

12-2017

# Functional Isolation: Understanding isolation in trafficking survivors

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## Recommended Citation

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Functional Isolation: Understanding isolation in trafficking survivors

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Masters in Forensic Mental Health Counseling  
John Jay College of Criminal Justice  
City University of New York

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December 2017

### Abstract

This study examined how traffickers used different elements of isolation and how such tactics may have contributed to the traffickers' success in maintaining control over the victim. I examined in-depth narratives from 14 women between the ages of 20-53, primarily immigrants, who were recruited from an agency serving victims of sex trafficking in a large metropolitan city. The tactics used by traffickers varied and included not only the commonly defined structural isolation in which victims are restricted physically and socially, but also included a shrinking of safe social space and an elimination of privacy and social support. The latter is termed functional isolation and refers to instances when survivors are surrounded by peers who are either unreliable or aligned with the trafficker and thus, are unable to give genuine social support. Finally, the different interwoven types and patterns of physical and psychological isolation reported by former victims of trafficking help address a dearth in the coercive control and abuse literature, providing a richer understanding of isolation in trafficking survivors.

Keywords: isolation, sex trafficking, coercive control, social support

### Functional Isolation: Understanding isolation in trafficking survivors

Isolation has long been recognized as an important element of domestic violence and sex trafficking; it aids in facilitating abuse and preventing victims from seeking formal or informal help (Baldwin, Fehrenbacher, & Eisenman, 2014; Farley, 2003; Lehman, Simmons, & Pillai, 2012; Reid, 2016; Sackett & Saunders, 1999; Stark, 2007; Stark & Hodgson, 2003; Warren & Lanning, 1992). Definitions of isolation can vary from researcher to researcher, however most definitions include being forbidden from seeing someone, having restricted use of transportation or communication, and being pressured to stop contacting friends, family, and other outsiders (Lehman, Simmons, & Pillai, 2012; Morselli & Savoie-Gargiso, 2014; Reid, 2016). Deliberately isolating a victim<sup>1</sup> is pernicious for many reasons. By the most concrete classification, isolation hampers the ability of the victim to seek help because she<sup>2</sup> has no one in whom she can confide. On an abstract level, this kind of protracted abuse eliminates a victim's basic human rights to liberty and freedoms of thought and conscience (Libal & Parekh, 2009; Pateman, 1988; Stark, 2007).

Isolation in a sex trafficking context, compared to other forms of abuse, is even more complex, as survivors may have contact with other individuals on a regular basis, some of whom may include clients (Farley, 2003; Stark & Hodgson, 2003), their peer prostitution group (Kennedy et al, 2007), mental health professionals (Schillinger, 1988; Stark & Hodgson, 2003), and even law enforcement (Libal & Parekh, 2009). On the surface, having contact with others suggests that the survivor has opportunities for help-seeking. But despite these opportunities for self-disclosure and intervention, survivors are frequently silent or report feeling unsafe. Why might women stay silent when they could have ostensibly sought help from peers, the public, or

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<sup>1</sup> Participants are referred to as both victim and survivor in this paper, because different women refer to themselves with both terms.

<sup>2</sup> Because our sample is entirely female, participants will be referred to with female pronouns in this paper.

even law enforcement? In such instances, isolation may be fostered through eliminating privacy and creating unsafe and unreliable networks that prohibit any effective help-seeking, and in some cases, expose women to danger through retaliation. I term this functional isolation and argue that functional and structural isolation (actual physical restraint and/or absence of support network, to be described later in this paper) may work together to entrap the victim in situations of chronic abuse.

The goal of this research is to study isolation in the context of sex trafficking and propose that isolation exists in many complex and nuanced forms, including when the survivor appears to have access to other confidants. In the next few sections, I will present an overview of coercive control as a useful framework from which to understand isolation. Then, I will review the more commonly measured forms of isolation, which I term structural isolation; finally, I will develop the concept of functional isolation.

### **Coercive Control**

Coercive control is a core abusive dynamic used to exert control over a victim and obtain compliance in all domains of her life (i.e., personal sexuality, family and social relationships, finances, health, children, and legal matters; Dutton & Goodman, 2005; Farley, 2003; Stark, 2007) through the use of surveillance, microregulation, manipulation/exploitation, isolation, intimidation, deprivation, and degradation (Ansara & Hindin, 2010; Expert Panel Discussions 1-4, 2016<sup>3</sup>; Kelly & Johnson, 2008; Lehmann, Simmons, & Pillai, 2012; Stark, 2007; Stark, 2009; Tanha, Beck, Figueredo, & Raghavan, 2010; Loveland & Raghavan, 2017; Barbaro & Raghavan, in press). The abuser's purpose for the use of these coercive control tactics is to maintain his power over the victim while also maintaining a relationship, by denying her liberty, autonomy,

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<sup>3</sup> Expert panel discussions spanned over the course of one year and included experts in the fields of psychology, social work, and law, as well as professionals in the subfields of coercive control, trafficking, and domestic violence.

and equality; through this, she doubts her own judgment and feels unable to make independent decisions (Beck & Raghavan, 2010; Farley, 2003; Jones, 1994; Stark, 2006; Tanha, Beck, Figueredo, & Raghavan, 2009; Warren & Lanning, 1992).

A defining feature of coercive control is the individualized nature of its implementation (Reid, 2016). Abusers gain privileged knowledge of the victims' vulnerabilities and incorporate them into the abuse tactics (Lehman, Simmons, & Pillai, 2012; Reid, 2016; Stark, 2006; Expert Panel Discussions 1-4, 2016). Thus, one victim may endure excessive surveillance, degradation, and sexual abuse, whereas another may experience intimidation, microregulation, and physical abuse. Although each abuser may tailor his/ her strategy, coercive controlling tactics are often intended to lead to both structural and functional isolation, which in turn contributes to maintaining coercive power. As such, isolation is a crucial hinge upon which coercive power relies.

While coercive control has been studied extensively in domestic violence, it has been less studied in the context of sex trafficking. Specifically, structural and functional isolation—as coercive control outcomes—are of particular interest in this setting because sex-trafficking victims appear to have access to “outsiders” and potential supports. As a result, they risk being misclassified as passive, unwilling to seek support, or even as remaining consensually (Doychak & Raghavan, 2017).

