, efficient, sustainable, and equitable approaches to enhance social well-being. The approach is [...] associated with change among individuals, organisations [...] and public policy.'

To facilitate social change management, Sheth and Frazier (1982) developed their Model of Strategy Mix Choice for Planned Social Change. It presents an attitude-behaviour matrix wherein targets are 1) behaviourally 'engaged' or 'non-engaged' and 2) have either a positive or negative attitude toward the desired change. Each of the four cells within the ensuing matrix represents a unique mix of the target's attitudes and behaviours. Therefore, each cell prescribes a unique mix of interventions. For instance, 'rationalisation' and 'attitude change' are prescribed when the attitude is negative and the behaviour is 'engaged'. In contrast, 'inducement' and 'behavioural change' are prescribed when the attitude is positive and the behaviour is 'non-engaged'.

Murray et al. (2015) adapted the concepts of Sheth and Frazier (1982) and Frazier and Sheth (1985) to develop 'Victim Intervention Marketing.' This concept seeks to apply 'elements of strategic planning and decision-making' (Sheth, Frazier 1982) in human trafficking intervention. By incorporating social marketing's emphasis on measurable results, our discussion may help interventionists more effectively manage labour trafficking opposition. In the following sections we develop breakdowns by type of victim and then offer interventions based largely on marketing theory.

Victim intervention marketing

Intervention marketing is a branch of social activist marketing 'that uses traditional and non-traditional marketing techniques to prevent or end a vulnerable population's introduction into, or continuance in, a human trafficking distribution channel. Thus, it entails efforts to assist both current and potential trafficking channel participants, where the latter is at substantial risk of abuse by a trafficker.'

'Social activist marketing' (Murray 1997) is defined as a subset of social marketing (Kotler, Zaltman 1971) that involves '1) more important and socially divisive issues, 2) conflict between the social marketer and the target, and 3) greater reliance upon coercive influence strategies such as boycotts, protests, strikes, etc.' The outcome of an intervention marketing analysis is a matrix of victim modes (e.g. the percentage of 'Willing Assimilators'). The percentages of various victim types combined with job category will suggest specific intervention marketing strategies.

Rationale for specific interventions

In the approach of Murray et al. (2015), human trafficking intervention is largely a marketing problem. Thus, it requires marketing and communication interventions grounded in theory. It is an attempt to move beyond simple awareness campaigns. For instance, many victims know beforehand that they are to be trafficked (e.g. debt bondage). The problem is they have no better options. Thus, a victim's beliefs, attitude, and behaviour (Frazier, Sheth 1985) toward a trafficking arrangement result in their voluntary (due to economic desperation), semi-voluntary (due to pressure from a loved one), or involuntary (e.g. due to coercion or status as a minor) entrance and continuance. In turn, these attitudes and beliefs prescribe appropriate marketing intervention 'influence strategies.' For instance, 'Willing Assimilators' enter and depart trafficking arrangements voluntarily. However, 'Disillusioned Contrastors' enter voluntarily, but are (non-coercively) dissuaded from leaving. Reasons for continuing in the trafficking arrangement can include a romantic relationship with the trafficker, passport confiscation, etc. Based on Frazier and Sheth (1985) and Murray et al. (2015), 'radical confrontation' would be a prescribed influence strategy for Willing Assimilators. However, 'inducements' would be appropriate for Disillusioned Contrastors.

Table 1: Victim Intervention Marketing Framework

Voluntary Entrants

Willing Assimilators: Economic desperation drives these exploited victims to accept jobs under deplorable working conditions. They work, are paid, and depart at will. They are not pressurised to stay [Protect].

Disillusioned Contrasters: These victims accept jobs due to economic desperation. They are strongly discouraged from leaving, but they are not forced. Methods of discouragement include passport theft, false romance, and facilitating drug dependence [Prevent and Protect].

Tricked and Trapped: Victims exploited in this mode accept jobs due to economic desperation. Subsequently, the trafficker uses threats or coercion to force them to continue working [Protect and Prosecute].

Semi-voluntary Entrants

Peaceful Displacers: Here, a friend or relative persuades the victim to accept a certain job. There is no force or coercion. The victim begins working because of social pressure. However, they continue because it is their preference [Prevent and Protect].

Responsible Martyrs: These victims accepted and remained in a given job because of social pressure from a friend or loved one [Prevent].

Enlightened Apostates: Social pressure from a friend or loved one led this type of victim to accept a certain job. However, subsequently, the victim was forced or coerced to continue working [Prevent and Prosecute].

Involuntary Entrants

Stockholmers: These victims have Stockholm Syndrome. They were forced into the trafficking situation, but remain voluntarily [Protect and Prosecute].
Karmic Acceptors: They were forced into the trafficking situation. However, they remain out of some sense of a cosmic plan. They believe they are 'supposed' to be enslaved—at least in the short run [Prevent and Prosecute].

