STARS

2018

Demanding Reduction: An Exploration of County-Level Characteristics Associated with Areas of Human Trafficking in Florida

Madelyn Diaz
University of Central Florida

Showcase of Text, Archives, Research & Scholarship

DEMANDING REDUCTION: AN EXPLORATION OF COUNTY-LEVEL
CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH AREAS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN
FLORIDA

by

MADELYN DIAZ
B.S. University of Central Florida, 2016

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Sociology
in the College of Sciences
at the University of Central Florida
Orlando, Florida

Spring Term
2018

Major Professor: Lin Huff-Corzine

ABSTRACT

Research on the prevalence of human trafficking (HT) is relatively scarce, even though more attention has been brought to this human rights issue in the past couple of decades. Widely known as a form of modern day slavery, trafficking of persons for sexual exploitative reasons to earn a profit for the trafficker occurs in every major city across the country, despite common misconceptions that it only thrives in foreign countries. To expand on limited existing literature on human trafficking, this research study explores possible correlations among areas of high violent crime rates, drug arrests, the presence of demand reduction strategies, sociodemographic variables, and tourism measures among the Florida counties to determine if they can act as predictive measures to locate areas where a human trafficking arrest is the most likely to occur. These relationships were investigated through the Offender Based Transaction Systems (OBTS), documented court actions filed by prosecutors between 2012-2016 of human trafficking arrests, and comparing it to violent crime rates and drug arrest rates for the Florida counties using data from the Florida Department of Law Enforcement, in conjunction with demand reduction efforts. The results from this study did not support the hypothesis that the higher rate of violent crime and drug arrest rates would significantly increase to the presence of a human trafficking arrest. Instead, demand reduction efforts, e.g. street and web sting operations, neighborhood action, and public awareness, emerged as the only significant variable that predicted the likelihood of a human trafficking arrest occurring in a county. These findings stress the importance of reduction efforts targeting the leading consumers in this lucrative market; the demand for sex from sex buyers.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Human trafficking, commonly coined as a form of modern day slavery, has increasingly gained public attention from law enforcement, advocates and policymakers as they attempt to combat the growth of this type of victimization. Under the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act (VTVPA), a severe form of human trafficking is defined as

> A commercial sex act induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery
>   (VTVPA, Section 103, 8a and b, 2000).

While both labor and sex trafficking are critical human rights violations, more than 80 percent of victims identified by law enforcement working on federally funded anti-trafficking task forces, were victims of sex trafficking (Banks and Kyckelhahn, 2011). The International Labor Organization (ILO) recently estimated that traffickers make over $150 billion a year on the sale of over 21 million victims globally. As such, it is the third largest criminal industry after the drug trade and arms dealing (ILO, 2012).

A common misconception about human trafficking is that this industry only affects international victims, but this prolific crime is unique in the sense that it does not discriminate between adults and children, men and women, or U.S. and foreign national targets (Polaris, 2014). The reality behind this business is that it occurs on a global scale, while also including targets from homes within some of our neighborhoods, as well as commercial front units. In 2000, Congress began to define a U.S. response to human trafficking with the passage of the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act (VTPVA). It has been reauthorized multiple

times since then to provide the most up-to-date information about the nature of this crime, the tools required to fight it, and the needs of those impacted by trafficking. The goal of TPVA is to protect victims, prosecute offenders, and prevent future trafficking. A very limited special T-visa was made available for trafficking victims who participate in the investigation and prosecution of trafficking cases, or for those who are under 18 years of age, to allow for victims to receive services and work authorization (Farrell, 2013). Since the passage of TVPA, the T-visa has been granted to roughly 3000 victims of human trafficking (U.S. Department of Justice, 2014; Farrell, Pfeffer, & Bright, 2015). Yet despite new laws and resources, fewer human trafficking cases have been identified than estimates of the problem would predict, and even fewer cases have led to prosecution.

As a whole, research on human trafficking is relatively scarce. Even though as the years progress, more individuals become interested in becoming actively involved to combat this form of modern day slavery. To expand on limited existing literature on human trafficking, this research study focuses on a county-level analysis that explores a possible relationship between areas of violent crime and drug arrest rates in Florida and if these variables can act as predictive measures to locate potential areas of human trafficking. This relationship is investigated using records from the Offender Based Transaction System (OBTS) that documents HT offenses in each of the Florida counties and comparing it to the crime rates of that county. The broader purpose of this paper is to examine whether various measures of social disorganization such as the community level of violent crime, drug arrests, presence of demand reduction strategies, percentage of owner occupied units, percentage of families below poverty level, and male or female headed households can affect the likelihood of a human trafficking arrest. If a county is a

member of a Human Trafficking task force, if it is metropolitan, the total number of interstate exits, and the number of hotel and motel rooms are added measures based on a similar research study assessing characteristics that can lead to an arrest for human trafficking (Huff-Corzine, Sacra, Corzine, & Rados, 2017). Given that there is very limited research in this area, this study will first explore some of the leading challenges in human trafficking arrests, the relationship between crime and drugs in the state of Florida that creates a culture of violence, and the current scope and responses to human trafficking in Florida. Through social disorganization theory, this study will explore how certain community characteristics influence the likelihood of a human trafficking arrest.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Although significant efforts are continuing to unfold to combat human trafficking in the U.S., it was not until the passage of the VTVPA of 2000 that a federal response to promote the protection of victims and prosecution of offenders was established (Farrell, McDevitt, & Fahy, 2008). With the passage of TVPA, the U.S. Department of Justice has spent millions of dollars to support responses to human trafficking and police training so that local law enforcement agencies can better recognize situations, such as prostitution, that might appear as routine street crime but that are actually human trafficking (U.S. Department of Justice 2004; Farrell, McDevitt, & Fahy, 2010). Local police officers are considered to be the 'frontline' of enforcement, and are thus more likely to encounter victims and perpetrators of human trafficking before federal agencies become aware of the issue (De Baca & Tisi, 2002; Wilson, Walsh & Kleuber, 2006). However, lack of training and prevailing perceptions of various law enforcement agencies can strongly affect how new crime laws such as trafficking are identified, reported, and investigated by officers (Farrell et al., 2008).

Barriers Prohibiting Human Trafficking Arrests

Not only are average Americans plagued by the misconception that trafficking occurs primarily internationally with mostly foreign victims, but studies of law enforcement have also revealed that local agencies are unlikely to fully grasp the scope and magnitude of trafficking within their own communities (Farrell et al., 2008). There is an underlying perception among agencies that human trafficking is not a problem within their own jurisdictions, but that it is best addressed by federal law enforcement (Wilson et al., 2006). When local law enforcement

4

agencies do not recognize the possibility of human trafficking occurring in their own communities, it is likely that when they encounter a human trafficking case that they may respond by mislabeling the victim and managing the case as another offense, e.g., prostitution (Farrell et al., 2010; Wilson et al., 2006). A skewed awareness of the prevalence of human trafficking results, which can significantly impact the number of human trafficking cases identified and officially recorded. In turn, this leads police, as well as the public, to undermine the scope of this covert activity (Farrell, Owens, & McDevitt, 2014).

Officers commonly solve problems based on routines, especially when confronted with a situation where facts and legal definitions may be ambiguous (Bittner, 1967; Farrell et al., 2008; Farrell et al., 2010). Compared to human trafficking, it would be more common for an officer to encounter an instance of prostitution, assault, or kidnaping, for which they have an established routine. However, if a case of human trafficking is uncovered, an officer must reconsider the way s/he thinks about a woman or man engaging in prostitution as a possible victim, rather than a perpetrator.

