

The Trafficking of Eastern European Women: An Ethnographic Analysis

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Abstract

This study was designed to examine East European women trafficked to Cook County, Illinois for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This inquiry used an ethnographic approach in order to gain insight into the beliefs, attitudes, values, and sub-culture of the women. The information presented is based on qualitative interviews of eight Eastern European women that had been trafficked and sexually exploited. Data collection primarily consisted of in-depth interviews. Throughout the data collection process, the researcher's experience in methods of interviewing and the use of member checks increased the internal validity and reliability of this study. Document analysis served as a means of triangulating data obtained from the interviews. Results of this study suggested that compliance benefited the subject's survival while being victimized through forced participation in the sex industry. The various mechanisms of control and exploitation are discussed as well as the structure and operations of criminal syndicates that commit crimes associated with the sex-trade and human trafficking.

The dismantling of the "iron curtain" and the break-up of the former Soviet Union in 1991 created a new threat to society—a changing face of organized crime. Democracy, globalization, and information technology have proliferated modern criminal elements; thus, becoming more complex and sophisticated resulting in new forms of transnational criminality. The political, social, and economic changes occurring in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Republics have provided significant opportunities for organized crime groups and criminal enterprises in these countries to expand internationally.

Trafficking in Persons (traffic in women) is one of the most rapidly growing transnational crimes identified by the United Nations. Trafficking in women is a global phenomenon with organized crime at the forefront. According to Shannon (1999), the market for the global sex industry is demand driven. The supply can be voluntary or involuntary; however, the demand never diminishes. Poverty is the number one root of sexual exploitation providing for the continuation of the industry. In many societies, women are still regarded as second-class citizens, considered inferior and as sexual objects.

Trafficking in women is acknowledged internationally as a violation of women's human rights and numerous organizations and networks are beginning to address this issue. However, Chew's (1999) assessment of the human rights issue lays blame with government entities:

The problem that governments usually target is, in fact, not acts committed against women but acts committed by women and/or acts committed by third parties who facilitate the migration and employment of women, most frequently in the female-designated sectors that comprise women's main or only work options. As a result, women and their labor become the object of state control. Whether or not the law formally criminalizes or regulates third parties, the evidence overwhelmingly demonstrates that arrests, fines, detention, expulsion, and other punishments are levied against women far more than their exploiters or violators (p. 15).

The collapse of the former Soviet Union opened up a pool of millions of potential victims for the sex trade. Former Soviet Republics, such as the Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia, and Russia, have become major source countries for women trafficked into the sex industries worldwide (Hughes, 2000). The breakup of the former Soviet Union in 1991 led to the introduction of capitalism and personal freedoms to the people of Russia and the 14 other newly formed independent states. This radical change for a society that had lived under authoritarian rule for over 70 years has had some negative effects. In particular, organized crime has proliferated in Russia and has expanded beyond the confines of the former Soviet borders (O'Neil, 2000).

Transnational trafficking in women from the former Soviet Union had its start during Perestroika in the mid-1980s when international travel restrictions became lax. The break-up of the Soviet Union opened the borders for travel, migration and the privatization of trade, all of which facilitated criminal networks (Hughes, 2000). Then Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev initiated Perestroika in order to restructure the nation's economy and political system.

Trafficking in women is a global phenomenon continuing to reach enormous figures. Many governmental and non-governmental organizations have attempted to define the problem using several methods and parameters. The International Trafficking Act of 2000 defines the trafficking from the draft protocol to prevent, suppress and

punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (Raymond and Hughes, 2001):

Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by the threat or use of force, by abduction, fraud, deception (inducement), coercion or the abuse of power, or by giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation (the exploitation of prostitution or other forms of sexual exploitation), forced labor of services slavery or practices similar to slavery (or servitude) (Raymond & Hughes, 2001, p. 24).

The transnational trade in trafficking women is based on supply and demand from sending and receiving countries. It's difficult to know how many women have been trafficked for sexual exploitation. Exact numbers are unknown; however, the United Nations, international, and government agencies estimate that one million women and girls are trafficked into sex industries annually (Caldwell et.al., 1997; Hughes, 2001; Paringaux, 1998; Shannon, 1999). The International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimates that between 1991 and 1998, 500,000 Ukrainian women were trafficked to the west (Bertone, 2000; Bird, 1998; Hughes, 2000). However, the Ukrainian Minister of the Interior estimated that only 100,000 women were trafficked during the previous decade (Hughes, 2001).

Causes of Trafficking

The collapse of the former Soviet Union resulted in a breakdown of many political, economic, and social institutions. It created uncertainty, chaos, and poverty for many Russian and Ukrainian citizens (Shelley, 1999). Yet since the break-up in 1991, a whole new population of impoverished women and girls has been created. Deregulation, privatization, and class inequalities have produced serious social and economic problems including organized criminal gangs, poverty, and unemployment. The prime conditions for trafficking arise when developing nations begin the transformation of their economies (Raghu, 1997).

According to Anita Botti, Deputy Director of the Office for International Women's Issues in the Department of State, Russia and the Ukraine are among the main source countries from which women are trafficked and exploited (Shelley, 1999). Botti states:

...a key distinction between the victims of trafficking in South Asia and victims in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is their educational level, an insight that is essential in planning a successful prevention program. Russian and Ukrainian women tend to be much better educated and not merely engaging in activities that are considered "normal" or "acceptable" for women and children in Thailand or Philippines with a long history of large scale prostitution. Russian and Ukraine women, looking for a way out of poor economic conditions resulting from the collapse of their respective economies, are taken advantage by savvy and appealing offers of clerical and hotel positions in Asia, Western Europe and the United States (pp. 1-2).

Recruitment Methods

Recruiters, traffickers, and pimps who engage in trafficking women have developed several common methods of recruitment. One method is to advertise in newspapers offering job opportunities such as nannies and waitresses. Some advertisements offer lucrative salaries to young, attractive women working as dancers and

hostesses (Cooper, 1999; Finckenaue & Schrock, 2000; Hughes, 2000; Johnson, 1999; Richard, 1999). It is estimated that 20 % of women are recruited through media advertisements. Marriage agencies or mail-order-bride agencies are other methods of recruitment.

The most common way for Ukrainian women to be recruited is through a friend or acquaintance gaining the women's confidence (Hughes, 2001). This method is used when second wave recruiting occurs. This takes place when a trafficked woman returns home to recruit other women into the sex industries abroad. Once a woman has been trafficked in the sex industry, she has few options.

