

The Nature of the Relationship between Sex Traffickers and their Victims:

A Scoping Review

by

Melina de Kock

Submitted in partial requirement for the degree of

Master of Arts

In

Counselling Psychology

In the

Faculty of Humanities

At the

University of Pretoria

Supervisor: Dr A. van der Westhuizen

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I understand what plagiarism is and am aware of university policy and implications in this regard.

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I, Barbara Wood, am a PEG-registered professional researcher and editor and hereby confirm (excluding appended references) that I have language-edited:

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BARBARA WOOD

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Abstract

Academic research currently available on human trafficking has been criticised for employing poorly designed methodologies and a lack of research based on primary data. Only a limited number of resources have supplied primary research in the field. Although victim and trafficker characteristics and the complexity involved during the trafficking process have been investigated, there is a further need for moving away from simplified victim-oriented research, giving way to more focus on understanding the nature of the complex relationship between sex traffickers and their victims, which can include both physical and psychological relationship dynamics. It can be argued that understanding these complex relationship dynamics and interactions during the trafficking process between offenders and victims play a large role in traffickers' acquisition and retention of victims, and thus, is essential information to obtain. Therefore, the need for a scoping review is important to understanding the nature of this relationship, which can influence the efficacy of counter human trafficking strategies. The purpose of this study was to explore the range, extent, and nature of primary research on the relationship between sex traffickers and their victims of trafficking, published between and including the years 2007 and 2017. This research used a methodological framework for conducting a scoping study developed by Arksey and O'Malley (2005), thereafter revised by Levac, Colquhoun and O'Brian (2010). Data analysis was conducted through a directed content analysis to extract qualitative data from the findings, and reported and summarised the findings according to categories developed by the Duluth Power and Control Wheel for Sex and Labour Trafficking. This scoping review found that an additional category regarding the sex trafficker and victim relationship, not listed in the Power and Control Wheel, was consistently reported in selected articles. This researcher introduces the Augmented Sex Trafficking Power and Control Wheel and recommends that the existing wheel be updated to include Affective Kinship and its characteristics as one of

the most common elements found in the nature of the relationship between sex traffickers and their victims. Thirty one articles were included and analysed in this scoping review.

Keywords: Duluth Model, Human trafficking, Power and Control Wheel, Relationship, Scoping review, Sex trafficking, Trafficker, Victim of trafficking

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Chapter One

Human trafficking is a global phenomenon to which no country is immune. Many governments around the world have made it their priority to combat trafficking and have engaged in international agreements that facilitate multilateral response. The main framework for uniting governments around defining and combating human trafficking is the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (Palermo Protocol), Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime signed in Palermo, Italy, in 2000 (Laczko, 2005).

Victims of modern slavery are exploited in every region of the world, compelled into exploitative situations for labour or commercial sex in the real world of industry and on the pages of the internet (Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000, 2000). In 2017, the International Labour Organization (ILO) estimated that, 24.9 million people were trapped in forced labour of which approximately 4.8 million were forced into sexual exploitation. By 2020, the incidence of trafficking is expected to increase in profitability to criminals and surpass arms and drug trafficking (Schauer & Wheaton, 2006). It should, however, be noted that given its clandestine nature, statistics on human trafficking represent only estimates (Caballero-Anthony, 2013).

Definition of human trafficking

Until the mid-1990s, trafficking had been regarded as a type of illegal immigration and a form of human smuggling, which contributed to the difficulties associated with data collection and classification. The distinct global definition of the trafficking emerged only after the signing of the Palermo Protocol (Caballero-Anthony, 2013). This study uses Article 3 of the Palermo Protocol for the definition of human trafficking.

The Palermo Protocol defines trafficking as the:

Recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, 2018, p.3).

According to the Palermo Protocol (2000), the definition of human trafficking consists of three elements. The first element defines the acts committed by traffickers to obtain persons for trafficking purposes such as their recruitment or transport. The second element of the definition of trafficking is the means. This refers to the methods used by traffickers to facilitate the first element and includes acts such as threats, deceit, and the abuse of vulnerability. The third component of the definition refers to the forms of exploitation used by traffickers to generate profits such as sexual exploitation or forced labour. When children are trafficked, the second element is not necessary to identify whether a child [under 18] is the victim of human trafficking (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011, p.46; Laczko & Danailova-Traino, 2009, p.181; United States Department of State, 2014, p.24).

The United Nations (UN) definition of human trafficking is widely used by most international agencies, including the ILO, United Nations Office for Drug and Crime (UNODC), and the International Office for Migration (IOM), but it is still considered to be

limited as it might overlook, for example, internal trafficking (Caballero-Anthony, 2013). Most signatories of the Palermo Protocol had to use the international treaty's definition in their own legislation, but would have expanded on such as to cover local context. For this reason, various countries have adopted their own working definitions, while still recognising the UN definition (Caballero-Anthony, 2013, p.221). For example, the United States Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA) emphasised that sexually exploiting minors for financial gains still qualifies as sex trafficking, even if the first and second elements of the Palermo Protocol are not met. According to the TVPA:

Severe human trafficking is defined as (a) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, OR in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age or (b) the recruitment, harbouring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labour or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery (Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000, p.1470).

Prostitution versus sex trafficking remains a controversial debate; however, Luty and Lanier (2012) noted that prostitution is simply a type of work, a “voluntary sex work”, and should not be paralleled with “sexual exploitation” (p.556), unless the individual is under 18 years old. Most authorities are of the notion that adults introducing children to the sex industry constitutes sexual exploitation (Estes & Weiner, 2001).

Human trafficking for sexual exploitation

UNODC reported that 54% of detected trafficking victims were trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2016). It should be noted that in academic literature, there is a difference of opinions whether or not all types

of prostitution should be considered as forced. Based on the typology of prostitution regimes created by Outshoorn (2004), three different policy regimes are identified in regard to prostitution. Abolitionism alludes to the strategy, whereby prostitution ought to be prohibited by criminalising third parties. Prohibitionism makes prostitution unlawful and holds the prostitute liable to punishments. Regulation alludes to the approach, whereby prostitution is legalised and controlled. Jakobsson and Kotsadam (2011) clarify that abolitionists and prohibitionists frequently reject distinction between "free" and "forced" prostitution and view all prostitution as unsafe and harmful, whereas those favouring the sex-work concept make an obvious distinction based on the level of "choice" (p.91) and along these lines denounce trafficking. This study does not aim to take a philosophical viewpoint. It uses the term sex trafficking and human trafficking for sexual exploitation interchangeably and adheres to the definitions set out by the Palermo Protocol (2000) and informed by the TVPA (2000), which generally constitutes the lack of agency and exploitation in terms of forced labour under isolation and deprivation of economic means.

Women constitute the largest share of victims trafficked for sexual exploitation (IOM, 2016). Women and girls who are trafficked and exploited sexually are often tricked by people known to them or their families with guarantees of employment as babysitters, maids, or servers and then exploited or forced into sex work (Zimmerman, Hossain, Yun, Gajdadziev & Tchomarova, 2008). The traffickers employ a wide range of tactics as control measures such as physical abuse, emotional torture, sexual assault, confiscating monetary means/earnings of the victimised individuals and sometimes even renaming the victims (Feingold, 2005). The traffickers can comprise a wide range of persons, including the recruiters, the transporters, receivers, brothel keepers, corrupt border guards and the producers of false documents for the victim (Ebbe & Das, 2008). Based on the estimates by IOM (2016), women remain in captivity for the duration of two and a half years on average. Sex trafficking is a critical

health issue with wider social ramifications that require both legal and medical consideration due to the fact that sex trafficking victims are susceptible to unfavourable physical and mental health conditions as well as social disadvantages as a result (Deshpande & Nour, 2013).

Need for the current study

Distinguishable gaps in literature have been found, describing restricted research utilising quantitative data, data analysis, or longitudinal studies that go past descriptive information (Russel, 2018). Sex trafficking is not just a crime of relational nature, but an organised crime activity as well (Verhoeven, Gestel, Jong & Kleemans, 2013). Unfortunately, there remains a lack of comprehensive understanding of the relationship between the victims and the traffickers as many of the existing studies draw evidence from the same well of existing government reports (Weitzer, 2014). Gozdziaik and Bump (2008) discovered that few published journal articles were based on primary data through their ongoing effort to construct a thorough bibliography on sex trafficking literature. Of the few published journal articles found, most depended greatly on interviews and stories with key stakeholders, such as journalists, owners of massage parlours, law enforcement officials, and former sex trafficking victims who had involvement with the research population (Zhang, 2009). Russel (2018) replicated the study by Gozdziaik and Bump (2008) and discovered that many of the gaps in research remained, even though there has been an expansion in research on the human trafficking topic since their report. Zhang (2009) noted that a lack of empirical studies involving primary data between traffickers and victims adds to the current discourse on human trafficking. Primary data collected from the participants involved in the human trafficking process are crucial on an institutional level because survivors play a very important role in counter-trafficking efforts and provide essential tools that communities, prosecutors, and investigators need in order to combat and prevent human trafficking (United

States Department of State, 2018). This information is of importance to many stakeholders, such as social service providers involved in post-trafficking care of victims. Who would then be able to gain a better understanding into the process of trafficking and accumulate data on victim experiences in the context of physical and mental health, as well as evaluate the impact of sex trafficking in an attempt to aid victims in their rehabilitation and reintegration. Additionally, this information is essential to law enforcement in terms of combating this crime.

Systematic reviews of literature make it possible to evaluate the published research and recognise areas for development, especially as new data are fed into the existing data sources (Russel, 2018). The current study utilised a scoping review type of systematic literature review. Scoping reviews have become a well-known methodology for synthesising research and gathering, assessing and presenting the available research findings (Pham, Rajić, Greig, Sargeant, Papadopoulos & McEwen, 2014). The importance of focusing on primary research in contrast to research drawn from a multitude of sources comes from the conviction that primary research is characterised by external validity and reproducibility (Davis, Drey & Gould, 2009). The significance of focusing on the nature of the relationship between the victim and the trafficker is to help identify trafficking situations, to offer aid to victims as well as for the successful prosecution of cases (Verhoeven et al, 2013). Gozdziaik, Graveline, Skippings and Song (2015) pointed out that critical observations about the state of research-based knowledge on human trafficking is of importance to policy discussions regarding trafficking in persons and for post-trafficking care programmes for trafficked victims. Kleemans (2011) further argued that these complex relationship dynamics and interactions during the trafficking process between offenders and victims played a large role in traffickers' acquisition and retention of victims of this crime and consequently influence the effectiveness of counter-human trafficking strategies. Although victim characteristics, and to

a lesser extent, trafficker characteristics (Troshynski & Blank, 2008) and the complexity involved during the trafficking process (van der Watt & van der Westhuizen, 2017) have been investigated, Kleemans (2011) encouraged researchers to move away from simplified victim-oriented research and focus more on understanding the nature of the complex interactions or nature of the relationship between traffickers and their victims, which can include both physical and psychological relationship dynamics (Kruger & Oosthuizen, 2011). A scoping review of research focusing on the nature of the relationship between sex traffickers and their victims is thus essential for understanding this complex dynamic.

Aim and objectives of the study

Gozdziak and Collett (2005) stated that there is lack of research on the nature of the relationship between victims and their traffickers. In addition, Ali (2005) asserted that there should be greater focus on the actual relationship between the various actors within human trafficking. Due to the physical and psychological damage victims face as a result of the nature of the trafficker and victim interaction, it is vital to gather as much current data as possible to provide policy-makers and counter-human trafficking stakeholders with the necessary information to combat this complex crime and social problem (van der Watt & van der Westhuizen, 2017). Weitzer (2014) noted that despite previous research, there remains a lack of comprehensive understanding of the topic as many of the existing studies draw evidence from the same well of existing government agencies. The current study made use of only primary research, where participants included were traffickers and/or individuals who are/were trafficked. As sex trafficking is a multifaceted phenomenon with many underexplored facets, specifically the complex nature of the relationship between sex traffickers and their victims, this scoping review aimed to espouse the extent, nature and range of available literature on this research topic, to gain a clearer understanding of the

relationship dynamics between sex traffickers and their victims. Within the broad aim, the current study had two objectives, namely:

- 1) To map the research area and the main sources and types of evidence available by conducting a scoping review to establish the current state of primary research available on the topic;
- 2) To understand the extent, range and nature of the relationship between sex traffickers and their victims by developing themes according to the Duluth Power and Control Wheel;

Theory utilised in the current study

The Duluth Power and Control Wheel (1984) was initially developed as a tool to document the most common tactics or behaviours that were used against women in abusive situations. Later, the National Human Trafficking Resource Center (NHTRC), along with the Polaris Project, adapted the wheel for the sex trafficking and labour trafficking context. The nine power and control categories consistent in domestic violence cases, were notably similar to those in trafficking cases. The categories that explain behaviours of power and control are; 1) Coercion and Threats, 2) Intimidation, 3) Emotional Abuse, 4) Isolation, 5) Denying, blaming and minimising, 6) Sexual Abuse, 7) Physical Abuse, 8) Using Privilege, and 9) Economic Abuse. The findings from each study were coded according to categories that emerged from the NHTRC adapted power and control wheel for sex trafficking and labour trafficking (PCW).

Methodology of the current study

The current research was conducted with the conviction that it would increase awareness on the state of research available, based on primary evidence, where participants included are traffickers and/or individuals who are/were trafficked. The scoping study was

conducted based on a framework outlined by Arksey and O'Malley (2005), further clarified and enhanced by Levac et al. (2010). Schauer and Wheaton (2006) determined that scoping studies or, in a broader sense, literature reviews have extensively been used in the scientific community to discover the complexity and extent of the problem of sex trafficking, thus looking directly at the impact in both economic and human terms as well as possible research directions toward the development of probable legal, economic, political, and social solutions.

Structure of the study

The current chapter is followed by Chapter two, a literature review. The goal of the literature review chapter is to provide an overview on the state of research, existing knowledge, and prevalent challenges in the field of human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

Chapter three discusses the theoretical underpinnings and paradigmatic approach for extracting and interpreting data on the nature of the victim-trafficker relationship.

Chapter four elaborates on the research design and methodology used in detail.

Chapter five reports on the extent, range and nature of research available on relationship dynamics between victims and their traffickers by summarising and describing the findings. It integrates the findings and discussion and identifies research gaps.

Chapter six concludes and discusses the limitations to this study and provides recommendations for addressing the research gaps.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

The goal of this chapter is to review and discuss research on human trafficking for sexual exploitation, identify key vulnerabilities that make victims susceptible to traffickers and follow the geographical patterns of trafficking across the globe that emerge in research.

Current state of knowledge about human trafficking

Prior to 2000, there was no agreed international definition of trafficking in persons (TIP) as the UN Palermo Protocol (2000) was still being negotiated and systematic research on human trafficking was almost non-existent (David, 2017). Although combating human trafficking, after adopting the Palermo Protocol (2000), turned into a developing political priority for many governments around the globe, one of the greatest gaps in the comprehension of trafficking remained in the region of information gathering and statistics (Laczko & Gramenga, 2003). The gap in data collection still remains to date. There is no consistent methodology used to accurately calculate how many victims exist within sex trafficking situations, which has made data-gathering difficult, and led to quoted numbers and figures being contradicted, since the data gathered vary in classification of people based on the nature of trafficking (Caballero-Anthony, 2013). One of the problems complicating the estimates of trafficked women and children for sexual exploitation, are moral entrepreneurs and advocacy groups who do not distinguish between prostitution and sex trafficking and suggest that the terms are interrelated (Zhang, 2009). Debates over abortion and other comparably argumentative social issues are on par with discussions about whether sex trafficking includes voluntary prostitution, which continues to be a contentious issue within the anti-trafficking advocacy community (Chuang, 2010). A North American review of literature demonstrated that some researchers considered all sex workers to be trafficked persons, unable to believe that a person would voluntarily choose such a job, whilst others

make a distinction between forced and voluntary prostitution (Laczko, 2005). As Lutya and Lanier (2012) pointed out, it is important to note that sex trafficking and prostitution are not synonymous, and that prostitution is simply a “type of sex work” (p.556), also performed by the victims of sex trafficking. Due to this, legal and cultural problems arise in terms of aiding global human trafficking, particularly how far the law ought to go to offer protection is a contentious issue, bearing in mind that unclear definitions make it difficult to determine who is a true “trafficking victim” (Cianciarulo, 2008, p.76).

Gozdziak and Bump provided the most comprehensive and prominent review of literature in the National Institute of Justice’s report (2008), using an interdisciplinary framework without constraints of neither specific geographic area nor type of trafficking offense between 2000 and 2007. Later in 2015, Gozdzia et al. extended the research to incorporate the years 2008–2014. Gozdzia and Bump (2008) and later Gozdzia et al. (2015) discovered that there was a very limited understanding of experiences of victims, their trafficking trajectories, and additionally minimal systematic and reliable data available on the scale of human trafficking. Similarly, Russel (2018) analysed 1231 articles published on human trafficking between the years 2000 and 2014, and found an increase in research over time, most prominently in disciplines regarding medicine/health and law. Broadening and deepening of research in different disciplines contributed to a better view of a bigger picture. Russel (2018) noted that even though research on human trafficking has increased since Gozdzia and Bump (2008), many of the gaps mentioned still remain. The following section will discuss participants involved in the trafficking process, introducing factors that led individuals into becoming victims, as well as how traffickers can be individuals known or unknown to the victim or be a part of small or big trafficking syndicates.

Participants of the trafficking process

Causes of trafficking are deeply rooted in systemic conditions such as poverty, forced migration, racism, and discrimination, among many others (United States of America Department of State, 2018). Some individuals are put at considerably greater risk of structural inequities such as gender-based violence, class and caste-based prejudice, poverty, racial discrimination and other forms of marginalisation and oppression, as confirmed by service providers and law enforcement through empirical research and information (Hume & Sidun, 2016). Economically or socially vulnerable persons are most commonly recruited as potential victims by traffickers or pimps (Hodge, 2008). Traffickers create a sense of trust to complete their trafficking crime, which is aided by the fact that traffickers and their victims often originate from the same place, have a similar ethnic background or converse in a similar dialect (UNODC, 2016). Traffickers could even be known to their potential victims as boyfriends, uncles, mothers, husbands, and friends (Kleemans, 2011; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002). Efrat (2016) stated that persons operating in sex trafficking are most likely part of criminal organisations. To that point, Ciacciarulo (2008) explained that members of powerful organised crime syndicates such as Asian and Russian mafias as well as members of smaller crime organisations are responsible for trafficking victims into the United States of America (USA), while other traffickers are individuals and families who operate on a small scale. The UNODC (2016) solidified this claim by reporting that a person's vulnerability to be trafficked is significantly determined by the presence of transnational organised crime elements.

More than half of the adults are recruited by a stranger, whereas a much higher proportion of children are recruited by a close family member (more than 20%), friend (more than 10%), other relative (10%) or neighbour (less than 5%). Less than 25% of children are recruited by a stranger, in contrast to the 50% and more of adults (IOM, 2016). Findings

indicate that women are often used to recruit other women, according to qualitative data and court cases (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2016). Most recent data from the UNODC (2016) was collected in 2014 and the outcome showed that 37% of persons convicted of trafficking were female. As the majority of detected victims are female—women or underage girls—having a trafficker that is the same gender is beneficial to enhance the level of trust.

The IOM (2016) also stated that certain means of control are used more than the others. At the onset, potential victims believe that they are being transported to a specific location for any number of reasons; however, their actual destination often takes them by surprise (Snajdr, 2013). Instead of such promises turning into reality, victims are exploited by the traffickers. According to the statistics presented by the IOM (2016), physical, sexual and psychological abuse, threats, false promises and deception, and control (withholding the freedom of movement, identity documents, wages, giving alcohol and drugs, debt bondage) are the means of control used by traffickers to keep their victims subdued. The targeted victims lose a sense of agency by receiving practically no salary and once agency is limited, the person is then considered by definition a "trafficked individual" and hence is “commodified” (Wheaton, Schauer & Galli, 2010, p.122).

Trafficking flows

Victims are trafficked across different continents, between neighbouring countries, or even within countries (UNODC, 2016). Patterns of human trafficking tend to reflect a move from countries of lower economic mobility to countries with high economic mobility (Weitzer, 2014). Potential economic opportunities tempt people to move to countries that have more prosperous economies with equivalent demands for cheap labour (Bales & Lize, 2005). According to the UNODC Global Report on Trafficking (2016), between 2012 and 2014, more than 500 different trafficking flows were detected. The report indicated that

victims from a large number of countries around the world, namely affluent areas, such as North America, Western and Southern Europe and the Middle East were detected.