Trapped and Robbed: This group consists of two types: minors (below the age of 18) and adults who entered into and continued the trafficking situation due to force or coercion [Prosecute].

*Adapted from Murray et al. (2015).

Table 2: A Subset of Intervention Marketers' Influence Strategies and Tactics

Reinforcement: This strategy would be used when the marketing channel participant (the victim) has a positive attitude towards the intervention marketer's channel programme and behaves in accordance with it. Here, the intervention marketer would reinforce the participant's efforts towards leaving the channel.

Rationalisation: The channel manager uses this when the participant has a negative attitude towards participation, but participates anyway. For instance, a woman in India may not want to donate her hair to traffickers, so the intervention marketer might leverage her attitude to dissuade her from future participation.

Information Exchange: Here, the channel manager offers information to persuade the potential victim to participate (or continue) in the channel. For instance, an intervention marketer might inform a cross-border victim of his rights in the new location.

Confrontation: An intervention marketer might use *moderate confrontation* with a victim who is considering joining a trafficking channel and *radical confrontation* if the victim actually decides to participate in it.

Negative and Positive Normative: Here, an intervention marketer might encourage a victim who has a positive attitude and behavioural intention regarding participation by telling them it is, for instance, socially acceptable to be a disloyal girlfriend to a partner who wants her to work at a dangerous job.

Rewards: These are arranged by the channel manager and levied upon the victim. Intervention marketers may use both economic and noneconomic rewards for victim behaviour that is consistent with leaving the channel.

Inducement: In some cases, the potential victim likes the idea of joining the intervention marketer's channel program, but declines to participate in it. The reason may be others' opinions (i.e. a subjective norm). Here, the intervention marketers may offer such inducements as small amounts of money to dissuade a financially desperate person from joining the channel.

Request: Here, the channel manager expresses his or her wishes regarding the victim or potential victim's participation in the channel. However, they do not threaten or take a hard-sell approach. For instance, a wealthy family in a poor country may ask a poorer family to give them one of their children to raise, educate, etc. These have the potential to become exploitive, as seen among the 'Restavek' children of Haiti.

Free-Market Solutions: In instances where a person voluntarily joins an exploitive channel, as in the case of debt bondage, one way to liberate them is for the intervention marketer to pay off the debt to the channel manager.

Cultural Pluralism (Information Exchange): In some cases (e.g. temple hair donation in India, or in China where it is dishonourable to renege on a debt bondage agreement, the intervention marketer should consider dissuading the victim's participation in a trafficking channel. This might be achieved by informing them that in other parts of the world, it is the debt bondage trafficker who would be shamed, not the victim.

*Source: Murray et al. (2015), Frazier et al. (1985).

Breakdown of victim type by region

Table 1 indicates a nation's percentage of victims in each category of the intervention marketing framework as well as the recommended intervention strategies (in square brackets). Identifying each group's participation is an important step in strategic intervention. This is because the mix of victim categories determines the mix of intervention influence strategies (Murray et al. 2015; Table 2). And, as proposed earlier, structure can help determine which of the 4 Ps should be emphasised more or less. For instance, 'radical confrontation' (one of the influence strategies) and 'protection' are prescribed for Willing Assimilators, whilst 'information exchange' and a combination of 'protection and prevention' are prescribed for Disillusioned Contrastors.

Breakdown of victims by job category

Participation by job category addresses the extent to which, aside from job tasks, victims performing Job A are better or worse off than those doing Job B. For instance, all other things being equal, if all workers in Job A are Willing Assimilators, while all Job B workers are Tricked and Trapped, then the former group would be better off because the first group is not being (interpersonally) forced to work, while the second one is. Thus, an underlying assumption is that most people prefer more freedom rather than less.

Level of severity

We offer 'severity' (egregiousness of the exploitation) to operationalise the concept of one trafficking victim being better off than another, all other things equal. It is based on Murray et al. (2015), who suggested that voluntary, semivoluntary, and involuntary victim participation exist on three different levels of egregiousness on an ordinal scale. Severity can be measured in at least two ways. The first is to estimate a 'Trafficking Misery Score' (Murray, Dingman, Porter 2015; Murray et al. 2016; Murray et al. 2018). This metric weighs each cell in the nine-cell framework (of intervention marketing) for egregiousness. Thus, Willing Assimilators experience the least egregious working conditions because they enter and continue working voluntarily (i.e. no interpersonal coercion). In contrast, Trapped and Robbed victims experience the most egregious working conditions because they enter and continue involuntarily. Next, misery score computation weights each cell by its percentage of victims. The products of each cell (severity weight and percentage of victims) are then summed together. Conceptually, misery score is designed to indicate, *ceteris paribus*, how unfortunate the average trafficking victim is.