A majority of an officer's time is spent responding to calls of service that is, employing a reactionary style of policing. Thus, local police are far less likely than federal law enforcement agents to be looking for cases of human trafficking (Engel & Clutter, 2002; Wilson et al., 2006; Farrell et al., 2008). Typically, departments learn about human trafficking cases while investigating other cases and by receiving critical information from citizens (Clawson, Dutch, & Cummings, 2006; Farrell et al., 2012). Yet, stereotypes of what "real" victims of human trafficking look like are rarely seen in practice. Instead, they are likely to be people about whom officers are inclined to form immediate suspicion e.g., prostitutes, exotic dancers, migrants, drug

addicts, and other vulnerable groups, and who may have already been charged with criminal offenses, hurting their already fragile credibility (Haynes 2007; McCarthy 2015).

Cases of human trafficking are considered to be 'the most labor and time-intensive' cases that prosecutors can undertake (U.S. Department of State, 2012; Farrell et al., 2010). Despite new laws written to allow prosecutors to charge individuals under Human Trafficking statues, in 2011 there were only 151 convictions by the U.S. government and a small, unknown number of state human trafficking prosecutions under state laws (U.S. Department of State, 2012; Farrell et al., 2014). Over the past few years, the FBI has also begun reporting incidents of human trafficking. In 2015 alone, of the 39 states that reported human trafficking activity, there were a total of 583 offenses with 240 of those resulting in at least one person being arrested, charged with the commission of the offense, or turned over to the court for prosecution (FBI, 2015). Given the low number of prosecutions, there has been speculation that improvements to federal and state human trafficking laws are not being fully implemented (Farrell, 2013).

Evidentiary challenges and uncertain legal environments are among the toughest hurdles prosecutors must overcome when being tasked with a case of human trafficking. Victim testimony is almost a necessity in a majority of human trafficking cases since victim statements are often the primary, and sometimes only source of evidence (Farrell et al., 2014; McCarthy 2015). Gaining victim cooperation can be very difficult to achieve though, considering that victims are very unlikely to come forward. More often than not they are severely physically and psychologically traumatized, may have significant language barriers, and an extreme distrust in law enforcement (Oram, Stockle, Busza, Howard, & Zimmerman, 2012). Trafficking cases can take a long time to investigate thoroughly and lead to a successful prosecution. Multiple

interviews are often necessary to gather useful information from victims (Farrell et al., 2012). Meanwhile, there may be officers who are equipped to handle victims of trauma and understand the effects this may have on a victim's ability to recall events, there are still few services to rely on that specialize in helping human trafficking victims to be ready to testify at trial (Farrell et al., 2014; McCarthy, 2015).

Not only do victims face an inconceivable amount of trauma, they are often fearful that their trafficker will retaliate against them or their families if they make the decision to cooperate in an investigation (Newton, Mulcahy, & Martin, 2008; Farrell et al., 2012). Foreign victims are even more fearful due to their immigration status and may chose not to cooperate to avoid possible deportation. Regardless of the amount of information victims are willing to give, without police being able to present evidence that corroborates victim statements, prosecutors are left with little to fight the trafficker. Moreover, not only is victim testimony crucial for a prosecution, a victim that is deemed credible is equally important. Prosecutors evaluate evidence based on how they believe judges and the juries will perceive information presented to them (Frohmann, 1997; Farrell, 2013). If victims engage in "risky" behavior, it raises questions about the blameworthiness of their own victimization resulting in a reduced likelihood of prosecution (Stanko, 1982; Kerstetter, 1990; Spears, 1997; Farrell et al., 2013). Consequently, during the duration of an investigation, it is not uncommon for victims to decide that cooperating with authorities is not worthwhile, especially if the victim's trafficker provides all of their basic needs. (Kara 2011; Warren 2012; McCarthy 2015; Farrell et al., 2012).

Prosecutors typically file criminal charges on cases for which they believe they have the greatest chance of winning a conviction (Albonetti, 1987; Farrell et al., 2014). As a response to

an uncertain legal environment, when presented with a case that has human trafficking elements, a prosecutor may charge individuals with offenses that they are more familiar with prosecuting. Under long-standing statues, such as in the case of prostitution or assault, legal elements are more clear and established in court that helps prosecutors feel more confident for a conviction (Newton et al., 2008). More often than not, prosecutors see human trafficking cases as too complex to prove beyond reasonable doubt and require resources that are not readily available (Clawson, Dutch, Lopez, & Tiapula, 2008). From a study analyzing 140-closed human trafficking cases encompassing 379 suspects charged in either state or federal courts, only 17% of those were with a human trafficking offense (Farrell et al., 2014). The most common state charges were for lower level offenses, e. g., promoting or compelling prostitution and for the transport of persons for the purpose of prostitution. Prosecutions under lesser charges hide the prevalence of human trafficking within our justice system, making it hard for policy makers, researchers, and service providers to emphasize needed efforts towards this issue. Inadequate records not only affect researchers, but also the public perception of human trafficking. Lack of convictions and efforts to combat this issue sends a message to offenders and victims that this crime is not seen as a serious offense.

<u>Scope and Responses of Human Trafficking in Florida</u>

Florida ranks as the third most populous state in the country with an estimated population of 19.89 million people while drawing in over 94 million tourists visiting the state within the year 2014 alone (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014; Bradley, 2014; Huff-Corzine et al., 2017). Research has noted a close association between tourism and human trafficking, making Florida a potential

prime location for this hidden industry to thrive in (Ireland, 1993; Lee, 2012; Huff-Corzine et al., 2017). While there are no reliable data sources that can accurately measure the prevalence of human trafficking, some sense of the problem is obtained from the National Human Trafficking Resource Center (NHTRC) where the number of calls to the national tip line are assessed (Huff-Corzine et al., 2017). Data from this hotline note that between December 7, 2007 and December 31, 2015, there were 6,819 calls from Florida to the NHTRC, representing the third highest call volume in the U.S. (National Human Trafficking Resource Center [NHTRC], 2015). Analysis using NHTRC reported that human trafficking extends throughout the state, from Pensacola to the Keys, with a noticeable shift in where victims were located between 2013 and 2015. In 2013, the most common venue for sex trafficking was found in commercial-front brothels, then shifted to the online ad/venue unknown category in 2014, and then in 2015 hotel/motel based sex trafficking was the most reported venue (NHTRC, 2015).

Florida has an extensive response to the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) through the availability to report to the Florida Abuse Hotline, as well as collaborative efforts to identify victims with the Department of Children and Families (DCF), and the Department of Juvenile Justice (DJJ). A June 2015 report from the Office of Program Policy Analysis and Government Accountability (OPPAGA) stated that the hotline received 826 calls on sex trafficking between July 2013 and December 2104 (OPPAGA, 2015). Of those 826 investigations, DCF confirmed 170 victims of CSEC with 40% of the reports originating in Broward, Miami-Dade and Orange counties alone. In addition, DJJ has reported that over 50% of the calls made to the Florida Abuse Hotline from May 2009 to December 2015, came from victims, who had come in contact with the juvenile justice system (DJJ & DCF, 2016). A

9

majority of these victims were charged with misdemeanor battery, burglary, and petit theft; common offenses among victims who are forced by their pimps to steal for basic items they need, as well as for items the pimp requires they steal for him (Martinez, 2018). A much smaller percentage of victims within contact of DJJ were charged under prostitution related offenses. Although it is important to note that now under the Florida House Bill 545, juveniles can no longer be arrested for prostitution related offenses given their age and lack of ability to give consent to this activity (FL Senate, 2016).