In hopes of finding a better life, people with low education and skill levels emigrate and immigrate illegally, expecting to find jobs of higher wages in destination areas. The difference between low wages and absence of employment opportunities in some areas, and the seemingly copious employments and high wages in other areas is a way in which traffickers take advantage of their victims (Wheaton et al., 2010). Jakobsson and Kotsdam (2011) additionally concluded that large markets and clients with an eagerness to pay highly make it more lucrative to sexually exploit women in "high income countries than in low income countries" (p.92). Trafficking victim data, using country level estimates, found that destination places for trafficking victims are most likely to be countries with more prostitution and those that are open to globalisation (Danailova-Trainor & Belser, 2006). Jakobsson and Kotsadam (2011) add to this point with the finding that "trafficking for sexual exploitation is least prevalent in countries, where prostitution is illegal, most prevalent in countries, where prostitution is legalised and in-between in those countries, where prostitution is legal but procuring illegal" (p.4).

Summary

Despite increased efforts to combat trafficking by the international community, the gaps in research still remain. Gozdziaik and Bump (2008) and later Gozdziaik et al. (2015) and Russel (2018) found that systematic, reliable data collection is the biggest challenge that the anti-trafficking efforts face today. Existing research suggests that source countries for trafficking face systematic problems such as poverty and low levels of education. The research also indicates that traffickers often associate with organised crime syndicates, and victims are more often recruited by these criminal syndicates in countries, where they are

more prevalent. The trafficking flows are generally observed from low to high income countries, where the traffickers can make highest profits.

Chapter Three

Paradigmatic Approach and Theoretical Framework

This chapter introduces the paradigmatic approach and theoretical framework used in the current study. Research needs both because the paradigmatic approach informs the philosophical assumption the researcher brings to the study, while the theoretical framework details the specific research methods used in terms of collecting the data.

Paradigmatic Approach

The current study was situated within the framework of critical realism. Critical realism can be traced to the works of Roy Bhaskar, a British philosopher, and became a popular alternative to positivist and social constructivist philosophies as well as empiricism, relativism, and interpretivism (Given, 2008; Pratschke, 2003; Tourish, 2012). Critical realism argues that the manner in which research is conducted from positivist and social constructivist approaches is non-theoretical and superficial (Scott, 2005). This paradigm's focus on ontology provides researchers with the opportunity to look beyond beliefs, experiences, and current knowledge (Pratschke, 2003). A critical realist approach argues that there is more to reality than the individual's experiences and knowledge of it (Given, 2008). It therefore recognises the existence of knowledge as independent of humans and socially rooted and that the individual's scientific enquiries regarding reality are flawed (Pratschke, 2003).

Bhaskar put forward the notion that reality is stratified and consists of three layers (Scott, 2005; Wikgren, 2005). These are (a) the real, (b) the actual, and (c) the empirical (Tourish, 2012; Wikgren, 2005). The real refers to aspects of reality that the individual cannot observe. It refers to the structures or underlying mechanisms that are responsible for what is observable (Tourish, 2012). As the real cannot be seen with the naked eye, Bhaskar was of the opinion that one can only speculate about the real in different situations (Wikgren,

2005). From this perspective, humans can only speculate about the real because they have no knowledge of the real. This means that human's ability to understand the real is limited. It is important to note that these limitations are human limitations and not limitations of the real (Scott, 2005; Tourish, 2012). A basic example of the real is gravity. Gravity, as an underlying mechanism, cannot be seen. However, the effects of gravity are observable. Similarly, trafficker and victims of traffickers' relationships cannot be observed; yet, this dynamic is responsible for observable behaviours.

Bhaskar (2013) described the second layer of reality as the actual. The actual is something that can be observed by the human eye. The actual can be referred to as events that take place due to the mechanisms in the real (Given, 2008; Scott, 2005). Mechanisms in the real, such as the previous example of gravity, therefore lead to events in the actual, such as a rock falling, which can be observed. In the current study, mechanisms in the real, relationships between sex traffickers and their victims, led to observable behaviour in the actual, such as retention strategies employed by sex traffickers to control their victims, such as physical abuse and drug addictions.

The third layer of reality, according to Bhaskar (2013), is the empirical. The empirical is concerned with an experience observed by the human senses. This layer of reality refers to the position of individuals such as scientists or social researchers, meaning that researchers are situated within this ontological layer (Pratschke, 2003; Wikgren, 2005). The current study enabled the researcher to operate in the empirical layer of reality to make speculations about observable behaviours in the trafficker and victim's relationship dynamic. Within the real layer, by observing behaviour in the actual layer of reality, this refers to a scoping review of previous research. The empirical layer is a representation of the actual layer through the research available. The theoretical framework utilised in the current study is discussed next.

Theoretical Framework

The Duluth Power and Control Wheel.

Arksey and O'Malley (2005) suggested identifying a thematic construction for a scoping study in an effort to present a narrative account of existing literature. This research study used the Duluth Power and Control Wheel (Domestic Abuse Intervention Programs, 2011) to set the thematic construction. Patterns of behaviour recorded under the power and control categories in the wheel were used to match the patterns of behaviour reported in the scoped articles and grouped them under the designated categories delineated by the PCW.

The Duluth Power and Control Wheel was originally developed in 1984, based on the qualitative data from women who were battered in domestic violence situations. It was an attempt to document the most common tactics or behaviours that were used against women in abusive situations (Domestic Abuse Intervention Programs, 2011). The Duluth battered women's shelter, in Duluth Minnesota, began developing a framework for describing the behavioural patterns exhibited by men who were abusing their partners both physically and emotionally. The behavioural patterns described by 200 abused women (Paymar & Pence, 1993) were graphically represented by the Duluth Model's most prominent tool – the Power and Control Wheel shown below in Figure 1. The PCW describes how abusers use physical, sexual, economic and emotional abuse, coercion, threats, privilege, intimidation and isolation as a way to control women (Bohall, Bautista, & Musson, 2016). In essence, the PCW can be described as an approach to counselling, or a method used to psycho-educate men who were previously arrested for domestic abuse and were ordered by courts to attend programmes for their aggressive behaviour. The National Human Trafficking Resource Center (NHTRC) noticed that the categories in the Duluth Power and Control Wheel, which was initially used for domestic violence, had very similar characteristics to that of human trafficking and thus, in 2010, along with the Polaris Project, adapted the wheel to be reflective of behaviours

present in sex trafficking and labour trafficking situations. The purpose of this wheel was to highlight and raise awareness of non-physical forms of power and control exerted by traffickers (Domestic Abuse Intervention Programs, 2011). The Duluth Model rests on the power and control paradigm in which the acts of traffickers exerting violence on victims are viewed as being the result of the individual wanting power and control over their victim (Pender, 2012).



Figure 1. Duluth Power and Control Wheel for Sex and Labour Trafficking from Polaris Project. Reprinted from the National Human Trafficking Resource Centre, 2010.

The PCW categories were used as the thematic construct for data extraction from the scoped articles, which is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Summary

This chapter prepared a paradigmatic approach and theoretical framework for the

researcher to explore the literature published on the topic of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. The paradigmatic approach of critical realism that traces back to Roy Bhaskar was used in the current study. Bhaskar put forward the notion that reality is stratified and consists of three layers: the real, the actual, and the empirical. The current study enabled the researcher to operate in the empirical layer of reality to make speculations about observable behaviours in the trafficker and victim's relationship. Within the real layer, by observing behaviour in the actual layer of reality, this refers to a scoping review of previous primary research. The empirical layer is a representation of the actual layer through the research available.

Within the theoretical framework, this chapter also discussed the PCW, a theoretical tool developed by the Duluth female shelter in 1984, which classified the behavioural patterns of domestic violence into categories of power and control. This wheel was then adapted by the Polaris Project in 2010, to reflect power and control behaviours and highlight other non-physical behaviours within situations of labour and sex trafficking.

Chapter Four

Research Design and Methodology

The objective of this chapter is to describe the methodology and methods used in the current study. This includes the framework used to analyse the trends of existing research on human trafficking for sexual exploitation and ensures that the framework of the current study was designed in a manner so that the research is conducted in a transparent and rigorous way that can be replicated.

Research Design and Methodology

Arksey and O'Malley's (2005) interpretative scoping literature review methodology framework follows a narrative synthesis approach, which is particularly useful when evaluating different bodies of research that are qualitative in nature. It is based on an "iterative, interpretative and conceptual" (p.1388) approach, which highlights the significance of developing an analysis based on validity, contribution and relevance of evidence rather than by synthesis and analysis of methodologies (Davis et al., 2009).

Generally, scoping studies aim to quickly map the key concepts underpinning a research area as well as establish the available literature, which in their own right can be done as stand-alone projects (Mays, Roberts, & Popay, 2001). Scoping reviews have become a well-known methodology for synthesising research and gathering, assessing and presenting the available research findings (Pham et al., 2014). Scoping reviews are commonly undertaken to examine the extent, range, and nature of research activity in the topic area; determine the value and potential scope and cost of undertaking full systematic review; summarise and disseminate research findings; and identify research gaps in existing literature (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005, p.21).

Scoping studies or broadly, literature reviews have been used extensively in research communities to determine the complexity and extent of the problem of sex trafficking, thus

looking directly at the impact in both economic and human terms as well as possible research directions toward the development of probable legal, economic, political, and social solutions (Schauer & Wheaton, 2006).

Davis et al. (2009) explained that clear definitions of scoping are limited across literature; however, a particular methodological framework stands out. Since its publication in 2005, Arksey and O'Malley (2005) have been cited 3780 times in books and academic articles that use scoping reviews as the means of interpreting and understanding academic research across a broad range of topics. A number of scoping reviews using Arksey and O'Malley's (2005) five-stage framework include O'Flaherty and Phillip's (2015) study, which underpinned their scoping review of articles on the use of flipped classrooms in higher education. More examples include Davis et al. (2009), who wrote an article explaining the essence of scoping reviews on a nursing literature review that was based on the same framework. Similarly, Armstrong, Hall, Doyle and Waters (2011) used the same methodology to strengthen the rigor of literature review within their scoping study. In order to conduct a scoping review of scoping reviews, Pham et al. (2014) conducted their study by using the framework from the same authors and concluded that "scoping reviews are relatively new, but an increasingly common approach for mapping broad topics" (p.371). The same authors identified the methodological framework from Arksey and O'Malley (2005) as their preferred method of conducting the study, as well as recommended it for methodological standardisation that they conclude scoping studies require (Pham et al., 2014). Next the scoping review process utilised in the current study will be described according to the Arksey and O'Malley's (2005) five stages.

Stage 1: Identifying the research question

Scoping studies are used as they "tend to address broader topics, where many different study designs might be applicable and are less likely to seek to address very specific

research questions or assess the quality of included studies” (Arksey & O’Malley, 2005, p.20). By identifying the research question, it sets a precedent for the stages that need to follow; however, it is important to clearly define certain aspects of the research question as they have a direct impact on search strategies (Arksey & O’Malley, 2005). As indicated in Chapter 1, the research question for the current study was to explore the range, nature and extent of research based on the exploration of primary research published between 2007 and 2017 on the nature of the relationship between sex traffickers and their victims.

Stage 2: Identifying relevant studies

“Comprehensiveness and breadth is important in the search” (Levac et al., 2010, p.3). Therefore, this stage involved identifying the studies that were relevant and determining a plan for where to search. It is additionally important to choose which search terms are to be used and which sources are to be searched. Lastly, the time span of articles to be included to establish relevancy, and language of selected articles, including foreign language articles, can be costly to translate. Overall costs, time and personnel resources are important practicalities to determine as well as breadth of the search. Decisions need to be made prior to the actual research about how these possible limiting factors may impact the search (Levac et al., 2010). This research was conducted by one researcher, and thus a three-month timeframe for collecting data was set due to the deadline constraints.

The researcher first had to familiarise herself with the available research and develop the majority of inclusion and exclusion criteria post-hoc (Arksey & O’Malley, 2005). This enabled the researcher to become acquainted with the content of accessible studies before deciding how they are similar, showing topical similarity, addressing the same issues/topic, and then decide on final inclusion and exclusion items, which will be discussed next.

Data collection strategy.

First, the following inclusion and exclusion criteria were identified. The researcher only searched for published primary research, that is, traffickers and/or victims of trafficking were the participants of the study or information gathered directly from traffickers and/or victims of trafficking were included. This inclusion/exclusion criterion was decided on due to criticism that grey literature often merely repeats the information from primary research (Seymour, 2010). The Luxembourg Convention on Grey Literature held in 1997 defined grey literature as “that which is produced on all levels of governmental, academics, business and industry in print and electronic formats, but which is not controlled by commercial publishers” (Marzi, Pardelli & Sassi, 2011, p.19). Examples of grey literature as given by Hopewell, McDonald, Clarke and Egger (2007) include conference abstracts, dissertations, policy documents, research reports, unpublished data and personal correspondence. Due to this broad range of literature, the researcher adopted a search strategy that included searching for primary research in the electronic databases that published academic research, listed below:

- All methodologies; qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methodology studies were included;
- The literature was limited to published journal articles in the English language, published between and including years 2007 and 2017.

In the section to follow, all keywords used in the search strategy will appear in italics for clearer understanding. Identification of relevant studies for selection was based on keywords engineered around the research question. In order to model keywords and their combination in such a manner that the search would be comprehensive and at the same time feasible for article selection for the extent of this study, the researcher broke down each part of the research question to a particular keyword first. As the research question addresses the

nature of the relationship between the victim and the trafficker in the context of sex trafficking, the keyword chosen to denote context was *sex trafficking*; the keyword chosen to denote the victim and the trafficker were *victim* and *trafficker*; and the keyword to cover the relationship between victims and traffickers or the experiences of both parties were covered by search words such as *experience* or *relationship*.

Boolean operators were used extensively in the search strategy. AND, OR, and NOT are three simple Boolean operators. They are used to link search words together in an attempt to broaden or narrow the search results. Boolean operators are primarily used to focus a search, especially when multiple search terms are relevant to a topic. It therefore enabled the search terms to be connected to extract the exact information one is searching for (“LibGuides: Database Search Tips: Boolean operators”, 2018). For the purpose of this research, the concept of relationships was searched with the following: *relation/relationship** OR *experience**. The Boolean operator allowed for the keyword to consider experience and relationships and/or relations that might have been covered by the existing literature, as the researcher found through a rapid search of literature, the relational aspects of victim-perpetrator relationships are commonly described under the umbrella term of “experiences”. Use of an asterisk or the multi-character wildcards represents any number of characters (“Multi-character wildcards”, 2018). For example, *experience**, will also search *experiences* or *experienced*. This enabled the researcher to search for the root of a word and obtain results containing several variants. Multi-character wildcards can also be used at the end of a word with an asterisk (*) in an effort to find both singular and plural forms. The wildcard allowed for the search engine to search through databases, looking not only for the keyword *relation*, but rather for different endings of the word, such as *relations*, *relationships* as well as synonyms for the keyword. A similar technique was applied to search for the term “*experience*”; with the help of the asterisk, the search engine searched through databases

considering the search term “*experience*”, as well as its plural form and its synonyms that might have been mentioned in existing research.

Next, for the definition of the context of the research, the term sex trafficking was used. The search term “*sex trafficking*” was input with quotation marks so that the search engine would look solely for the articles that were set in the context of sex trafficking, rather than the search term *sex AND trafficking*, which would be the case, if quotation marks were omitted. Subsequently, without quotation marks, the search engine would find results in the context of not only sex trafficking, but include all types of trafficking—be it labour, organ, etc. Equally, the search engine would find all information within the context of sex.

Finally, the research participants—the victim and perpetrator—were recorded with search terms *trafficker** AND *victim**. The AND Boolean operator ensured that the inclusion of both trafficker and victim in the results were turned out by the search engine. The asterisk at the end of each search term ensured that the search engine would look for the plural forms, being *traffickers and victims*. It also considered any synonyms that might have been used in studies that focused on these participants.

As the researcher covered all the aspects of the research question, the search terms were united with AND Boolean operator, which ensured that all compulsory aspects of research were covered within one keyword that would be used to search relevant databases. The final keyword structure was as follows: “*sex trafficking*” AND *relation** OR *experience** AND *trafficker** AND *victim**.

The researcher wanted to ensure that the relational aspects of only sex trafficking situations were searched, and prostitution excluded. The NOT (i.e. “-”) Boolean operator was initially conceived to be used to exclude prostitution from search terminology; however, since sex trafficking and involuntary prostitution are intertwined, excluding the term prostitution would exclude a large number of otherwise relevant articles. The articles on

prostitution were later filtered out through selection phases discussed further on in this chapter.

Furthermore, the researcher searched through the reference lists of articles included in the scoping review as suggested by Arksey and O'Malley (2005), who found value in checking reference lists of studies, especially for systematic reviews, to ensure they had been included in the study. Therefore, this similar search strategy was adopted to find supplementary studies to be included in the charting. Where relevant abstracts emerged, which could not be accessed through the University's portal, the researcher made use of the existing system of inter-library loans at the University of Pretoria's library to gain access. Initially, it was thought that existing organisations on human trafficking such as the United Nation and the United States Department of State, would be contacted to access unpublished research such as dissertations or conference papers; however, due the volume of articles that derived from the search, it was decided post-hoc to only include peer-reviewed studies, which would add to the reliability and quality of the study. Considering the specialised skills necessary for designing and executing the sensitive search strategies, the researcher was assisted by an information specialist at the library of the University of Pretoria.

An electronic database search was conducted by using Google Scholar as a metadata search tool to search through eight major databases that contained literature published on the topic of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. These databases were Springer (including Springer Nature), Elsevier (including Scopus and Science Direct), Taylor & Francis, Wiley-Blackwell, SAGE Publications, Oxford University Press, JSTOR, and HeinOnline. Databases such as ResearchGate and ProQuest were excluded because of the prevalence of grey literature and unpublished dissertations, which dominate these databases. However, in order to make sure that excluding these databases would not exclude any relevant literature and that the search was comprehensive, the researcher searched for other relevant articles outside the

selected databases, using NOT (same as “-“) Boolean operator by designing the keyword as follows: “*sex trafficking*” AND *relationship** OR *experience** AND *trafficker** AND *victim** - *springer* -*sage* -*heinonline* -*oxford* -*university* -*press* -*taylor* -*elsevier* -*wiley* -*jstor*. The search turned out 215 results, none of which were relevant to the current study, thus fortifying the researcher’s hypothesis that the journals that publish relevant literature to the research question would be covered by the selected databases.

The keywords for searching the databases were broad enough to not exclude any kind of sex trafficking; however, there was no separate search conducted for Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking (DMST) and Child Sexual Exploitation (CSE) because the keywords used covered both adult and minor sex trafficking. All articles focused on minor sexual exploitation feature “sex trafficking” or “human trafficking” or “sexual exploitation” as a keyword. This led to the conclusion that the keyword “sex trafficking” which was included in this search, was broad enough to espouse literature on minor sexual exploitation without the need to include the specific keywords in database searches.

A total of 2453 studies were identified for selection based on the search term "*sex trafficking*" AND *relationship** OR *experience** AND *trafficker** AND *victim**. Table 1 below outlines the keyword search terms used to search each database, and the number of search results that were produced.

Table 1.

Database search results based on the designed keywords

Database	Number of search results	Keyword
Springer	493	"sex trafficking" AND relationship* OR experience* AND trafficker* AND victim* source:springer
Elsevier	82	"sex trafficking" AND relationship* OR experience* AND trafficker* AND victim* source:elsevier
Taylor & Francis	378	"sex trafficking" AND relationship* OR experience* AND trafficker* AND victim* source:Taylor source:& source:Francis
Wiley-Blackwell	145	"sex trafficking" AND relationship* OR experience* AND trafficker* AND victim* source:Wiley
Sage Publications	251	"sex trafficking" AND relationship* OR experience* AND trafficker* AND victim* source:Sage
Oxford University Press	87	"sex trafficking" AND relationship* OR experience* AND trafficker* AND victim* source:oxford source:university source:press
JSTOR	55	"sex trafficking" AND relationship* OR experience* AND trafficker* AND victim* source:Jstor
HeinOnline	747	"sex trafficking" AND relationship* OR experience* AND trafficker* AND victim* source:heinonline
Other	215	"sex trafficking" AND relationship* OR experience* AND trafficker* AND victim* -springer-sage-heinonline-oxford-

Figure 2 below is a visual representation of the scoping process. The number of studies included in each phase within the study selection of Stage 3 is indicated by using “n=” to specify the sample or number of studies within each phase.