The problem with misery score is that some of the nine severity weights may vary by culture, etc.

We propose a simpler approach to estimating severity. Our proposed method avoids the problem of cultural subjectivity in the weighting scheme. Referred to as ‘Enslavement Rate,’ it aggregates only the percentages of *involuntary* victims in the framework. Thus, high severity is implicit. The enslavement rate computation totals victim percentages for *Tricked and Trapped*, *Enlightened Apostates*, *Trapped and Robbed*, *Karmic Acceptors*, and *Stockholmers*. Conceptually, it indicates the likelihood that a participant/victim will be enslaved.

Combining Victim Intervention Marketing and the 4 Ps

Victim Intervention Marketing’s (VIM) limitation is that it omits the 4-P paradigm (i.e. prosecution, protection, prevention, and partnerships (US Department of State 2020). Prosecution entails law enforcement. Prevention reduces vulnerability (e.g. via awareness campaigns). Protection focusses on the ‘3 Rs’ of rescue, rehabilitation, and reintegration. Partnerships entail strategic alliances and interorganisational cooperation. Since theorists and practitioners rely on the 4 Ps, we propose an extended framework that incorporates them (Table 3). This includes the ‘dominant P’ combination for each component (i.e. cell) in intervention marketing (Tables 2 and 3). A dominant strategy offers the best solution among the alternatives in a game theory context (Koutsoyiannis 1985: 408). In our framework, it is the combination of Ps that will most likely benefit victims and/or harm traffickers. Table 3 presents our rationales for each proposed dominant and subordinate P strategy. As the table suggests, an emphasis on protection is best in voluntary situations. Prevention is best in semivoluntary situations, whilst prosecution is best in involuntary situations. Effective partnerships will vary according to the areas of expertise the parties offer.

Table 3: Rationales for Dominant and Subordinate 4-P Strategies in the context of Victim Intervention Marketing

Victim Entry and Continuance Mode	Dominant 4-P Strategy	Subordinate 4-P Strategies
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<p>Voluntary</p>	<p><u>Protection</u> Victims have a positive attitude towards assistance (e.g. food donations); Traffickers have no incentive to oppose assistance.</p>	<p><u>Prevention</u> Victims have a positive attitude towards accepting these jobs. Therefore, they have a negative attitude towards prevention. <u>Prosecution</u> Victims have a negative attitude towards losing their jobs.</p>
<p>Semivoluntary</p>	<p><u>Prevention</u> Victims have a negative attitude towards the job tasks, but a positive attitude towards pleasing their loved one (i.e. by accepting the job [Murray et al. 2015]). Prevention would please the victim.</p>	<p><u>Prosecution</u> Neither job candidates nor the actual victims have an incentive to press charges. <u>Protection</u> Protection is inferior to prevention.</p>
<p>Involuntary</p>	<p><u>Prosecution</u> Per the UN protocols, highly egregious (high severity) human trafficking should be prosecuted.</p>	<p><u>Protection</u> The trafficker has an incentive to oppose protection. <u>Prevention</u> Physical vulnerability (e.g. to organised crime) mitigates prevention. Victims are susceptible to abduction, etc. or are minors.</p>

Methodology

Dataset source

We identified a convenience sample of human trafficking victims. The source was the Counter Trafficking Data Collaborative. The CTDC describes itself as ‘the first global data hub on human trafficking, publishing harmonized data from counter-trafficking organizations around the world.’ Its goal is to ‘[...] equip the counter-trafficking community with up to date, reliable data on human trafficking.’ The main contributors of the data are the International Organization of Migration (IOM), Polaris, and Liberty Shared. The initiative is supported by the U.S. Department of State and the United Nations. IOM (a UN affiliate) has provided counter-trafficking programs since 1994.

Data limitations

The CTDC convenience sample suffers from selection biases. For instance, victims who call the Polaris (or an affiliate) hotline, or enter an office of the IOM (or an

affiliate) may differ from those who do not call or register. Or, upon registering, victims may omit certain pieces of information to avoid identification by traffickers. Thus, Polaris (2020) indicated that ‘this dataset should be interpreted as a biased sample of actual victim data, rather than a representation of all existing victims. The data contributed by Polaris should not be compared to the findings of more academic studies which included systematic surveys.’ Similarly, the CTDC (2020) indicated that ‘it is challenging to infer to what extent trends within identified victim populations are representative of the total victim population [...] since cases are not random samples of the population.’ We employed this dataset for two reasons. Firstly, it is the only publicly accessible dataset of its kind (i.e. multinational and large). Secondly, as better-quality datasets become available, comparisons with the CTDC dataset may facilitate theory development. For instance, Murray (2019) compared the breakdown of victim types derived from the CTDC dataset with one derived from UNODC coded narratives (N = 1,200). Each dataset is presumed to incorporate selection biases. However, he found a similarity between the two. In both instances, victims were concentrated among three segments: Willing Assimilators, Tricked and Trapped, and Trapped and Robbed. There were relatively few Disillusioned Contrastors, Peaceful Displacers, etc.