Through the support of Florida Attorney General Pam Bondi, a Statewide Council on Human Trafficking has been created to build on existing state and local partnerships to combat this human rights issue. In the state of Florida, a multi-agency or working group has been the preferred structure to ensure the most holistic approach in increasing arrests and providing services to victims (Huff-Corzine et al., 2017). As of November 2014, there are 21 of the 67 counties in Florida that are part of a coalition, task force, or working group. These multi-agency partnerships include law enforcement across multiple jurisdictions, social service agencies, and non-profit organizations that provide additional resources to continue investigations despite jurisdictional boundaries (Huff-Corzine et al., 2017). In their study assessing community level characteristics that affect human trafficking arrests, Huff-Corzine et al. (2017) found that organizational involvement of law enforcement and other groups through a task force was significant in influencing increased arrests. This is a noteworthy finding as it shows that there is potential to reduce human trafficking by increasing collaborative efforts.

Additional efforts have focused on targeting the group of individuals, who are discussed the least in the fight against trafficking, yet function as the leading drive for trafficking; that is

sex buyers. Sex buyers, usually referred to as Johns, are rarely punished for their actions, but significantly contribute to the victimization of sex-trafficked victims (Roe-Sepowitz, Ryon, Hickle, Gallagher, and Hedberg, 2016). Of the 78,000 arrests for prostitution related crimes, the sex buyers accounted for only 10% of those arrests (NIJ, 2007; Shively, Kliorys, Wheeler, & Hunt, 2012). By targeting those engaged in prostitution, it may only temporarily clear an area of visible exploitation, drive the market to other neighborhoods, or move the business indoors making it harder to detect (Shively et al., 2012). Moreover, prostituted people are in and out of the criminal justice system with few services provided for them, furthering their vulnerability to sexual exploitation. Studies have found a notable link between street prostitution and trafficking with a push for law enforcement, social service providers, policymakers, and the courts to view these individuals as more than low-level offenders (Farr, 2005; O'Connor & Healy, 2006; Shively et al., 2012). While there is no accurate count of the total number of prostitutes that are victims of sex trafficking or conduct their business independently, the presence of the illicit sex trade in a community is disparaging.

Current demand reduction strategies to deter buyers of sex include web-based and street-level reverse stings, increasing public awareness, neighborhood action, as well as post arrest tactics such as shaming and John Schools. Street level and web-based reverse stings are the most common anti-demand tactic, involving undercover decoys to pose as a prostituted person waiting to be approached by those attempting to purchase sex (Jetmore, 2008). Web based stings are especially favorable given that it requires less law enforcement effort than street level operations and they may be even more successful. Nearly one-quarter to one-third of sex trafficking cases are currently discovered through Internet searches and web stings (Farrell et al., 2012; Nichols &

Heil, 2014). Increasing public awareness and encouraging neighborhood action are important

reduction strategies as previous research has mentioned that the majority of cases identified are

through tips from the community. Shaming, as a post arrest tactic, involves publicizing identities

of arrested sex buyers. In a study comparing sex buyers with men who do not buy sex, 90% of

them agreed that the most effective deterrent to buying sex would be to list sex buyers on a sex

offender registry (Farley, Golding, Matthews, Malamuth, & Jarrett, 2015). Lastly, John Schools

act as a criminal justice diversion program where schools discuss health and legal consequences

for Johns if they were to continue engaging in commercial sex in addition to the negative impact

of it can have on the prostituted persons. An evaluation of a John School in San Francisco found

a 40% reduction in recidivism upon completion of the program, but not all programs even

contain information about human trafficking (Shively et al., 2012).

<u>The Nature of Crime and Drugs in Florida</u>

Although Florida is commonly known for tourist attractions, such as Walt Disney World,

Universal Studios, and countless other activities that coincide with the warm weather enjoyed

almost year round, in 2017 it contained 10 of the top 100 most dangerous cities in America (FBI,

2017 neighborhood scout website). The FBI used a violent crime rate per 1,000 population as a

comparative measure between cities with a population of 25,000 or more by compiling the

number of homicides, rapes, armed robberies, and aggravated assaults, dividing them by the

population of the city, which was then multiplied by 1,000. Daytona Beach, Florida, located in

Volusia County ranked highest on the list at 20, followed by the cities of Riviera Beach,

Homestead, Lake Worth, Tallahassee, Miami Beach, Fort Myers, Miami, Orlando, and Fort

Pierce (FBI, 2017). The violent crime rate per 1,000 residents in Daytona Beach (12.23) alone was three times the national median (4.3). With high violent crime rates throughout the sunshine state, there is a notable culture of violence that coincides with the environment human trafficking would be suspected to thrive in.

Florida is unique for the constant migration of people moving to the state and visiting each year. Along with being completely surrounded by water, this state is highly susceptible to international drug trafficking from South American countries to supply the demand in the states. Mexican drug trafficking operations are key distributors of cocaine, methamphetamine and marijuana in Central Florida and have strong, interconnected networks in place to elude law enforcement efforts (Orlando MBI, interview by NDIC IA, February 1, 2011, The National Drug Intelligence Center-Drug Market Analysis, 2011). In Central Florida, the High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area (HIDTA) region includes Hillsborough, Orange, Osceola, Pinellas, Polk, Seminole and Volusia County. In 2009 alone, HIDTA seized 10,831 kilograms of marijuana, and 256 kilograms in powder and crack cocaine, but in 2010 seized 6,311 kilograms of marijuana and 199 kilograms of cocaine (Central Florida HIDTA, 2011). Law enforcement officials suggest this decrease to be the result of those involved in drug trafficking operations becoming more aware of how investigations are conducted and not a decrease in the sale or demand for drugs (Polk County Sheriff's Department, interview by NDIC IA, March 2, 2011). Methamphetamine and Heroin busts were low in comparison to cocaine and marijuana, with the HIDTA seizing 30 kilograms of methamphetamine and 6 kilograms of heroin in 2010. In more recent years, heroin laced with a potent ingredient called fentanyl, has been a growing health public concern. According to the 2016 Medical examiners commission drug report, over the past 5 years there

has been a dramatic increase in heroin, especially fentanyl, in overdose cases. Moreover, similar to findings from the HIDTA drug market analysis of 2011, the medical examiners annual report emphasize the deadly consequences of prescription drug misuse. In 2016, there were 5,725 opioid-related deaths reported, a 35 percent increase from the previous year (Medical examiners report 2016).

Literature suggests there is a relationship between drug use among criminal populations and the frequency of involvement in illegal activities (McBride & McCoy, 1993). Research has noted that most have engaged in criminal behavior before or simultaneously with the initiation of any stable illegal drug pattern, such as cocaine, heroin, or marijuana (Anglin & Soeckart, 1988; Lockwood & Quinlan, 1993; McBride & McCoy, 1993). With this, there are implications that the use of drugs do not necessarily cause criminal behavior, but rather, drugs simply may have an influence on already criminal tendencies. Some drugs, such as heroin and controlled prescription pills, have been associated with property crime in order to obtain funds or access to support their habit (Finestone, 1957; McBride & McCoy, 1993; HIDTA). Others, like cocaine, have been linked to violent offenders and victims of violent crime (McBride, Burgman-Habermehl, Alpert, & Chitwood, 1986; McBride & McCoy, 1993).