The methods used to control women once they reach their destination include confiscation of travel documents, threats in harming family members, violence, and debt bondage (Hughes, 2000; Richard, 1999). Even women who voluntarily travel to engage in prostitution do not anticipate the deception, coercion, and manipulation to which they will be subjected. Trafficked women receive little sympathy or assistance from the general public or social service agencies. In receiving countries, they are treated as criminals, prostitutes, or illegal aliens.

Violence and Health Issues

Physical abuse of trafficked women range from threats and beatings, drugging, starvation, and even murder. Those who survive are often crippled and emotionally scarred for life. One victim, who refused to have sex with customers, was taken into a field and killed while other women were forced to watch. This served as a clear message and reminder for the other women to cooperate with the traffickers (Zalisko, 1999).

The health effects of sex trafficking have not been sufficiently documented and analyzed. Women in the sex industry sustain the same kind of injuries as women who are battered, sexually assaulted, and raped (Raymond & Hughes, 2001). Trafficking into the industry also has serious consequences as it contributes to the spread of HIV and AIDS. Some of these women are required to engage in unprotected sex. The INS exposed an incident in which a trafficker was purchasing HIV-positive females because he found them to be "cheap labor," claiming they had nothing to live for (Richard, 1999).

Trafficking to the United States

Estimates of the trafficking problem in the United States vary. Governmental and non-governmental experts estimate that out of the 700,000 to two million women and children trafficked globally each year, 45,000 to 50,000 of them are trafficked to the United States. Approximately 30,000 women and children are being trafficked annually from Southeast Asia, 10,000 from Latin America, 4,000 from the newly Independent States and Eastern Europe, and 1,000 from other regions (Richard, 1999). However, little research has been done on trafficking in the United States (Raymond & Hughes, 2001).

In the early 1990s, Russian women began appearing in large numbers in New Jersey strip clubs. They were initially advertised with signs saying: "The Russians are Coming!" (Plachy & Ridgeway, 1996, p. 188). A large number of trafficked Russian women live in the Brighton Beach area of New York, which has the largest Russian community in the United States. Many of these women work in the escort services in New York (Pope, 1997). In addition, these women are also taken each day to New Jersey, which has the highest number of strip clubs in the United States, totaling over 200.

Trafficking into the United States often occurs through other transit countries or across neighboring borders. Many are deceived into thinking they will work as domestics, waitresses, dancers, and models (Raymond & Hughes,

2001). The easiest way to traffic women into the United States is to overstay their visa. Traffickers in the Former Soviet Republics, Central and Eastern Europe, and Asia use business or work (B1) and tourist (B2) visas to bring women into the United States. The visa's time length varies from country to country. In Russia and Ukraine, it is possible to receive a multiple entry visa for up to three years. In Latvia, the Czech Republic, and Poland it is possible to receive the same visa for up to 10 years (Richard, 1999).

A review of cases established that traffickers in the United States tended to be smaller crime groups, trafficking rings, gangs, entrepreneurs, corrupt individuals, and officials who were victimizing their own nationals (Finckenauer & Schrock, 2000; Richard, 1999). However, in direct contrast, an article submitted to the *Congressional Quarterly Researcher* suggests that the trafficking of women is generally committed by well-organized criminal organizations controlling most of the multi-billion dollar industry (Cooper, 1999).

Prevention of Trafficking

Prevention of trafficking in women must incorporate economic alternatives in the source countries. This includes public awareness campaigns, improved research, and data collection on the issue. Prevention strategies must focus on high-risk areas in the source countries, concentrating on the legal, economic, social, and cultural issues of these women (Richard, 1999). Most approaches to these problems have focused on the sending countries. In the former Soviet Union, education projects for prevention are intended for potential victims of trafficking. NGO's have established hotlines for victims and women, which provide information about the risks of accepting job offers in other countries. However, little attention is focused on curtailing the demand of the industry (Hughes, 2000).

Zalisko (1999) proposed that U.S. policy should emphasize the following components: increased public awareness; increased economic opportunities for women at risk; and an emphasis on national civil rights laws and international human rights treaties for anti-trafficking enforcement activities. He believes if victimized women are arrested or detained, they should be interviewed by authorities and given viable alternatives to deportation in exchange for evidence against the traffickers.

Prosecution of Traffickers

One of the main legal problems associated with trafficking is that human smuggling is not a crime in many countries. Furthermore, in countries where it is a crime, it is often a minor offense without sufficient penalties to serve as a deterrent. Even when fines and prison terms are imposed, profits that are made from the industry frequently override the potential risk (Bertone, 2000).

In a trafficking case in Chicago in 1998, a Russian-American claimed he had Chechen organized crime ties and was involved in trafficking Latvian women. He threatened the women and their families with violence, if the women would not dance nude (Richard, 1999). The women were forced to strip six days a week and received only a fraction of their earnings. Some of the women were sold into prostitution and the others were sold to strip club patrons. Alex Mishulovich, a Russian immigrant, pleaded guilty in December 1999 and testified against his co-conspirator, Vadim Gorokhouski. All of the women were deported back to Latvia (Raymond & Hughes, 2001; Richard, 1999).

According to a published Chicago Sun Times report, Vadim Gorokhouski also known as Vadim Gorr was acquitted on four counts of involuntary servitude for his role in the trafficking case. After acquitting him, jurors in the trial, which brought forth allegations of organized crime links, told officials that they feared for their safety. The U.S.

District judge immediately sealed the jurors' names (Simpson, 1999). This incident supplements the perception that organized crime generates fear among the general public by merely claiming an association with these groups. It is imperative that U.S. law enforcement neutralize this problem before Russian Organized Crime (ROC) becomes the new American mafia. Containment of the problem lies in increased communication, cooperation, and information sharing among law enforcement agencies in the United States and abroad.

Research Question/Purpose

The purpose of this inquiry was to identify and study Eastern European women that are trafficked and sexually exploited in the United States. Because this type of research is difficult to conduct and because of the dearth of similarly based research, it was determined to be of potential use to scholars and practitioners alike. This study specifically seeks to identify the type, size, and collaboration of criminal facilitators and their potential links associated with organized crime. Since there is lack of research and understanding with this topic it is expected that this research can aid in laying the groundwork for future studies and research on similar topics. Thus, no specific research question is presented in this study. Rather, the purpose of this study is to simply provide an exploratory platform for subsequent research in this area of interest.