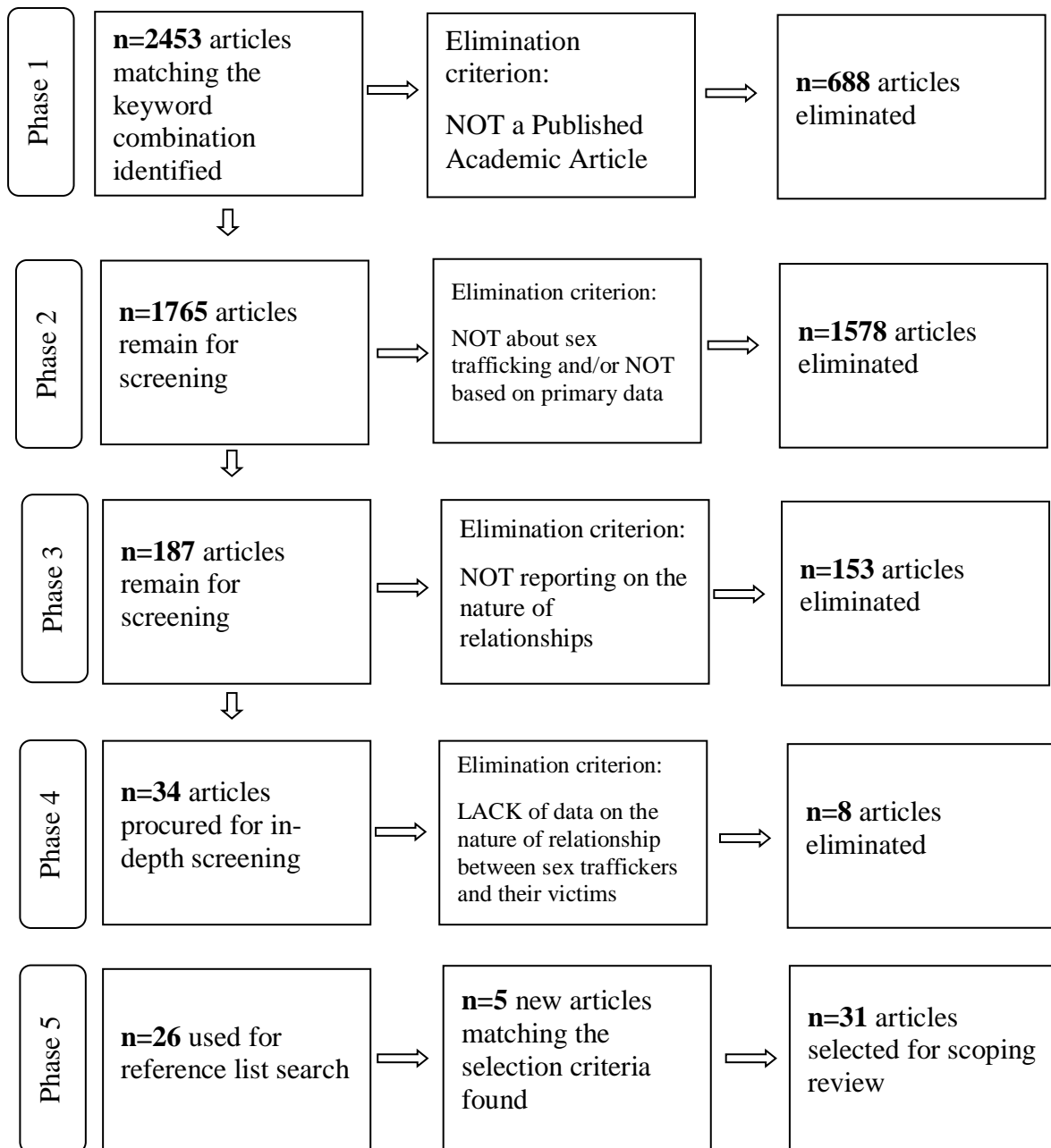


Figure 2. Five phase algorithm used for article selection for study selection in Stage 3

Stage 3: Study selection

“Study selection involves post-hoc inclusion and exclusion criteria” (Arksey & O’Mally, 2005, p.3). These criteria were determined by specifics outlined from the research question and were found by reading through studies to gain an understanding of the subject matter (Levac et al., 2010). For the purpose of this research, the process of study selection was broken up into five phases (See Figure 2) to identify and select studies in a more time-efficient and systematic manner, ensuring that all articles fitting the criteria were included.

Inclusion criteria were outlined as the following:

- Published/peer-reviewed research in English language between and including 2007 and 2017;
- Primary research;
- Sex trafficking context;
- Reporting on relational aspects of sex trafficking.

This researcher then applied the inclusion and exclusion criteria to the reference lists of the 26 articles remaining in Phase 5. Where studies appeared to represent a best fit with the research question, full copies of the article were obtained. Following the systematic application of inclusion and exclusion criteria outlined above, 34 articles were procured for a full-text review, and 8 articles were excluded as they did not match the criteria and lacked information about the nature of the relationship. Twenty six (26) articles remained and after the reference list search, an additional five articles were deemed relevant and procured for inclusion. In the end, 31 articles were selected for charting. Refer to Appendix 3 for a spreadsheet containing all 192 articles, which were included or discarded. This spreadsheet was used to chart and track the studies that would be excluded and included. The spreadsheet utilised listed all articles that were scoped and demarcated an X, where a relevant inclusion

criteria was met. The 31 included studies in the spreadsheet appear in boldface, and the five that were added from the reference list search are in boldface and italics.

Stage 4: Charting

During this stage, data were extracted from the 31 studies that were included in this scoping review (Levac et al., 2010). Arksey and O'Malley (2005), Armstrong et al. (2011), and Levac et al. (2010) advised to create a spreadsheet or data charting form, where data can be charted as shown in Appendix 1. The current study followed suggestions by these authors and the 31 selected articles were charted for various types of data from included research. Charted fields included the database, journal title, journal volume and issue, publication year, author, title, geographical location, discipline, data source, sample size, methodology and forthcoming relational dynamics according to the PCW to espouse the scope and extent of research published over the last decade on the nature of the relationship between sex traffickers and sex trafficking victims.

Arksey and O'Malley (2005) noted that when doing a scoping review, it is important to have comprehensive knowledge of coverage (breadth) of literature available; however, varying degrees of depth (how much information is extracted and reported) may be included in different studies. As this research was conducted by a single researcher, the limitations were placed on time and breadth of the research. These limitations are further discussed in Chapter Six. Taxonomies utilised in the studies by Gozdziaik and Bump (2008), and Russel (2018) guided the charting within the current study. This researcher had to select important variables that would produce a clear picture on the main sources and types of available research, and balance depth of data extraction with time constraints. Table 2 below provides a comparison of the different taxonomies, including those used within the current research.

Table 2.

Comparative coding taxonomy, Gozdziaik and Bump (2008), Russel (2018) and current research

Category	Gozdziaik and Bump (2008)	Russel (2018)	Current research
Year of publication	Not included	2000 – 2014	2007 – 2017
Type of publication	a. Reports b. Journals c. Books	a. Journals	a. Peer-reviewed journal articles
Type of research and review	a. Empirical research/Peer review b. Empirical research/Non-peer review c. Non-empirical Research/Peer review d. Non-empirical research/Non-peer review	a. Empirical b. Non-empirical	a. Primary evidence-based
Theoretical paradigm	Not included	a. Yes b. No	Not included
Disciplinary framework	a. Social sciences b. Law/Criminal justice c. Medicine and epidemiology	a. Criminology b. Psychology c. International relations/human rights d. Social science e. Social work f. Economics/Business g. Law h. Medicine/health i. Education j. Women's studies k. Communications/Media Studies l. Gender/Race/Religion m. Anthropology n. Other (less than 10 articles from a given framework)	a. Criminology b. Psychology c. International relations and human rights d. Social science e. Social work f. Law g. Medicine/health h. Education i. Women's studies j. Communications/Media Studies k. Gender/Race/Religion l. Anthropology
Methodological issues (sample)	a. Population b. Random c. Convenience d. Unknown	a. Probability b. Non-probability c. Convenience d. Snowball e. Purposive	a. Population b. Convenience c. Snowball d. Purposive e. Unknown

		f. Unknown	
Methodological issues (research methods)	a. Qualitative	a. Qualitative	a. Qualitative
	b. Quantitative	b. Quantitative c. Combination d. None	b. Quantitative c. Mixed methods
Type of data	a. Case study b. Ethnography c. Evaluation	a. Surveys b. Interviews c. Official stats/secondary data	a. Surveys b. Interviews c. Combination d. Official statistics (court cases)
	d. Comparative e. Statistical	d. Other e. Combination f. None	
Type of trafficking	a. Sex trafficking b. Labour trafficking	a. Sex trafficking b. Labour trafficking/Domestic servitude	a. Sex trafficking
	c. Domestic servitude d. Organ trafficking	c. Organ trafficking d. General trafficking	
Trafficked population	a. Children	a. Children	a. Children
	b. Girls c. Boys d. Adults e. Women f. Men	b. Girls c. Boys d. Combination e. Adults f. Women g. Men h. Combination i. Female combination j. Male combination k. Women and children l. General	b. Girls c. Boys d. Adults e. Women f. Men
Trafficking Stage	a. Recruitment b. Captivity c. Rescue d. Return/reintegration	Not included	Not included
Article purpose	Not included	a. Overview (Literature review/definitions/perceptions) b. Victim experience c. Traffickers d. Victim services e. Trends f. Content analysis g. Supply and demand h. Legal framework i. Methodological challenges j. Awareness k. Health	Not included

Geographic focus	a. The Americas	a. North America	a. North America
	b. Europe	b. South America	b. South America
	c. Africa	c. Europe	c. Europe
	d. Asia	d. Africa	d. Africa
	e. Australia and the Pacific	e. Asia	e. Asia
		f. Australia	f. Australia and the Pacific
		g. International	g. International

This research adopts all three comparisons above, but uses Russel's adapted taxonomy for coding the articles with certain omissions due to time constraints. For the purpose of this research, type of publication, type of research and type of trafficking use peer-reviewed journals with only primary data and within the context of sex trafficking.

Stage 5: Collating, summarising, and reporting the results

The aim of stage five was to organise, summarise, and describe the range, nature and extent of research available on the relationship between traffickers and victims of sex trafficking. An analysis of the extent, nature, and distribution of studies that were included in the review are presented by means of tables and charts. Thereafter, the charted data were organised and reported (a) thematically according to the categories for which they were searched, for example, regarding the findings of scoped research relating to the trafficker-victim relationships and (b) temporally, for example, how research has changed over the scoped period or the shifting of research foci (Arskey & O'Malley, 2005; Levac et al, 2010).

Directed Content Analysis.

Research material should be analysed in a methodical manner to produce meaningful and useful results (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Thus, a directed content analysis (CDA) approach was used. CDA is used when previous research or an existing theory already exist about a phenomenon, where the goal is to extend or validate a theory or framework (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). By using existing research, coding categories are previously determined by

the initial key concepts (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999). Gbrich (2007) noted that by using content analysis, it is possible to qualitatively analyse the data and quantify the data analysed. Findings for each category used in the current study were suggested by the PCW (Figure 1). Findings that could not be categorised within the model were grouped separately and given a new category name. The PCW and the categories as used during the CDA, are discussed next.

The use of the Power and Control Wheel categories during CDA.

Arksey and O'Malley (2005) suggested that to establish a narrative account of available literature, a thematic construction should be identified. This research constructed a thematic system based on the pre-existing categories in the PCW. Therefore, new themes did not need to be developed or extracted from the 31 included articles. The nine categories present in the PCW are; 1) Coercion and Threats, 2) Intimidation, 3) Emotional Abuse, 4) Isolation, 5) Denying, blaming and minimising, 6) Sexual abuse, 7) Physical Abuse, 8) Using privilege, and 9) Economic abuse. These categories formed the basis of organising the qualitative data found in the literature in order to narrate the relationship patterns that emerged in the 31 scoped articles (See Table 5 and Appendix 4).

To extract the power and control patterns, the included articles were read line by line with the purpose of identifying, which of the categories were present in each article. A spreadsheet was used to mark the article in binary terms—if the power and control pattern that belonged to a certain category emerged in the article, the value of “1” was attached to the article under the relevant category. For example, Gibbs, Hardison Walters, Lutnick, Miller and Kluckman (2015) discuss sexual abuse as one of the recurring themes in a victim-trafficker relationship. In this case, when the Gibbs et al. (2015) article was analysed, in the category column for sexual abuse, the article was ranked “1”, indicating the existence of sexual abuse in the relationship reported by the article. After each article was analysed and

coded, each power and control category was numerically analysed to determine prevalence in percentage. Each category can be represented in 100% of the articles at most. A value of 100% applies, if all the articles are ranked “1” under every category or a value of 0% applies, if all the articles are ranked “0” under every category. Percentage value is attributed to the prevalence of power and control categories present in the scoped articles. Figure 3 below shows the results of the categories, which were coded for data analysis. The findings from the categorical analysis are presented and discussed next in Chapter Five.

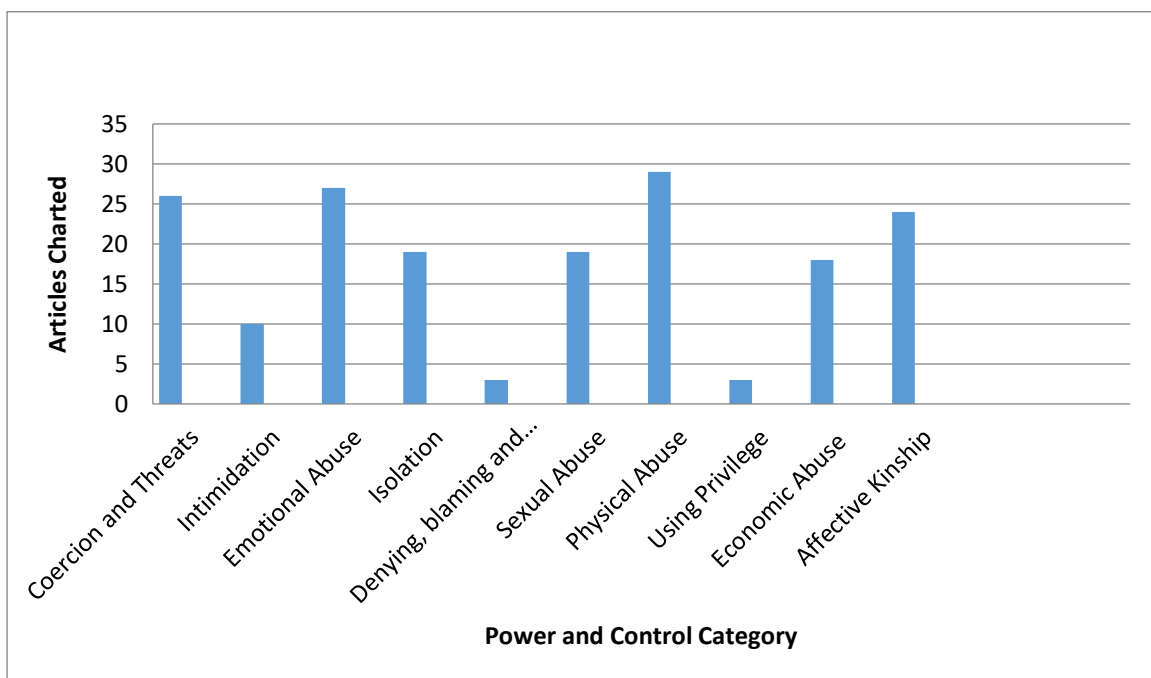


Figure 3. Findings of the Power and Control categories in the 31 included studies

Soundness of Research.

Research should be assessed for its trustworthiness (Fouché & Delpont, 2002). This current study was evaluated against four criteria for judging soundness of research that is qualitative in nature—credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability as proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985). The credibility of a study refers to descriptions that are accurately identified and defined. This researcher’s findings were coded against pre-existing definitions of categories found in the PCW. Subsequently, they were presented to her

supervisor and checked for accuracy, or compared in terms of interpretation, to ensure credibility. The original methodological framework as set out by Arksey and O'Malley (2005), thereafter revised by Levac et al. (2010), was used to ensure that the data collection and subsequent analysis were done according to standards set out by the above authors when conducting a scoping review—to ensure transferability. The dependability of the research was attained through the comprehensive and detailed description of the research methodology, and the independent analysis of the available literature and charted studies. This was aided by an information specialist at the library of the University of Pretoria who was able to access studies not available on the public domain, as well as the researcher's supervisor (Fouché & Delport, 2002). Confirmability refers to the notion that researchers' individual influences can affect the research findings and thus is concerned with the extent to which the researchers' study findings correspond with the data collected, and are not tainted by bias, motivations and preferences. To ensure conformability and transparency, this researcher has attached appendices of the full Excel spreadsheet used for charting, and full coding to be used to corroborate her findings. Where personal influences could have tainted the research, these were mentioned and reported in the limitations of the study.

Ethical Considerations.

This study produced research that is transparent, replicable and verifiable (O'leary, 2004). Transparency was obtained through a detailed discussion of the processes involved in this study. The quality of this research project was furthermore ensured by the use of an established review method (O'leary, 2004). The data used in this study consisted of published journal articles. Even though no human participants were involved, the research proposal had been sent to the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Pretoria and received ethical clearance.

Summary

This chapter prepared a methodological framework for this researcher to explore the literature published on the topic of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Arksey and O'Mally's (2005) five stages for a scoping review approach was utilised to obtain articles relevant for this study. The PCW was selected and applied in classifying and categorising qualitative information extracted from the scoped studies to explore the nature of the relationship between sex traffickers and their victims.

The search conducted in the current study to find and scope the extent of articles on the nature of the relationship between victims and their offenders in the sex trafficking context resulted in 2453 potentially relevant articles. After screening for published journal articles and discarding any other literature that did not qualify as such, 688 search results were discarded. Out of 1765 published journal articles, after deduplication and relevance screening based on title and abstract, a method previously implemented by Pham et al. (2014), 187 articles were identified as publications based on primary evidence and were set aside for a more in-depth screening through abstracts and introductions to identify whether or not they considered the nature of the relationship between sex trafficking victims and their perpetrators. A total of 153 were further discarded, and 34 articles were procured for an in-depth review. A total of 26 articles remained and were identified as matching the inclusion criteria set out in the research question. A reference lists search of the 26 scoped articles was done to ensure additional relevant studies were included; the researcher found an additional five, which resulted in a total of 31 articles included in the scoping review. The findings of the current study will be presented and discussed next in Chapter Five.

Chapter Five

Findings and Discussion

In this chapter, this researcher will present the findings and discussions of the current study. The first objective of this study was to map the research area, and the main sources and types of evidence available, by conducting a scoping review to establish the current state of primary research available on the topic. Therefore, descriptive statistics will be achieved by a narrative account of the extent, nature, and distribution of the studies included in the review (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005). The second objective of this study was to understand the extent, range and nature of the relationship between sex traffickers and their victims by developing themes according to the PCW. This will be accomplished by an in-depth analysis, which will explore the themes that emerged in the research through use of the PCW categories and will be discussed in length, including examples from the scoped research. This analysis made it possible to identify research gaps and summarise the information.

Findings of descriptive statistics

This section will introduce and describe the trends found in the current research with regard to temporal distribution of scoped studies, disciplinary framework, data source used in the scoped research, sample size, participants involved in the study, databases that were used to search for primary research and geographic location, where the included studies originated. Charts and tables are produced for mapping the numerical analysis and findings.

Temporal Distribution.

The incidence of human trafficking is growing on an international scale (Snajdr, 2013). As such, research on trafficking has steadily been increasing over time in an attempt to better understand its complexity and combat the problem (Ali, 2005; van der Watt & van der Westhuizen, 2017). The current study showed an increasing trend in the number of primary

research on the nature of the relationship between sex traffickers and their victims. Almost two thirds of the research (64.6%) was concentrated on the last three years of the research timeline, 2014-2017. Russel (2018) found that from 22 total articles on human trafficking in 2000, including labour-, organ- and sex trafficking, the number grew to 154 total articles in 2014. A decade ago, Gozdziaik and Bump (2008) only found 39 articles, including all types of trafficking, which were based on empirical evidence. Figure 4 below shows a temporal distribution graph of published articles according to percentage.

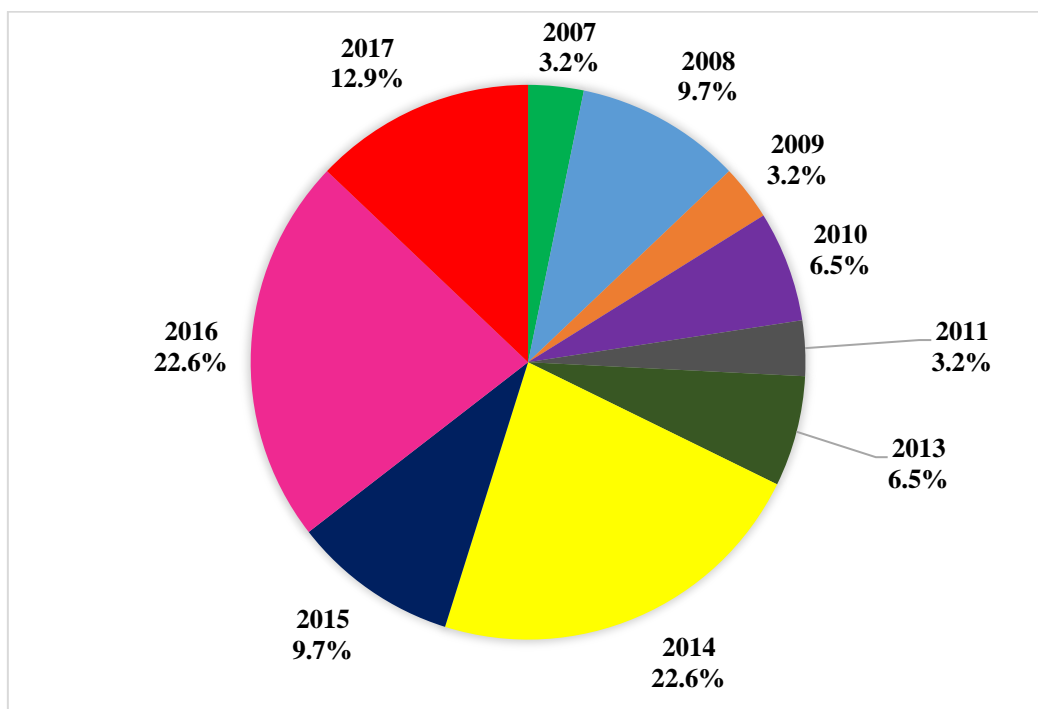


Figure 4. Frequency of published articles according to the year of publication in percentage

Disciplinary Framework.