Research not only indicates a link between flourishing drug markets and criminal activity, but that they are also part of a wider culture of deviance that often includes high-risk sexual behaviors (McBride & McCoy, 1993; Martinez, Rosenfeld, & Mares, 2008). Sex workers, in particular, are typically embedded within the same social space where a culture of violence persists. Thus, increasing sex workers vulnerability to violence in the form of assault, rape, and even murder by their pimps or customers, known as "Johns" (Surratt et al., 2004). In a study

14

conducted in Miami targeting active, drug-using, female sex workers, a substantial level of drug

use was identified, with as many as 74% of respondents admittedly using crack cocaine within

the last 30 days (Surratt et al., 2004). Forty-one percent of female sex workers reported a violent

date encounter, 25% claimed they have been beaten, and 14% asserted being threatened with a

weapon in the past year. The use of violence is a common way for women to be initially

introduced into the sex industry, particularly in the form of gang rapes by their traffickers

(Raymond & Hughes, 2001). It is also common for those in the sex industry to be addicted to

drugs; a habit forced on them by their traffickers and a way for victims to cope with the intense

level of victimization they constantly endure.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESES

Communities that exhibit factors of violent crime along with the prevalence of illicit drug markets create a culture of violence that overlaps with the nature of human trafficking. For this study exploring communal factors that may lead to crime and an increase in human trafficking arrests, Shaw and McKay's model of social disorganization will be used. While studying the culture of violence in a community through macrosocial explanations, researchers stray away from individual or psychological factors that may describe violent behavior, and instead look at communal influences to explain the reasons why violent crime is most often seen in urban inner-city areas (Gottesman & Brown, 1999; Surratt, Inciardi, Kurtz, & Kiley, 2004). Gottesman and Brown (1999. Pg 297), highlight this idea by characterizing violence in urban areas as "dense concentrations of socioeconomically disadvantaged persons with few legitimate avenues of social mobility, lucrative illegal markets for forbidden goods and services, a value system that rewards only survival and material success, and private enforcement of the informal rules of the game". These types of environments not only encourages violence over nonviolence in a community, but also exposes the generation of children to these conditions, who in turn, internalize violent behavior as a normal part of their culture (Shaw, Zorbaugh, McKay, Cottrell, 1929; Clark, 1992; Surratt et al., 2004).

In a landmark study in the city of Chicago, researchers analyzed structural sources of social disorganization that can explain where criminality is the most likely to occur. It was found that communities with higher levels of poverty, ethnic/racial heterogeneity, and residential mobility, were contributing factors that can explain variations in crime and delinquency (Shaw & McKay, 1942). The Shaw and McKay Model influenced later studies that directed their research

on more serious crimes, such as homicide, with findings revealing similar results. In Houston and Cleveland, homicides were disproportionately concentrated in areas of low socioeconomic status, undesirable neighborhood conditions, low median education, unemployment, and with the overall poorest health (Bensing & Schroeder, 1960; Bullock, 1955).

More recent literature suggests the importance of investigating the relationship of illicit drug activities and violent crime when explaining social disorganization structures in a community. Similar to violent crime being found in areas that exhibit the greatest indicators of social disorganization, drug abuse rates have also been found to be concentrated in these same environments of socioeconomic deprivation, residential instability, and population heterogeneity (Martinez et al., 2008). Early city-level research that used drug arrests as a measure for analysis to examine the connection between drugs and violence has shown that drug arrests is a significant determinant of other variations of violent crime when controlling for other variables between cities (Baumer, Lauritsen, Rosenfeld, & Wright, 1998; Martinez et al.2008). However, because this research could not be extended to predict the influence illegal drug activity has on the neighborhood level, a study was conducted in Miami, Florida to determine if the same variables found in socially disorganized communities that explain the distribution of violent crime can also describe the flow of drug activity. In their study, Martinez et al. (2008) found support for their hypothesis concluding areas of socioeconomic disadvantage and residential instability with higher concentration of aggravated assault and robbery also had high rates of drug activity. This suggests a relationship that should be further explored in studies that are looking into violent crimes and socially disorganized communities, such as this one.

<u>Hypotheses</u>

Employing social disorganization theory in my countywide analysis, I hypothesize that counties with the highest levels of violent crime and drug arrests are more likely to possess more human trafficking offenses compared to counties with lower rates of violent crime and drug activity. There are no current studies that assess the impact of demand reduction strategies and the influence it may have on human trafficking arrests. If a county has reported using demand reduction strategies, this can be an indicator that the county is making efforts to actively reduce the purchase of people for sexual exploitative reasons. Consequently, in this exploratory study, I hypothesize the presence of demand reduction strategies will have a positive effect on the number of human trafficking offenses recorded in a county.

Exogenous sources of disorganization include economic levels, mobility and family disruption (Sampson & Groves, 1989; Veysey & Messner, 1999). Poor communities lack money and resources, therefore; there are fewer organizational opportunities for adults and most importantly for youth populations to stray people away from criminal activities (Veysey & Messner; 1999). High rates of residential mobility have been found to operate as a barrier to the development of extensive friendships networks and local associational ties that, in turn, fail to reduce crime (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Sampson & Groves, 1989). Furthermore, family disruption may decrease informal social controls at the community level. Cohen and Felson (1979) theorized that two parent households provide increased supervision not only for their own children and household property, but also for general activities in the community. As a result, the percentage of families below poverty level, owner occupied units and single headed households are included in the study to analyze their impact on human trafficking offenses recorded in each

county. With a close association between tourism and human trafficking noted in the literature, tourism measures of the total number of interstate exits, if a county is metropolitan, and the number of hotel and motel rooms have been added to the study. Moreover, given the results of a similar countywide analysis of human trafficking found that counties participating in a HT task force was significant to a human trafficking arrest, I propose we will find similar conclusions.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA AND METHODS

This study attempts to seek a correlation between documented cases of human trafficking in respect to violent crime rates, drug arrests, the presence of demand reduction strategies, the percentage of homeowners, single male-headed households, single female-headed households, the percentage of families below poverty level, county membership in a task force, metropolitan measures, total exits, and total number of hotel and motel rooms from all 67 counties in the state of Florida. Data was gathered using court records from the Offender Based Transaction System (OBTS), Florida Department of Law Enforcement's public website, and the American Community Survey (ACS). Additional county-level and tourism measures of whether a county is a member of a human trafficking task force, if the county is metropolitan, the total exits, and the total number of hotel and motel rooms was retrieved from the Statewide Human Trafficking Coordinator (Florida Department of Children & Families, 2014), the State Department of Transportation at http://www.dot.state.fl.us/, and the Florida Department of Business and Professional Regulation at http://myfloridalicense.com/dbpr/hr/reports/statistics/hr-statistics.html (Huff-Corzine et al, 2017). The OBTS illustrates the number of charges at arrest, prosecutor action on arrest charges and court action on information filed by the prosecutor under the human trafficking statute as well as the number of defendants involved.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable used in this study is the number of human trafficking offenses reported to the Offender Based Transaction System (OBTS). Not surprisingly, there are very few counties that reported more than a handful of offenses each year. Thus the dependent variable

used in this study will be analyzed as a binary measure with counties that reported offenses under the human trafficking statute coded as (1) and counties that did not report an offense under the human trafficking statute coded as (0).