### **Structural Isolation**

Structural isolation refers to situations that involve actual physical deprivation and restriction of liberty and autonomy from an abuser. Structural isolation includes physical isolation (i.e., the victim cannot find a means to talk to anyone) and social isolation (i.e., the victim has no social access, although she may have a potentially helpful network). These are the

most widely held definitions of isolation and they focus on physical restriction of movement and the denial of social experiences as exemplified by the restriction of interaction with others (Baldwin, Fehrenbacher, & Eisenman, 2014; Lehman, Simmons, & Pillai, 2012). Prior research has examined restricted communication (Lehman, Simmons, & Pillai, 2012), geographic isolation (Reina, Lohman, & Maldonado, 2014), immigration barriers (Dutton, Orloff, & Hass, 2000), language barriers (Dutton & Goodman, 2005), financial/ economic control (Pence & Paymar, 1993), and physical restraint (Lehman, Simmons, & Pillai, 2012; Stark & Hodgson, 2003). Case studies of sex-trafficking survivors discuss these tenets of isolation, often citing examples of being controlled through cell phones and social media (Morselli & Savoie-Gargiso, 2014; Reid, 2016), being held in their home with security system alarms or cameras (Morselli & Savoie-Gargiso, 2014), being abducted or drugged (Farley, 2003), being trafficked across international borders (Farley, 2003), and being restricted from speaking with other men (Morselli & Savoie-Gargiso, 2014).

### **Functional Isolation**

In addition to isolation that is created through the barriers described above, isolation can also occur through coercive tactics occurring in every aspect of the victims' life, the effects of which present themselves even in the presence of supposed social supports. Functional isolation is not an entirely new concept, as different aspects of functional isolation have been noted across intimate partner violence (IPV), sex trafficking, and non-abuse research (i.e., depression). In instances of functional isolation, the victim feels unable to seek help, despite appearing to have access to public spaces or the support of others. Specifically, in the context of sex trafficking, victims frequently interact with those inside of their social circle (e.g., other members of their peer prostitution group) and those outside of their social circle (e.g., johns, clients). However,

though she is presented with these social opportunities, the victim does not seek help and further reports feeling isolated. The following section will attempt to address this apparent discrepancy by introducing the three primary ways in which isolation can develop outside of a reliance on force or physical barriers: a) elimination of privacy, b) lack of reliable or safe social support despite the appearance of social networks, and c) exploitation through psychological isolation.

**Elimination of privacy.** To understand the elimination of privacy as a form of isolation, it is important to understand microregulation, a subtle but effective coercive controlling tactic. Microregulation includes controlling aspects of the victim's everyday life, daily tasks, and/or daily functioning via surveillance and monitoring, whether in person or using technology (Expert Panel Discussions 1-4, 2016). Research indicates that traffickers demand that check-ins adhere to a strict schedule regardless of whether it is a work night or an off night (Morselli & Savoie-Gargiso, 2014). The constant monitoring of the victim's everyday activities reduces any privacy in her personal space. This lack of privacy contributes to isolation because victims cannot act against the wishes of the abuser without being discovered, test boundaries of their autonomy, or simply attempt to confide in someone who may be sympathetic. Microregulation can occur in both public and private spaces. In public, the victim is prevented from communicating with anyone, surveilled, and her phone log is monitored. In personal or intimate spaces, the prospect of privacy is much higher than could be expected in public areas. However, in cases of sex trafficking, this expectation of privacy is often violated in private moments such as when the victim is undressing and using the restroom, as well as during invasive body cavity checks. Constant monitoring strips the victim of privacy in all spaces, which reinforces the concept that nothing—including public spaces, her physical space, and private thoughts—is her own (Baldwin, Fehrenbacher, & Eisenman, 2014; Beck & Raghavan, 2010; Stark, 2006;).

**Unsafe and unreliable social support.** In addition to the elimination of privacy, two important concepts within functional isolation are unsafe social support networks and or/ unreliable social support networks. The core idea underlying unsafe/unreliable social support is that the provider offers something helpful and necessary in some instances, but is either unavailable, critical of requests for help, unsympathetic to the narrative, and/or retaliatory in others instances (see Table 1). Unreliable support is the unintentional disregard for the victim's situation (i.e., friends and family minimizing abuse from the trafficking; Expert Panel Discussions, 1-4, 2016), whereas unsafe support includes individuals who participate in the coercion and have the potential to harm the victim (i.e. the trafficker or other victims; Raghavan & Doychak, 2015).

Some data in unsafe and unreliable support comes from existing research in non-trafficked contexts. Specifically, in a sample of low income domestic violence survivors, Raghavan and Mennerich (2007) explored the existence of these negative social exchanges, finding that not only is the existence of these negative experiences common, but that the social group providing positive support in one instance may be the source of negative support in other contexts. This finding was replicated in a sample of gay male sexual assault survivors (Kavanagh et al., 2015). This instability of whether the support group will provide positive or negative exchanges may lead to increased uncertainty in the security and trustworthiness of the situation and negatively impacts the mental health of the victim (Falkin & Strauss, 2003; Farley, 2003; Raghavan & Mennerich, 2007; Stark & Hodgson, 2003).

In abusive relationships, a social group can include individuals who do not offer safe space to the victim or who are present but not supportive (Astin, Lawrence, & Foy, 1993). They may be unreliable, such that they may offer positive exchanges under one circumstance (e.g.,

childcare) and negative support during other exchanges in other instances (e.g. discussing her abusive marriage; Acevedo, 2000; Falkin & Strauss, 2003). When support is unreliable, the victim may lose the ability to trust her judgment of the situation and refrain from asking for help despite being presented with potentially helpful opportunities.

Unreliable and unsafe social networks can be further damaging because they may serve to separate the victim from networks that hold the potential to aid (Astin, Lawrence, & Foy, 1993). The power imbalance between the abuser and the victim, in addition to isolation tactics, further support the victim's belief that it is futile to resist or further seek outside support (Dutton & Painter, 1993; Giobbe, Harrigan, Ryan, & Gamache, 1990; Holsopple, 1999; Minnesota Coalition Against Prostitution, 1997; Stark & Hodgson, 2003). Some unsupportive, negative aspects of a social group may include invalidating her perceptions, making her feel as if she does not exist by ignoring her, restricting her communication from those who may work in the house, criticizing her behavior, attacking her character, and ridiculing her relentlessly (Astin, Lawrence, & Foy, 1993; Baldwin, Fehrenbacher, & Eisenman, 2014; Sackett & Saunders, 1999; Schillinger, 1988). To protect themselves, victims may dissociate and shut down their feelings, erasing any individuality or identity, further paralyzing her ability to seek support (Farley, 2003). Therefore, the existence of social groups and opportunities, however unsafe or unreliable they may be in reality, is a crucial aspect to the creation of functional isolation.

Individuals who offer unsafe support can reinforce abusive demands or are aligned with the trafficker and cannot offer social support to the victim, thus isolating her further (Morselli & Savoie-Gargiso, 2014; Stark & Hodgson, 2003; Williamson, 2010; Farley, 2003). Unreliable or unsafe social support groups can also use "gaslighting," in which women's questioning of abuse may be turned against them. In other unsafe support scenarios, the others in the peer prostitution

group serve as lookouts or spies (Morselli & Savoie-Gargiso, 2014; Williamson, 2010). Sometimes they are paired up so that one can monitor the other; however, most often, the trafficker assigns one main woman the responsibility of training and recruiting, which creates further competition (Morselli & Savoie-Gargiso, 2014; Raghavan & Doychak, 2015; Williamson, 2010). The following is an example of the hairdresser, also the mother of the trafficker, offering seemingly supportive advice to the victim.