In the current study, the selected articles revealed that the top three disciplines that investigate the relational aspects between sex trafficking victims and their traffickers were criminology (9), psychology (8) and social science (7), followed by social work (4), medicine/health (2) and gender/race/religion (1), as shown in Figure 5 below. A review of scoping studies by Gozdziaik et al. (2015) and Russel (2018) indicate that the trend has not

changed significantly since the first comprehensive study was compiled by Gozdziaik and Bump (2008), whereby the majority of their articles fell into social sciences category (53%) and followed by law/criminal justice (51%). Russel (2018) found a similar trend to Gozdziaik and Bump (2008), the top disciplines over time were law (25.9%), international relations (18.4%), criminology (12.9%), medicine and health (9.3%), and social science (8.4%). Thus showing that law, criminology and social sciences seem to dominate the disciplines of relevant articles. Figure 6 follows, with a line graph showing the publication trends according to the disciplines over time in the current study.

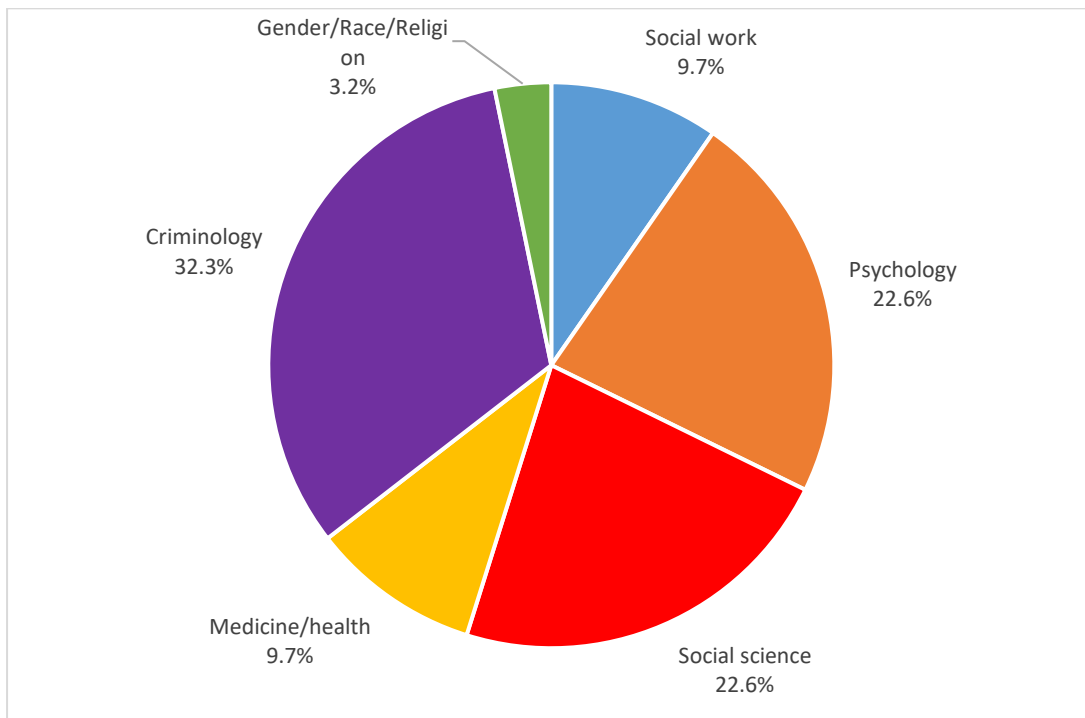


Figure 5. Distribution of articles among the disciplines between years 2007–2017 according to percentage.

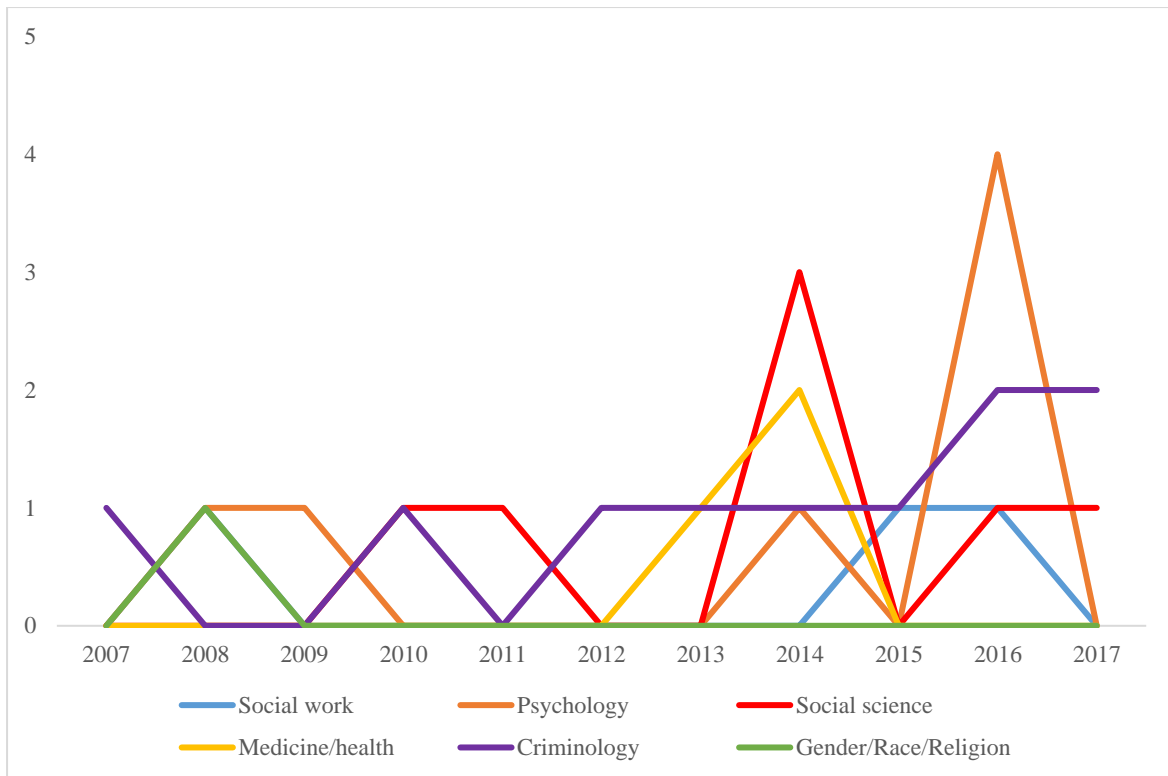


Figure 6. Line graph showing the publication trends according to the disciplines over time

Data Source.

Data collection for the selected articles was mostly done through different types of interviews. A small number of articles based their findings on court files, police investigation and case studies, as shown in Table 3. In general, insufficient primary research on sex trafficking explains how access to either victim or trafficking populations are limited (Zhang, 2009), which explains why less than 35 articles were published over a span of 11 years, based on primary research of sex trafficking stakeholders and their relationship dynamics. Similar to the study compiled by Gozdziaik and Bump (2008), without exception, all articles charted in the current scoping review used qualitative methodologies.

Table 3.

Article distribution according to data collection methods

Data collection method	Number	Percentage
Interviews	18	58.1%
Police investigation	3	9.7%
Medical charts	1	3.2%
Questionnaires	2	6.5%
Social worker cases	2	6.5%
Surveys	2	6.5%
Electronic surveillance data	1	3.2%
Mixed methods*	2	6.5%

** Mixed methods were used in two articles, which was the combination of interviews, cases and third party reports*

Sample Size.

To analyse the population sample, articles were divided into specific intervals based on the number of sample size. The current study revealed that sample sizes most commonly used in the articles range from 100 to 699 (32.3%). The second most commonly found sample size is 10 to 29 (29%). A mere three articles used evidence collected from less than 10 respondents (9.7%), and five articles had a sample size of 30 to 49. Table 4 below presents article distribution according to percentage of sample size and data source found in the current research.

Table 4.

Article distribution according to the sample size and data source found according to percentage

Sample size	Data source	Percentage
1 to 9	Case files, in-depth interviews, face-to-face interviews	9.7%
10 to 29	Police investigations, face-to-face interviews	29.0%
30 to 49	Face-to-face interviews, programme chart analysis, case studies	16.1%
50 to 99	Semi-structured, in-depth interviews, face-to-face interviews, case study	12.9%
100 to 699	Respondent-driven sampling, key informant interviews, case interviews, demographic observation, face-to-face interviews, police investigations, survey, ethnographic study, in-depth interviews, electronic surveillance data	32.3%

Participants.

Obtaining primary research or information from victims or survivors of sex trafficking is difficult due to the fact that they are afraid to divulge information about their situation or that many cases are not yet discovered (Silverman et al., 2006). Much available research on the topic is thus acquired from a small sample of survivors, usually identified by persons assisted by NGOs, law enforcement agencies or international organisations. Laczko (2005) noted that:

The actual ratio of assisted survivors to the total number of victims is unknown, meaning that studies based only on assisted cases may not be representative of the total number of trafficked persons, which may remain undiscovered (p.39).

However, in the current research, 14 out of 31 articles were based on data collected from victims; four articles utilised the findings based on perpetrators' narratives. Seven articles used narratives from the mixed sample of perpetrators, victims and third parties or a dual sample from victims and third parties and offenders. The remaining five articles cited third parties only as their sources included social workers, law enforcement officers, nurses and other public workers who deal with victims or perpetrators. As displayed by the numbers in Figure 7 below, it can be concluded that either the victims are usually more forthcoming or the researchers focus their attention primarily on victim narratives. Perpetrator accounts are more commonly accessed through the case files before or after they have been prosecuted or from the third-party narratives from related parties such as case officers, law enforcement or service providers such as social workers.

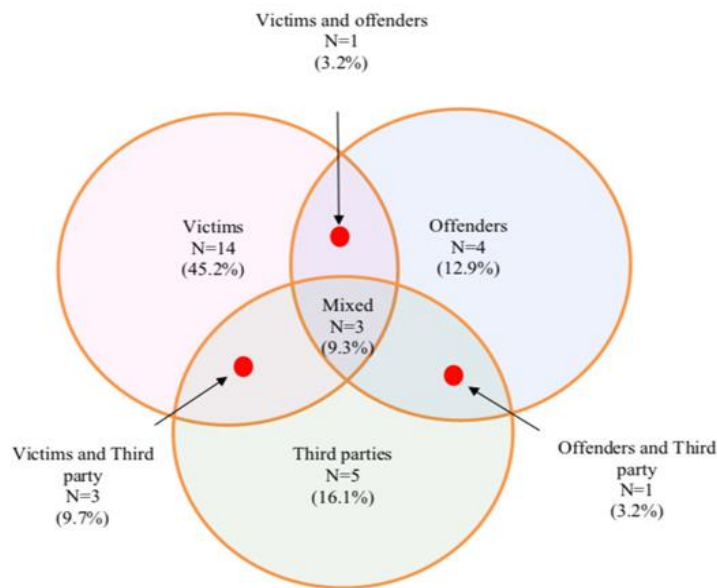


Figure 7. Venn diagram of participants involved in the study

Databases.

This research examined the search results of publications based on the databases they were published in to identify the most productive databases for searching empirical research on the nature of the relationship within the context of sex trafficking. Out of the 31 studies included, the database that carried most of the selected research are those in Taylor & Francis (13), followed by Springer Nature (7), SAGE Journals (6), Elsevier (umbrella for ScienceDirect, Scopus and Mendley) (3), Oxford University Press (1) and Wiley Online Library (1). Figure 8 below presents the distribution of databases based on the number of articles published according to the percentage.

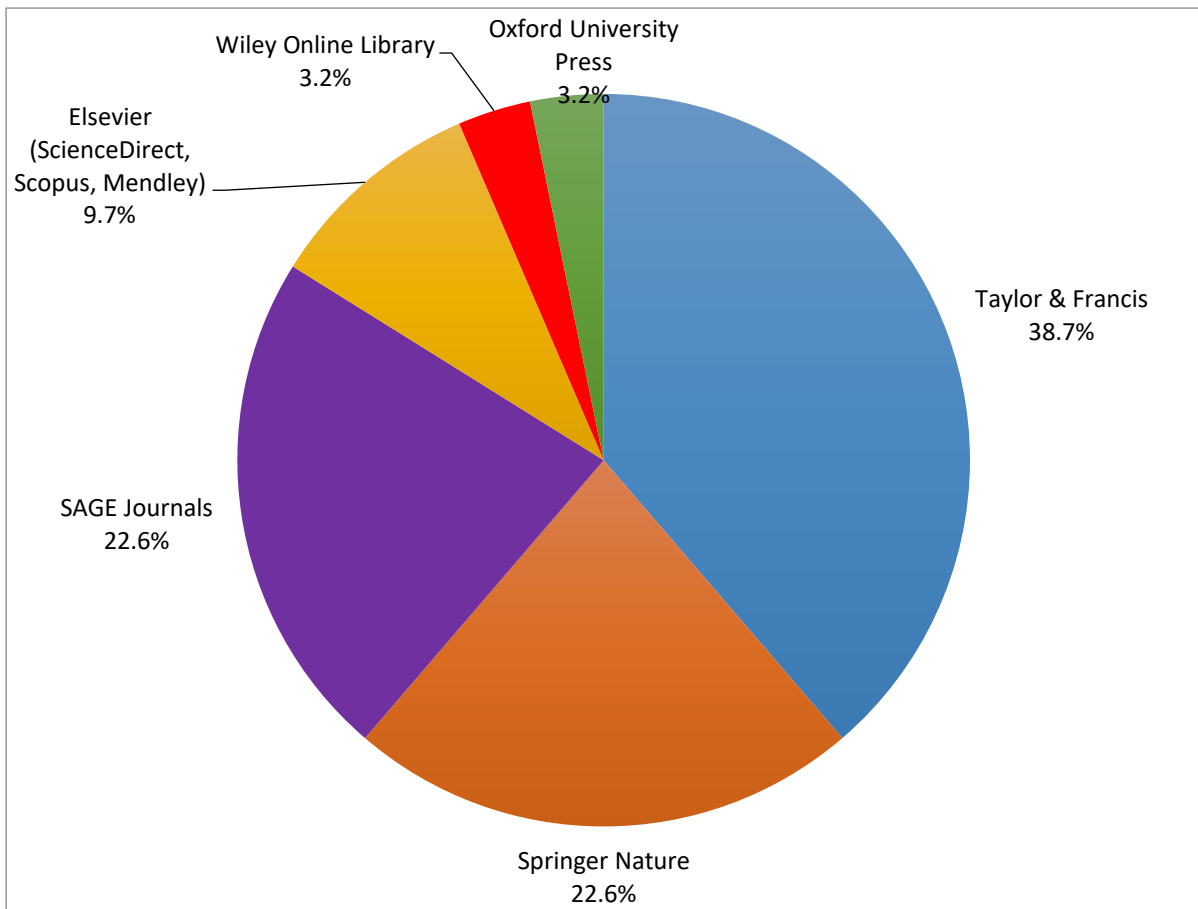


Figure 8. Distribution of articles according to the databases, according to the percentage

Geographical Location.

This scoping review yielded 31 articles, of which seven countries emerged, the majority of the study locations were found in the United States of America (18), followed by Canada (3), Mexico (3), and the Netherlands (3). Single articles were found in the United Kingdom (1), Nepal (1), Bulgaria (1), and South Africa/Nigeria (1). The distribution according to the percentage is presented in Figure 9.

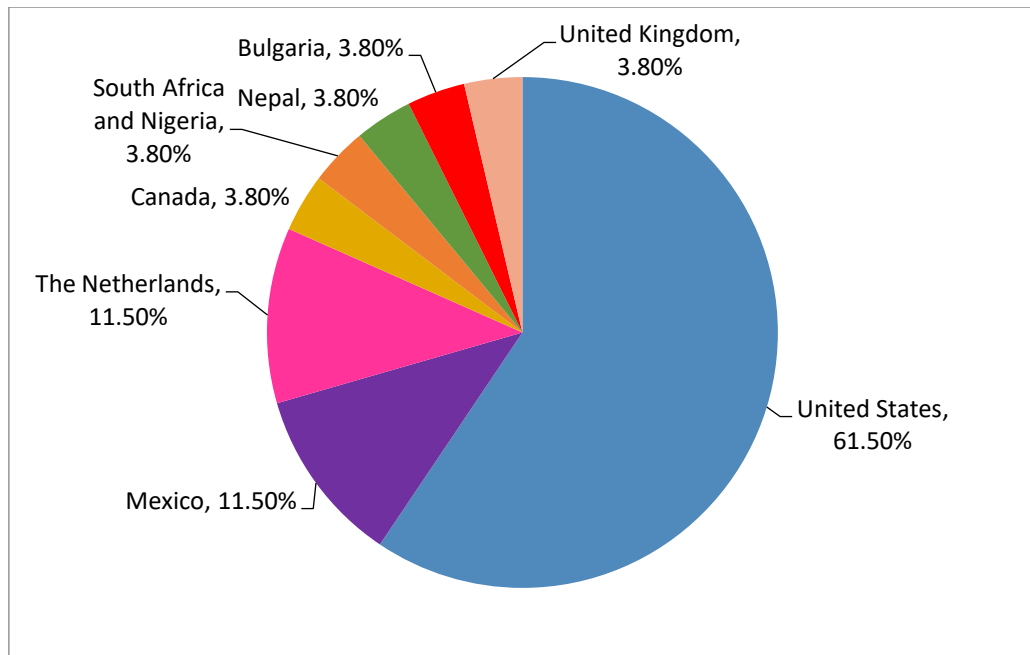


Figure 9. Article distribution according to the geographic location according to percentage

In this study, notably only one article emerged from Asia, one from Africa and one from Central and Eastern Europe. Interestingly, however, the UNODC (2016) reports that these are source countries, where human trafficking flows lead into Western Europe and the United States of America. “Victims are trafficked from many parts of the world, in particular, from South Asia and East Asia” (UNODC, 2016, p.59). Schauer and Wheaton (2006) noted that:

When certain elements accumulate, an area becomes especially susceptible to human trafficking. Local ingredients often include poverty, unemployment, and civil unrest. Important cultural aspects to consider are low education levels, lack of opportunities for women, and subservience as women are pressured to sacrifice themselves for the survival of their families (p.162).

Adding to this, the Association of Women's Rights in Development (2002) estimated that within the last 30 years, sex trafficking has victimised approximately 30 million Asian women and children. Similarly, the UNODC (2016) found that East Asia and Sub-Saharan

Africa, which are considered source countries, have the most noteworthy globally dispersed trafficking flow trend, more than any other region. However, this current study found an absence of articles from Asia and Africa. Possible reasons for this may be that this topic has not received much attention from researchers in these regions. Zhang (2009) explained that in-depth fieldwork is needed as a way in which more primary search on sex trafficking could emerge, whereby researchers would need to spend ample time in these selected locations to develop rapport in order to conduct interviews and make useful observations (Zhang, 2009). Another possible explanation could be related to stigmatisation. Only some victims are recognised as individuals who have been trafficked, while others are believed to have chosen to be part of the sex work industry. Individuals who are associated with prostitution are unlikely to be identified as victims and are inclined to be criticised. Therefore, victims may prefer not to report the incident out of fear of being stigmatised (Silverman et al., 2006). Based on this sample, data for the majority of published articles originated in the destination countries.

Themes regarding the nature of relationship between the sex trafficker and their victim

The selected articles were organised according to the nine categories represented in the PCW; 1) Coercion and Threats (C&T), 2) Intimidation (Intim), 3) Emotional Abuse (Emo A), 4) Isolation (Isol), 5) Denying, blaming and minimising (DBM), 6) Sexual abuse (SA), 7) Physical Abuse (PA), 8) Using privilege (UP), 9) Economic abuse (Eco A), with an addition of Affective Kinship (AK). Table 5 below codes the key categories found in each article used for descriptive statistics. Qualitative data was thereafter summarised in a narrative form as per the categories. As indicated in Chapter Four, the current study utilised directed content analysis to systematically chart the findings, according to pre-existing categories determined in the PCW. Though levels of power and control may vary, primary research available on trafficked victims indicated that they experienced sexual abuse, physical assaults, verbal

threats, coercion, emotional abuse and psychological abuse (Acharya, 2008; Lowman, 2000; Raymond, 2004). In all relationships examined by Verhoeven et al. (2015), a combination of controlling and intimidation tactics, and the use of violence were found, thus explaining that many of the categories present overlap. For example, these same authors found that isolation, which is a category on its own, was also used as an intimidation tactic (Verhoeven et al., 2015). Similarly, the overlap can be accounted to by the PCW, whereby creating distrust of the police within the Isolation category is likened to the lies about police involvement in the trafficking situation within the Intimidation category.