Independent Variables

The independent variables used in this study are the average rate of violent crimes, average rate of drug arrests, total number of demand reduction strategies, percentage of male and female householders, the percentage of owner occupied units, percentage of families below poverty level, membership in a task force, metropolitan measures, total number of exits, and the number of hotel and motel rooms combined in each county between 2012-2016. The *average rate of violent crime* is calculated to represent the rate per 100,000 to account for the differences in population in each county. The four offenses included in this rate are murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. Using the FDLE website, a sum of the four violent crimes, murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault for the 5 years in the analysis is calculated. The sum of each violent crime is then divided by the population of the county, and then multiplied by 100,000 in order to get the violent crime rate per 100,000 persons within a population. The *average rate of drug arrests* was calculated similar to the average rate of violent crime. A sum of drug arrests from each county over the 5 year period between 2012 and 2016 was documented, then divided by the population of the county, and then multiplied by 100,000 in order to get a drug arrest rate.

The *presence of demand reduction strategies* was found through a nationwide study supported by the National Institute of Justice on a website called Demandforum.net. On the website, I was able to browse all of the Florida counties to see if they have used any demand

reduction strategy that included reverse stings (1), web stings (2), public awareness programs (3), neighborhood action techniques (4), post arrest tactics e.g., shaming (5), and John schools (6). I recorded the number of demand reduction strategies from information presented on this website, with a range of counties reporting no demand reduction strategies as (0) to counties that had reports of utilizing all six demand reduction strategies as (6). Although findings from this study were published in 2014, they are still relevant in our 5-year analysis.

County-level characteristics were taken from the American Community Survey based on their five-year estimates of 2012-2016 documented by the U.S. Census Bureau. Being that the percentage of single headed households, owner occupied units and of families below poverty level has been used as traditional measures of social disorganization, we have also included these variables in the present study (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993; Huff-Corzine et al., 2017). The *percentage of single male-headed households* was calculated by dividing the number of male households with no wife present by the total number of family households, then multiplied by 100. The *percentage of female-headed households* was calculated by dividing the number of female households with no husband present by the total number of family households, then multiplied by 100. The *percentage of owner occupied units* was calculated by dividing the number of owner occupied units by the total number of households, then multiplied by 100. Moreover, *the percentage of families below poverty level* was calculated by dividing the variable labeled all families below poverty by the number of family households, then multiplied by 100.

Membership in a Task Force was obtained through the Florida Department of Children and Families as of 2014. If the county is a member of the task force it was coded as [1], and if the county is not a member it was coded as [0]. This variable is seen as a commitment from law

enforcement agencies to combat human trafficking (Huff-Corzine et al., 2017). As explained in the literature review, the state of Florida attracts over 97 million tourists each year (Orlando Sentinel, 2015). Therefore tourism measures are included to coincide with previous study's inclusion of these variables to predict their correlation with human trafficking. To determine if a county is *metropolitan,* following previous a previous study, the number of persons per square mile divided by the total population was used as a measure of 'urbanness' (Huff-Corzine et al., 2017). The *total number of exits* consists of the number of interstate exits within that county for the year of 2014. It is expected that states with high tourism attractions, such as Florida, escalates the demand for sex workers thus the final independent variable of the *total number of motel and hotel rooms* was documented using data from the Florida Department of Business and Professional Regulation.

Analytic Strategy

To begin, descriptive statistics were calculated to gain a better understanding of the variables used in this study and are reported in Table 1. Then an independent sample T test will be performed for all of the variables to compare the means in order to determine whether there is statistical evidence that the associated means are statistically different. Results are located in Table 2. This is done to provide an overview of how each test variable interacts with the human trafficking arrest variable before all of the independent variables are included together in a separate multivariate model. Given that the dependent variable in this study is dichotomous, with the presence of a human trafficking arrest labeled as (1) and no documentation of an arrest as (0), a binary logistic regression will be used to measure the significance of the independent variables

in Table 3. To ensure that multicollinearity is not an issue, before running the analysis, an OLS regression is calculated to assess all of the independent variables Variance Inflation Factors (VIFs). Conservative measures conclude that the variables in the model with VIFs less than four do not present any significant problems with multicollinearity (Fisher & Mason, 1981). When an OLS regression using the independent variables for this study was conducted, the VIFs ranged from 1.272 to 3.814, an acceptable scope that indicate that the results will not be significantly influenced by multicollinearity.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS

Descriptive statistics for all of the variables are shown below in Table 1 to identify the mean, standard deviation (SD), and minimum and maximum values of each measure used in this study. The dependent variable measures whether a county reports a human trafficking arrest as the maximum numeric of 1, and if the county did not have an arrest, or reported it to OBTS, it is the minimum of 0. The mean of .36 suggests that a majority of counties in our study either did not have a human trafficking arrest in their county or did not report to OBTS. The average violent crime rate is 391.53, with Liberty County accounting for the lowest violent crime rate of 78.88 and Taylor County possessing the highest violent crime rate. Taylor is one of the smaller counties in Florida, with an average of almost 23,000 people residing in it a year. However over the past couple of years, there has been an increase in aggravated assault arrests that could explain such a high violent crime rate for this smaller population. The average drug arrest rate is 646.31, with Lafayette County representing the lowest drug arrest rate of 145.62 and Gulf County possessing the highest drug arrest rate at 1405.31. Similar to Taylor County, Gulf County has a populace a little above 16,000 people, thus inflating their drug arrests when it is converted to a drug arrest rate per 100,000 people. The total demand reduction strategies had a mean of 1.63. Half of counties had at least one demand reduction strategy, meanwhile Dade County possessed all six strategies.

From the sociodemographic variables, it was a surprise to see such a high average for the percentage of property owners at 71%, as Leon County had a minimum of 52% of owners and Sumter County reported more than 90% of people owned their own property. An average of 8% of family households are single male headed households without a wife present while single

female headed households without a husband present are slightly above this average at 19%.

Sumter and Lafayette County both had the lowest percentage of single male households at 2%

while Volusia County reported the highest percentage at 28%. Sumter County also had the

lowest percentage of single female households as well as Volusia County also reported the

highest percentage of single female households without a husband present at 34%. The average

percentage of families below poverty level is on the lower end at around 13%, with Dade

accounting for the minimum percentage of families below poverty level at 3% and Madison

County reporting the highest percentage of families below poverty level at 23%. It is probable

that a higher percentage of families are struggling financially than these estimates suggest,

however. The mean of .49 for the membership of a task force suggests that the number of

counties that are a part of a task force, and those that are, not are fairly even. The average of total

exits in a county is around 8, with a handful of counties possessing no interstate exits while

Duval County has 80. The average total number of hotel and motel units is about 6062, as Union

County did not report any units available while not surprisingly so, Orange County, located in

Orlando, has the highest number of reported units for tourists at 87,662.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics (N=67)