“You can’t work alone. You need other girls so that you can have more luxuries. Help him find another woman, so that he could make more money and take care of you. She listened to me and found many new girls for my other son. Even if he would have 50 women, she would accept that. You have to understand that you will end up with him in the end... You have to trust him and let him continue”  
(Morselli & Savoie-Gargiso, 2014, p. 257)

An unreliable support can also include a group or individual who may be supportive in other instances, such as needing child care or loaning money, but provides unintentional disregard for the victim’s situation when it comes to the abuse and coercion. In addition, these behaviors have occurred during times when the victim attempts to reach out, such as in an emergency room or counseling scenario (Loring & Smith; Stark, 2006; Stark & Hodgson, 2003).

Although I describe unsafe and unreliable social support as separate sets of behaviors for the purpose of conceptual formulation, these kinds of negative social support situations most likely occur together in practice. Repeated instances of both lead to entrapment and isolation because the victim is forced to question who she can rely upon. This elimination of privacy, safe space, and social support contributes to the changing of perspective, making the victim believe she truly has no other option but to comply with the trafficker.

**Psychological isolation.** The final element of functional isolation is psychological isolation. Biderman's (1957) definition of isolation suggests that it includes the denial of any and all social support, such that the victim develops an intense concern with self and becomes dependent on her abuser/trafficker. Recasting psychological isolation within the coercive controlling framework, I suggest that psychological isolation is created by manipulation and the exploiting of specific vulnerabilities. Manipulation and exploitation as coercive tactics are often employed earlier in the relationship—as the trafficker gets to know the victim during a loving, seemingly committed dating relationship. During this courtship, traffickers learn the victim's history, likes and dislikes, and specific vulnerabilities (Reid, 2016). These vulnerabilities are later exploited and used to gain control (Reid, 2016). For example, the trafficker may employ the use of blackmail and shame to silence the victim, often threatening to tell family what she has done and citing her obligation to continue to make money for him (Reid, 2016). Psychological isolation is conceptually different from unsafe and unreliable social support (though they are linked), because the memory or mention of the past instances of failed attempts for help are enough to ensure that the victim will not attempt to ask for help and believes that such attempts are pointless.

### **Conclusion**

Abusers use many different coercive controlling tactics to isolate their victims. Abusers may use structurally isolating tactics where they physically restrain their target, sever their social networks, and/or create real economic dependencies by not allowing victims to purchase or pay for their personal needs, including rent, groceries, furniture, hotels, gym memberships, condoms, or clothing (Barbaro & Raghavan, in press; Beck & Raghavan, 2010; Loveland & Raghavan, 2017; Morselli & Savoie- Gargiso, 2014). Abusers can also create functional isolation, which

restricts the victim's perspective and shrinks her social space. Rarely do abusers use one tactic and often, multiple structurally isolating conditions can lead to or facilitate a higher level of functional isolation at different time points in the relationship. As such, these different kinds of isolation, structural and functional, should be examined together to account for the complexity of isolation.

### **Current Study**

This study aims to offer the current literature a more complex and comprehensive understanding of how isolation functions within abusive relationships, specifically in a sex-trafficking context. Structural isolation is examined in tandem with functional isolation—comprising the lack of privacy, the elimination of social support, and the exploitation of vulnerabilities—to explore the complexity of isolation.

This study aims to answer four research questions through an analysis of qualitative narrative data: a) is structural isolation present?; b) is functional isolation present?; c) what patterns of functional isolation, if any, are most dominant in women's lives?; d) can the data elucidate how structural and functional isolation co-occur?

### **Methods**

#### **Research Design**

The current study analyzes archival qualitative data with an original coding scheme developed to identify the tenets of structural and functional isolation. Data were collected for a prior study focusing on coercive control and trauma-coerced attachment in 14 sex-trafficking survivors through intensive semi-structured interviews (Doychak & Raghavan, 2017). The women's responses were analyzed using a coding scheme developed for this specific study on different types of isolation.

Because all investigators on this project had experience and previous knowledge of the phenomenon of coercion and isolation in trafficking, it was necessary to implement the process of phenomenological reduction as described by Giorgi (1997). This strategy recognizes previous knowledge and notions that an investigator may have about the phenomenon and attempts to set it aside, so as to focus on the phenomenon only as it is presented in the current research.

### **Participants**

The participants in this qualitative interview study included 14 women ranging from ages 20-53 recruited from an agency serving survivors of sex trafficking in a large metropolitan city. The size of the study and number of participants included is recommended in the literature for phenomenological studies because the focus in such studies is intended to be the individual's narrative (Giorgi, 1989; Hill, Thompson, & Williams, 1997; Polkinghorne, 1989).

Only survivors whose trafficker/s had been successfully prosecuted and imprisoned or were no longer in contact with the women were chosen for participation to ensure the participants' safety. All 14 participants were females currently living in the United States, with 12 of the women having immigrated from another country (i.e. Mexico, Columbia, Jamaica, and El Salvador). Varied levels of education, age, and race/ ethnicities were represented in this participant population (see Appendix B). The survivors met their trafficker at a mean age of 21 while the trafficker was a mean age of 27. The trafficker met the victim in their home country in all 14 cases.

### **Procedure**

Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish (Doychak & Raghavan, 2017) and took place in a victims' services agency. To ensure the confidentiality of the survivor, informed consent was given verbally at the start of the interview. Interviews lasted approximately two to

four hours and covered demographic data, past history of abuse, the survivor's relationship with the trafficker, the survivor's experience with the trafficker's coercive tactics, and the survivor's attachment to the trafficker. Participants were debriefed and provided with mental health referrals if requested or needed.

The data was used in this study to identify tenets of isolation through a coding process conducted by trained lab members. Trained coders read through each interview individually, marking when items were present along the way and referencing the codebook definitions for clarity. Disagreements in the coding results centered on the presence or absence of social support and unsafe and unreliable social support systems. Coding definitions were further specified after the first round of coding to clarify the necessity of an unsafe and/or unreliable social group in order for functional isolation to be present; these specified definitions were used in a second round of coding, thus resolving coding disagreements. Inter-rater reliability (12/14), an adequate rate for the high number of categories, was obtained by the use of multiple coders who underwent the coding training to safeguard against discrepancies.

## **Materials**

**Codebook.** The codebook includes the operational definition of the code and examples to look for when coding. The codes targeted the presence of evidence of structural isolation along with the presence of functional isolation, which includes lack of privacy, social support, and psychological isolation. The following definitions were used to identify the presence of isolation tactics and the outcome of functional isolation (see Table 2).