Sample selection

We isolated the labour victims from a sample (N = 55,000) of sex and labour trafficking victims in this study. This was based on their affirmative answer to having been trafficked for labour (N = 9,900). Thus, bona fide labour trafficking victims who did not reply to the labour trafficking question are not included in our analysis. All countries where labour exploitation occurred were included in our sample. This amounted to 27 nations identified by name, comprising roughly 8,500 victims. Roughly 1,400 victims did not indicate their country of exploitation. The average sample size by country was 316.

Focal nation selection

The USA and Russia were selected as focal nations in this study. The primary reason for their selection was their relatively large sample sizes. Out of the 27 nations identified by name in the CTDC dataset, only those two yielded sample sizes over 1,000. In our judgement, a sample of 1,000 labour trafficking victims within a given country is sufficient for accurately representing the variety of trafficking

arrangements within its borders. Different (focal) countries were included to demonstrate how the participation of different victims can vary by region.

Data analysis

We categorised variables in the dataset according to the nine cells in Murray et al. (2015). However, while that study entailed coding UNODC human trafficking narratives, this study categorised variables in the CTDC spreadsheet. We employed a categorisation system based on the level of egregiousness. Thus, in Table 4, if a victim replied ‘yes’ to any variable on the ‘Involuntary’ list, then he or she was categorised as an involuntary entrant, continuant, or both. The same process was used for semivoluntary participants. The victims were categorised as voluntary participants if they did not fall into either of the two previous categories. Voluntary participation refers to the absence of interpersonal coercion. It is the equivalent of ‘consent’ in the UN (2000) human trafficking guidelines. Next, entrance and continuance data for each victim was combined. Thus, each victim was categorised into one participation mode (i.e. either ‘Willing Assimilator’ or ‘Disillusioned Contrastor,’ etc.).

Table 4: Coding Method for CTDC Data

	Voluntary	Semivoluntary	Involuntary
Victim’s Entrance	Debt bondage False promises Recruited All cases not involuntary or semi-voluntary	Other notable person Intimate partner Friend Unspecified prior relationship Family	Abduction Minor/Child Forced marriage Forced military
Victim’s Continuance	All cases not involuntary or semi-voluntary	Psychological abuse Psychotropic substances Threat of police Documents withheld	Threats Physical abuse Sexual abuse Movement restricted Medical care restricted Children used Necessities withheld

*All variables in this table have corresponding variable names in the CTDC Codebook.

CTDC and VIM congruence

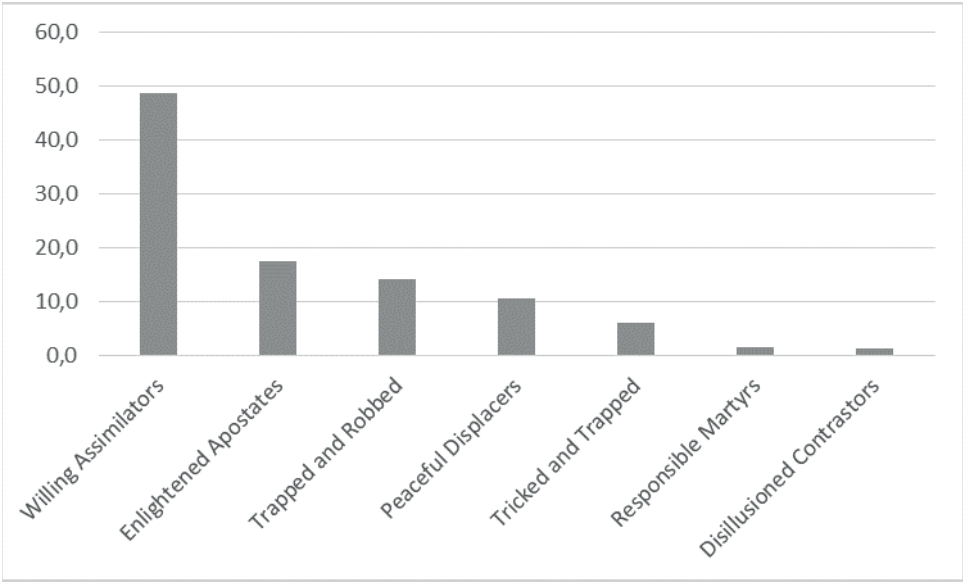
We assume that the CTDC variables are congruent with the intervention marketing framework because both are anchored in the 4-P paradigm. Interventionists try to prevent entry into exploitative arrangements. Thus, the CTDC refers to entry as 'recruitment.' Similarly, intervention marketing employs the term 'entrance.' 'Prosecution' and 'Protection' imply a post-entrance period of exploitation. The CTDC implies this period by referring to the trafficker's 'Means of Control.' Similarly, intervention marketing refers to this as 'continuance.' In other words, it is the victim's reason for continuing to work for the trafficker. Moreover, both the CTDC and the intervention marketing framework include such variables as 'debt bondage,' 'age minority/adult status,' 'fraudulent romantic relationships,' 'drug use,' and 'passport confiscation (by traffickers).' This is presumably because each approach was designed during roughly the same time period (2010–2015 for VIM; Murray et al. 2010; Murray et al. 2015; and 2018 for public access to the CTDC dataset), and had access to the same sources of published data. They were based on roughly equivalent sources with essentially the same types of cases. For instance, the intervention marketing variables and categories were inductively derived from 200 narratives. They appeared in the UN's Human Trafficking Case Law Database. Similarly, according to the CTDC, their victim survey variables were derived from actual cases (not legal) via Polaris, the IOM, etc. The CTDC variables were presumably not designed to fit into the intervention marketing framework. However, their congruence may have stemmed from independent attempts to include and measure similar (and in some cases identical) variables (e.g. debt bondage) along similar dimensions and based on the same paradigm.