Methods

Subjects/Participants

Judgmental and snowball sampling techniques were utilized to identify the research population. The researcher arranged for the first interview. As a criminal investigator with the Cook County Sheriff's Police and employed in law enforcement for over twenty years, the investigator was afforded the luxury and ability to formulate contacts and informants. Once this arrangement was made, snowball-sampling techniques were implemented to identify other potential victims of trafficking. It is believed sufficient data were secured to allow analysis with respect to a number of important research questions. Each of the major issues addressed in this study had been thoroughly saturated by the researcher when he originally collected the data.

A group of eight East European women trafficked and sexually exploited in Cook County, Illinois, were interviewed. The subjects included three women from Poland, two women from Russia, two women from the Ukraine, and one woman from the Czech Republic. Originally, it was anticipated that each interview would take approximately one hour to one and a half hours to complete. However, with the vast amount of information these women contributed and their willingness to tell their stories, interviews lasted between one and one half and two and one half hours each.

Apparatus

In order to help respondents become comfortable with the interview process each interview began with questions pertaining to demographic information regarding the respondent's background (e.g. age, country of origin, hometown, education, marital status, etc.). Although the researcher used a standardized questionnaire at the beginning of the interview for demographic questions, the overall interview was unstructured and informal in nature. Issues to be addressed during the interview process initially focused on the general areas of inquiry. After the initial interview, other areas worthy of further inquiry developed; hence, subsequent interviews were conducted accordingly.

Design

The research design for this study is qualitative in nature, using an ethnographic approach to study this group's sub-culture. Merriam (1998) refers to culture as "the beliefs, values, and attitudes that structure the behavior patterns of a specific group of people" (p. 13). The focus of this study is on recorded interviews with East European women who are trafficked into the United States, specifically those relocated in Cook County, Illinois, for sexual purposes (white slavery).

Since there have been few prior systematic attempts to gather information about these women, particularly in Cook County, the current study is exploratory in nature. Semi-structured interviews with closed and open-ended questions were utilized to collect information regarding: methods of recruitment; control and resistance; the women's experiences with the recruiters and traffickers; and the women's experiences with outside agencies. Demographic data about the respondents were also analyzed.

All research studies have strengths and limitations and this study is no exception. Since interviews and related literature were the only forms of data collection, triangulation strategies could not be implemented to strengthen the reliability and validity of the study. Thus, the researcher used other forms of validation. The researcher used a method devised over twenty years of interviewing subjects to enhance the validity of the inquiry. A tactic was employed by first interacting with the women informally, without audiotapes or written materials; thus, reassuring trust and compatibility. The formal interview then began with audio taped questions and responses. This technique not only allowed the investigator to gain trust, but also shed light on any discrepancies or contradictions with prior inquiries.

A secondary tactic was employed to verify the honesty and credibility of the interviewee. This was achieved by asking simple questions, in various ways, at different points in times during the interview. For example: How old are you? Then later during the interview, asking, what is your date of birth? This technique was able to shed light on the respondent's truthfulness and credibility. Other information was extracted and verified pertaining to the honesty and validity of the responses given by the interviewee.

In addition, the researcher utilized participants from initial samples to verify pertinent information about subsequent interviewees. Since these women were familiar with the individuals they recommended (snowball sample) they were able to unintentionally substantiate and verify the validity and reliability of these women.

Because this study explores potentially sensitive material, various ethical considerations were addressed. First, informed consent was obtained. Second, because people who engage in the trafficking and sexual exploitation of many East European women are often times affiliated with criminal organizations, issues pertaining to the physical safety of interviewees were of paramount importance. Due to this rather precarious situation, the researcher assured the participants of the inquiry that their anonymity would be protected and stressed that their participation in the interviews was voluntary.

When the decision was made to use the interviews for research purposes, attention was also given to ethical procedures for processing and presenting data. The audiotapes and transcriptions were protected in a secured area including all written presentations and findings. The real names of the interviewees were removed from the audiotapes and separated from the coded names. Under no circumstance will the researcher reveal the true identities of the participants. Women who demonstrated fear or trepidation over participation in the inquiry were not included in the original interview process. Since these procedures were maintained at both the data collection and analytical stages, ethical concerns were minimized.

Procedures

As stated, data and interviews were collected by the investigator for the purpose of law enforcement intelligence gathering; thus, attempting to uncover the extent of the phenomena in question. After the interviews had been completed, their usefulness as a potential source of data for social science research could not be overlooked, and the investigator decided to analyze the data in that context. Therefore, the strengths and weaknesses of secondary data analysis came into play. The data were readily available, and the researcher was familiar with the collection techniques and interview structure since he had earlier collected the data. The possibility of misinterpreting the data was thus minimized; but, because the data were collected for law enforcement purposes, subjects may or may not have been willing to share all they knew about the subject. This may have been particularly true with respect to any criminal behaviors in which the subjects had engaged.

Prior to and during each interview, these women were encouraged to ask any questions they had. The consent document along with all audiotapes, transcripts, and any written materials, remain in the possession of the researcher and stored in a secure location. Only the investigator knows the true identity of the women interviewed and this will remain so.

The audiotapes were transcribed verbatim and coded after each interview. The investigator transcribed each interview using a micro cassette transcriber. This practice allowed the researcher the advantage of seeking out nuances and thoroughly reviewing the interview before coding began. According to Merriam (1998), the interviewer's verbatim transcription of recorded interviews provides the best database for analysis. A third party "transcriber is likely to be unfamiliar with terminology and, not having conducted the interview, will not be able to fill in places where the tape is of poor quality" (p. 88). Also, since information acquired from these interviews is sensitive and confidential, it would have been contradictory for a third party to gain access to the material.

After coding, the transcripts were copied and maintained in a separate, secure location in order to protect the data in case the original set was lost. The transcripts bear only the interview number originally assigned to the participants and any thoughts, hunches, and speculations the researcher formed during the process of reviewing the transcriptions.

Three specific steps were used in coding developing themes associated with the data. The first step is the technique of open coding, a process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data. During the second phase, axial coding allowed the investigator to fit the pieces of data together. Selective coding, the final step in the analyses, involved the identification of a core category around which the inquiry then revolves. Additionally, conceptual memos and ideas were noted in the margins of the transcriptions themselves. Subsequent to the transcriptions and coding, core themes for categories emerged, the number of which was determined by using analytical induction and constant comparison. These emergent themes described the essence of the phenomena.

Results

Given the small sample size, specific demographic information pertaining to each individual subject is presented. The characteristics presented include age, country of origin, citizenship, ethnic nationality, hometown, description of hometown, level of education, previous work experience, marital status, children, religion, as well as residence in the United States.