## **Data Analysis**

To identify themes of isolation within these interviews, a coding scheme was developed through a review of the existing literature discussed above, the discussions of an expert panel,

and rigorous lab discussions over a nine-month period (Expert Panel Discussions 1-4, 2016). The coders went through the interviews individually, as described above, reading for the explicit mention of these isolation tenets as they are defined. Strict definition adherence was required to ensure reliability. For this study, unsafe and unreliable social support were coded together due to the nuanced nature of these tenets of functional isolation.

Grounded theory is used in areas of research aimed at developing under-theorized topics; thus, this theory was employed for the code development of this study (Charmaz, 2000, 2006; Pidgeon & Henwood, 1997; Rennie et al, 1988). I utilized an adapted version of constructivist grounded theory (CGT) to incorporate knowledge of isolation in the framework of coercive control with the isolation data from the interviews. The interview data was analyzed line-by-line to identify themes which were organized into categories and then into specific codes (Charmaz, 2000; Ong, 2012).

This qualitative analysis examined the presence of the widely studied structural isolation, but also looked for the presence of functional isolation and its specific tenets: lack of privacy in public and private spaces, unsafe and unreliable social support, and psychological isolation. Overwhelmingly, functional isolation was present in the cases; the three cases disagreed upon were re-analyzed with refined coding definitions. While reviewing the findings of coding, patterns began to emerge, requiring analysis of the interviews once more. The interviews were read through and coded for chronological mention of functional isolation, structural isolation, and how the relationship began and ended.

## **Results**

### **Presence of Structural Isolation**

Presence of structural isolation (see Table 3) was indicated in all of the examined cases (n=14), defined as both physical and social isolation in which the abuser structurally constrains the victim. Physical isolation (n=13), as defined in the codebook, included times in which the victim reported being unable to find a means to communicate with anyone. Examples of physical isolation included being drugged or physically restrained with locks and chains.

*After about one month, he forced me (into commercial sex). He did not allow me to eat for three days in the beginning. When I resisted, he locked me in the apartment for three days, threatening to kill me if I didn't do it.*

Social isolation (n=14), as defined in the codebook, included reports of an inability to communicate with outsiders despite the presence of networks. Social isolation in these interviews was recognized in cases when the victim reported restrictions being placed on her communication.

*He didn't let me speak to anyone once we were in the U.S. He made me ask permission for everything. I wasn't allowed to have friends.*

### **Presence of Functional Isolation**

The second and third research questions sought to explore whether functional isolation occurred and if so, what types occurred in this context. First, the narratives indicated an overwhelming presence of functional isolation in 12 of the total 14 cases (see Table 3). Functional isolation was indicated by lack of privacy in public and private spaces, exploitation of existing vulnerabilities, and unsafe and unreliable social support. I was unable to determine whether psychological isolation occurred because of data limitations. Each of these types of isolation is expounded upon below.

**Lack of privacy.** All participants discussed the lack of privacy in public and/or private spaces. Overwhelmingly, the interviews included unambiguous quotes describing a lack of privacy in public spaces, ( $n = 14$ ) and the majority noted that surveillance from someone aligned with the trafficker reduced their sense of privacy.

*I wasn't allowed to go anywhere alone. The driver followed me and told him where I was.*

*I was allowed to talk to family or other people only in front of him (trafficker or his brother).*

Many interviews also included a discussion of how an abuser denied privacy ( $n = 12$ ) during moments and places in which one would expect a certain level of solitude. In cases referencing a lack of privacy in private spaces, many participants noted that the trafficker invaded her personal space without permission—in all cases, personal space included her body or her expected privacy in intimate daily activities, such as using the restroom.

*If I showered, I had to tell him and he'd check my body and vagina for hidden things before I could shower.*

*He made me strip when I walked in the door. If I was hiding money, I would be hit.*

*If I had my period, he would penetrate me to make sure I wasn't lying.*

**Unsafe and unreliable social support networks.** Unsafe or unreliable social support networks were present in most cases ( $n=11$ ); when discernible, coders noted unsafe support ( $n=9$ ), unreliable support ( $n=3$ ), and both unsafe and unreliable support ( $n=2$ ). Some of the networks discussed in the interviews include a sister-in-law, chauffeur, the trafficker's mother, brother, or extended family, other prostitutes in the group, and the trafficker and victim's child.

Unsafe social support includes individuals who both provided support but also aligned with the abuser or participated in the coercion, putting the victim in danger or causing harm.

*When he would travel to the U.S., he left me with a sister-in-law once, who made me feel like he was there watching me.*

*The other women who worked for him longer would keep track of me. They'd lie about me taking money and tell him if I was late.*

*[When trying to leave,] I asked a driver to help me call my mother in Mexico. He told him everything that happened. He told him I was leaving.*

Unreliable social support includes individuals who may have been helpful in other instances but provide unintentional disregard for the victim's situation in response to the abuse. One survivor recounted her relationship with her trafficker's sister-in law, who was a friend to her, yet was ultimately the one who convinced her to go into prostitution, saying that it was not hard. Another survivor says that her trafficker's family watched her after he was deported, but at other times, provided emotional support:

*His family would make me feel special and tell me their home was mine for our family one day.*

Three cases showed no evidence of any active social support networks outside of the abuser himself. While the abuser was seen as a source of both comfort and abuse, for the purpose of our definition of social support, I did not code instances when the abuser was the sole social access as having social support. Because of this lack of social networks, these three survivors were not considered to be functionally isolated but fully structurally isolated.

**Psychological isolation.** The exploitation of victim-specific vulnerabilities, a necessary condition of psychological isolation, was seen in all 14 cases. Participants recalled times when their trafficker used specific vulnerabilities against them, including threat of harm to the victim's

family, their children, deportation, promises of commitment, and the knowledge of a history of drug or physical abuse.

*He threatened to kill my family if I didn't comply.*

Other times, survivors would recall the trafficker relying on their commitment and affection to coerce them into continuing with prostitution, saying things like:

*If you love me, you'll do this.*

Still in other instances, the trafficker would gain her compliance by making her believe that the police would see anything she reported as her fault, often relying on deportation threats.

Although these instances demonstrate that the exploitation of vulnerabilities were highly present in the participant narratives, I did not discover additional support for whether psychological isolation (i.e., a preoccupation with self and a complete reliance on the abuser even if there were other sources of support) is a necessary tenet of functional isolation. As such, I was unable to determine if psychological isolation as defined above (i.e., a preoccupation with self and a complete reliance on the abuser even if there were other sources of support) occurred in this sample.

### **Co-occurrence and Trajectories of Structural and Functional Isolation**

Finally, I explored the co-occurrence and trajectories of structural and functional isolation, taking note of patterns that appeared (see Figure 2). All 14 participants cited at least one instance of structural isolation, most of which happened at the beginning of the relationship. Many discussed how, during this time, they were not allowed to have friends or use a phone at all. One survivor described how she and her trafficker met, saying that she was uninterested and avoided his advances, but she accepted a soda one day, which turned out to be drugged; she awoke in a random home, was not permitted to leave, and was forced into prostitution. Other

survivors discussed similar instances of structural isolation in the beginning, specifically physical isolation.