Results

Global breakdown of victims

For the overall breakdown of victim types ($n = 9,968$), see Figure 1. At the global level, roughly half of all labour trafficking victims enter and depart at will (Willing Assimilators = 49%). This is followed by Enlightened Apostates (18%), who enter via social pressure from a friend or loved one. Trapped and Robbed (14%), Peaceful Displacers (11%), Tricked and Trapped (6%), Responsible Martyrs (2%), and Disillusioned Contrastors (1%) make up the remainder. The global labour trafficking enslavement rate is 38%. Thus, more than one third of victims are forced to work (involuntarily) at some point in their exploitive situation.

Figure 1: Global breakdown of victims by type (%)



Global breakdown of victims by job category

Severity

Globally, all other things being equal, the most egregious job type is Peddling, followed by Construction. The former exploits children, whilst in the latter victims are enslaved after pursuing job leads due to the encouragement of a friend or relative. The least egregious arrangement is for Domestic Work, wherein relatively few workers are enslaved.

Job type percentages

Roughly one third (32%) of global labour trafficking victims are domestic workers. This is followed by Unspecified Labour (22%), Construction (19%), and roughly 7% each for Agriculture, Manufacturing, and Other. There are small amounts of Begging, Aquafarming, Hospitality, and Peddling.

Prescribed interventions

Due to the high enslavement rates (ER) of Enlightened Apostates, Tricked and Trapped, and Trapped and Robbed victims in certain job categories in the list below, interventions should focus on those prescribed for those three victim categories (Table 5).

- *Peddling*: [ER = 98%] Globally, 98% of Peddling victims are *Trapped and Robbed* (specifically children), while the remaining 2% are *Willing Assimilators*.
- *Construction*: [ER = 81%] Most construction labour victims are Enlightened Apostates (65%), followed by Tricked and Trapped (14%), Willing Assimilators (10%), and a small proportion (<7% each) of Responsible Martyrs, Peaceful Displacers, and Trapped and Robbed labourers.
- *Other Labour*: [ER = 75%] There are roughly equal proportions of Tricked and Trapped (27%), Trapped and Robbed (24%), and Enlightened Apostates (24%). Disillusioned Contrastors and Willing Assimilators represent 10% and 8%, respectively. Responsible Martyrs and Peaceful Displacers are each less than 5%.
- *Manufacturing*: [ER = 73%] Most victims of manufacturing labour are Enlightened Apostates (71%), followed by Peaceful Displacers (17%), Willing Assimilators (9%), and small proportions (<2% each) of Tricked and Trapped and Responsible Martyrs.
- *Unspecified Labour*: [ER = 55%] Roughly half of the victims trafficked for unspecified labour are Trapped and Robbed (49%), and another 43% are Willing Assimilators. There is a small degree of Tricked and Trapped, Disillusioned Contrastors, Enlightened Apostates, Responsible Martyrs, and Peaceful Displacers being represented.
- *Hospitality*: [ER = 35%] The largest group of victims trafficked in hospitality is Willing Assimilators (37%), followed by Peaceful Displacers (19%), Tricked and Trapped (17%), Trapped and Robbed (15%), and small proportions of Responsible Martyrs, Enlightened Apostates, and Disillusioned Contrastors.
- *Domestic Work*: [ER = 15%] Most victims trafficked for domestic labour are Willing Assimilators (54%), followed by Peaceful Displacers (28%). There is a small number of Enlightened Apostates, Trapped and Robbed, Responsible Martyrs, Tricked and Trapped, and Disillusioned Contrastors.