Table 5.

Coding Power and Control categories for statistical analysis

#	Author	C&T	Inti m	Emo A	Isol	DB M	SA	PA	UP	Eco A	AK
1	Marcus et al., 2011	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
2	Reid, 2013	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
3	Verhoeven et al., 2015	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
4	Gibbs et al., 2015	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
5	Perkins & Ruiz, 2016	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
6	Hargreaves-Cormanya & Patterson, 2016	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
7	Hargreaves-Cormanya et al., 2016	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
8	Hopper, 2017	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
9	Mehlman-Orozco, 2017	1	0	1		0	1	1	0	0	1
10	Acharya, 2008	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
11	Williamson & Prior, 2009	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1
12	Acharya & Clark, 2010	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
13	Raphael et al., 2010	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
14	Hom & Woods, 2013	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
15	Ioannou & Oostinga, 2014	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
16	Acharya, 2016	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
17	Gotch, 2016	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
18	Bouche & Shady, 2016	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	van der Watt & Kruger, 2017	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
20	Serie et al., 2017	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1
21	Simkhada, 2008	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
22	Petrinov, 2014	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
23	Marcus et al., 2014	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
24	Morselli et al., 2014	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1
25	Baldwin et al., 2014	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1
26	Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2014	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
27	Reid, 2014	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1

28	McDonald & Timoshkina, 2007	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0
29	Sarson & McDonald, 2008	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
30	Broad, 2015	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1
31	Fogel et al., 2016	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
TOTAL		26	10	27	19	3	19	29	3	18	24
		C&T	Inti	Emo	Isol	DB	SA	PA	UP	Eco	AK
			m	A		M				A	

Coercion and Threats.

Coercion and threats were explicitly represented in 83.9% of the cases reported by the articles as a form of power and control. The PCW considers this category to include threats to harm the victim or family, threats to expose or shame the victim and threats to report them to the police or to immigration. Verhoeven et al. (2015) found, that 84% of the interviewees from their research report being subjected to threats and the instillation of fear as forms of psychological coercion. Out of 71 women interviewed by Raphael, Reichert and Powers (2010), it was found that 21.1% of the participants were threatened with rape or physical harm (67.6%) and 38.0% of them were threatened to be kicked out as a form of threat. Ioannou and Oostinga (2014) also established that among 137 victims whom they interviewed, threats to family members were made to retain control over the victims. Additionally, these authors found that shame and humiliation was instilled via perpetrators threatening either to place explicit material of the victim online (8.8%) or inform others what job he/she was working (3.6%).

Intimidation.

Intimidation, according to the PCW, involves harm to other victims, children or pets, display or use of weapons, destroying property and lying about police involvement in the trafficking situation. In the current study, this category was present in 32.3% of the selected articles. Reid (2013) found that sexually exploited minors who were arrested had a lack of trust

in law enforcement, which was thought to be reinforced by the lies that the minors were fed by their traffickers regarding the deceitfulness of others. Similarly, Baldwin, Fehrenbacher and Eisenman (2014) found that victims were paranoid and living in constant fear, and thus accepted their fate within their trafficking situation because the traffickers feigned powerful connections to the police and immigration offices. An additional intimidation tactic used was that victims were forced to observe abusive acts, whereby the traffickers rape and beat up other victims, forcing these victims to remain silent to avoid the same being done to them (Hopper, 2017; Reid 2014). Lastly, Verhoeven et al. (2015) found that traffickers were in possession of a firearm as a form of intimidation, thus emphasising that leaving was not an option for the victim.

Physical Abuse.

Physical abuse incorporates being shoved, slapped, hit, punched, kicked, strangled, burned, branded or tattooed, being denied food/water, exposed to harmful chemicals, forced pregnancy termination and induction of drug addiction as a form of control. In this current study, the use of physical abuse was noted at 93.6%, and represents the highest prevalence of power and control recorded across all 31 studies. Verhoeven et al. (2015) found that the type and level of violence varied in their study, and that injuries caused by these acts of violence varied too. Some victims are abused regularly, often resulting in a broken nose or jaw, while others are beaten up infrequently; usually the cause of being abused is not behaving according to demands made. Gibbs et al. (2015) also found that being physically harmed or restrained was reported by a significant number of young victims (37%–78%) and that acts of violence became more overt as time passed; physical assaults increased, so did the branding of young people with tattoos of the trafficker's name, or shaving their head. Similar results were found in a study by Hopper (2017), whereby experiences of torture were described by beatings with baseball bats, hangers and belts, and in some cases, being burned. Violence was

used at different times during the trafficking process. According to Raphael, Reichert and Powers (2010), who counted the frequency of violent acts based on the answers of their interviewees, victims had experienced slapping, punching, spanking, kicking and other forms of physical abuse. The data from their study demonstrates that for the victims in their sample, the physical abuse aspect of the relationship increased from recruitment to the time of the interview as presented in Table 6.

Table 6.

Types of violence by recruiters and pimps (Excerpt from Raphael, Reichert & Powers, 2010, p.98)

Action	Recruitment (n=71)	Time of interview (n=71)
Slapping	33.8%	76.1%
Punching	19.7%	50.7%
Hair pulled	15.5%	29.6%
Pinched	4.2%	16.9%
Spanked	14.1%	31.0%
Kicked	14.1%	43.7%
Ripped clothes	9.9%	22.5%
Something thrown	15.5%	29.6%

Interviews with trafficked women in Mexico showed that in the span of one week, 70% of women had been physically assaulted with an object, 28% had been drugged, 15% were burned, 10% had chilli put in their eyes, and 2% had chilli put in their vaginas as a form of punishment (Acharya, 2008). Many forms of dehumanising tactics were also found by Baldwin et al. (2014), including starvation and deprivation of healthcare and sleep. This was also commented on by Hom and Woods (2013), who stated the inclusion of coercive drug use. The use of drugs played an active role in the power and control applied by traffickers.

Several studies (Perkins & Ruiz, 2016; Hopper, 2017; Hom & Woods, 2013; Baldwin et al., 2014) reported drugs use in their findings; victims are introduced to drugs, thus forming a dependency on the substance, which held them in their trafficking situation. The effects of the drug made them unable to resist the trafficking situation and then resulted in them trading drugs for sex to keep up their addiction. In some of these cases, it was reported that the victims were forced into consuming substances to cause debilitating effects and thus lower their ability to resist.

Hom and Woods (2013) interviewed nurses, task force members, social workers and clinic directors who were involved with the victims post trafficking, and found that forms of violent control included rape, beatings, coercive drug use and starvation. One service provider reported knowing about victims who had experienced broken bones that never healed, ruptured spleens, gunshot wounds and stabbing. Often, in these cases, appropriate medical help was never attained. The findings from all above studies are comparable with the findings of this study as physical abuse is found to be the most common category, present in 29 out of 31 articles.

Emotional Abuse.

Emotional abuse was present in 87.1% of the cases as reported by the 31 selected articles. Emotional abuse in the PCW is categorised by victims as being humiliated in front of others, called names, having mind games played on them, being made to feel guilty or blamed for their situation, and being convinced that the traffickers are the only ones who care for them. A form of playing mind games was researched by van der Watt and Kruger (2017) who discovered less conventional methods of control for subduing the victims of sex trafficking being applied. They investigated the use of “juju rituals as a spiritual or psychological control mechanism by perpetrators” (p.70) to overpower victims in the South African sex trafficking context. The participants’ experiences confirmed the use of juju or a

combination of arcane methods by Nigerian traffickers as a control measure over victims. The term “juju” referred to different methods among the participants, including “witchcraft, voodoo, spirits, muti, black magic, demons, Satanism and curses” (p.78). The study suggested that black and coloured South African females, as well as Nigerian women were victims of juju rituals. Various rituals were performed to convince the victims that they were cursed and were to submit to the control of the traffickers. As another form of emotional abuse, Baldwin et al. (2014) noted that degradation was a powerful tool used by traffickers to control their victims via the use of humiliation, insults, being reduced to animals and being denied dignity and privacy. Trafficking victims in Mexico were interviewed by Acharya (2008) and results show that in a span of one week, 100% of the women were abused verbally, “liar” and “dirty filthy whore” (p.58) are names a victim recalls being reduced to for being sick and unable to work (Verhoeven, 2015). Likewise, Acharya and Clark (2010) reported a victim’s account of verbal abuse, “every day, she is scolding me, beating me and discriminating me with other young women, telling that now I am an ‘una vaca vieja’ [old cow]” (p.422). Degradation, pooled with other forms of power and control, worsened the vulnerability felt by these victims, affected their self-worth and enhanced the trafficker’s power in the trafficking situation (Baldwin et al., 2014). In an attempt to prevent the women from ever leaving, traffickers placed threats to humiliate them by posting explicit material of the victims online, if they did not comply (Ioannou & Oostinga, 2014). Additionally, the traffickers emphasised to the victims that no one else cared for them (besides them) and if they tried to escape, no one would help or rescue them (Hom & Woods, 2013). Manipulation tactics are generally used to coerce victims into a trafficking situation. These include tricking the victims to believe they are in a loving relationship only to be reduced to a commodity and forced into trafficking (Deshpande et al., 2013).

Sexual Abuse.

Sexual abuse in the PCW is characterised by sexual assault as punishment or means of control, it forces victims to have sex multiple times a day, treats victims as an object for monetary gain and normalises sexual violence and the selling of sex. Sexual abuse was present in more than half of the cases (61.3%) in the articles scoped for the purpose of this research. Raphael et al. (2010) interviewed 71 victims of sex trafficking and found that at the time of interview, 52.1%, experience forced sex by the recruiter or the pimp; however, at the time of recruitment, rape was less commonly reported (23.9%). Hopper (2017) found that all survivors of sex trafficking in his sample experienced sexual assaults and sexual abuse, while 41% reported that rape was used to break down their resistance and as a type of initiation. Interestingly, his study revealed that the extent of sexual abuse was largely attributed to their duration within the trafficking situation. Acharya and Clark (2010) found evidence of women being forced to have sex with more than one client (up to eight per day), especially if they were 20 years old or younger, as they were a popular commodity among clients, and pimps intended to make as much money as possible from them. On the other hand, out of 137 victims of sex trafficking interviewed by Ioannou and Oostinga (2014), only nine victims reported being sexually abused or threatened to be abused sexually. Reid's (2014) study revealed that traffickers normalised engaging in sexual acts and even encouraged it as a form of controlling their victims.

Isolation.

Isolation was practised in 61.3% of the cases reported in the scoped articles as a tactic for controlling the victim. Isolation as indicated in the PCW refers to confinement, being accompanied to public places, creating distrust of police/others, moving victims to different locations, not allowing victims to learn English or go to school and denying access to children, family and friends. Constant surveillance of the victims was found by Ioannou and

Oostinga's (2014) study, with 56.9% being escorted to work and 24.1% being accompanied when leaving. Likewise, Verhoeven et al. (2015) found that victims were chaperoned to and from work, and were watched, taking note of how many customers they had, the duration of the customers' visit, how many hours the victim works, and thus how much money was earned. This type of incessant monitoring was used to also prevent other traffickers or pimps from persuading the women to work for them instead and to collect money periodically, which was claimed to be for the sake of the victim's safety (Verhoeven et al., 2015; Hom & Woods, 2013; McDonald & Timoshkina, 2007) However, Williamson and Prior (2009) found that the monitoring or "watcher" (p.55) was to ensure the victims do not escape and returned to the car after working in a motel room. Several juvenile sex trafficking victims noted that they reside in places with security cameras both inside and outside to observe them (Reid, 2014). In interviews with trafficked women in Mexico, Acharya (2008) found that in the span of one week, being locked in the house without food was experienced by 30% of the victims. Even when the victims are not working, their movements are limited; many victims reported being locked indoors, supposedly for their own safety (Verhoeven et al., 2015). Denying the victims any social support was an additional controlling tactic, whereby victims were kept away from family and friends which exacerbated the imbalance of power (Baldwin et al., 2014). This finding was reiterated by the 91% of Hopper's (2017) sample, who reported social isolation as a coercive factor. Any form of communication was forbidden with anyone outside the brothel and even sometimes with customers (Simkhada, 2008). Cost/benefit calculations are used by sex traffickers to decide, which victims to allow access to the outside world and which ones to isolate (Bouche & Shady, 2016).

Ioannou and Oostinga (2014) found that limiting victims' access to the language of the country, where they were trafficked to was a form of isolation, with 78.1% unable to speak Dutch, 45.3% unable to speak German, and 26.3% unable to converse in English,

which are commonly spoken languages in the Netherlands. Lastly, attributing to the definition within the PCW category, Reid (2014) found that sexually exploited minors who were arrested had a lack of trust in law enforcement, which was believed to be reinforced by the lies that the minors were fed by their traffickers regarding the untrustworthiness of others, including officials.

Economic Abuse.

Economic abuse involves creating a debt that can never be repaid, taking money earned, prohibiting access to finances and limiting resources to a small allowance. This category was prevalent in 58.1% of the selected articles. Finesse pimping is a type of economic abuse, whereby young girls are tricked to think that it was their own choice to sell sex and then give all their money to a trafficker. One victim reported “I’d give him my money and whatever I needed or wanted, I’d ask for it” (Williamson & Prior, 2009, p.55). Many cases included victims who mentioned that traffickers kept all the money they earned but took care of their basic needs (Reid, 2014). Fifty-two percent of the women had all money taken from them and 45% were indebted because their traffickers had provided them with clothing, gifts and food (Raphael et al., 2010). In the sample, 86.1% who lived in a place that was rented or owned by the trafficker felt financially obligated to hand all money over, which was noted as a control method (Ioannou & Oostinga, 2014). Equally, Simkhada (2008) found that victims were forced to work by their supposed indebtedness and owing of money to the trafficker. A victim reported in Marcus et al. (2014) that she had been having sex for money since she was 13 and her foster father, who was also her pimp, expected that she contribute financially to the household. Another juvenile sex trafficking victim recounted a trafficker requesting payment from her after posting her pictures on the internet, which brought her more business (Reid, 2014).

Verhoeven et al. (2015) noted that many women had to pay a certain amount of money, if they wanted to leave or stop working, amounting to 50 000 euros. Victims mentioned that not having a place to go to and financial issues were obstacles that prevented their escape (Hopper, 2017). Serie et al. (2017) conducted research in the Netherlands on the perpetrators' perspective; these men noted a transactional relationship and alluded to helping a female by taking care of her, providing her with a place to sleep and giving her protection. These business-like arrangements were reported and portrayed as an agreement between both parties who wanted to make money and refers to the subcategory of taking money earned as a type of economic abuse.

Denying, blaming, and minimising.

Denying, blaming and minimising were found as control mechanisms in only a few studies in the current research (9.7%). This category related to making light of abuse or exploitation, denying anything illegal or exploitive is occurring, and placing blame on the victim for the trafficking situation. Reid (2013) noted that minors who were sex trafficking victims seemed to deny or minimise their sexual victimisation, and were confused by their own blame or part for the crime, which was committed against them. They hypothesised that such reaction was due to the traffickers who instilled these thoughts and ideas. Verhoeven et al. (2015) found that similarly, victims minimised their circumstances and blamed themselves for being a part of the trafficking situations or they thought that no serious crime had been committed. Subsequently, Serie et al. (2017) interviewed traffickers, who used love and romance as coercion tactics, who explained that they slowly presented their expectations, such as asking the victim to engage in sex work to assist in their financial predicaments and then gradually increased the work load. A director at a school for at-risk girls stated that “girls often completely believed that they were earning money for their boyfriend because he

was in a desperate situation and it was an emergency or short term”. She then added, “to these girls, the word prostitution does not describe what they were doing” (Reid, 2013, p.81).

Using Privilege.

Treating victims like a servant, using gender, age or nationality to suggest superiority, using certain victims to control others and hiding or destroying important documents are the defining characteristics of this category. In the current study, this appeared in only 9.7% of the total articles that were selected. Creating dependence on traffickers is a way to keep victims in their situation; this is further created by retaining the victim’s passport, making it extremely difficult for them to rent a room elsewhere or to travel to escape (Verhoeven et al., 2015). This was also found in Ioannou and Oostinga’s (2014) study, where 32% of victims reported having their passports seized by traffickers.

The theme of degradation was imminent in the study by Baldwin et al. (2014), which reported victims being treated like servants and victims being requested to do petty tasks such as cleaning the wall or doorknobs as well as serving the perpetrator water when asked. This was used to keep them in their ‘place’ and in the situation by developing habits of compliance.

Affective Kinship

Marcus et al. (2011) noted a particular relationship dynamic prevalent in the narratives from victims of juvenile sex trafficking, which was classified as “Affective Kinship-based Domestic Units” (p.157). Most of these relationships were described by using phrases such as “roommate”, male or female “partner”, “husband” and “best friend” (p.158). Interestingly, these relationships were not characterised by force or coercion, and victims typically did not use the word pimp during the interview process. Mehlman-Orcozo (2017) labels this a “trauma bond” (p.14), which is formed by a manufactured perception of ‘love’, which made the victim feel they were a willing participant to someone who gains financially, even though they are being exploited. Ioannou and Oostinga (2014) found that 21.9% of

victims, which is more than one-fifth, had an intimate relationship with an affiliate of the criminal group. Findings from Verhoeven et al. (2015) resonated with this trend and show that affectionate relationships exist between trafficker and victim, in some cases, cohabitation occurred with quality time spent together, despite the relationship being characterised by forms of control; yet, they still continued with the relationship for many reasons such as “fear, love, attachment or dependency” (p.61). Findings from Perkins and Ruiz (2016) explained how the manufactured love and intimacy are effective tools used in recruiting and exercising control, and found a strong need to be loved as a theme that emerged from interviews with the victims. Reid (2014) noted that whilst it may seem counterintuitive for victims to remain in a situation, where they are being exploited, many of them formed attachments. Programme staff in post-trafficking care facilities were interviewed by Gibbs (2015) and highlighted exploitive relationships between victims and traffickers; however, they were described as romantic relationships by the victims. Traffickers made promises of better lives, making money or getting married and used gifts to facilitate the impression of a relationship or love (Hopper, 2017). Due to these promises, several victims described feeling as if they were a family and being in love with their trafficker (Reid, 2014). Serie et al. (2017) researched the perpetrators’ view of the emotional relationship and interviewed sex traffickers who reported that showing love and affection to their victim made her feel loved and safe, which created an emotional bondage and which was useful later when he asked her to work for him.

Surprisingly, despite the prominence of the findings reported in the studies above, this is not a category within the PCW. Therefore, Marcus et al.’s (2011) term “Affective Kinship-based Domestic Units” (p.157) was adapted to “Affective Kinship”. In the current study, Affective Kinship was stated in 77.4% of articles, remarkably, 24 out of 31 articles made mention of a romantic or intimate relationship between traffickers and their victims; yet, no

category within the PCW accurately accounts for the nature of this type of relationship and therefore, it could not be classified under any of the existing categories in the PCW. The emotional abuse category alludes somewhat to a relationship, but describes traffickers convincing victims that they [the traffickers] are the only ones who care, which again does not accurately portray the relationship as mentioned by several researchers (Marcus et al., 2011; Reid, 2014; Verhoeven et al., 2015; Gibbs, 2015; Hopper, 2017). Therefore, augmentation of the PCW would benefit by adding a category regarding the victim-trafficker relationship, whereby the trafficker is referred to as “my man”, “boyfriend” or “partner” and the victim believes to be in a loving and caring relationship, based on which she is subjected to sexual exploitation without self-reporting as being exploited or a victim. The current study reveals that based on the methodology, the theoretical model should be extended. Figure 10 below presents an augmented Power and Control Wheel to be considered. It should be noted that the other categories and sub-categories of the Power and Control Wheel remain the same.