*On our second try coming to the U.S., he kept me locked up for 3 days. I wasn't sure where I was. Then he told me I'd be working in prostitution.*

Later in the relationship, the isolation transitioned from structural to functional isolation, with the tactics being less obvious and more subtle or invisible. After the initial structural isolation (i.e., kidnapping), the trafficker often allowed her more freedom. The survivors reported staying despite the extensive abuse and would cite feelings of affection as a large factor in choosing to not report. The trafficker successfully isolated them and thus, became their sole source of comfort.

*"He did feel something for me." "I never reached out because he was prideful."*

*"He loved me. I loved him more."*

Next, I explored particular trajectories of the different kinds of isolation and their enforcement over the course of the relationship. Two dominant patterns emerged (see Figure 2): women entered prostitution (and subsequently were isolated), either via a dating relationship ( $n = 4$ ) or a form of structural isolation ( $n=10$ ; e.g. forcibly detained, kidnapping, drugs).

Trajectories presented four movement patterns: linear ( $n=4$ ), prompted ( $n=5$ ), rotating ( $n=3$ ), and simultaneous ( $n=2$ ; see Table 4). Linear movement pattern is indicated by the straightforward movement from structural isolation (SI) to functional isolation (FI). Prompted movement was indicated by the trafficker's return to structural isolation techniques only when the survivor attempted to leave (e.g., she would be locked in the house after being returned from an escape attempt). Rotating movement is indicated by the trafficker's use of alternating isolation techniques without being prompted by an escape attempt. Simultaneous movement was seen in

only two cases in which the trafficker employed both structural and functional isolation techniques at the same time throughout the relationship. There were also two instances in which functional isolation techniques were employed before structural isolation techniques; however, in both instances, the trafficker returned to the use of functional isolation after structural isolation. Thus, in the majority of cases, both types of isolation were employed in alternating patterns.

### **Discussion**

In this study, I sought to examine the different ways by which survivors were isolated from help seeking. Overall, all of the women reported structural isolation, which was the dominant isolation technique surrounding her entry into prostitution. Although not the main focus of the study, this data is counter to other studies that indicate that women's entry into prostitution is often through emotional blackmail or deception by a boyfriend or family member (Kennedy, Klein, Bristowe, Cooper, & Yuille, 2007; Reid, 2016); one reason for these findings could be that most women in this study were originally from outside the U.S. and thus, were forcibly recruited into prostitution. Women reported kidnapping, being drugged, and being locked in the house or a basement. The effects of such structural isolation are clear; women were physically unable to have contact with potential support members and therefore, could not get help. However, the effects of functional isolation are more complex.

In addition to structural isolation, 11 of the 14 women reported functional isolation following the initial forced restraint (see Figure 1). In the majority of cases, once the trafficker had established authority via force, isolation was maintained through functional isolation tactics. However, these trajectories of functional and structural isolation were complex. In some cases, structural isolation was needed only in the beginning of the relationship, in others traffickers utilized structural and functional isolating tactics simultaneously or rotated between tactics.

Among the most interesting findings in this study were what sorts of functional isolation tactics abusers used and when. Interestingly, participants reported more unsafe social supports than unreliable. Survivors discussed instances of being betrayed by someone they had trusted with private information, only to find out that they were aligned with their abuser.

In contrast to other research with domestic violence victims, survivors rarely reported unreliable support systems—perhaps because so many were unable to speak freely with friends or family. However, while I did not include the trafficker as a significant source of support, all narratives included at least one spontaneous quote from a survivor stating that her trafficker was a support for her and that she remained in the relationship, at least initially, because of her affection for the trafficker (Doychak & Raghavan, 2017). Thus, in including the victim's perspective, I reconceptualized the social support received by including the trafficker as a primary source. In doing so, I acknowledged that the victim perceived her abuser as being a provider of support, which helps deepen our understanding of isolation dynamics. Specifically, trafficking victims nominate only their trafficking world as providing support—this includes the trafficker and social networks aligned with their trafficker.

The implications of these findings help us to better understand who women feel provide them support and how women become isolated. First, women were unable to ask for help because of physical restrictions—only four women were not forcibly restrained and isolated. When the restrictions were lifted, women were unable to ask for help, because they were under constant surveillance. All participants discussed experiences, such as not having the freedom to use the restroom alone, to have a private phone conversation, or to get to and from their client destinations without a chauffeur. Intertwined with surveillance was intense invasions of intimate space and betrayals from social support networks. As noted by many other researchers, removing

all the outside support is only one step in establishing total control; in tandem with elimination of privacy and access to only unsafe networks, the traffickers robbed the women of every opportunity to ask for help, let alone the agency to do so (Biderman, 1957; Dutton & Painter, 1993; Farley, 2003; Raghavan & Mennerich, 2007; Stark, 2007; Stark & Hodgson, 2003). Under such circumstances, it is no surprise that women spoke lovingly about the same men who had raped, tortured, and exploited them emotionally, sexually, and physically (Doychak & Raghavan, 2017). This kind of isolation speaks to the daily fear and powerlessness survivors feel and how easy it is for outsiders to misunderstand women's responses towards help as passive.

Finally, I examined the trajectories of isolation. The trajectories identified offered insight into control tactics used. For example, survivors generally reported that their trafficker/s utilized structurally isolating tactics during the beginning of the relationship then moved onto functionally isolating tactics. Also rare was the occurrence of an unprompted waffling between structural and functional isolation. However, in the event of an attempt to escape, the trafficker reverted back to structural isolation. Taken together, these trajectories suggest that traffickers use very individualized techniques to maintain control over victims depending on context and most likely, specific vulnerabilities. These trajectories also suggest that tactics are flexible and as a result, function dynamically to further entrap victims.

These trajectories of control to obtain isolation are consistent with isolation as an outcome of coercive control (Baldwin, Fehrenbacher, & Eisenman, 2014; Biderman, 1957; Stark, 2007). There are three important dimensions of coercive control, according to Stark (2006): sexual inequalities, privileged access of perpetrators to victims, and extension of control through social space. These elements of the larger picture of coercive control can be seen in functional isolation as established in this study. By eliminating the survivor's physical space and her social

support, the trafficker gives himself privileged access and is then able to diminish her safe space, further reinforcing mistrust. These tactics silenced many of our participants. In some cases, women's narratives demonstrated how their perspective was altered and that they did not wish to seek help—a result, in part, of a shrunken social space. In other instances, women's narratives demonstrated that they could not reliably estimate who might help them and how these supports might betray them because of unsafe and unreliable social networks.

Biderman (1957) discussed the monopolization of perception in his original argument of coercion; the victim's attention is limited to the immediate problems and any outside, competing influences are eliminated so that the trafficker has complete control to elicit compliance. The women in this sample implied that they were completely dependent on the trafficker; however, I did not obtain sufficient data to confidently code for psychological isolation. Future studies should examine more closely the effect of exploitation of known vulnerabilities on a victim and delve further into the detailed accounts of a survivor's experience with trafficker's use of psychological isolation.