Variable	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum
HT Arrest	.36	.48	0	1
Average Violent Crime Rate	391.53	175.85	78.88	900.57
Average Drug Arrest Rate	646.31	239.07	145.62	1405.31
Total Demand Reduction Strategies	1.63	1.83	0	6
Percentage of Owners	71.27	7.73	52.21	90.19
Percentage of Single Male Households	8.11	4.53	2.13	28.65
Percentage of Single Female Households	19.15	5.01	6.54	34.41
Percentage of Families Below Poverty	12.92	4.69	3.69	23.54
Membership of Task Force	.49	.50	0	1
Metropolitan	.10	.308	0	1
Total Exits	8.06	14.63	0	80.00
Total hotel/motel Units	6062.37	13191.26	0	87662.00

Table 2 presents a series of independent sample T-tests that were conducted to compare the means of each independent variable to see if there is statistical evidence that the mean of the test variable is significantly different. For all of the T-tests, human trafficking arrests was my grouping variable so the counties having no reports of a human trafficking arrest was 0, and the counties that had at least one arrest was 1. Then in each T test, one of my independent variables acted as the test variable. My null hypothesis states that there is no difference in means of my test variable and my alternative hypothesis states that there is a difference in means of my test variable. When the independent samples test was conducted for the presence of demand reduction strategies, percentage of owners, percentage of families below poverty level, membership of a task force, metropolitan counties, the total number of exits, and the total number of hotel and motel units as the test variable, it showed a significant difference in means thus, rejecting my null hypothesis. Average violent crime rate, average drug arrest rate, the percentage of single male-headed households, and the percentage of female-headed households

did not provide statistical evidence of a difference in means, therefore supporting my null hypothesis.

The presence of demand reduction strategies, provided statistical evidence that there is a higher number of demand reduction strategies in counties that have a human trafficking arrest, t(65)=-5.757, p=.000. The percentage of owners in a county displayed statistical evidence that the means were significant, t(65)=3.410, p=.001, as a result stating that there are fewer homeowners in counties where there is a presence of human trafficking arrests. Significant findings from the percentage of families below poverty level, t(60.119)=2.271, p=.027, suggests that a lower mean percentage of families below the poverty level reside in counties that had at least one human trafficking arrest, compared to a higher mean percentage of families below poverty level in counties that did not report a human trafficking arrest. This was an unexpected outcome based on the literature review and implications of the social disorganization theory that suggests areas with higher poverty rates produce more violent crime and arrests. County membership in a human trafficking task force indicated a significant difference in means between counties with, and those without, a task force, t(65)=-3.066), p=.001. Counties with a human trafficking arrest were much more likely to have an organized task force compared to the counties that did not have a task force. This is similar to past literature that concluded being a member of a human trafficking task force was a significant variable in predicting human trafficking arrests (Huff-Corzine et al., 2017). Results from the independent t tests also revealed that the metropolitan, t(26.090)=-2.432, p=.022, the total number of highway exits, t(38.203)=-2.838, p=.007, and the total number of hotel and motel units, t(24.475)=-2.707, p=.012, found significant differences in the means. This means that counties with at least one human trafficking

arrest were more likely to be metropolitan, have more total exits, and a greater number of hotel

and motel units than the counties that did not report a human trafficking arrest.

Table 2: Independent Samples Test Results

Variable	HT Arrest (N=24)	No HT Arrest (N=43)	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		T-test for Equality of Means		
	Mean	Mean	F	Sig	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Average Violent Crime Rate	433.300	368.212					
Equal variances assumed			1.194	.279	-1.465	65	.148
Equal variances not assumed					-1.611	61.062	.112
Average Drug Arrest Rate	647.121	645.853					
Equal variances assumed			4.854	.031	-.021	65	.984
Equal variances not assumed					-.023	62.820	.982
Total Demand Reduction Strategies	3.041	.837					
Equal variances assumed			.357	.552	-5.757	65	.000*
Equal variances not assumed					-5.460	40.814	.000
Percentage of Owners	.673	.735					
Equal variances assumed			1.614	.208	3.410	65	.001*
Equal variances not assumed					3.249	41.354	.002
Percentage of Single Male Households	.077	.083					
Equal variances assumed			1.127	.292	.533	65	.596
Equal variances not assumed					.530	47.092	.598
Percentage of Single Female Households	.201	.186					
Equal variances assumed			.010	.921	1.126	65	.264
Equal variances not assumed					1.123	47.260	.267
Percentage of Families Below Poverty	.114	.138					
Equal variances assumed			8.941	.004	2.082	65	.041
Equal variances not assumed					2.271	60.119	.027*
Membership of Task Force	.75	.35					
Equal variances assumed			3.120	.082	-3.361	65	.001*
Equal variances not assumed					-3.445	51.281	.001
Metropolitan	.25	.02					
Equal variances assumed			54.022	.000	-3.066	65	.003
Equal variances not assumed					-2.432	26.090	.022*
Total Exits	14.958	4.209					
Equal variances assumed			6.518	.013	-3.062	65	.003
Equal variances not assumed					-2.838	38.203	.007*
Total hotel/motel Units	13081.88	2144.51					
Equal variances assumed			16.194	.000	-3.524	65	.001
Equal variances not assumed					-2.707	24.475	.012*

* $p < .05$.

The last stage of the analysis includes all of the independent variables in a binary logistic regression model, located below in Table 3. A review of the chi-square statistics shows that this model has a Nagelkerke R square of .476. Although there were a handful of variables that indicated significant differences in the mean throughout the independent samples test, only one variable in the binary logistic regression model, when included with all of the variables, showed significance. As noted below, the total demand reduction strategies, at a significant level of .04, suggest a positive correlation with the presence of a human trafficking arrest. Therefore, with a one-unit increase in demand reduction strategies, there is a 74.8% increase in the odds of having a human trafficking arrest.

Table 3: Binary Logistic Regression Results of Independent Variables Impacting Human Trafficking Arrests in the Florida Counties (N=67)

Variable	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Average Violent Crime Rate	.000	.003	.000	.991	1.000
Average Drug Arrest Rate	.000	.002	.019	.892	1.000
Total Demand Reduction Strategies	.559	.272	4.224	.040*	1.748
Percentage of Owners	-1.113	6.651	.028	.867	.329
Percentage of Single Male Households	-8.503	11.591	.538	.463	.000
Percentage of Single Female Households	11.313	12.561	.811	.368	81875.587
Percentage of Families Below Poverty	-9.116	11.085	.676	.411	.000
Membership of Task Force	.839	.775	1.169	.280	2.313
Metropolitan	.930	2.061	.204	.652	2.536
Total Exits	-.044	.045	.961	.327	.957
Total hotel/motel Units	.000	.000	.371	.543	1.000

* $p < .05$.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

In this study looking into county-level characteristics related to human trafficking in the state of Florida, I hypothesized that each one of the independent variables would have some effect on the likelihood of a human trafficking arrest occurring in that county. From past research on the culture of violence, I was particularly interested in the correlation between the average violent crime rate and drug arrest rate in regard to the incidence of a human trafficking arrest. It was expected that communities with high rates of violent crime and widespread drug activity represent an environment conducive with other types of violence and victimization to occur, such as human trafficking. Findings from the independent samples test and binary logistic regression, however, suggest that the average rate of violent crime and drug arrests in a county were not significant. With these results, it cannot be assumed that human trafficking occurs in counties where there are higher rates of violent crime or drug arrests, highlighting the truly hidden nature of human trafficking.