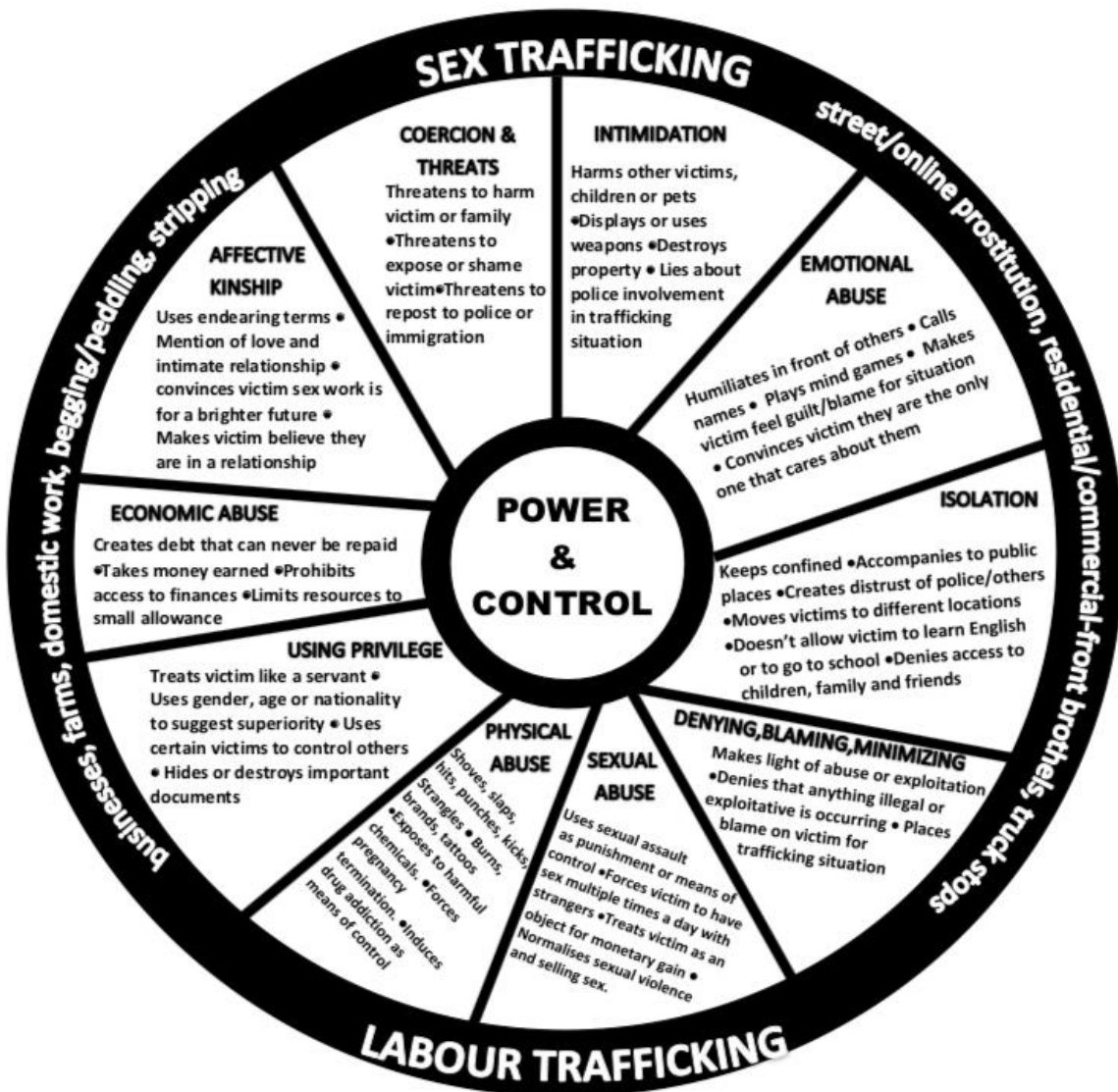


Figure 10. Augmented Power and Control Wheel for Sex and Labour Trafficking Duluth Model based on the findings of the current study. From Polaris Project, reprinted from the National Human Trafficking Resource Centre, 2010.

Summary

This chapter mapped the research area and the main sources and types of evidence available. The numerical analysis revealed an increasing trend in the number of primary research on the topic. The analysis also revealed that the top three disciplines that investigate

the nature of the relationship between sex traffickers and their victims are; criminology, social science and psychology, followed by social work, medicine/health and gender/race/religion. The second objective of this study was to understand the extent, range and nature of the relationship between sex traffickers and their victims by developing themes according to the PCW. Directed content analysis investigated the power and control behaviours relevant to the nature of the relationship between victims and traffickers as per categories presented in the PCW. Physical and Emotional Abuse ranked the highest with 93.6% and 87.1%, respectively. Coercion and Threats and Affective Kinship followed in ranking, highlighting the prevalence of non-physical power and control tactics occurring between the victims and traffickers. Additionally, this study highlighted that Affective Kinship, which is currently not a category in the PCW, revealed a romantic or intimate relationship occurring between traffickers and their victims, and therefore suggests that this category be added to the Power Wheel. The next chapter summarises the findings of this study, discusses the limitations of the research and presents recommendations for future research.

Chapter Six

Conclusion, Limitations, and Recommendations of the Current Study

This chapter provided an examination and scope of published academic articles based on primary evidence that report on the nature of the relationship between victims and traffickers within the context of sex trafficking. First, the conclusions of the current study are discussed, followed by the limitations and lastly recommendations for further research.

Conclusions of the Current Study

In the current study, an extensive and systematic search through the databases was done through the use of Boolean search operators and robustly designed search terms to gather as many articles as possible fitting the criteria that were set out. As the articles were selected for inclusion in the study, a systematic approach of article selection according to the framework of Arskey and O'Malley (2005) and refined by Levac et al. (2010) was employed. Initial selection of articles to be included were based on abstract and introduction, where available and only 34 articles were selected for full-text review.

The study identified a total of 2453 articles published between and including 2007 and 2017 in academic databases that were concerned with the topic of sex trafficking. Only as few as 187 articles were based on primary evidence. This finding supports the claims by researchers such as Zhang (2009) and Russel (2018) that there is a gap in primary research in human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Additionally, out of the many published articles, only a few are based on systematic primary data collection. Much of what is known about sex trafficking, including the trafficking process and statistical estimates, comes from government and non-government reports. "Imagination" (p.3) seems to have filled the knowledge gaps because of the limited number of empirical studies available (Zhang, 2009). In a 2018 study, Russel asserted the same, claiming that even though there has been an

increasing trend in research available on the topic of human trafficking, there still remains a lack of systematic and reliable data and a lack of information available about the experiences of the victim and the trafficker's motives.

Most of the research that was selected for scoping emerges from the United States (18 out of 31 articles). There was a notable absence of articles from Asia, South America, Africa and Central and Eastern Europe—the source countries. Possible reasons for this may be that this topic has not received much attention from researchers in these regions. Zhang (2009) explained that in-depth fieldwork is needed, whereby researchers would need to spend ample time in these selected locations to develop rapport to conduct interviews and make useful observations. Another possible explanation could be related to stigmatisation—victims may prefer not to report the incident out of fear of being associated with voluntary prostitution and therefore becoming stigmatised (Silverman et al., 2006). Lastly, most of the research found originates in destination countries, rather than source countries, where prevention measures could be applied more efficiently.

Not unexpectedly, leading research disciplines investigating the nature of the relationship between sex trafficking victims and perpetrators were criminology, followed by psychology and social science. Due to the fact that sex trafficking is a form of organised crime, which at times involves transcending borders, an effort to try combat it involves the identification and extraction of human trafficking victims to reveal information necessary to convict traffickers; thus, the bulk of the research literature has originated in the discipline of criminology.

The research showed that the data collection strategy used within the included studies utilise varied methods. A range of methods are used to produce qualitative data; however, interviews and case files from police investigations were used the most. These varied methods tend to make comparability difficult. However, reflecting on the complexity of the

relationship between sex traffickers and their victims and the hiddenness of the crime—the variety of methods could possibly mirror the complexity of gathering information on a complex phenomenon.

The limited available research that reports on the nature of the relationship showed that the most prevalent form of relationship between the traffickers and victims is physical abuse, which was reported 93.6% of the articles. Emotional abuse (87.1%) and coercion and threats (83.9%) followed, which highlights that non-physical power and control tactics are just as relevant and prevalent in these relationships.

Remarkably, 77.4% of the selected articles made mention of an intimate or romantic relationship occurring between sex traffickers and the victims. However, there is no accurate category currently in the PCW that reflects this nature of relationship and thus a new category, Affective Kinship, was proposed to be added to the wheel.

In conclusion, conducting a literature synthesis and more specifically, a scoping review, revealed that research on the relationship between sex traffickers and victims of sex trafficking is an under-researched area. In this current study, 31 articles match the selection criteria for inclusion in the study, meaning less than 2% of published academic literature between and including the years 2007 and 2017 reported on the nature of the relationship between victims and their traffickers in the context of sex trafficking and are based on primary evidence.

Limitations of the Current Study

It is important to note the limitations of this study and consider how these may have had an impact on this study. First, the sample included in this study was limited to peer-reviewed academic journal articles – it excluded reports, books and other forms of information. This was done to increase the validity of the study due to their use of the peer review. However, it is noteworthy that non-peer reviewed primary sources of information

may have had research findings that could add to current knowledge about the nature of the relationship between sex traffickers and their victims.

Arksey and O'Malley (2005) warned against the shortcoming of the scoping studies and emphasised, for example, that the quantity of sources produced can be considerable, which can make it difficult to determine how much data one wants to include versus how deep or detailed the analysis should be. Due to this research study being a mini-dissertation to partially fulfil the researcher's requirement for a Master's degree, the timeframe of research to be included was limited. Additionally, the inclusion criteria were narrowed down to make the study manageable for a single researcher. However, if a whole team worked on the research topic, the inclusion of grey research and an expanded timeframe could be considered.

The data collection process was completed through the Google Scholar meta-database; therefore, this study is limited by the articles that the meta-database could not access and thus excludes those not found during data collection.

Another limitation of the current study is that the search was conducted in July, 2018 and will not account for any data added after the date of the database search.

The key words for searching the databases were broad enough to not exclude any kind of sex trafficking; however, there was no separate search conducted for Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking (DMST) and Child Sexual Exploitation (CSE) because the used key words covered both adult and minor sex trafficking; however, it is possible that due to this restriction, some articles may have been excluded.

English was a specified inclusion criterion in this study, due to the fact that it would be timely and expensive to translate foreign material. It is therefore possible that articles were excluded because of language selection.

The current research found a combination of violent, controlling and intimidation tactics, and that many of the categories overlap. For example, Verhoeven et al. (2015) found that isolation, which is a category on its own, was also used as an intimidation tactic. Similarly, any overlap can be accounted for by the PCW categories, whereby creating distrust of police within the Isolation category is likened to the lies about police involvement in the trafficking situation within the Intimidation category. Thus, a possible limitation could be accuracy of the findings based on the interpretations made by the researcher.

Recommendations for Future Research

Bales (2007) noted that resources and awareness are two tools that can be used for combating human trafficking. Accurate primary data collection and analysis thereof is needed for all counter human trafficking stakeholders and policy-makers. This information is equally beneficial to victim aftercare providers, as it can aid rehabilitation and reintegration, if the complexity of this relationship is better understood. This researcher therefore makes recommendations to possible further Bales' two tools.

As current research fails to represent the full extent and effects of romantic relationship-induced exploitation of minors and adults, future research should focus on the Affective Kinship category of the PCW as a power and control tactic, which helps explain the nature of the relationship between the victim and the sex trafficker.

Inclusion of non-peer-reviewed primary sources of information could add to the current knowledge about this complex relationship, and thus a recommendation is for future research to include grey literature such as reports, books and other forms of information. Additionally, due to this study being a mini-dissertation by a single researcher, future research could benefit from an expanded timeline. Thus, a further recommendation would be to include all studies since the Palermo Protocol clarified the definition of human trafficking in 2000. Additionally, a recommendation is made to include studies in foreign languages to

ensure validity and reliability of all studies and guarantee studies are not excluded by language.

The current study revealed that most research is conducted in the destination countries, and thus it is a recommendation that research efforts are made in source countries, whereby prevention measures could be applied more efficiently in an attempt to combat sex trafficking.

The data collection methods of all selected studies demonstrate an inconsistent pattern regarding interviews – both structured and unstructured, court cases, and field reports from social workers. There has not been a single standardised and structured form that records the victim and trafficker experiences and analyses them with a single consistent barometer. The sample sizes vary from less than 10 to over 500 respondents and are mainly based on the ability of the researchers to seek out and record the victim narratives. Based on the variety of the methods of the data collection and sample sizes, the evidence is not easily comparable across time. Recommendation for further research would be to explore the possibility of developing a uniform reporting mechanism with a clear guideline to assist in collecting the data on relational aspects of sex trafficking.

The current study found a trend in research in the discipline of criminology; however, as relationship dynamics can be seen to be rooted in the discipline of psychology, it is recommended that this discipline should research the nature of this relationship in more detail because psychological well-being is essential to the aftercare providers of the victims' rehabilitation and reintegration into society.

This study used the PCW to espouse themes from selected studies. However, future research could benefit from using Braun and Clarke's (2006) interpretative Thematic Analysis in future synthesis research to create themes not based on an existing theory. This

thematic analysis may elucidate even more about the nature of the relationship between sex traffickers and their victims.

Lastly, the theoretical framework in the PCW does not accurately portray a category to reflect the romantic relationship between traffickers and victims. Thus, augmentation and expansion of the PCW is proposed to include a category (Affective Kinship) to highlight elements found within the intimate or romantic relationship between sex traffickers and their victims.

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Appendix 1- Excel Charting Spreadsheet

Database	Journal title	Volume and issue	Publication year	Authors	Title	Discipline
Springer Nature	Sexuality Research and Social Policy	Volume 9, Issue 2, pp.153-166	2011	Marcus et al.	Is Child to Adult as Victim is to Criminal?	Sociology
Springer Nature	Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology	Volume 28, Issue 1, pp. 75-89	2013	Reid	Rapid Assessment Exploring Impediments to Successful Prosecutions of Sex Traffickers of Relationships Between Suspects and Victims of Sex Trafficking.	Criminology
Springer Nature	European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research	Volume 21, Issue 1, pp. 49-64	2015	Verhoeven, van Gestel, de Jong & Kleemans	Exploitation of Prostitutes and Services to domestic minor victims of sex trafficking: Opportunities for engagement and support	Social Works
Elsevier (ScienceDirect, Scopus, Mendley)	Children and Youth Services Review	Volume 54, pp. 1-7	2015	Gibbs et al.	Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking in a Rural State: Interviews with Adjudicated Female Juveniles	Social Works
Springer Nature	Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal	Volume 34, Issue 2, pp. 171-180	2016	Perkins & Ruiz	Characteristics of survivors of juvenile sex trafficking: Implications for treatment and intervention	Psychology
Elsevier (ScienceDirect, Scopus, Mendley)	Aggression and Violent Behavior	Volume 30, pp. 32-39	2016	Hargreaves-Cormanya & Patterson	A Typology of Offenders Engaging in the Sex Trafficking of Juveniles (STJ): Implications for Risk Assessment	Psychology
Elsevier (ScienceDirect, Scopus, Mendley)	Aggression and Violent Behavior	Volume 30, pp. 40-47	2016	Hargreaves-Cormanya, Patterson, Muirhead and the Federal Bureau of Investigation	Polyvictimization and Developmental Trauma Adaptations in Sex Trafficked Youth	Psychology
Springer Nature	Journal of Child & Adolescent Trauma	Volume 10, Issue 2, pp. 161-173	2017	Hopper	Projected heroes and self-perceived manipulators: understanding the duplicitous identities of human traffickers	Criminology
Springer Nature	Trends in Organized Crime	Unidentified Volume, December Issue, pp. 1-20	2017	Mehlman-Orozco	Sexual Violence and Proximate Risks: A Study on Trafficked Women in Mexico City	Gender/Race/Religion
Taylor & Francis	Gender, Technology and Development	Volume 12, Issue 1, pp77-99	2008	Acharya	Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking: A Network of Underground Players in the Midwest	Psychology
Taylor & Francis	Journal of Child & Adolescent Trauma	Volume 2, Issue 1, pp. 46-61	2009	Williamson & Prior	The health consequences of trafficking in women in Mexico: findings from Monterrey city	Sociology
Taylor & Francis	International Review of Sociology	Volume 20, Issue 3, pp 415-426	2010	Acharya & Clark	Pimp Control and Violence: Domestic Sex Trafficking of Chicago Women and Girls	Criminology
Taylor & Francis	Women & Criminal Justice	Volume 20, Issue 1-2, pp. 89-104	2010	Raphael, Reichert & Powers	Trauma and its Aftermath for Commercially Sexually Exploited Women as Told by Front-Line Workers	Health/Medicine
Taylor & Francis	Issues in Mental Health Nursing	Volume 34, Issue 2, pp. 75-81	2013	Hom & Woods	An empirical framework of control methods of victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation	Criminology
Taylor & Francis	Global Crime	Volume 16, Issue 1, pp. 34-49	2014	Ioannou & Oostinga	Trafficking of women for sexual exploitation in Mexico and their identity crisis	Sociology
Taylor & Francis	International Review of Sociology	Volume 26, Issue 2, pp. 322-336	2016	Acharya	Preliminary Data on a Sample of Perpetrators of Domestic Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation: Suggestions for Research	Criminology
Taylor & Francis	Journal of Human Trafficking	Volume 2, Issue 1, pp. 99-109	2016	Gotch	A Pimp's Game: A Rational Choice Approach to Understanding the Decisions of Sex Traffickers	Criminology
Taylor & Francis	Women & Criminal Justice	Volume 27, Issue 2, pp. 91-108	2016	Bouche & Shady	Exploring 'juju' and human trafficking: towards a demystified perspective and response	Sociology
Taylor & Francis	South African Review of Sociology	Volume 48, Issue 2, pp. 70-86	2017	Watt & Kruger	Sex Traffickers' Views: A Qualitative Study into Their Perceptions of the Victim-Offender Relationship	Criminology
Taylor & Francis	Journal of Human Trafficking	Volume 4, Issue 2, pp. 169-184	2017	Serie et al.	Life Histories and Survival Strategies Amongst Sexually Trafficked Girls in Nepal	Social Works
Wiley Online Library	Children & Society	Volume 22, Issue 3, pp. 235-248	2008	Simkhada	Human Trafficking in Eastern Europe: The Case of Bulgaria	Sociology
SAGE Journals	The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science	Volume 653, Issue 1, pp. 162-182	2014	Petrnov	Conflict and Agency among Sex Workers and Pimps: A Closer Look at Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking	Sociology
SAGE Journals	The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science	Volume 653, Issue 1, pp. 225-246	2014	Marcus et al.	Coercion, Control, and Cooperation in a Prostitution Ring	Sociology
SAGE Journals	The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science	Volume 653, Issue 1, pp. 247-265	2014	Morselli et al.	Psychological Coercion in Human Trafficking: An Application of Biderman's Framework	Health/Medicine
SAGE Journals	Qualitative Health Research	Volume 25, Issue 9, pp. 1171-1181	2014	Baldwin et al.	The Sexual Exploitation of Girls in the United States: The Role of Female Pimps	Psychology
SAGE Journals	Journal of Interpersonal Violence	Volume 30, Issue 16, pp. 2814-2830	2014	Roe-Sepowitz et al.	Entrapment and Enmeshment Schemes Used by Sex Traffickers	Health/Medicine
SAGE Journals	Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment	Volume 28, Issue 6, pp. 491-511	2014	Reid	The Life of Trafficked Sex Workers From the Former Eastern Bloc: The Canadian Dimension	Criminology
Taylor & Francis	International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice	Volume 31, Issue 2, pp. 211-243	2007	McDonald & Timoshkina	Ritual Abuse-Torture Within Families/Groups	Psychology
Taylor & Francis	Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment and Trauma	Volume 16, Issue 4, pp. 419-438	2008	Sarson & McDonald	'A Vile and Violent Thing': Female Traffickers and the Criminal Justice Response	Criminology
Oxford University Press (OUP)	British Journal of Criminology	Volume 55, Issue 6, pp. 1058-1075	2015	Broad	"We're Automatically Sex in Men's Eyes, We're Nothing But Sex...": Homeless Young Adult Perceptions of Sex Trafficking	Psychology
Springer Nature	Journal of Child & Adolescent Trauma	Volume 10, Issue 2, pp. 151-160	2016	Fogel et al.		