Modern culture often ignores the harm caused by isolation in the private sphere for fear that human rights do not extend to the private life and thus, no intervention is necessary or allowed (Libal & Parekh, 2009; Stark, 2007; Stark & Hodgson, 2003). At the same time, there is confusion and disbelief over why a victim stays instead of asking why she was not able to leave, which is one of many societal problems victims face when coming in front of a jury (Hanna, 2009; Stark, 2007; Stark & Hodgson, 2003). Stark and Hodgson (2003) compare these victims to prisoners of war, who weigh the dangerousness of battling their captor. Even if resistance could potentially save their life, it is usually necessary for an outside force to intervene to wholly set the victim free (Hanna, 2009; Stark, 2007).

*"It is not state intervention, per se, that has stalled the progress in curbing men's violence against women. [...] it has been the ineffectiveness of state intervention that is the problem" (Hanna, 2009 p. 1460).*

These data reinforce the importance of developing a sensitive understanding of how women are isolated, what the isolation dynamics resemble, and how we as a society can intervene effectively.

In conclusion, to my knowledge, this is one of the first studies that focus on how isolation is achieved in a sex-trafficking context. These results are important because they indicate that isolation is maintained through complex means, rather than clear-cut forcible restrictions. The victim's privacy is invaded (e.g., followed by a chauffeur), vulnerabilities are exploited (e.g., family's safety is threatened), and social networks are unsupportive (e.g., they are aligned with the trafficker or they cannot be counted upon for help).

### **Limitations and Future Research**

The results of this study are important; though, not without its limitations. This interview was designed for a coercive control and trauma-coerced attachment study. Therefore, targeted questions pertaining to the different, nuanced facets of isolation being explored in this particular study were not included. To access data on the nuanced facets between unreliable and unsafe social support, a direct interview examining isolation and these facets is necessary. The perception of whether or not they (i.e., the participants) had social support needs to be included in future studies of functional isolation, because this information could provide interesting insight into who trafficking victims believe their support to be and whether they perceive these networks to be helpful or harmful. These perceptions could differ from what they imply through discussion of the networks' actions, as was explored in this study.

Twelve of the total 14 women in this study were trafficked from another country into the U.S. and in future research, functional isolation should be explored with participants who have been trafficked within their country of origin. Domestic trafficking victims may report differing levels of isolation or may report different tenets of isolation than immigrant trafficking victims because the latter faces challenges specific to language differences and the existence of deportation fears, as well as geographical separation from family and friends.

The time spanned between when the women in this sample exited the lifestyle and/or last saw the trafficker and the date of the interview varied greatly and could have an effect on how the participants answered the interview questions. However, given the difficulty in accessing this sample when in the lifestyle, this will remain an ongoing challenge for other researchers.

### **Conclusion**

These results have important implications for understanding how isolation functions for law enforcement and mental health professionals alike. Due to the invisibility of coercion tactics, specifically of functional isolation, control is hard to establish in legal testimony (Stark, 2009). The results of this study indicate the need for policies to support more resources for victims of sex trafficking that include safe and reliable support networks and clinical support to reestablish the feeling of safety.

The relationships that exist in sex trafficking are, in the strictest definition, are abusive, exploitative relationships. Although trafficking relationships involve both romantic or intimate relationships and “working” relationships, the tactics employed are similar to those used in intimate partner violence, including threats and intimidation, emotional, sexual, and physical violence, exploitation of vulnerabilities, and isolation (Williamson, 2002, 2010). Traffickers learn the vulnerabilities of their victims and exploit these to gain power and control, much in the

same way as an abusive partner dictates the activities of the submissive partner (Williamson, 2002, 2010).

Isolation as a coercive control tactic ultimately forces the victim to believe that threats have credible implied consequences if they are noncompliant (Dutton & Goodman, 2005). This study explored isolation in the context of sex trafficking to understand the special conditions victims face when controlled via these isolation tactics and why, when presented with an opportunity to resist, they feel they are unable. These results are important to note in the trauma-care field and in law enforcement, as many who encounter these survivors should be aware of the circumstances under which they are/were living. Understanding functional isolation gives insight into the everyday lives these women lead and offers some plausible explanations for why they would report feeling isolated when it appears they have social access.

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Appendix A

A. Life before she met trafficker

1. Can you please tell me your actual year of birth (not as it appears on your passport / PID if those are counterfeit)?
  
2. Can you please tell me the name of your country of birth?
  
3. Can you please tell me the name of your hometown/city/village?
  
4. Is this a rural or urban setting?
  
5. What is the highest level of schooling, which you completed?
  - University Level or higher \_\_\_
  - High School or equivalent \_\_\_
  - Middle School or equivalent \_\_\_
  - Elementary School or equivalent \_\_\_
  - No schooling \_\_\_
  - Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
  
6. What was your living arrangement growing up? Who did you live with?
  - Parents and possible siblings \_\_\_
  - Single parent (mother) \_\_\_
  - Single parent (father) \_\_\_
  - Other family; please specify \_\_\_
  - No parent household; specify level of responsibility \_\_\_
  - Husband/Boyfriend \_\_\_
  - Children \_\_\_
  - Shelter/Displaced \_\_\_
  - Social Services \_\_\_
  - Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
  
7. Were you employed in your home country?  
 If yes, what did you do?
  
8. Before the age of 16, did anyone 5 or more years older than you hit you, punch you, slap you, or in any other way physically hurt you?  
 If yes, who? \_\_\_\_\_  
 In what ways? \_\_\_\_\_  
 How often did this happen?      Daily              Weekly              Monthly              Rare
  
9. Before the age of 16, did anyone 5 or more years older than you swear at you, insult you, or put you down in any way?  
 If yes, who? \_\_\_\_\_  
 In what ways? \_\_\_\_\_

How often did this happen?      Daily              Weekly              Monthly              Rare

10. Before the age of 16, did anyone 5 or more years older than you do any of the following:

Touch you in a way that made you feel uncomfortable? If yes, who?

Have you touch them/yourself in a way that made you feel uncomfortable? If yes, who?

Try to have oral/vaginal/anal intercourse without succeeding? If yes, who?

Try to have oral/vaginal/anal intercourse and succeed? If yes, who?

**B. Relationship with trafficker**

1. How did you and X (*use participant term for trafficker*) meet?

**Probes for Interviewer:** Make sure date of meeting and age of both are recorded (How old were you? How old was he?)  
Did they meet through friends? Acquaintances? Was it framed as a job? Was commercial sex already a part of it?

2. How did you feel about him when you first met? How did X act in the beginning?

**Probes for Interviewer:**

- a. Was he affectionate/loving?
- b. Did he make promises about marriage, relationships “forever,” or promise loyalty to you?
- c. If not clear, ask: What did you like about him?