The women's interviews are presented by numerical order (e.g., Interview #1, Interview #2, etc.) to preserve and protect anonymity and confidentiality. Since several of these women spoke "broken English", audio taped interviews

and illustrative comments are reported directly and not edited for grammar. Additionally, any references naming and identifying individual traffickers, facilitators, pimps, gentlemen's clubs, strip clubs, and owners of these establishments were omitted from direct quotes.

Demographic Information

INTERVIEW #1

Age: 24

Country of Origin: Poland

Citizenship: Polish

Ethnic Nationality: Polish

Hometown: Lomza

Description of Hometown: Urban

Level of Education: High School

Previous Work Experience: Domestic, Sales Clerk, Receptionist

Marital Status: Single

Children: None

Religion: Catholic

Residence in U.S.: Northwest Suburban Cook County

INTERVIEW #2

Age: 25

Country of Origin: Czech Republic (formerly Czechoslovakia)

Citizenship: Czech

Ethnic Nationality: Czech

Hometown: Znojmo

Description of Hometown: Rural

Level of Education: High School

Previous Work Experience: Hairdresser, Waitress, Factory Worker

Marital Status: Married

Children: 2

Religion: Catholic

Residence in U.S.: Chicago

INTERVIEW #3

Age: 25

Country of Origin: Poland

Citizenship: Polish

Ethnic Nationality: Polish

Hometown: Warsaw

Description of Hometown: Urban

Level of Education: High School (college courses)
Previous Work Experience: Cashier, Secretary, Hairdresser, Fashion model
Marital Status: Divorced/Remarried
Children: 2
Religion: Catholic
Residence in U.S.: Northwest Suburban Cook County

INTERVIEW #4

Age: 27
Country of Origin: Russia (formerly the Soviet Union)
Citizenship: Russian
Ethnic Nationality: Russian
Hometown: Moscow
Description of Hometown: Urban
Level of Education: Masters – Industrial Psychology
Previous Work Experience: Secretary, Translator, Hospital Psychologist
Marital Status: Single
Children: None
Religion: Russian Orthodox
Residence in U.S.: West Suburban Cook County

INTERVIEW #5

Age: 31
Country of Origin: Russia (formerly the Soviet Union)
Citizenship: Russian
Ethnic Nationality: Russian/Estonian
Hometown: St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad)
Description of Hometown: Urban
Level of Education: College graduate (bachelor equivalence) – Mathematics/Computers
Previous Work Experience: Computer Programmer, Secretary, Cook, Waitress
Marital Status: Divorced
Children: None
Religion: Russian Orthodox
Residence in U.S.: Chicago

INTERVIEW #6

Age: 29
Country of Origin: Ukraine (formerly the Soviet Union)
Citizenship: Ukrainian
Ethnic Nationality: Ukrainian

Hometown: Kiev
Description of Hometown: Urban
Level of Education: College graduate (bachelor equivalence) – Nursing
Previous Work Experience: Nurse
Marital Status: Single
Children: One
Religion: Ukrainian Orthodox
Residence in U.S.: Southwest Suburban Cook County

INTERVIEW #7

Age: 30
Country of Origin: Ukraine (formerly the Soviet Union)
Citizenship: Ukrainian
Ethnic Nationality: Ukrainian
Hometown: Lebidin
Description of Hometown: Rural
Level of Education: Masters – European Literature
Previous Work Experience: Research Librarian, Musician
Marital Status: Single
Children: None
Religion: Ukrainian Orthodox
Residence in U.S.: Chicago

INTERVIEW #8

Age: 27
Country of Origin: Poland
Citizenship: Polish
Ethnic Nationality: Polish
Hometown: Grabia
Description of Hometown: Rural
Level of Education: High School, Trade School
Previous Work Experience: Hairdresser, Secretary
Marital Status: Married
Children: None
Religion: Catholic
Residence in U.S.: Northwest Suburban Cook County

The descriptions of demographic variables were simple, allowing the investigator to refer and inquire about them throughout the informal interview. On many occasions while the audio taped interviews were being conducted, demographic data that was revealed earlier was used to check the validity and reliability of the responses. It also

served as a base to elicit engaging conversations from the interviewees. These variables became building blocks for the informal semi-structured interviews.

The women's ages ranged between twenty-three and thirty-one years of age. Of the eight women interviewed, three women came from Poland, two women from Russia, two from the Ukraine, and one woman from the Czech Republic. Several themes emerged from data pertaining to demographic variables. Each of these women remains a citizen from their country of origin. Ethnicity of the women paralleled their country's origin. Also, all of these women expressed a deep interest in becoming American citizens.

Women originated from both urban and rural backgrounds. Level of education ranged from high school to university graduates (bachelors equivalency) and in two cases master's degrees. Women from the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had an exceptional educational level. Russian and Ukrainian women tend to be better educated compared to other women throughout the world (Shelley, 1999). With this in mind, it became apparent that some of these women were better equipped to recognize and understand the essence of the phenomena; thus, generating better responses from the inquiry. Four of the eight women were single, two were married, one was divorced, and one woman previously divorced was remarried. Three of the women have children. Religious affiliation fell directly in line with the dominant religion in each of the women's country of origin.

Methods of Movement into the United States

These women entered the United States with different motives, reasons, and expectations. All entered by plane and eventually arrived and settled in Cook County, Illinois. All but one woman entered the United States as an adult, the lone exception entered at the age of thirteen accompanied by an older sister living in the Chicago area. Three women arrived in the United States with their traffickers, another woman entered with her mother, one woman arrived with another unsuspecting exploited woman, and two women entered the United States alone.

Women entered the United States with tourist visas, work visas, and in one instance a woman entered with a student visa. Although at the time all visas were valid, it is unclear whether the motives behind the visas were legal. For instance, three women who obtained employment as domestics through an agency in their originating country were exploited into the sex industry once they arrived in the United States. Deceptions used by traffickers and facilitators on behalf of the women resulted in the illegal use of these work visas. Upon entrance into the United States, three women had their visas and documents seized by the traffickers/facilitators. One woman was amazed at the boldness of her facilitator:

I did not believe it...he took my purse and took my visa and passport, then he give me back my purse and told me that he will keep this because in America many people get robbed...he told me he will keep it safe. I told him I need my papers, but he say he will give back when I need it.

Another woman described her experience:

When we come to Chicago and leave airport, _____ (Russian trafficker), take my...uh, how do you call it...travel papers?

Methods of Recruitment

Many factors and conditions contributed directly and indirectly in facilitating the recruitment of these women into the industry. Three women volunteered to enter the sex industry and become trafficked; however, once involved

with the traffickers these women became reluctant participants. Three women were deceived and exploited by promises of legitimate employment within the United States. One woman was recruited and exploited by her mother. With the case of the thirteen-year-old girl, her older sister became her facilitator, eventually passing her on to a pimp and trafficker.