Geographic Location	Data Source	Sample Size	Methodology	Power and Control Themes
United States	Interviews	300 victims of juvenile sex trafficking under the age of 18	Respondent-driven sampling. Information obtained during 34 face-to-face interviews with criminal justice professionals most likely to encounter child sex trafficking victims was the basis for the study. An analysis of 12 police investigations into sex trafficking related to window prostitution in the Amsterdam red-light district in the Netherlands is reported. Findings from an evaluation of three programs serving domestic minor victims of human trafficking. Participants in this study were interviewed in their homes.	Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Physical Abuse Economic Abuse
United States	Interviews	34 face-to-face interviews	Respondent-driven sampling. Information obtained during 34 face-to-face interviews with criminal justice professionals most likely to encounter child sex trafficking victims was the basis for the study. An analysis of 12 police investigations into sex trafficking related to window prostitution in the Amsterdam red-light district in the Netherlands is reported. Findings from an evaluation of three programs serving domestic minor victims of human trafficking. Participants in this study were interviewed in their homes.	Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Denying, Blaming and Minimizing Intimidation Coercion and threats
The Netherlands	Police Investigations	12 police investigations into sex trafficking - 76 victims and suspects	Respondent-driven sampling. Information obtained during 34 face-to-face interviews with criminal justice professionals most likely to encounter child sex trafficking victims was the basis for the study. An analysis of 12 police investigations into sex trafficking related to window prostitution in the Amsterdam red-light district in the Netherlands is reported. Findings from an evaluation of three programs serving domestic minor victims of human trafficking. Participants in this study were interviewed in their homes.	Physical abuse Emotional abuse Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
United States	Interviews, case narrative interviews, in-depth description of victim	201 trafficking victims	Qualitative interviews were conducted with 40 adjudicated juvenile females in a southern, rural state. All 179 STJ survivors were included in the latent class analyses (LCAs). Further, a binary logistic regression (BLR) analysis was conducted to examine latent class analyses (LCAs) were conducted on 117 STJ offenders with data derived from protocols including demographics of the offenders and the impact of a qualitative analysis of the charts of 32 youth who were sex trafficked as minors, including both foreign national and domestic youth. It	Physical abuse Emotional abuse Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Intimidation Physical abuse
United States	Interviews	40 juvenile females	Qualitative interviews were conducted with 40 adjudicated juvenile females in a southern, rural state. All 179 STJ survivors were included in the latent class analyses (LCAs). Further, a binary logistic regression (BLR) analysis was conducted to examine latent class analyses (LCAs) were conducted on 117 STJ offenders with data derived from protocols including demographics of the offenders and the impact of a qualitative analysis of the charts of 32 youth who were sex trafficked as minors, including both foreign national and domestic youth. It	Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Physical abuse
United States	Interviews	179 sex trafficking juvenile survivors	Qualitative interviews were conducted with 40 adjudicated juvenile females in a southern, rural state. All 179 STJ survivors were included in the latent class analyses (LCAs). Further, a binary logistic regression (BLR) analysis was conducted to examine latent class analyses (LCAs) were conducted on 117 STJ offenders with data derived from protocols including demographics of the offenders and the impact of a qualitative analysis of the charts of 32 youth who were sex trafficked as minors, including both foreign national and domestic youth. It	Emotional abuse Affective Kinship
United States	Interviews	117 juvenile sex trafficking offenders and 179 victims	Qualitative interviews were conducted with 40 adjudicated juvenile females in a southern, rural state. All 179 STJ survivors were included in the latent class analyses (LCAs). Further, a binary logistic regression (BLR) analysis was conducted to examine latent class analyses (LCAs) were conducted on 117 STJ offenders with data derived from protocols including demographics of the offenders and the impact of a qualitative analysis of the charts of 32 youth who were sex trafficked as minors, including both foreign national and domestic youth. It	Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Intimidation Physical abuse
United States	Medical Charts	32 youth	Qualitative interviews were conducted with 40 adjudicated juvenile females in a southern, rural state. All 179 STJ survivors were included in the latent class analyses (LCAs). Further, a binary logistic regression (BLR) analysis was conducted to examine latent class analyses (LCAs) were conducted on 117 STJ offenders with data derived from protocols including demographics of the offenders and the impact of a qualitative analysis of the charts of 32 youth who were sex trafficked as minors, including both foreign national and domestic youth. It	Physical abuse Emotional abuse Coercion and threats Physical abuse
United States	Interviews	3 traffickers	This qualitative inquiry examines human trafficker identities through stories from convicted offenders. Only identified women currently working as commercial sex workers were interviewed using a semi-structured questionnaire, and 13 in-	Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Physical abuse Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse
Mexico City	Semi-structured questionnaire, in-depth interviews	60	This qualitative inquiry examines human trafficker identities through stories from convicted offenders. Only identified women currently working as commercial sex workers were interviewed using a semi-structured questionnaire, and 13 in-	Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Physical abuse Coercion and threats Physical abuse
United States	Interviews	13	This article is based on qualitative interviews with 13 trafficked children from the Midwest. Twenty intentionally trafficked women were interviewed in Monterrey city, Mexico, during the years 2007 and 2008.	Isolation Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
Mexico City	Interviews	20	A total of 100 women who currently had a pimp were interviewed, and 71 indicated that they had been recruited into prostitution, many under duress. This qualitative research, using thematic analysis, explored the stories of trauma and its aftermath for commercially sexually exploited women as told by the present study examining various methods (or conditions) used against 137 victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. A multidimensional	Isolation Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
Chicago	Interviews	100	A total of 100 women who currently had a pimp were interviewed, and 71 indicated that they had been recruited into prostitution, many under duress. This qualitative research, using thematic analysis, explored the stories of trauma and its aftermath for commercially sexually exploited women as told by the present study examining various methods (or conditions) used against 137 victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. A multidimensional	Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Intimidation Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
United States	Interviews	6 service providers that work with victims	This qualitative research, using thematic analysis, explored the stories of trauma and its aftermath for commercially sexually exploited women as told by the present study examining various methods (or conditions) used against 137 victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. A multidimensional	Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Intimidation Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
Netherlands	Police Files	137	This qualitative research, using thematic analysis, explored the stories of trauma and its aftermath for commercially sexually exploited women as told by the present study examining various methods (or conditions) used against 137 victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. A multidimensional	Isolation Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
Mexico	Interviews	60	For this study, a total of 60 women were interviewed during 2007–2013 using a snowball method. In an attempt to expand the scope of known data on perpetrators of domestic trafficking for sexual exploitation, descriptive statistical survey of 14 victims of SEA originating in the United States to learn about how they were recruited by their sex trafficker and the level of access they had to their trafficker. The available literature and in-depth interviews with local and international actors in the field contributed to the unveiling of this phenomenon in the Netherlands.	Isolation Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
United States	Case Narratives	28	The article uses data collected from active pimps, underage prostitutes, and young adult sex workers. This study is based on electronic surveillance data from a two-year police investigation of a prostitution network in Montreal. We conducted semi-structured interviews with 12 adult women trafficked into Los Angeles County, from 10 countries, for domestic work	Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
United States	Survey	115	The article uses data collected from active pimps, underage prostitutes, and young adult sex workers. This study is based on electronic surveillance data from a two-year police investigation of a prostitution network in Montreal. We conducted semi-structured interviews with 12 adult women trafficked into Los Angeles County, from 10 countries, for domestic work	Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
South Africa, Nigeria	Interviews, supplementary literature	23	The article uses data collected from active pimps, underage prostitutes, and young adult sex workers. This study is based on electronic surveillance data from a two-year police investigation of a prostitution network in Montreal. We conducted semi-structured interviews with 12 adult women trafficked into Los Angeles County, from 10 countries, for domestic work	Coercion and threats Emotional abuse Physical Abuse Sexual abuse Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
Netherlands	Interviews	12 male respondents	Using a grounded theory approach, verbatim interviews with sex traffickers were analyzed. Nepalese girls involved in SEA work via trafficking are the focus of this article, which aims at increasing our understanding of the context of sex trafficking in Eastern Europe is among the major sources of migrants who travel for work to other European nations. In this research, in-depth interviews and	Coercion and threats Emotional abuse Physical Abuse Sexual abuse Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
Nepal	Interviews	7 in-depth interviews with informants	Using a grounded theory approach, verbatim interviews with sex traffickers were analyzed. Nepalese girls involved in SEA work via trafficking are the focus of this article, which aims at increasing our understanding of the context of sex trafficking in Eastern Europe is among the major sources of migrants who travel for work to other European nations. In this research, in-depth interviews and	Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Economic abuse Coercion and threats Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Economic abuse Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
Bulgaria	Interviews, legal cases	414 interviews - 117 victims, 14 traffickers, 35 police officers, 16 prosecutors, 11 investigators, 7 judges, 1 customs officer, 12 NGO staff members - 272 active sex workers (204 female, 149 male and 19 transgender), of whom 262 were minors.	The article uses data collected from active pimps, underage prostitutes, and young adult sex workers. This study is based on electronic surveillance data from a two-year police investigation of a prostitution network in Montreal. We conducted semi-structured interviews with 12 adult women trafficked into Los Angeles County, from 10 countries, for domestic work	Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
United States	Interviews	142 pimps, prostitutes, new recruits, chauffeurs, clients	The article uses data collected from active pimps, underage prostitutes, and young adult sex workers. This study is based on electronic surveillance data from a two-year police investigation of a prostitution network in Montreal. We conducted semi-structured interviews with 12 adult women trafficked into Los Angeles County, from 10 countries, for domestic work	Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
Canada	Electronic surveillance data	142 pimps, prostitutes, new recruits, chauffeurs, clients	The article uses data collected from active pimps, underage prostitutes, and young adult sex workers. This study is based on electronic surveillance data from a two-year police investigation of a prostitution network in Montreal. We conducted semi-structured interviews with 12 adult women trafficked into Los Angeles County, from 10 countries, for domestic work	Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
Los Angeles	Semi-structured questionnaire	12	Case study analysis of 49 female pimps from federal, state, and local cases were analyzed. A review of 45 cases of sexually exploited girls involving non-relative traffickers and 10 semi-structured interviews with social service providers and police officers. In-depth interviews were conducted with fifty people: twenty female sex trade workers, fifteen agency personnel who provided	Isolation Coercion and threats Intimidation Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
United States	Criminal Cases	49	Case study analysis of 49 female pimps from federal, state, and local cases were analyzed. A review of 45 cases of sexually exploited girls involving non-relative traffickers and 10 semi-structured interviews with social service providers and police officers. In-depth interviews were conducted with fifty people: twenty female sex trade workers, fifteen agency personnel who provided	Coercion and threats Intimidation Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
United States	Social worker Cases	79	Case study analysis of 49 female pimps from federal, state, and local cases were analyzed. A review of 45 cases of sexually exploited girls involving non-relative traffickers and 10 semi-structured interviews with social service providers and police officers. In-depth interviews were conducted with fifty people: twenty female sex trade workers, fifteen agency personnel who provided	Coercion and threats Intimidation Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
Canada	Semi-structured questionnaire	50	Case study analysis of 49 female pimps from federal, state, and local cases were analyzed. A review of 45 cases of sexually exploited girls involving non-relative traffickers and 10 semi-structured interviews with social service providers and police officers. In-depth interviews were conducted with fifty people: twenty female sex trade workers, fifteen agency personnel who provided	Emotional abuse Coercion and threats Intimidation Physical abuse Isolation Coercion and threats Physical abuse
Canada	Face-to-face interviews	5	Case study analysis of 49 female pimps from federal, state, and local cases were analyzed. A review of 45 cases of sexually exploited girls involving non-relative traffickers and 10 semi-structured interviews with social service providers and police officers. In-depth interviews were conducted with fifty people: twenty female sex trade workers, fifteen agency personnel who provided	Isolation Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Coercion and threats Physical abuse
United Kingdom	Interviews, case narrative interviews, in-depth description of victim	101	Face-to-face interviews (1) were conducted with police officers and prosecutors in 2010, who had worked extensively on human trafficking cases; (2) ten pre-sentence reports were reviewed; (3) a qualitative inquiry using four focus groups that were conducted as part of a parent study	Economic abuse Coercion and threats Affective Kinship Isolation Economic abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Sexual abuse Physical abuse
United States	Survey	24	Face-to-face interviews (1) were conducted with police officers and prosecutors in 2010, who had worked extensively on human trafficking cases; (2) ten pre-sentence reports were reviewed; (3) a qualitative inquiry using four focus groups that were conducted as part of a parent study	Economic abuse Coercion and threats Affective Kinship Sexual abuse Physical abuse

Appendix 2

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Appendix 3

Articles discarded/included from Phase 4

The 31 articles that were included in the study appear in **boldface**, and the five additional articles added after the reference list search appear in *boldface and italics*

Authors	Title	Publish ed	About sex traffickin g	Based on primary evidence	Discusse s nature of relations hip
Acharya	Sexual Violence and Proximate Risks: A Study on Trafficked Women in Mexico City	X	X	X	X
Acharya	Sexual Exploitation and Trafficking of Women and Girls in Mexico: An Analysis on Impact of Violence on Health Status	X	X	X	
Acharya	Trafficking of women for sexual exploitation in Mexico and their identity crisis	X	X	X	X
Acharya	The Dynamic of Internal displacement, Forced Migration and Vulnerable to Trafficking in Mexico	X	X	X	
Acharya & Clark	Trafficking of women and vulnerability to HIV/STI infection in urban Mexico	X	X	X	
Acharya & Clark	The health consequences of trafficking in women in Mexico: findings from Monterrey city	X	X	X	X

Anderson, England & Davidson	Juvenile Court Practitioners' Construction of and Response to Sex Trafficking of Justice System Involved Girls	X	X	X	
Atauz, Akbas & Atasu-Topcoglu	Human Trafficking in Turkey: Findings from North-eastern Anatolia	X	X	X	
Attoh	Trafficking in Women in Nigeria: Poverty of Values or Inequality?	X	X	X	
Baarda	Human trafficking for sexual exploitation from Nigeria into Western Europe: The role of voodoo rituals in the functioning of a criminal network	X	X	X	
Babb	Utah's Misguided Approach to the Problem of Sex Trafficking: A Call for Reform	X	X	X	
Bach & Litam	"Kind regards": an examination of one buyer's attempt to purchase a trafficked child for sex	X	X	X	
Baldwin et al.	Identification of human trafficking victims in health care settings	X	X	X	
Baldwin et al.	Psychological Coercion in Human Trafficking: An Application of Biderman's Framework	X	X	X	X
Baye & Heumann	Migration, Sex Work and Exploitative Labour Conditions: Experiences of Nigerian Women in the Sex Industry in Turin, Italy, and	X	X	X	

Counter-Trafficking Measures					
Becucci	New Players in an Old Game: The Sex Market in Italy	X	X	X	
Behrens & Strauss	AMTA Undergraduate Student Research Award: Status of Music Therapy for Women Who Have Been Trafficked for Sexual Exploitation	X	X	X	
Berardinis	Human Trafficking in the United States: A Perspective on Domestic Legislation at the Federal and State Levels	X	X	X	
Bistricher	U Stands for Underutilization: The U Visa's Vulnerability for Underuse in the Sex Trafficking Context	X	X	X	
Blackburn, Taylor & Davis	Understanding the Complexities of Human Trafficking and Child Sexual Exploitation: The Case of Southeast Asia	X	X	X	
Bosworth, Dempsey & Hoyle	Labelling the Victims of Sex Trafficking: Exploring the Borderland between Rhetoric and Reality	X	X	X	
Bouche & Shady	A Pimp's Game: A Rational Choice Approach to Understanding the Decisions of Sex Traffickers	X	X	X	X
Boursaw & Judge	The Impact of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of	X	X	X	

2000 on Trends in Federal Sex Trafficking Cases					
Brennan	Key issues in resettlement of formerly trafficked persons in the United States	X	X	X	
Brennan	Thoughts on Finding and Assisting Individuals in Forced Labour in the USA	X	X	X	
Bright, Epps, Hardt & Naramore	Youth Arrested for Trading Sex Have the Highest Rates of Childhood Adversity: A Statewide Study of Juvenile Offenders	X	X	X	
Broad	<i>'A vile and violent thing': Female traffickers and the criminal Justice Response</i>	X	X	X	X
Brunovskis & Surtees	Coming home: Challenges in family reintegration for trafficked women	X	X	X	
Campana	The Structure of Human Trafficking: Lifting the Bonnet on a Nigerian Transnational Network	X	X	X	
Carpinteri, Bang, Klimley, Black & Van Hasselt	Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children: an Assessment of Offender Characteristics	X	X	X	
Cheng	Muckraking and stories untold: Ethnography meets journalism on trafficked women and the U.S. military	X	X	X	
Chin & Finckenauer	Chickenheads, agents, mommies, and jockeys: the social organization of	X	X	X	

transnational commercial sex				
Choi	North Korean Women's Narratives of Migration: Challenging Hegemonic Discourses of Trafficking and Geopolitics	X	X	X
Choo & Rebovich	Migrant Sex Workers: An Analysis of Transnational Crime Displacement and Antitrafficking Measures	X	X	X
Choo, Jang & Choi	Methodological and Ethical Challenges to Conducting Human Trafficking Studies: A Case Study of Korean Trafficking and Smuggling for Sexual Exploitation to the United States	X	X	X
Cimino et al.	Childhood Maltreatment and Child Protective Services Involvement Among the Commercially Sexually Exploited: A Comparison of Women Who Enter as Juveniles or as Adults	X	X	X
Cohen, Cole, Lee & Sprang	The Trauma of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Youth: A Comparison of CSE Victims to Sexual Abuse Victims in a Clinical Sample	X	X	X
Coksun	Curbing sex trafficking in Turkey: The policy–practice divide	X	X	X

Cole & Sprang	Sex trafficking of minors in metropolitan, micropolitan, and rural communities	X	X	X
Constantinou	Is crime displacement inevitable? Lessons from the enforcement of laws against prostitution-related human trafficking in Cyprus	X	X	X
Contreras, Kallivayalil & Herman	Psychotherapy in the Aftermath of Human Trafficking: Working Through the Consequences of Psychological Coercion	X	X	X
Countryman-Roswurm & Bolin	Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking: Assessing and Reducing Risk	X	X	X
Crawford & Kaufman	Sex Trafficking in Nepal: Survivor Characteristics and Long-Term Outcomes	X	X	X
Dabney, Russel & Salisbury	Diverting Victims of Commercial Sexual Exploitation From Juvenile Detention Development of the InterCSECT Screening Protocol	X	X	X
Dahal, Joshi & Swahnberg	‘We are looked down upon and rejected socially’: a qualitative study on the experiences of trafficking survivors in Nepal	X	X	X
Dalla & Kreimer	“After Your Honor is Gone...”: Exploration of Developmental Trajectories and Life Experiences of Women Working in	X	X	X

Mumbai's Red-Light Brothel Districts				
Demir	Methods of sex trafficking: findings of a case study in Turkey	X	X	X
Demir & Finckenauer	Victims of Sex Trafficking in Turkey: Characteristics, Motivations, and Dynamics	X	X	X
Dess	Walking the Freedom Trail: An Analysis of the Massachusetts Human Trafficking Statute and Its Potential to Combat Child Sex Trafficking	X	X	X
Dev & Vindhya	Survivors of Sex Trafficking in Andhra Pradesh: Evidence and Testimony	X	X	X
Digidiki, Dikaiou & Baka	Attitudes Towards the Victim and the Client of Sex Trafficking in Greece: The Influence of Belief in a Just World, Structural Attributions, Previous Experience, and Attitudes Towards Prostitution	X	X	X
Dunham, Hughes & Skodmin	Analysis of Human Trafficking Cases in Rhode Island, 2009-2013	X	X	X
Erez & Kaya	Migration, Agency, and the Sex Industry: Practitioners' Perspectives on	X	X	X

Foreign Sex Workers in Turkey					
Farrel, Owens & McDevitt	New laws but few cases: understanding the challenges to the investigation and prosecution of human trafficking cases	X	X	X	
Farrell & Cronin	Policing prostitution in an era of human trafficking enforcement	X	X	X	
Finckenauer & Ko-lin Chin	Researching and Rethinking Sex Trafficking: The Movement of Chinese Women to Asia and the United States for Commercial Sex	X	X	X	
Finn & Stalans	Defining and Predicting Pimps' Coerciveness Toward Sex Workers Socialization Processes	X	X	X	
<i>Fogel et al.,</i>	<i>“We’re automatically Sex in Men’s Eyes, We’re Nothing But Sex...”: Homeless Young Adult Perceptions of Sexual Exploitations</i>	X	X	X	X
Gannon, Rose & Ward	A Descriptive Model of the Offense Process for Female Sexual Offenders	X	X	X	
Gerassi, Nichols & Michelson	Lessons Learned: Benefits and Challenges in Interagency Coalitions Addressing Sex Trafficking and Commercial Sexual Exploitation	X	X	X	

Ghosh	Anti-trafficking and its discontents: women's migrations and work in an Indian borderland	X	X	X	
Gibbs et al.	Services to domestic minor victims of sex trafficking: Opportunities for engagement and support	X	X	X	X
Gifford	Human Trafficking: Beyond Pretty Woman and Huggy Bear	X	X	X	
Goldenberg et al.	Exploring the Context of Trafficking and Adolescent Sex Industry Involvement in Tijuana, Mexico	X	X	X	
Goldenberg et al.	“Right Here is the Gateway”: Mobility, Sex Work Entry and HIV Risk along the Mexico–US Border	X	X	X	
Gonzalez, Spencer & Stith	Moving to Restoration: The Experiences of Women Exiting Sex Trafficking	X	X	X	
Gotch	Preliminary Data on a Sample of Perpetrators of Domestic Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation: Suggestions for Research and Practice	X	X	X	X
Gould	Sex Trafficking and Prostitution in South Africa	X	X	X	
Gould	Trafficking? Exploring the relevance of the notion of human trafficking to describe the lived experience of sex	X	X	X	

	workers in Cape Town, South Africa				
Grubb, Muftić and Deljkić	An exploratory analysis of prosecutorial attitudes of sex trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina	X	X	X	
Gupta et al.	HIV vulnerabilities of sex-trafficked Indian women and girls	X	X	X	
Gupta, Reed, Kershaw & Blankenship	History of sex trafficking, recent experiences of violence, and HIV vulnerability among female sex workers in coastal Andhra Pradesh, India	X	X	X	
Gurung	Sex Trafficking and the Sex Trade Industry: The Processes and Experiences of Nepali Women	X	X	X	
Hargreaves-Cormanya & Patterson	Characteristics of survivors of juvenile sex trafficking: Implications for treatment and intervention initiatives	X	X	X	X
Hargreaves-Cormanya, Patterson, Muirhead	A Typology of Offenders Engaging in the Sex Trafficking of Juveniles (STJ): Implications for Risk Assessment	X	X	X	X
Harrington	Free Lolita - The Contradictory Legal Status of Seattle's Prostituted Youth	X	X	X	