Table 5: Prescribed Interventions by Victim Type

Willing Assimilators

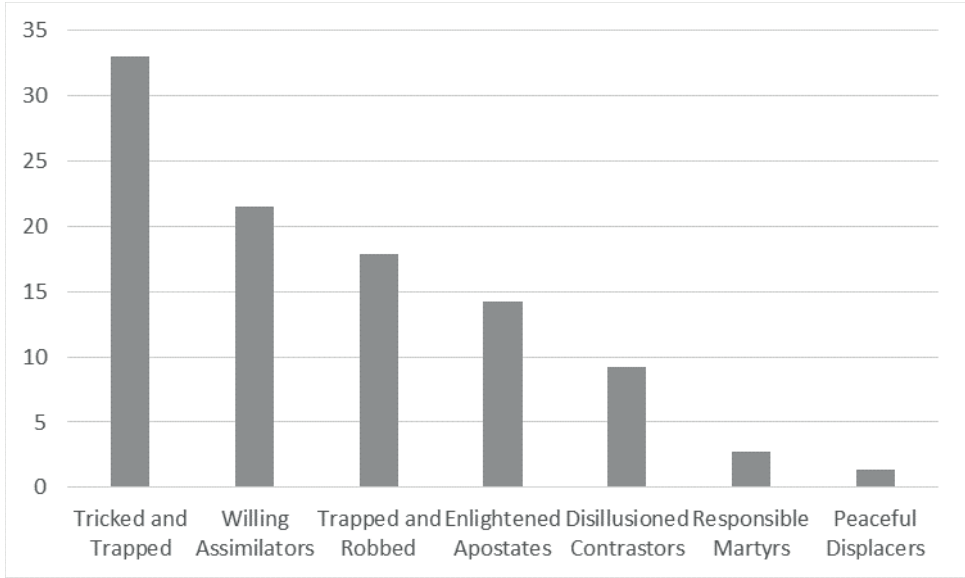
Discourage entry according to the risks of enslavement (involuntary) or near enslavement (semivoluntary). Use *radical confrontation* for those at high risk and *moderate confrontation* for those at low risk. *Change entrants' beliefs and attitudes* toward performing the job tasks they are contemplating. *Add attributes* to consider (e.g. passport confiscation). 4 Ps: Protection (e.g. overseas passport services, food supplements, etc.).

<p><u>Disillusioned Contrastors</u></p> <p>Follow intervention guidelines for Tricked and Trapped. In addition, support victim <i>post-assimilation contrasts</i>. Offer <i>free-market solutions</i> (e.g. money to free debt-bondage victims). 4 Ps: Prevent entry. Protect current and former victims with necessities, rehabilitation, etc. Partner with passport offices.</p>
<p><u>Tricked and Trapped</u></p> <p>Interventionists should offer job seekers <i>inducements</i> such as <i>economic and noneconomic rewards</i> to pay attention to anti-trafficking messages. Message content should be <i>negative normative against deceptive traffickers</i>. Request that victims carefully weigh the risks of participation. Base media and messaging on the risk of enslavement. 4 Ps: Protect former victims and prosecute traffickers.</p>
<p><u>Peaceful Displacers</u></p> <p>Use <i>radical confrontation</i> when the risk of enslavement is moderate to high. Interventionists should <i>counter-argue</i> pro-trafficker positive and negative beliefs. Use <i>rational appeals</i> (e.g. statistics on enslavement risk). <i>Change attitude towards trafficker to negative</i>. 4 Ps: Prevent and Protect.</p>
<p><u>Responsible Martyrs</u></p> <p>Follow intervention guidelines for Tricked and Trapped. In addition, support victim <i>post-assimilation contrasts</i>. Offer <i>free-market solutions</i> (e.g. money to free debt-bondage victims). Use <i>culturally plural messages</i> and <i>change beliefs to negative</i>. 4 Ps: Prevent entry. Protect current and former victims with necessities, rehabilitation, etc. Partner with passport offices.</p>
<p><u>Enlightened Apostates</u></p> <p>Discourage participation. Use age-appropriate media and messaging for ages 0–9 vs 9–17. Consider <i>inducements</i> such as <i>economic and noneconomic rewards</i> and <i>requests</i> for older minors. Messaging should be <i>negative normative against the trafficker</i>. <i>Exchange information</i> where possible. <i>Correct inaccurate information</i>. <i>Encourage and facilitate escape</i> where possible. 4 Ps: Prevent and Prosecute.</p>
<p><u>Trapped and Robbed</u></p> <p>Discourage child participation. Use age-appropriate media and messaging for ages 0–9 vs 9–17. Consider <i>inducements</i> such as <i>economic and noneconomic rewards</i> and <i>requests</i> for older minors. Messaging should be <i>negative normative against the trafficker</i>. <i>Exchange information</i> where possible. <i>Correct inaccurate information</i>. <i>Encourage and facilitate escape</i> where possible. 4 Ps: Prosecute traffickers.</p>

Breakdown of victim types for the USA

As Figure 2 indicates, one third (33%) of the victims (N = 1,285) voluntarily enter labour trafficking arrangements in the USA and are subsequently forced to continue working involuntarily (i.e. *Tricked and Trapped*). Fourteen per cent are persuaded to enter trafficking arrangements by a friend or relative and are subsequently forced (*Enlightened Apostates*). The ER is 65%, which means that roughly two thirds of labour trafficking victims in the USA are held involuntarily at some point.