3. When did things start to go wrong in the relationship?

**Probes for Interviewer:**

- a. Did he ever threaten to leave you if you did not do what he said?
- b. Did he threaten to use force against you?
  - i. Punching, hitting, pushing, and so on?
- c. Did he make you believe you needed him?
- d. Was he insistent on knowing your every move?
  - i. monitoring text messages or phone calls?
  - ii. monitoring where you were going or where you had been?
- e. Did you have friends or family you spoke with regularly? Did he restrict you in any way from contacting them?
- f. Was he ever verbally or physically abusive when you did not comply with his demands?
- g. What were you most afraid of?

4. What was sex with him like?

**Probes for Interviewer:**

- a. Was sex intimate? Special?
- b. Were sexual acts always consensual? (May require additional probing)
- c. Did he ever use aspects of your sex life together to bribe you or threaten you?
  - i. Humiliate you? Blackmail you?

5. If not in commercial sex before the pimp: Can you tell me about the first time you had sex for money or other financial gain? What did *trafficker/boyfriend* do or say to influence your decision?

If already in commercial sex before the pimp: How did things change when you started working for him? What did *trafficker/boyfriend* do or say to influence your decision?

If *X* did not influence the decision: Tell me more about how you made your decision.

**Probes for Interviewer:**

- a. Did he tell you he loved you and needed your help?
- b. Did he tell you that you owed him because he had helped you in the past?
- c. Did he ever threaten to leave you if you did not do what he said?
- d. Did he ever use aspects of your sex life together to bribe you or threaten you?
  - i. Humiliate or intimidate you? Blackmail you?
- e. Did he ever use force or verbally abuse you for not doing what he said?
- f. Did he monitor your phone calls, text messages, etc.?
- g. Did he monitor your coming and going?
- h. Did he have other people watch you or keep track of you?

6. How was the work set up? How many years did it last?

**Probes for Interviewer:**

- a. Did he bring you clients?
- b. Where did you typically work?
- c. How much did you charge? Who determined this?
- d. Who took the money?
- e. How many clients did you see daily?

7. How did you feel about working in *X* (*use participant term for commercial sex*)?

8. Think about the years you were with him. In that time:

- a. Did he ever frighten or intimidate you? How often?  
Can you give me an example that feels most typical for his behavior?

- b. Did he threaten to use force like hitting, pushing, punching (use other examples if needed)? How often?  
Can you give me an example that feels most typical for his behavior?

c. Did he lie to you? How often?

Can you give me an example that feels most typical for his behavior?

d. Was he insistent on knowing your every move (text messages, phone calls, where you were going, and so on)?

Can you give me an example that feels most typical for his behavior?

e. Did he restrict your access to any money? For basic necessities?

Can you give me an example that feels most typical for his behavior?

f. Did he make you account for the time you were not together (demanding to know where you were)?

Can you give me an example that feels most typical for his behavior?

g. Did he ever keep you from talking to friends or family?

Can you give me an example that feels most typical for his behavior?

h. Did he ever keep you from going somewhere you wanted to go or doing something you wanted to do (for example, a possible client or job)?

Can you give me an example that feels most typical for his behavior?

i. Was he ever verbally or emotionally hurtful in response to you resisting his demands?

Can you give me an example that feels most typical for his behavior?

j. Did he ever use force like hitting, pushing, punching (use other examples if needed) when you did not comply with his demands?

Can you give me an example that feels most typical for his behavior?

### C. Intermittent Reward and Punishment

1. Was he ever kind or generous to you?

#### **Probes for Interviewer:**

- a. Were there ever periods of when he showered you with extra affection?
- b. Did he buy you nice things?
- c. Did he ever take you to nice places (e.g., out on nice dates, to nice dinners, etc.)?
- d. Did he show signs of appreciation for you?

2. Did he ever make you feel special or beautiful, for example? Tell me more.

a. What did he do that meant the most to you?

#### **Probes for Interviewer:**

a. Did he promise to give you something you wanted?

3. Were there periods of time with no physical abuse?

**Probes for Interviewer:**

- a. Did he make promises to change?
- b. Was he more permissive than usual?
- c. What was he like when he didn't hit you?

4. When did he typically act this way?

**Probes for Interviewer:**

- a. Was it after a fight?
- b. Was he unpredictable?
- c. Was he ever kind to you when you expected him to react negatively?
- d. Did you know ahead of time when he was going to treat you more kindly?
- e. Did you learn to expect the change in behavior?

D. Nature of attachment

1. How would you describe the way you felt about X during the relationship?

**Probes for Interviewer:**

- a. Was there a time you thought you loved him? How did that feel for you?
- b. Did you think about him when you were not with him?
- c. Did you feel important because you were his girlfriend? How so?
- d. Did you feel special because he wanted to be with you? How so?
- e. Did you ever feel like he was better than you?
- f. What was your main priority within the relationship? (ex. pleasing him, making him happy)

2. Why did you love him? (If she did not love him, was there anything special about the relationship?)

**Probes for Interviewer:**

- a. Did you feel lucky to have him?
- b. What made your relationship with X more special than others?
- c. In what ways was the relationship unique?
- d. Did you find him more handsome than other men? More talented? Etc.
- e. Do you think you could love someone else the way you loved him? Why or why not?

3. How did you feel when X treated you well, after he had just treated you poorly?

4. When he was mean, unkind or yelling at you, how did you respond?

**Probes for Interviewer:**

- a. Did you try to fight back? What proportion of the time did you respond this way? (ex. 50% of the time)
- b. Did you comply because you were scared? (ex. 50% of the time)
- c. Why do you think he yelled? Was it because of things you did?
- d. Did you ever feel the abuse was because of your actions?

e. Did you feel like if you hadn't acted a certain way, the punishment wouldn't have happened?  
f. Did you believe the negative things he said about you?

5. Did you ever try to leave? What was his reaction?

6. How did the relationship end?

7. Are you still in contact with him?

8. How do you feel about him now?

## Appendix B

*Participant Demographic Data*

	Primary Language	Home Country	Ethnicity	Education Level	Current Age	Trafficked Age
1	English	Mexico	Hispanic	Elementary	35	18
2	Spanish	El Salvador	Hispanic	High School	43	36
3	Spanish	Mexico	Hispanic	Middle School	20	13
4	English	USA	African American	High School	22	18
5	Spanish	Mexico	Hispanic	University	32	24
6	Spanish	Mexico	Hispanic	Elementary	26	14
7	Spanish	Mexico	Hispanic	High School	34	22
8	Spanish	Mexico	Hispanic	High School	41	21
9	Spanish	Columbia	Hispanic	Middle School	53	22
10	Spanish	Mexico	Hispanic	High School	26	19
11	Spanish	Mexico	Hispanic	Elementary	25	16
12	English	Jamaica	Caribbean	Elementary	41	21
13	Spanish	Mexico	Hispanic	Elementary	39	15
14	English	USA	Caucasian	University	46	37

Table 1			
<i>Unsafe and Unreliable Social Support</i>			
<u>Support</u>	<u>Abusive Situation</u>	<u>General Life</u>	<u>Sex Work</u>
Unsafe	-	-	+
Unreliable	-	+	
Unreliable	- / +		

*Note.* This table visualizes the meaning of unsafe and unreliable support and the areas in a survivor’s life where support appears to be given. Lack of support (or negative support) is shown with “-“and the symbol “+” signifies the presence of support in that social space.