This woman described her older sister's involvement with her recruitment by using selfish, methodical, and deceitful tactics, she explains:

My sister _____ told me when she come to America she was cleaning a mans house, he was an older man, his wife died and he needed help. She says she take care of and he pays her very well. When my sister bring me to America she says, when I'm old enough I can clean his house too and make much money...Later I find out she is not just cleaning (prostituting herself to him and other men)...you know, um...my sister is a whore and I never forget what she do to me.

While family members recruiting their own into the sex industry may seem extreme or unusual, two additional women faced similar circumstances pertaining to their experiences. A Czech woman, an unwilling participant at first, agreed with her husband's suggestion to travel to the United States for the purpose of entering into the sex industry.

In another case of family exploitation, a woman's mother became her facilitator teaching her the techniques and methods used when prostituting herself in Poland during and after the "cold war." According to the woman, her mother would sell herself in the bars and taverns frequented by Russian and Polish soldiers. Her mother's indiscretions resulted in the break-up of the family and her parent's divorce. Once in Chicago, the mother continued to prostitute herself with the assistance of former collaborators and pimps she associated with in Poland. This woman describes her mother's repeated attempts at persuading her to dance in local gentlemen's clubs in suburban Cook County:

My mom told me...the clubs are safe, many people work there and protect her...if I have any problems I must tell the "bouncers" they will take care of problems. When we come to Chicago we lived with my mother's friend on _____ (Chicago street name), we didn't like living with her friend, my mother needed money to get apartment and that is because I started dancing at the _____ (gentlemen's club).

Three women deceived and exploited into the sex industry were recruited by indirect means. Several themes emerged from data within this category. These themes first became evident while reviewing existing literature. However, once data were collected and secondary analysis began these themes became quite evident.

One woman believed she was coming to the United States for employment as a nanny; another went through a similar agency in Poland advertising positions as housekeepers. A Russian woman believed she had secured a legitimate job as a secretary for a group of transplanted Russian businessmen who owned an industrial cleaning service. The company is suspected of using its business as a "front" for the trafficking and sexual exploitation of women from Russia, the Ukraine, and other East European countries.

A Polish woman claimed she had secured a job as a nanny from a work agency in Poland; however, once in the Chicago area, the realization became that she was the victim of false promises and deception. She describes her experience with the work agency's intermediary, whom she was instructed to contact once she arrived in the United States:

I talk to _____ (Polish intermediary)...he say the job for nanny is gone but I can wait a while and other job for a nanny will come soon. He say I can work at the _____ (Russian night club) until I get nanny job...he tell me I will make much much. First I work waitress then Russians use me for sex in club in backroom, they tell me later I must work for pay off my trip until I find different job with _____ (Polish intermediary), but it is all lie I never find nanny job. Later, _____ (Polish intermediary) take me to _____ (gentlemen's club) to dance. I make a lot of money but he take a lot from me to pay for trip...It's bullshit.

Contributing Causes of Recruitment

Several factors contributed to the cause of women becoming trafficked into the sex industries. Seven of the eight women mentioned their countries' languishing economic problems, which led to poverty and in several instances, unemployment. This finding is consistent with research conducted by Richard (1999) and Hughes (2000). Many recruiters for the sex industry target the most economically depressed areas taking advantage of unsuspecting women in the process.

When interviewing the four women from the former Soviet Union, several interesting themes emerged. Both Russian women related that the decline of their socio-economic condition was not caused by the break-up of the former Soviet Union, but as a result of the Russian economic crisis and collapse in 1998. On the contrary, these women's careers flourished from the early 1990's until 1998. Both were highly educated, one received a master's degree and the other a bachelor's equivalent. As a result of the economic collapse their optimism and careers diminished dramatically. For the Ukrainian women, consequences led to the decline of their socio-economic status. One woman explained the elimination of her newly created position:

I knew the end was near...my boss said immediately when my position of research librarian was created...the funds from university may not come next year...ah, he knows something but did not say. Earlier my position was ok, but I make much more from this new position.

Economic factors relating to the recruitment of women from the former Soviet Union began as a by-product from the Russian economic crisis of 1998, and not as an immediate cause from the break-up of the former Soviet Union as suggested. Emergent themes extracted from data validate this premise.

Methods of Controlling the Women

Methods of control became a significant element as to why these women continued to engage in the sex industry. Once the realization and obvious exploitation became evident to them, several controlling mechanisms were used to continue exploiting the women. These women were controlled, manipulated, and influenced in many ways through methods employed by their traffickers and facilitators.

All women expressed a deep concern over their survival. Their main focus was to earn as much money as possible; thus, alleviating oppressive tactics used by their facilitators. However, in some instances, women were subjected to never-ending debt and servitude. Women, who secured employment and travel expenses from employment agencies within their originating countries, were subjected to repayment of funds, usually at a substantially higher rate when compared to the actual cost. This became a form of debt bondage.

Other types of control variables contributed to the exploitation of these women. Some were subtler than others; however, they too became an effective tool for manipulating the women. These included physical violence, rape, verbal threats, drugs and alcohol, and psychological abuse, which employed "guilt tactics." Guilt tactics became a method in which perpetrators blamed women for their misfortunes. Impressionable and naïve women were most vulnerable.

Physical Violence, Rape, and Sexual Assaults

Physical violence became an obvious phenomenon in exploiting these women. Violence was used as a form of control and intimidation, and they were continually reminded of that by those in command. Several recounted incidents involving their facilitators. However, violence was not used exclusively by facilitators and traffickers, but also from buyers as well. Seven of the eight women claimed to be physically abused by their facilitators, traffickers and customer/clients.

Women described being stabbed, punched, slapped, kicked, bitten, dragged, pulled by their hair, and having their wrists and arms twisted. One woman who was stabbed in the arm by a customer required seventeen stitches. Another woman who had her wrist twisted needed medical attention; however, her facilitator would not allow her to seek any medical attention for fear he would be exposed. Several months later an x-ray was taken that verified a hairline fracture.

An interesting theme surfaced on several occasions during interviews. Women felt allowing them to be placed in precarious situations made them accountable for any incidents that developed. Even women who were deceived and manipulated into the sex industry felt responsible for their fate. These women believed they were accountable for their naivety and vulnerability. While examining the accounts of women in this study, consistent themes resulting in physical violence include intimidation, punishment, dominance, noncompliance, and sexual violence.