Heil & Nichols	Challenges to Identifying and Prosecuting Sex Trafficking Cases in the Midwest United States	X	X	X	
Herzog	The Lenient Social and Legal Response to Trafficking in Women: An Empirical Analysis of Public Perceptions in Israel	X	X	X	
Hickle & Roe-Sepowitz	“Curiosity and a Pimp”: Exploring Sex Trafficking Victimization in Experiences of Entering Sex Trade Industry Work Among Participants in a Prostitution Diversion Program	X	X	X	
Hom & Woods	Trauma and its Aftermath for Commercially Sexually Exploited Women as Told by Front-Line Service Providers	X	X	X	X
Honeyman, Stukas & Marques	Human trafficking: factors that influence willingness to combat the issue	X	X	X	
Hopper	Polyvictimization and Developmental Trauma Adaptations in Sex Trafficked Youth	X	X	X	X
Hounmenou	Policy response and service provision to child victims of commercial sexual exploitation in the West African region	X	X	X	
Ioannou & Oostinga	An empirical framework of control methods of victims of human	X	X	X	X

trafficking for sexual exploitation				
Jain & Rhoten	Sex Work and the Law in India: Perspectives, Voices and Narratives from the Margins	X	X	X
Jedzrejewski, Fennie & Khoshnood	Violence Against Trafficked and Nontrafficked Sex Workers in Poland	X	X	X
Jones	Ending Bacha Bazi: Boy Sex Slavery and the Responsibility to Protect Doctrine	X	X	X
Jones, Engstrom, Hilliard & Sungakawan	Human trafficking between Thailand and Japan: lessons in recruitment, transit and control	X	X	X
Kim, Kim, Choi & Nam	Mental Health Conditions Among North Korean Female Refugee Victims of Sexual Violence	X	X	X
Kim, Yun, Park & Williams	Cross border North Korean women trafficking and victimization between North Korea and China: An ethnographic case study	X	X	X
Knepper	Measuring The Threat Of Global Crime: Insights From Research By The League Of Nations Into The Traffic In Women	X	X	X
Koeplinger	Sex Trafficking of American Indian Women and Girls in Minnesota	X	X	X

Konstantopoulos et al.	An International Comparative Public Health Analysis of Sex Trafficking of Women and Girls in Eight Cities: Achieving a More Effective Health Sector Response	X	X	X
Laite	Traffickers and Pimps in the Era of White Slavery	X	X	X
Landers et al.	Baseline Characteristics of Dependent Youth Who Have Been Commercially Sexually Exploited: Findings From a Specialized Treatment Program	X	X	X
Le	Reconstructing a Sense of Self - Trauma and Coping Among Returned Women Survivors of Human Trafficking in Vietnam	X	X	X
Lederer & Wetzer	The Health Consequences of Sex Trafficking and Their Implications for Identifying Victims in Healthcare Facilities	X	X	X
Lindholm & Cederborg	Legal Assessments of Child Victims of Human Trafficking for Sexual Purposes	X	X	X
Lindholm, Cederborg & Alm	Adolescent girls exploited in the sex trade: informativeness and evasiveness in investigative interviews	X	X	X

Lord	Stop Punishing the Victim: Why California Should Reform Its Current Prostitution Laws and Adopt the Swedish Approach to Combat Sex-Trafficking	X	X	X	
Lumadi	Students' Sad Stories about Trafficking: A Scourge in Curriculum Implementation	X	X	X	
Maculan, Lozzi & Rothman	Mixed-Gender Shelter-Based Service for Child Survivors of Commercial Sexual Exploitation (CSEC) in Italy: A Case Study	X	X	X	
Mancuso	Not all madams have a central role: analysis of a Nigerian sex trafficking network	X	X	X	
Mandeville	Sex Trafficking on Indian Reservations	X	X	X	
Marcus et al	Conflict and Agency among sex workers and pimps: a closer look at domestic Minor Sex Trafficking	X	X	X	X
Marcus et al.	Is Child to Adult as Victim is to Criminal?	X	X	X	X
Marinus van Rij	Modus Operandi of Organised Crime Groups Involved in the Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation of Hungarian Women - A Case Study on the Hungary-Netherlands Transit	X	X	X	

<i>McDonald & Timoshkina</i>	<i>The Life of Trafficked Sex Workers from the Former Eastern Bloc: The Canadian Dimension</i>	X	X	X	X
Mehlman-Orozco	Projected heroes and self-perceived manipulators: understanding the duplicitous identities of human traffickers	X	X	X	X
Menaker & Franklin	Gendered violence and victim blame: subject perceptions of blame and the appropriateness of services for survivors of domestic sex trafficking, sexual assault, and intimate partner violence	X	X	X	
Miccio-Fonseca	The Anomaly Among Sexually Abusive Youth: The Juvenile Sex Trafficker	X	X	X	
Miccio-Fonseca	Juvenile female sex traffickers	X	X	X	
Miller	Beach boys or sexually exploited children? Competing narratives of sex tourism and their impact on young men in Sri Lanka's informal tourist economy	X	X	X	
Miner-Romanoff	CATCH Court: Changing Actions to Change Habits—A Preliminary Evaluation Study	X	X	X	
Moen	Sex slaves in Japan today	X	X	X	

Mogulescu	The Public Defender as anti-Trafficking Advocate, an Unlikely Role: How Current New York City Arrest and Prosecution Policies Systematically Criminalize Victims of Sex Trafficking	X	X	X	
Montgomery	Defining Child Trafficking & Child Prostitution: The Case of Thailand	X	X	X	
Moore et al.	Trafficking Experiences and Psychosocial Features of Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking Victims	X	X	X	
Morselli et al.	Coercion, Control, and Cooperation in a Prostitution Ring	X	X	X	X
Muftić	Securing the Border in Bosnia and Herzegovina: an Exploratory Analysis of the Impact of Training on Officers' Knowledge and Experiences Related to Sex Trafficking	X	X	X	
Muftic & Finn	Health Outcomes Among Women Trafficked for Sex in the United States: A Closer Look	X	X	X	
Musto	Domestic minor sex trafficking and the detention-to-protection pipeline	X	X	X	
Neuhauser	Constrained desire for mobility and the rejection of the victim subject: The negotiation of trafficking discourses in Brazilian sex workers' narratives	X	X	X	

O'Brien, Carpenter & Hayes	Sex Trafficking and Moral Harm: Politicised Understandings and Depictions of the Trafficked Experience	X	X	X	
O'Brien, Rizo & White	Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking Among Child Welfare–Involved Youth: An Exploratory Study of Correlates	X	X	X	
Pandey	Trafficking of Children for Prostitution in West Bengal: A Qualitative Study	X	X	X	
Papadopoulos & Rimal	The mental health of sexually trafficked female survivors in Nepal	X	X	X	
Parker & Skrmetti	Pimps Down: A Prosecutorial Perspective on Domestic Sex Trafficking	X	X	X	
Pascual-Leone, Kim & Morrison	Working with Victims of Human Trafficking	X	X		X
Patel	Back to the Drawing Board: Rethinking Protections Available to Victims of Trafficking	X	X	X	
Peled & Parker	The Mothering Experiences of Sex-Trafficked Women: Between Here and There	X	X	X	
Perkins & Ruiz	Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking in a Rural State: Interviews with Adjudicated Female Juveniles	X	X	X	X
Perry & Pecanha	Sex-Trafficked Survivors: The Relation Between Posttraumatic	X	X	X	

Growth and Quality of Life					
Petrunov	Human Trafficking in Eastern Europe: The Case of Bulgaria	X	X	X	X
Petrunov	Managing money acquired from human trafficking: case study of sex trafficking from Bulgaria to Western Europe	X	X	X	
Pierce	Turning a Blind Eye: U.S. Corporate Involvement in Modern Day Slavery	X	X	X	
Plaza	My Mother, My Pimp: Jurisdictional and Evidentiary Issues in Prosecuting Internet-Facilitated Sex Trafficking	X	X	X	
Pocock & Zimmerman	Human Trafficking and Mental Health: My Wounds Are inside; They Are Not Visible	X	X	X	
Primrose	Killing the Messenger: The Intersection between Sex Trafficking, Planned Parenthood & the Marginalization of Youth Victims	X	X	X	
Raphael, Reichert & Powers	Pimp Control and Violence: Domestic Sex Trafficking of Chicago Women and Girls	X	X	X	X
Ravi, Pfeiffer, Rosner & Shea	Identifying Health Experiences of Domestically Sex-Trafficked Women in the USA: A Qualitative Study in Rikers Island Jail	X	X	X	

Ray	Of Vulnerability and Coercion: A Study of Sex Trafficking in Assam	X	X	X	
Reid	Risk and resiliency factors influencing onset and adolescence-limited commercial sexual exploitation of disadvantaged girls	X	X	X	
Reid	Rapid Assessment Exploring Impediments to Successful Prosecutions of Sex Traffickers of U.S. Minors	X	X	X	X
<i>Reid</i>	<i>Entrapment and Enmeshment Schemes Used by Sex Traffickers</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>X</i>
Reid & Piquero	On the Relationships Between Commercial Sexual Exploitation/Prostitution, Substance Dependency, and Delinquency in Youthful Offenders	X	X	X	
Reid, Huard & Haskell	Family-facilitated juvenile sex trafficking	X	X	X	
Rittossa	Trafficking of Minors in Croatia: Present Situation	X	X	X	
Roe-Sepowitz et al.	The Sexual Exploitation of Girls in the United States: The Role of Female Pimps	X	X	X	X
Rumann	Use of Female Interrogators: The Analysis of Sexualized Interrogations the Detainee Interrogation Working Group Did Not Conduct	X	X	X	

Russel	The boundaries of belonging: gender, human trafficking and embodied citizenship	X	X	X
Sabon	Force, Fraud, and Coercion—What Do They Mean? A Study of Victimization Experiences in a New Destination Latino Sex Trafficking Network	X	X	X
Sager	An Anomaly of the Law: Insufficient State Laws Fail to Protect Minor Victims of Sex Trafficking	X	X	X
Sandy	Just Choices: Representations of Choice and Coercion in Sex Work in Cambodia	X	X	X
Sarkar	Use of technology in human trafficking networks and sexual exploitation: A cross-sectional multi-country study	X	X	X
Sarkar	Trade in Human Beings: Evidence of Money Laundering From Sex Trafficking in India and the UK	X	X	X
Sarkar	Trafficking of Women and Girls for Sex Trade from Nepal to India	X	X	X
Sarkar	Child Marriage Trafficking in India: Victims of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence	X	X	X
Sarkar	Trans-border trafficking of victims for sexual exploitation in Poland	X	X	X

<i>Sarson & McDonald</i>	<i>Ritual Abuse Torture within families/ groups</i>	X	X	X	X
Schwartz	Harboring Concerns: The Problematic Conceptual Reorientation of Juvenile Prostitution Adjudication in New York	X	X	X	
Serie et al.	Sex Traffickers' Views: A Qualitative Study into Their Perceptions of the Victim–Offender Relationship	X	X	X	X
Shah	Distinguishing Poverty and Trafficking: Lessons from Field Research in Mumbai	X	X	X	
Siegel	Mobility of Sex Workers in European Cities	X	X	X	
Siegel & Blank	Women who traffic women: the role of women in human trafficking networks – Dutch cases	X	X	X	
Silverman et al.	Experiences of sex trafficking victims in Mumbai, India	X	X	X	
Simkhada	Life Histories and Survival Strategies Amongst Sexually Trafficked Girls in Nepal	X	X	X	X
Skilbrei	Taking Trafficking to Court	X	X	X	
Stanley et al.	The health needs and healthcare experiences of young people trafficked into the UK	X	X	X	
Surtees	Trafficked Men as Unwilling Victims	X	X	X	

Tade	Recruitment and abuse of trafficked children in south-west Nigeria	X	X	X	
Thorburn & Haan	Connecting through chaos: escape behaviour among sex-working adolescents in Aotearoa New Zealand	X	X	X	
Tidball, Zheng & Creswell	Buying Sex On-Line from Girls: NGO Representatives, Law Enforcement Officials, and Public Officials Speak out About Human Trafficking—A Qualitative Analysis	X	X	X	
Tommaso, Shima, Strøm & Bettio	As bad as it gets: Well-being deprivation of sexually exploited trafficked women	X	X	X	
Troshynski & Blank	Sex trafficking: an exploratory study interviewing traffickers	X	X	X	
Twigg	Comprehensive Care Model for Sex Trafficking Survivors	X	X	X	
Tyldum	Dependence and Human Trafficking in the Context of Transnational Marriage	X	X	X	
Urada et al.	Socio-structural and behavioural risk factors associated with trafficked history of female bar/spa entertainers in the sex trade in the Philippines	X	X	X	
van der Watt & Kruger	Exploring ‘juju’ and human trafficking: towards a demystified	X	X	X	X

perspective and response					
Vanderhurst	Governing with God: Religion, Resistance, and the State in Nigeria's Counter-Trafficking Programs	X	X	X	
Varma, Gillespie, McCracken & Greenbaum	Characteristics of child commercial sexual exploitation and sex trafficking victims presenting for medical care in the United States	X	X	X	
Verhoeven & van Gestel	Human trafficking and criminal investigation strategies in the Amsterdam Red Light District	X	X	X	
Verhoeven, van Gestel, de Jong & Kleemans	Relationships Between Suspects and Victims of Sex Trafficking. Exploitation of Prostitutes and Domestic Violence Parallels in Dutch Trafficking Cases	X	X	X	X
Vijayarasa	Stigma, stereotypes and Brazilian soap operas: road-blocks to ending human trafficking in Vietnam, Ghana and Ukraine	X	X	X	
Wachter et al.	Responding to Domestic Minors Sex Trafficking (DMST): Developing Principle-Based Practices	X	X	X	
Williams	Police and domestic sex trafficking of youth: what teens tell us that can aid prevention and interdiction	X	X	X	

Williams et al.	Sex trafficking and health care in Metro Manila: Identifying social determinants to inform an effective health system response	X	X	X	
Williamson & Prior	Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking: A Network of Underground Players in the Midwest	X	X	X	X
Wirth et al.	How Does Sex Trafficking Increase the Risk of HIV Infection? An Observational Study From Southern India	X	X	X	
Zambrana	The Social Distinction of Invisible Harms: How Recent Developments in the Particular Social Group Standard Fall Short for Victims of Gender-Based Harms Committed by Private Actors	X	X	X	
Zentner	The Trafficking in Women: An Individual Fate or Social Responsibility?	X	X	X	
Zhang	Woman pullers: pimping and sex trafficking in a Mexican Border City	X	X	X	
Zimmerman et al.	Health of trafficked women: a survey of women entering Posttrafficking services in Europe	X	X	X	

Appendix 4

Charting according to the Power and Control Wheel categories

Article Title and Author	PCW Category
Is Child to Adult as Victim is to Criminal? (Marcus et al., 2011)	Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Physical abuse Economic abuse
Rapid Assessment Exploring Impediments to Successful Prosecutions of Sex Traffickers of U.S. Minors (Reid, 2013)	Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Denying, Blaming and Minimizing Intimidation Isolation
Relationships Between Suspects and Victims of Sex Trafficking (Verhoeven, van Gestel, de Jong & Kleemans, 2015)	Coercion and threats Intimidation Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Isolation Economic abuse Denying, Blaming and Minimizing Using Privilege
Services to domestic minor victims of sex trafficking: Opportunities for engagement and support (Gibbs et al., 2015)	Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Sexual abuse Economic abuse
Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking in a Rural State: Interviews with Adjudicated Female Juveniles (Perkins & Ruiz, 2016)	Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Economic abuse Using privilege
Characteristics of survivors of juvenile sex trafficking: Implications for treatment and intervention initiatives (Hargreaves-Cormanya & Patterson, 2016)	Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship
A Typology of Offenders Engaging in the Sex Trafficking of Juveniles (STJ): Implications for Risk Assessment (Hargreaves-Cormanya, Patterson, Muirhead and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2016)	Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship

Polyvictimization and Developmental Trauma Adaptations in Sex Trafficked Youth (Hopper, 2017)	Coercion and threats Intimidation Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Isolation Sexual abuse Economic abuse
Projected heroes and self-perceived manipulators: understanding the duplicitous identities of human traffickers (Mehlman-Orozco, 2017)	Coercion and threats Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Physical abuse Sexual Abuse
Sexual Violence and Proximate Risks: A Study on Trafficked Women in Mexico City (Acharya, 2008)	Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Isolation Sexual abuse
Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking: A Network of Underground Players in the Midwest (Williamson & Prior, 2009)	Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Economic abuse Isolation
The health consequences of trafficking in women in Mexico: Findings from Monterrey City (Acharya & Clark, 2010)	Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Isolation Sexual abuse
Pimp Control and Violence: Domestic Sex Trafficking of Chicago Women and Girls, (Raphael, Reichert & Powers, 2010)	Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Isolation Sexual abuse Economic abuse
Trauma and its Aftermath for Commercially Sexually Exploited Women as Told by Front-Line Service Providers (Hom & Woods, 2013)	Coercion and threats Intimidation Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Isolation Sexual abuse
An empirical framework of control methods of victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation (Ioannou & Oostinga, 2014)	Coercion and threats Intimidation Physical abuse Isolation Sexual abuse

	Economic abuse Affective Kinship
Trafficking of women for sexual exploitation in Mexico and their identity crisis (Acharya, 2016)	Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Isolation Sexual abuse
Preliminary Data on a Sample of Perpetrators of Domestic Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation: Suggestions for Research and Practice (Gotch, 2016)	Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Sexual abuse
A Pimp's Game: A Rational Choice Approach to Understanding the Decisions of Sex Traffickers (Bouche & Shady, 2016)	Emotional abuse Isolation
Exploring 'juju' and human trafficking: towards a demystified perspective and response (van der Watt & Kruger, 2017)	Coercion and threats Emotional abuse Physical Abuse Sexual abuse
Sex Traffickers' Views: A Qualitative Study into Their Perceptions of the Victim–Offender Relationship (Serie et al., 2017)	Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Economic abuse Denying, blaming, minimizing
Life Histories and Survival Strategies Amongst Sexually Trafficked Girls in Nepal (Simkhada, 2008)	Coercion and threats Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Economic abuse Isolation Physical abuse Sexual Abuse
Human Trafficking in Eastern Europe: The Case of Bulgaria (Petrunov, 2014)	Coercion and threats Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Economic abuse Isolation Physical abuse Sexual abuse
Conflict and Agency among Sex Workers and Pimps: A Closer Look at Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking (Marcus et al., 2014)	Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Sexual abuse Economic Abuse

Coercion, Control, and Cooperation in a Prostitution Ring (Morselli et al., 2014)	Coercion and threats Physical abuse Emotional abuse Isolation Economic abuse Affective Kinship
Psychological Coercion in Human Trafficking: An Application of Biderman's Framework (Baldwin et al., 2014)	Coercion and threats Intimidation Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Isolation Using Privilege
The Sexual Exploitation of Girls in the United States: The Role of Female Pimps (Roe-Sepowitz et al., 2014)	Coercion and threats Intimidation Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Isolation Sexual abuse Economic abuse
Entrapment and Enmeshment Schemes Used by Sex Traffickers (Reid, 2014)	Coercion and threats Intimidation Physical abuse Emotional abuse Affective Kinship Sexual abuse Isolation Economic Abuse
The Life of Trafficked Sex Workers From the Former Eastern Bloc: The Canadian Dimension (McDonald & Timoshkina, 2007)	Coercion and threats Intimidation Physical abuse Isolation Economic abuse Sexual Abuse
Ritual Abuse-Torture Within Families/Groups (Sarson & McDonald, 2008)	Coercion and threats Intimidation Sexual abuse Economic abuse Physical abuse
'A Vile and Violent Thing': Female Traffickers and the Criminal Justice Response (Broad, 2015)	Coercion and threats Affective Kinship Isolation Economic abuse Physical abuse

“We’re Automatically Sex in Men’s Eyes, We’re Nothing But Sex...”: Homeless Young Adult Perceptions of Sexual Exploitation (Fogel et al., 2016)

Emotional abuse
Affective Kinship
Sexual abuse
Physical abuse