Figure 2: Breakdown by victim type in the USA (%)



Breakdown of victims in the USA by job category

Severity

The job types below are arranged by level of severity (highest to lowest), when operationalised by the enslavement rate. Accordingly, the worst job type (the highest rate of involuntary participation) is Peddling, followed by Begging. Follow-up research indicated that they involve high percentages of children. Furthermore, in the intervention marketing framework child participation is always categorised as involuntary.

Job type percentages

The largest job type among labour trafficking victims in the USA is Unspecified (32%), followed by Agriculture (28%) and Other (22%). Domestic workers, beggars/panhandlers, hospitality workers, peddlers, and construction worker percentages each range from two to five per cent.

Interventions prescribed for the USA

US policy-makers must weigh the trade-offs between category size and severity. These should be consistent with cultural norms, etc. Regarding size, two thirds (64%) of labour trafficking victims exploited in the USA are voluntary entrants. Thus,

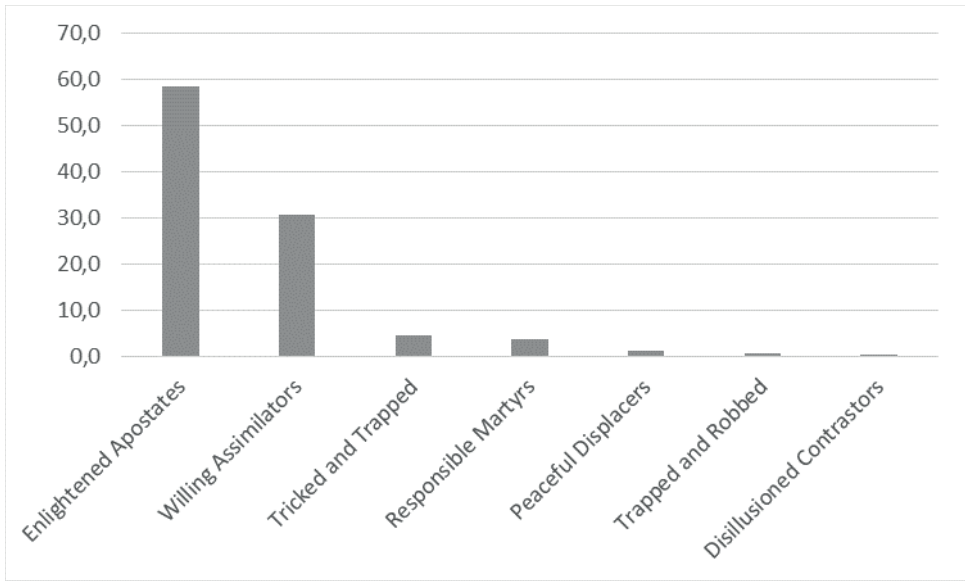
economic development programmes would decrease the demand for exploitive work. For each job type in the section below, its largest group of victims is listed. For instance, Peddling has a high percentage of Trapped and Robbed victims, while Domestic Work has relatively few cases of coerced labour. To minimise repetition in our analysis, the prescribed interventions appear in Table 5. For instance, the prescribed interventions for Begging can be found under interventions for ‘Tricked and Trapped’ and ‘Trapped and Robbed’.

- *Peddling*: [ER = 98%] Of the victims indicating an age range, most (63%) are aged 9–17 years, while some (18%) were aged 0–8 years. They were primarily classified as Trapped and Robbed. See Table 5 (under ‘Trapped and Robbed’) for interventions.
- *Begging*: [ER = 91%] In the USA most (86%) begging victims are minors. By definition, minors are categorised as Trapped and Robbed (involuntary labour). A few (5%) in this category are adults who were classified as Tricked and Trapped.
- *Agriculture*: [ER = 76%] Twenty-eight per cent of labour trafficking victims in the USA are exploited in agriculture. Roughly half (56%) are enslaved by strangers (Tricked and Trapped), while 18% are enslaved because they trusted a job lead from a friend or relative (Enlightened Apostates).
- *Other Labour*: [ER = 75%] Most (26%) ‘Other’ labour victims are Tricked and Trapped. Roughly half are Enlightened Apostates (24%) and Trapped and Robbed (24%). Relatively few (14%) in this category reported an age range. However, at least 15% were minors.
- *Construction*: Two thirds (65%) of these victims were enslaved after trusting a friend or relative, and 14% were enslaved after trusting a stranger.
- *Unspecified Labour*: [ER = 56%] The largest segment within this group is Trapped and Robbed (49%), followed by Willing Assimilators (43%). Thus, victims are concentrated at the extremes. One third (36%) of unspecified labour victims are minors.
- *Domestic Workers*: Roughly half (54%) of domestic workers enter and leave labour trafficking arrangements at will (i.e. they are Willing Assimilators). Over one fourth (28%) work voluntarily after initially being pressurised by a loved one. At 16%, the enslavement rate is low to moderate.
- *Hospitality*: [ER = 35%] The largest segment (37%) of hospitality workers in the USA are Willing Assimilators. One out of five (20%) are tricked into slavery by either a friend or a relative.