Rape and sexual assaults became a mechanism by which these women were controlled by traffickers, facilitators, recruiters, and customers. Rape emerged as a major focal point for these women. Traffickers, facilitators, recruiters, and customers raped six of the eight women. Furthermore, two of these women reported that individuals unknown to them had sexually assaulted and raped them.

While conducting interviews, this category became emotionally difficult for the women. During several interviews, the researcher temporarily stopped recording, allowing the women to regain their composure. Afterwards, all insisted on continuing the interview process providing detailed accounts of their misfortune. Women described being raped in homes, apartments, vehicles, parking lots, parks, bars, and backrooms in clubs. Three women were raped multiple times in unrelated incidents. Single offenders as well as multiple offenders raped these women. One woman described being gang raped by seven individuals in the course of an hour.

A Ukrainian woman described being raped by a customer who frequented a suburban Cook County gentlemen's club where she was employed:

...well, he used to come in all the time and give me money for table dances, he always ask me to go with him for breakfast after I was done working. One day I went and after we eat he drove me to some factories, I don't know where, and he raped me in the car, then he drove me to my car and I went home.

As the conversation continued, the researcher inquired about her reluctance to notify the police or seek medical attention. Again, consistent with these women, she refused to seek medical attention or contact authorities. Once data were analyzed, this theme continually emerged. A Polish woman was repeatedly raped by her facilitator. At first she resisted, but after several incidents of physical violence she submitted to the sexual assaults convinced these were normal occurrences within the industry. She describes the first time her Russian facilitator raped her:

He tell me, he must see how I am, I did not want him to do it but he say all women must do who works for him. I try to stop, I did not know what to do, I just lay down.

After raping her on several occasions, he eventually passed her on to several other associates and friends. At one point she resisted by fighting off the rape; however, her Russian facilitator entered the room and began beating her. This woman eventually submitted to all subsequent sexual assaults from these individuals due to the physical abuse she suffered previously. This became her means of survival. She stated that these episodes physically and emotionally drained her.

During the interview the researcher observed her torment and pain, and she reported that she refused to seek therapy or counseling believing it could be worked out and controlled on her own. It can be speculated that fear of reprisal from traffickers, facilitators and customers, including the women's probable illegal status, became a motive for refusing assistance from outside organizations. This theme became obvious once the data were analyzed.

Verbal Threats

Verbal threats and psychological abuse became a primary theme in controlling these women. Seven of eight women reported being verbally threatened. Verbal abuse included threats of harm, intimidation, isolation, insults, and disparaging remarks and cursing. An attack by words constituted verbal abuse. Although psychological abuse is speculative, any objective measurement of psychological harm resulting from verbal abuse was beyond the scope of this study. However, guilt tactics were used against some women as a form of compliance and control.

Although the traffickers and facilitators themselves were committing crimes against women, several reported their facilitators threatened to report them to the authorities. These threats were used as a method to gain compliance and control of these women. Since several of the women entered the United States presumably as illegal aliens, traffickers could use their visa status against them.

One woman reported her facilitator used this verbal threat on many occasions to control her and gain compliance. He continually threatened to alert the police as to her illegal status and entrance into the United States. On one occasion this woman "played his bluff" and directed him to contact authorities, but when this happened she was promptly beaten. Women who demonstrated defiance against verbal threats were many times subjected to physical violence. Several women reported that after being raped by perpetrators they became victims of verbal threats, claiming harm in the event police were notified. Other women maintained they were threatened if payments owed to traffickers and facilitators were not paid.

Drugs and Alcohol

The use of drugs and alcohol in the sex industry is a common occurrence for women. In four cases, traffickers and facilitators initiated the use of drugs and alcohol as a method of controlling women. Several women reported customers attempting to gain control with offers of drugs and/or alcohol as a means of enticement for sex or

its use during the encounter. Additionally, three women reported using drugs and alcohol as a coping mechanism to survive the sex industry.

The findings indicate that seven of eight women used drugs and/or alcohol during their experience in the sex industry. Five women used drugs and alcohol, two women reported alcohol use exclusively and one woman reported the absence of any drug or alcohol use. Three women indicated previous drug use prior to entering the sex industry. Drugs used were marijuana, cocaine, ecstasy, heroin, and prescription medication.

Several women reported drugs being readily available from traffickers, facilitators, and customers and a common occurrence in the industry and clubs. Criminal intelligence indicates that the vast majority of these clubs are either owned or influenced by traditional organized crime groups. With this in mind, it can be speculated that distribution of illegal drugs is commonplace within these establishments. One woman described drug activity at several clubs where she worked:

Yes, the girls are on drugs...the people who come in are on drugs, they're trying to sell drugs...the people who work for the clubs are on drugs, and the owners are on drugs... but that doesn't go to everybody.

A key theme arising from this category pertains to the distribution of drugs within these clubs by managers, bouncers, and owners. Women reported observing drug use by these individuals. Also, drugs were offered to women for a variety of reasons: as a controlling mechanism, for sexual favors, and as a stimulant for added energy when performing (dancing) at the club. Several women reported receiving drugs from their traffickers either by voluntary or involuntary means. Women paid for drugs, received them free, or obtained them through sexual favors from traffickers.

Three women reported the use of ecstasy during their experience in the sex industry. As with cocaine, ecstasy acts as a stimulant, which allowed women to perform at an elevated level. These women maintained ecstasy was used when dancing at the clubs for increased energy. One woman related the drug is easily obtained and more accessible than cocaine or marijuana. Another woman described the drug as the "drug of choice" in clubs.

Using drugs and alcohol became common ways of coping with their experiences and abuse in the sex industry. Some women reported that without drugs and/or alcohol they would not have been able to survive their exploitation. Some reported they used drugs and alcohol as a defense and escape mechanism to disassociate themselves from their experiences.

Resistance and Compliance

Traditionally, women have resisted exploitation in various ways and means; unfortunately, women who resist their perpetrators are threatened, beaten, raped, drugged, isolated, and in some instances killed. Once women resist, the aforementioned tactics are employed by perpetrators to gain compliance. Such was the case in this study. Once resistance failed, women complied.

Another woman decided early on that the best way to survive her situation was to comply with the wishes of her facilitator. She felt when the time was right she would be able to elude her trafficker on her own terms. In contrast, this woman used compliance as a form of resistance, lulling her trafficker into a state of complacency; hence, allowing her to escape his exploitation and control.

Women who were raped used their natural instinctive reactions toward the assault by physically resisting. However, when overcome by the attack, similar survival instincts told them to comply with perpetrators. Women unanimously agreed that compliance constituted their survival.