Under the assumptions using the social disorganization theory, this study included the percentage of families below poverty level, percentage of owners, and percentages of single male-headed, and female-headed households. The percentages of single-male and single female headed households were not found to be significant in our independent samples test and binary logistic regression. The percentage of owner and percentage of families below poverty level were found to have significant differences in the means, but were not found to be significant when added to the binary logistic regression model with all of the other variables. Tourism measures of whether a county is metropolitan or not, the total number of exits, and the total number of hotel/motel rooms were also found to have significant differences in the means, but not found to

be significant when added to the binary logistic regression model. In addition to if a county was a part of a human trafficking task force produced similar results of not being significant in the binary logistic regression model, but exhibiting a significant difference in means in the independent samples test. These findings suggest further exploration of these variables without including them together in the same model.

The total number of demand reduction strategies was the only variable that indicated a significant difference in means and was a significant variable in the binary logistic regression to explain the likelihood of a human trafficking arrest. For my study, while collecting data on the demand reduction strategies in the Florida counties, I found at least one strategy was being used in a majority of the counties. Street and web-based stings were the most common forms of demand reduction efforts. Given that these findings suggest that in relation to the other variables included in this study, the number of the demand reduction strategies were significant to the presence of a human trafficking arrest, there should be added attention to implementing more demand reduction strategies in every county. Efforts to combat human trafficking are typically on saving the victims from their environment and attempting to build a case on those who trafficked these victims. While these should still remain as focused efforts among law enforcement, it is important to target those who are driving this lucrative business as well. Without the demand from buyers, human trafficking would be nonexistent. Although it is unrealistic to conclude that human trafficking could be eradicated, more devotion to halting the demand from buyers that drive this type of criminality should be explored.

Strengths and Limitations

Given that research on human trafficking is severely understudied, this study adds to the limited body of literature that strives to unveil the prevalence of this human right issue. While I hypothesized that all of the variables included in my binary logistic regression model would be significant, uncovering the importance of demand reduction strategies in a county is a noteworthy find. Moreover, this study is the first, to my knowledge, to explore the correlation between human trafficking, crime, demand reduction strategies as well as sociodemographic variables and tourism measures. With all studies come limitations, however. Data collection on the prevalence of human trafficking is extremely difficult. As highlighted in my literature review, there are attitudinal barriers among law enforcement, challenges working with victims, and prosecutorial obstacles that challenge the current value of arrests under a human trafficking statute. Thus it is possible that the Offender Based Transaction System, where I retrieved data for my dependent variable, does not accurately paint a picture of where human trafficking arrests occur given cases are commonly hidden under different charges.

Future Research and Conclusions

Future research should continue studying variables that could explain what influences the likelihood of a human trafficking arrest. Since the results from this study suggests that demand reduction strategies are significant for predicting where a human trafficking arrest occurs, there should be more research that evaluates these strategies. For my study, I documented counties that have used web stings, street stings, public awareness, and neighborhood action as well as post arrest tactics such as shaming and john schools. It would be interesting for future research to

focus on these strategies to determine which strategy is the most likely to uncover a human trafficking victim. Data collection on the prevalence of human trafficking has been extremely difficult to measure, however, as data collection on this crime continues, more accurate analyses should be explored in further understanding the relationship between human trafficking and violence. In our study, human trafficking arrests were used as dichotomous variables being that most counties did not have a very high number of cases. Over the next few years, as law enforcement and federal agencies attempt to collect a more accurate measure of victims and perpetrators of this crime, analyses should include the number of human trafficking cases in relation to violent crime and drug arrest rates. It is likely that using the number of human trafficking cases, as opposed to comparing these variables to the presence of a human trafficking case, will offer different and statistically significant results. It is unrealistic to expect a complete eradication of human trafficking, but continued efforts toward spreading awareness and educating the public of this issue has the capability of changing the direction of the lives of victims.

REFERENCES

Albonetti, C. (1987). Prosecutorial discretion: the effects of uncertainty. *Law & Society Review*, 21, 291–313.

Anglin, M. D., & Speckart, F. (1988). Narcotics use and crime: A multi sample, multi method analysis. *Criminology,* 26, 197-233. Google Scholar, Crossref, ISI

Banks, D., & Kyckelhahn, T. (2011). Characteristics of Suspected Human Trafficking Incidents, 2008-2010. *PsycEXTRA Dataset*. doi:10.1037/e725812011-001

Baumer, E., Lauritsen, J.L., Rosenfeld, R., Wright, R. (1998). The influence of crack cocaine on robbery, burglary, and homicide rates: A cross-city, longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*. 1998;35:316–340.

Bensing, R. C., & Schroeder, O. (1960). *Homicide in an urban community*. Springfield (Ill.): Charles C. Thomas.

Bittner, E. (1967). The police on skid row: A study of peace keeping. *American Sociological Review* 32 (5):699-715.

Bradley, C. (2014). *10 states cashing in on tourism*. Retrieved from http://www.investopedia.com/financial-edge/

Bursik, R. J., & Grasmick, H. G. (1993). Neighborhoods and crime: *The dimensions of effective community control.* New York, NY: Lexingtington Books.

Central Florida High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area Drug Market Analysis: Drug Market Analysis 2011. (2011). *PsycEXTRA Dataset*. doi:10.1037/e511952010-001

Clark, C. M. (1992). Deviant adolescent subcultures: Assessment strategies and clinical interventions. *Adolescence*, 27(106), 283-293.

Clawson, H., Dutch, N., Cummings, M. (2006). Law Enforcement Response to Human Trafficking and the Implications for Victims. *ICPSR Data Holdings*. doi:10.3886/icpsr20423.v1

Clawson, H., Dutch, N. (2008). Addressing the needs of victims of human trafficking challenges, barriers, and promising practices. Washington, DC: ICF International.

Cohen, L. E., & Felson, M. (1979). Social Change and Crime Rate Trends: A Routine Activity Approach. *American Sociological Review, 44*(4), 588. doi:10.2307/2094589

De Baca, L., Tisi, A., (2002). Working Together to Stop Modern-Day Slavery. *Police Chief*. 69 (8): 78–80.

Farley, M., Golding, J. M., Matthews, E. S., Malamuth, N. M., & Jarrett, L. (2015). Comparing Sex Buyers With Men Who Do Not Buy Sex: New Data on Prostitution and Trafficking. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 32*(23), 3601-3625. doi:10.1177/0886260515600874

Farr, K. (2005). *Sex Trafficking: The Global Market in Women and Children*. New York: Worth Publishers.

Farrell, A., McDevitt, J., Fahy, S. (2008). Understanding and Improving Law Enforcement Responses to Human Trafficking: Final Report. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Farrell, A., McDevitt, J., & Fahy, S. (2010). Where are all the victims? *Criminology & Public Policy.* 9, 201-233.

Farrell, A., McDevitt, J., Pfeffer, R., Fahy, S., Owens, C., Dank, M., Adams, W. (2012). Understanding Challenges to Improve the Investigation and Prosecution of State and Local Human Trafficking Cases. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.

Farrell, A. (2013). Environmental and Institutional Influences on Police Agency Responses to Human Trafficking. *Police Quarterly.* 17(1), 3-29. doi:10.1177/1098611113495050

Farrell, A., Owens, C., McDevitt. (2014). New Laws but Few Cases: Understanding the Challenges to the Investigation and Prosecution of Human Trafficking Cases. *Crime, Law, and Social Change.* 61 (2): 139-168

Farrell, A., Pfeffer, R., & Bright, K. (2015). Police perceptions of human trafficking. *Journal of Crime and Justice, 38*(3), 315-333. doi:10.1080/0735648x.2014.995412

FBI- Human Trafficking, 2015. (2015). Retrieved from https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2015/crime-in-the-u.s.-2015/additional-reports/human-trafficking/humantrafficking_-2015-_final

FBI-Top 100 most dangerous places to live in the USA. (2017). Retrieved from https://www.neighborhoodscout.com/blog/top100dangerous

Finestone, H. (1957). Narcotics and criminality. *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 9, 69-85.