Breakdown of victims in Russia by job category

Figure 3 illustrates the overall breakdown of victims (n = 1,649) by type. Most labour trafficking victims in Russia are *Enlightened Apostates* (59%), followed by *Willing Assimilators* (31%). There is a small percentage of the other categories (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Breakdown by victim type in Russia (%)



Breakdown of victims in Russia by job category

Severity

In the Russian sample, victims trafficked for agricultural labour were all enslaved. Construction work has an 82% enslavement rate, whilst those engaged in 'Unspecified' labour have only a 2% enslavement rate.

Job type percentages

The largest category (72%) of labour trafficking victims in Russia consists of construction workers, followed by 'Unspecified' (27%) and agricultural workers (<2%).

Interventions prescribed for Russia

The interventions for *Enlightened Apostates* and *Willing Assimilators* are presented in Table 5. The former group requires interventions that advise potential victims whom to trust among their friends and relatives. It also requires a heavy emphasis on prosecution and related law enforcement. *Willing Assimilators* need economic development programmes and an emphasis on protection (Table 5).

- *Agriculture*: [ER = 100%] All agricultural workers in the Russian sample are Enlightened Apostates. Thus, they followed job leads from friends and/or relatives that ended in slavery.
- *Construction*: [ER = 82%] In Russia, most (73%) construction workers who are trafficked are Enlightened Apostates. Tricked and Trapped victims account for 9%. Eight percent are Willing Assimilators and Responsible Martyrs make up 6%. There are fewer than 3% each of Disillusioned Contrastors and Peaceful Displacers.
- *Unspecified*: [ER = 2%] The majority (98%) of unspecified labour victims are Willing Assimilators.

Summary

Almost three quarters (73%) of the world's labour trafficking victims are forced by poverty into volunteering for jobs under such poor terms as to be illegal. While most of those voluntary entrants are never enslaved, many are. An apparent solution is global economic development. This should greatly reduce poverty, and as a result, labour trafficking's prevalence. The problem becomes macroeconomic—how to provide economic assistance, but without creating harmful side effects. For instance, there may be increased risk of creating a growing, permanent underclass. Or, traffickers may solve their labour shortage problem by increasing child labour or adult coercion. Roughly 25% of volunteers are Disillusioned Contrastors. Many in this segment continue working because their passport was taken, or they are afraid of the local police, etc. This segment would benefit from NGO or governmental services that address those needs. Several general interventions were prescribed for this group in this discussion. It would be the task of local interventionists to design more targeted social marketing campaigns, but, based on the intervention marketing prescriptions. In comparing the U.S. and Russia, it is clear that they differ in terms of participation structure at both the country and job type levels. Essentially, it is suggested that intervention marketing solutions be applied at increasingly granular levels. This would minimize the problem of global strategies that are ineffective locally.

Limitations

This study is based upon a dataset that is assumed to suffer from selection biases. Since it is not random, the percentages presented here are questionable. Data of unknown quality is a common problem in human trafficking research. Another problem with the sample is similar to the first. Presumably, the countries where the CTDC data was collected were not randomly chosen as well. There are no Central or South American countries in the dataset by name. However, respondents could be among the 1,400 victims who did not reply to the 'Country of Exploitation' survey question.

Directions for future research

Future research in this stream should experiment with the theory-based interventions presented in this discussion. For instance, theory calls for 'radical confrontation' to discourage voluntary entry into trafficking situations. This is to minimize the chance of being enslaved. However, the risks (i.e. enslavement rate) associated with volunteering, as shown here, may vary by country and job type. Interventionists who are perceived as overstating the enslavement risk stand to lose credibility among their audiences. This is problematic, as several prescribed interventions call for 'information exchange.' How might interventionists manage the tension between 'over-warning' and 'under-warning' their audiences?

Declaration of Conflict Interests

The author declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of the article. The author(s) received no specific funding for this work.

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