Recruiters, Traffickers, and Facilitators

Recruiters, traffickers, and facilitators emanated from several countries of origin including the United States. Their ethnic backgrounds included Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Serbian, Italian, Greek, and Czech. These individuals became the driving force in support of women's exploitation at all levels and stages of the process.

Women developed unique relationships with these individuals and their survival depended heavily upon them. Findings indicate that although women were abused physically, sexually, and emotionally they still sought advice, companionship, and were highly dependant upon these individuals. Once women regained their identity and strength, methods were used to reverse adversity and hardship; thus, diminishing and in some cases ending their exploitation.

Women indicated these individuals participated in immigration fraud, drug distribution, gambling, extortion, and labor exploitation. Additionally, they were involved and connected to legitimate business ventures. As mentioned, consistent with Raymond and Hughes' (2001) study, traffickers and facilitators are actively involved with legitimate businesses, often used as a cover to hide their illegal activities. These themes emerged frequently during the analyses of data. Women reported these individuals owning bars, limousine services, taxicabs, a grocery store, an employment agency, a cleaning service, a used car lot, and a roofing business.

Two women recruited by family members expressed disdain and contempt toward their relatives. A Czech woman whose husband suggested she relocate to the United States to work in the sex industry felt betrayed and "used" by him. Her husband's suggestion revolved around their inferior economic conditions within their country. Her only concerns are her children that she left behind. According to this woman, her husband is an alcoholic who has physically and mentally abused her during their marriage.

Another woman was recruited and exploited by her older sister who took advantage of her age and trust. This woman expressed a deep hatred toward her sister who acted as her recruiter. The sister introduced this woman to a facilitator that exploited her throughout the seedy and sleazy environment of run-down Polish taverns in the Chicago area. According to findings, this case appears to be the most violent, emotional, and disturbing example of sexual exploitation and human rights violations of this study.

Few women were aware that secondary facilitators manipulated and became an extension of their sexual exploitation. In two separate cases, women accepted the fact that customers contributed to their exploitation and deception. Previous themes examined continue to emerge; women used coping and compliance as a mechanism for accepting these types of facilitators. As one woman explained, "it's all part of doing business." Once women accepted their situation, survival became their primary concern.

One woman described a gentlemen's club where she worked as a "family business." The four owners of the club were Greek, which included a father, son, and two brothers. These individuals acted as her facilitators. Although her relationship with them was amicable; nonetheless, she was exploited as an object of their selfishness.

Another woman described an experience with a bouncer who was leaving his job to join the armed forces. Women working at the club decided to pose for pictures for him as a memento of his employment. She explains the experience:

...I feel used because one of the bouncers was to leave for Navy or Army or whatever, and they (the women in the club) decided that we should make a picture of all the girls and give it to him as a gift, a going away present, so I did that and then I found one picture turned into many pictures and they were selling the pictures and making profit out of it..

Although these pictures were not pornographic or nude in nature, this woman felt betrayed and deceived in believing the pictures were meant for the bouncer. As the conversation continued, it became quite evident this woman was not upset at the commercialization of her photos, but from her lack of profit generated from the sale.

A Polish woman described her initial relationship with her trafficker and facilitators as a partnership. Subsequently, after her exploitation was fully taken advantage of she felt betrayed and tormented. Unfortunately, according to findings this woman appeared to be the weakest, most impressionable, and most vulnerable of the eight women interviewed. Several women expressed amicable kinship with these individuals on certain occasions. However, it can be assumed that themes extracted from data appear to indicate that these relationships served as a deceptive device to control, deceive, and gain women's trustworthiness.

Organized Crime Links

As mentioned, organized crime is associated and linked with trafficking operations worldwide. Previous studies indicate that Russian organized criminal groups are known for trafficking women from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Findings from analyzed data suggest, which also support existing literature (Bertone, 2000; Finckenauer & Schrock, 2000; Richard, 1999), that recruiters, traffickers, and facilitators associated with this study are part of small loosely linked criminal network.

Gentlemen's clubs appear as the dominant organized crime connection linked to the phenomena. As noted previously, according to criminal intelligence most of these establishments are owned and operated by traditional organized crime figures. Because many of the traffickers and facilitators supplying East European women to these clubs are from different ethnic groups, it can be assumed connections between the groups exist.

A major goal of this study was to elicit information regarding links to organized criminal groups; however, we can only speculate regarding individual perpetrators directly related to women trafficked and exploited. Nonetheless, several women reported their association with these individuals is consistent with criminal networks. Three women claimed their traffickers and facilitators were associated with organized criminal groups within their country of origin and are networking their illegal enterprises within the United States.

Disassociation, Avoidance, and Escape

Eventually, all women escaped exploitation from their facilitators. Two of the eight women remain associated with the sex industry; however, under their own terms. Several women admitted, although they initially were hesitant to leave their perpetrators, it turned out to be an easier process than expected. Two women reported disassociation with perpetrators became prolonged due to a variety of reasons, but paramount were verbal threats. One woman decided she had enough of her exploitation and confronted her facilitator who agreed with the decision much to her surprise. Another woman planned her escape several months in advance by securing employment as a hairdresser and making alternative living arrangements with an acquaintance. She still fears for her safety and is conscious of her surroundings at all times. These themes are consistent with most women in this study.

In another incident a woman attempting to leave the sex industry was confronted by her facilitator, she told him, she "had enough." As she recounts the episode her emotions became obvious.

...ah, you know, I knew it was not easy...when _____ (Polish facilitator) see me, he pull me by my hair to the living room, then he started kicking me, I lay on the floor and all I can do is cover my face (sobbing at this time during the interview). Ok...ah, I said, ok...ok.

As the conversation continued, she reluctantly stayed with him. Fortunately, several months later she left her tormentor. She has since been able to maintain a legitimate job; however, her visa situation is still questionable.

It is significant that all women ultimately eluded their perpetrators. Several women attempted multiple times. Although this finding cannot be generalized due to sample size, it's refreshing to know women were able to end their exploitation. The two women that remained in the sex industry on their own terms did so out of economic necessity. Most women secured legitimate employment elsewhere. Two women, in addition to working legitimate jobs are continuing their education on a part-time basis.

Experiences with Outside Agencies

Unfortunately, a number of women were reluctant to contact outside agencies for fear of prosecution, incarceration, deportation, and reprisal from perpetrators. This reluctance emanates from the societal and cultural roots of their countries of origin. All of the women originate from former authoritarian societies, and a lack of trust and a good deal of skepticism remains. Institutions, such as political systems and law enforcement were shunned and feared by the public; hence, creating suspicion and doubt among the masses.