Fisher, J. C., & Mason, R. L. (1981). The Analysis of multicollinear data in criminology. In J. A. Fox (Ed.), *Methods in quantitative criminology* (pp. 99-125). New York, NY: Academic Press.

Frohmann, L. (1997). Convictability and discordant locales: reproducing race, class and gender ideologies in prosecutorial decision-making. *Law &Society Review*, 31, 531–555.

Gottesman, R., & Brown, R. M. (Eds.). (1999). Violence in America: *An encyclopedia (Vol. 3).* New York: Scribner.

Haynes, DF. 2007. (Not) Found chained to a bed in a brothel: conceptual, legal and procedural failures to fulfill the promise of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act. *Georgetown Immigr. Law.* 21:337-81.

Huff-Corzine, L., Sacra, S. A., Corzine, J., & Rados, R. (2017). Florida's task force approach to combat human trafficking: An analysis of county-level data. *Police Practice and Research, 18*(3), 245-258. doi:10.1080/15614263.2017.1291567

International Labor Organization (ILO). 2012. ILO Global Estimate of Forced Labor: Results and Methodology. *Geneva: Special Action Program to Combat Forced Labor, International Labor Organization.*

Ireland, K. (1993). Sexual exploitation of children and international travel and tourism. *Child Abuse Review*, 2, 263–270.

Kara, S. (2011). Designing more effective laws against human trafficking. *Northwest. J. Int. Hum. Rights* 9(2):123-47.

Kasarda, J., Janowitz, M. (1974). "Community Attachment in Mass Society." *American Sociological Review*. 39:328-39.

Kerstetter, W. (1990). Gateway to justice: police and prosecutorial response to sexual assaults against women. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 81, 267–313. Markon, J. (2007). Human trafficking evokes outrage, little evidence: U.S. estimates thousands of victims but efforts to find them fall short. *Washington Post*. September 23.

Lee, M. (2011). *Trafficking and global crime control*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Martínez, R., Rosenfeld, R., & Mares, D. (2008). Social Disorganization, Drug Market Activity, and Neighborhood Violent Crime. *Urban Affairs Review*, 43(6), 846-874. doi:10.1177/1078087408314774

Martinez, Judge Wilfredo. (2018). Personal communication.

McBride D. C., Burgman-Habermehl, C., Alpert, J., & Chitwood, D. D. (1986). Drugs and homicide. *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, 62, 497-508.

Mcbride, D. C., & Mccoy, C. B. (1993). The Drugs-Crime Relationship: An Analytical Framework. *The Prison Journal, 73*(3), 257-278. doi:10.1177/0032855593073003002

McCarthy, L. (2015). Trafficking Justice. Ithaca, BY: *Cornell Univ. Press*. In press

Musto, J. (2013). Domestic minor sex trafficking and the detention-to-protection pipeline. *Dialect. Anthropol.* 37 (2):257-76.

National Human Trafficking Resource Center. (2015). *Hotline statistics*. Retrieved from http://www/ traffickingresourcecenter.org/state/florida

Newton, P., Mulcahy, T., Martin, S. (2008). Finding Victims of Human Trafficking. *Bethesda: National Opinion Research Center.*

O'Connor, M. & Healy, G. (2006). The Link Between Prostitution and Sex Trafficking: A Briefing Handbook. *Coalition Against Trafficking in Women.*

Oram S., Stickl, H., Busza.J, Howard, LM., Zimmerman, C. (2012). Prevalence and risk of violence and the physical, mental, and sexual health problems associated with human trafficking: systematic review. PLOS Med. 9(5):1-13

Orlando Sentinel. (2015). Tourists visiting Florida top 97 million in 2014. Available at http://www.orlandosentinel.com/business/os-ap-tourism-numbers-20150216-story.html

Polaris. (2014). *A look back: Building a human trafficking legal framework*. Retrieved from http://www.polarisproject. org/storage/2014SRM-capstone-report.pdf

Roe-Sepowitz, D., Ryon, S. B., Hickle, K., Gallagher, J. M., & Hedberg, E. C. (2016). Invisible Offenders: Estimating Online Sex Customers. *Journal of Human Trafficking*. 2(4), 272-280. doi:10.1080/23322705.2015.1107711

Sadruddin, H., Walter, N., Hidalgo, J. (2005). Human trafficking in the United States: expanding victim protection beyond prosecution witnesses. *Stanford Law & Policy Review*. 16, 379-416.

Sampson, R. J., Groves, W. B. (1989). Community Structure and Crime: Testing Social-Disorganization Theory. *American Journal of Sociology*. 94(4), 774-802. doi:10.1086/229068

Shaw, C., Zorbaugh, F., McKay, H., Cottrell, L. (1929). Delinquency Areas. *Chicago: University of Chicago Press.*

Shaw, C., McKay, H. (1942). Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas. *Chicago: University of Chicago Press.*

Shively, M., Kliorys, K., Wheeler, K., & Hunt, D. (2012) National Overview of Prostitution and Sex Trafficking Demand Reduction Efforts (*Final report* 2008-JJ_CX-0010).

Spears, J. W., & Spohn, C. (1997). The effect of evidence factors and victim characteristics on prosecutors' charging decisions in sexual assault cases. *Justice Quarterly*, 14, 501–524.

Stanko, E. (1982). The impact of victim assessment on prosecutor's screening decisions: the case of the New York County District Attorney's Office. Law & Society Review, 16, 225–

240. U.S. Department of Justice. (2004). *Anti-Trafficking News Bulletin*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division.

Surratt, H.L., Inciardi, J.A., Kurtz, S.P., & Kiley, M.C. (2004). Sex work and drug use in a subculture of violence. *Crime & Delinquency*, 50(1):43-59.

The Florida Senate- Human Trafficking Bill 545. (2016). Retrieved from http://flsenate.gov/Session/Bill/2016/0545.

US Census Bureau. (2014). *Florida quick facts from the US Census Bureau*. Retrieved from http://quickfacts.census.gov/ qfd/states/1200.html

U.S. Department of State. (2012). *Trafficking in persons report*. Washington, DC: Author.

U.S. Department Of State. (2014). *Trafficking in persons report*. Retrieved from https://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2014/

Warren KB. 2012. Troubling the victim/trafficker dichotomy in efforts to combat human trafficking: the unintended consequences of moralizing labor migration. *Indiana J. Glob. Leg. Stud.* 19(1):105–20

Weitzer, R. (2012). Sex trafficking and the sex industry: the need for evidence-based theory and legislation. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 101, 1337–1370.

Wilson D., Walsh W., Kleuber, S. (2006). Trafficking in Human Beings: Training and Services Among U.S. Law Enforcement Agencies. *Police Practice and Research* 7 (2): 149-160

Veysey, B. M., & Messner, S. F. (1999). Further Testing of Social Disorganization Theory: An Elaboration of Sampson and Grovess "Community Structure and Crime". *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency.* 36(2), 156-174. doi:10.1177/0022427899036002002