Themes regarding these issues developed and emerged from findings through interviews and related literature. Many women appeared to distrust authority. Through the collection of data and secondary analysis the researcher's tentative hypotheses regarding these assumptions were validated. Women consistently attempted to avoid law enforcement during and subsequent to their exploitation.

Since several women were illegal immigrants and participated in criminal acts whether doing so voluntarily or forced by intimidation, all were fearful in dealing with police at any level.

One woman described her feelings toward police:

Police...no I cannot call them because they will take me home to my country. If they find (her), (the police) they call INS, some of my friends have to go home, but they come back soon, but sometime problem to come back (to return to the United States).

When asked, "Aren't you fearful of me? I'm a Police officer," she stated:

Ah...no, because I trust you... you want to help. Some other are not so good, they will... (pause), sometime lie to people and some people believe them sometime. Some are different than other.

Three salient themes support speculation that women's fears typify negative attitudes toward law enforcement; hence, manifesting apathetic feelings. The first encompasses women's practical experiences with institutions within their country of origin. The second theme involves fear of arrest in the United States for violations women have no control over. The third is associated with women's experiences with law enforcement agencies in the United States. All women who reported contact with police felt that the officer(s) who responded were uncaring, indifferent, and showed a lack of interest with their situation.

Experiences with social service agencies and medical health care facilities became difficult categories for women to address. Once data were collected and secondary analysis began it became quite evident several women appeared embarrassed reporting issues they felt were personal. For instance, issues related to sexually transmitted diseases emerged as a subject women were reluctant to report. Although one woman reported contracting a sexually transmitted disease, several others appeared deceptive with their responses including rapid posture changes, breaking of eye contact, and delayed responses. Therefore, validity and reliability associated with this category remains suspect.

Ironically, women appeared trustworthy and reliable regarding other sensitive issues that emerged from interviews. These included drug use, immigration violations, rape, physical violence, prostitution, and their sexual exploitation within the industry. Unlike topics relating to sexually transmitted diseases, women seemed confident and reliable with responses provided to the aforementioned categories. Additionally, women offered rich information regarding these categories, rarely hesitating with responses; thus, validating the reliability associated with their discussions.

Conclusion

This inquiry sheds light on several categories and sub-categories developed from the interview process. Consequently, these interviews generated relevant themes, which emerged throughout the data analysis. Unfortunately, due to the relatively small sample size used in this study, these themes cannot be generalized. Regardless, their emergence is very interesting and worth reporting.

The most interesting theme emerged early in the analysis. Women from the former Soviet Union maintain that the decline of their socio-economic condition and their introduction into the sex industry was attributed to the Russian economic crisis in 1998 and not as a consequence of the break-up of the former Soviet Union in 1991 as reported in existing literature. Additionally, women consistently avoided law enforcement when crimes were perpetrated against them and refused medical assistance when needed. Fear of reprisal from facilitators, in addition to the women's illegal immigration status, became their motive for refusing assistance from these outside agencies.

All women agreed that compliance benefited their survival. Guilt tactics were employed against women as a form of control and compliance. Women believed that allowing them to be placed in precarious situations (i.e., sexually exploited, raped, physically abused, deceived, and manipulated) made them accountable and responsible for their fate. Guilt and responsibility became key factors women needed to overcome. Several women appeared unaware that certain individuals indirectly related to their exploitation served as facilitators. Women initially became highly dependant upon their facilitators developing love, hate, and unique relationships with them.

Findings indicate women from the former Soviet Union (i.e., Russia, Ukraine) are highly educated, compared to their counterparts. Socio-economic problems in countries of origin became a contributing factor of women's recruitment. Drugs and alcohol were used as a coping device for women and a controlling mechanism for the facilitators. Violence, sexual assaults, verbal threats, and psychological abuse were used as forms of control, intimidation, and compliance.

Disassociation and escape from perpetrators became an easier process for women than previously anticipated. Recruiters, traffickers, and facilitators associated with this study are part of small, loosely linked criminal network that associated with traditional domestic organized crime groups. Some women were deceived and manipulated into the industry by unscrupulous and illegitimate employment agencies abroad. Some were enticed by

family members. All participants in this study were without the assistance of health insurance, and finally, women were subjected to debt bondage for inflated re-payment of funds, constituting extortion.

Recommendations

Several issues need to be addressed with regard to the trafficking and sexual exploitation of women. Increased awareness and training must be implemented for law enforcement at all levels of the justice system. This includes police, prosecutors, and judicial personnel. Government legislatures at both the state and federal levels must implement stricter and more aggressive legislation consistent with the phenomena. The media in the United States must be utilized for implementing educational and public awareness campaigns on trafficking. These become important variables in curtailing and eliminating trafficking operations.

An increase in coordinated efforts between local, national and international law enforcement agencies is essential for discouraging trafficking operations worldwide. Aggressive prosecution of traffickers is imperative. Additionally, cooperation between law enforcement, governmental, and non-governmental agencies must coordinate efforts to eradicate trafficking.

Additional task force units should be formed and expanded to include affected jurisdictions where trafficking operations and exploitation are prevalent. This should also include the formation of joint task forces comprised of national and international law enforcement agencies to identify and focus on the sending countries as well as receiving countries.

Social service providers in the United States must continue to develop and improve programs to assist victims. Programs vital in assisting women should focus on counseling services, including psychological and substance abuse programs, crisis intervention, legal assistance, medical health care, temporary housing, and job training. Funds needed for these services and programs should be supported by local, state, and the federal government.

Since most laws pertaining to trafficking are enacted at the federal level it is essential that federal law enforcement community and the federal judicial system take the appropriate and additional steps to arrest and prosecute traffickers and facilitators. Unfortunately, events from September 11th 2001 (911) may diminish priorities intended to curtail and eliminate trafficking operations and additional support and funding necessary to assist victims.

As a result of 911, federal law enforcement agencies have recently shifted their priorities and resources to international and domestic terrorist organizations for good reason. Unfortunately, traffickers and facilitators are aware of these priorities and could possibly take advantage of presumed lax enforcement policies, thus furthering illegal trafficking operations in the United States.

As in the case of drug trafficking and distribution, trafficking in women is consistent with the premise of supply and demand. Therefore, focusing on these variables is essential in eliminating trafficking operations. If these recommendations are initiated, trafficking of women and other criminal acts associated with the phenomena can be minimized and deterrence created for present and future trafficking operations.

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