Table 2

*Coding Definitions and Tactic Examples*

<u>Category</u>	<u>Definition</u>	<u>Tactic Examples</u>
Structural Isolation	Physical Isolation: the victim cannot find a means to talk to anyone	Victim is moved to a new country Victim is locked in a basement
	Social Isolation: the victim is not allowed social access	Victim is not allowed to have a phone Victim is not allowed to talk to people outside of group
Functional Isolation	Functional Isolation: the complete elimination of any space within which the victim is able to find privacy; the inability to access a safe or reliable guardian despite having social access	
	Privacy in Public: the victim can be mobile or social but is surveilled or believes she is surveilled	Victim must call to check in Victim is followed by trafficker or one of his “people”
	Privacy in Private: the victim has no option of privacy or safe space	Victim is not allowed to go to the bathroom alone Trafficker checks the victim’s orifices
	Unsafe Social Support: includes individuals who may be aligned with the abuser or participate in the coercion, putting the victim in danger or causing harm	May include the trafficker, other prostitutes, family of the trafficker
	Unreliable Social Support: individuals who may have been helpful in other instances but provide unintentional disregard for the victim’s situation in response to the abuse	May include her own family, her friends, the trafficker’s group (e.g. the driver)
	Psychological Isolation: the trafficker exploits specific vulnerabilities	Trafficker threatens to hurt people the victim cares about

<u>Isolation Category</u>	<u>Code</u>	<u>Round One</u>	<u>Round Two</u>
Structural Isolation	Social Isolation	14	14
	Physical Isolation	14	13
Functional Isolation	Functional Isolation	12	11
	Privacy, Public	13	14
	Privacy, Private	12	12
	Unsafe/ Unreliable Social Supports	10	11
	Unsafe	-	9
	Unreliable	-	3
	Both (Unsafe + Unreliable)	-	2
	No Social Supports	-	3
	Psychological Isolation	14	14

Table 4		
<i>Prevalence of Isolation Patterns</i>		
<b>Pattern</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Prevalence</b>
Start- Simple	SI > FI	4
Start- Relationship	Relationship > SI > FI (etc.)	10
Movement- Linear	SI > FI	4
Movement- Prompted	SI > FI > Leave > SI > FI (etc.)	5
Movement- Rotate	SI > FI > SI > FI	3
Movement- Simultaneous	Start > SI & FI	2
Movement- Reverse	FI > SI	2

Figure 1. The Relationship of Structural and Functional Isolation

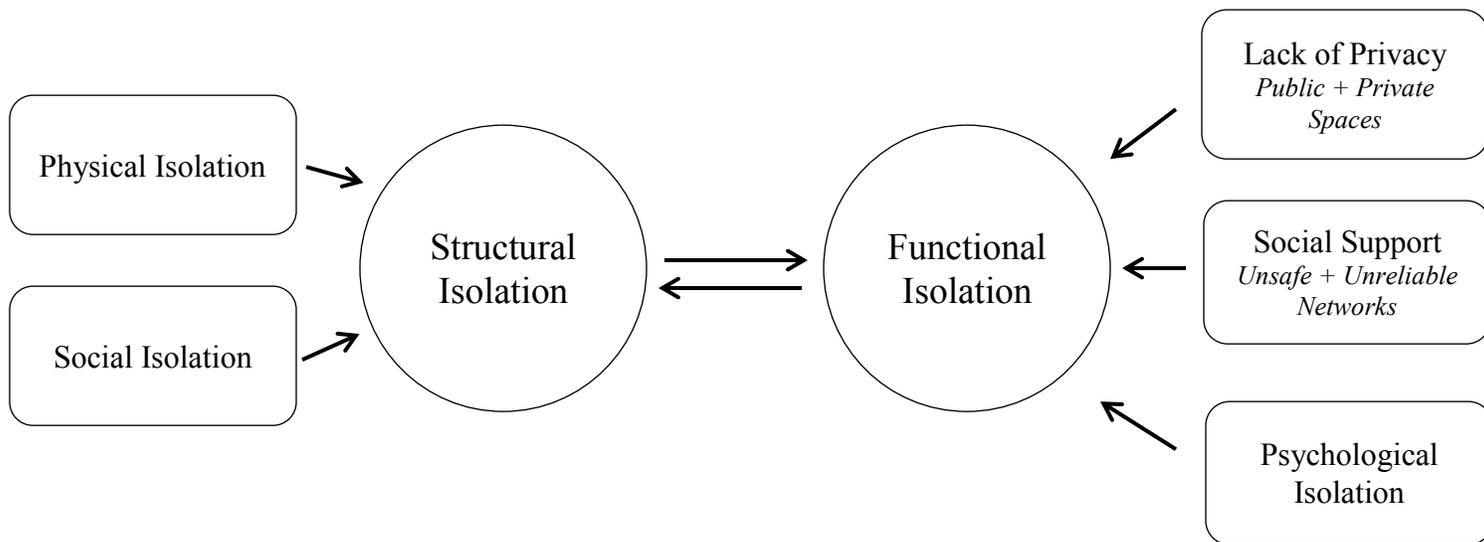
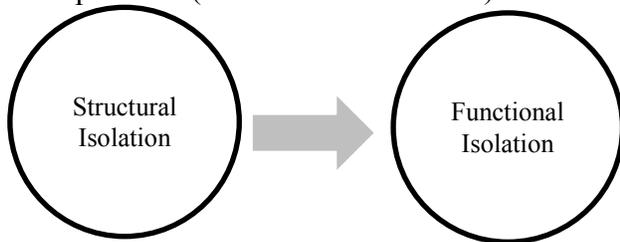
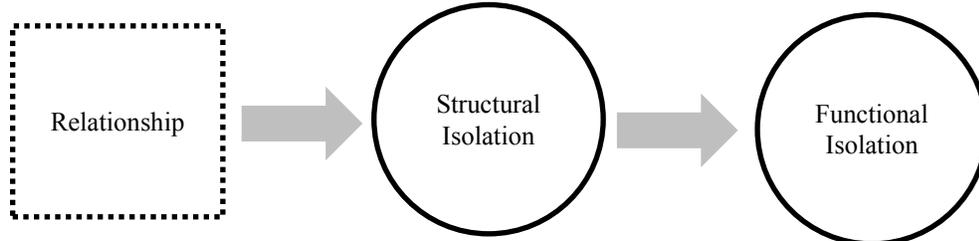


Figure 2. Trajectory Patterns of Isolation

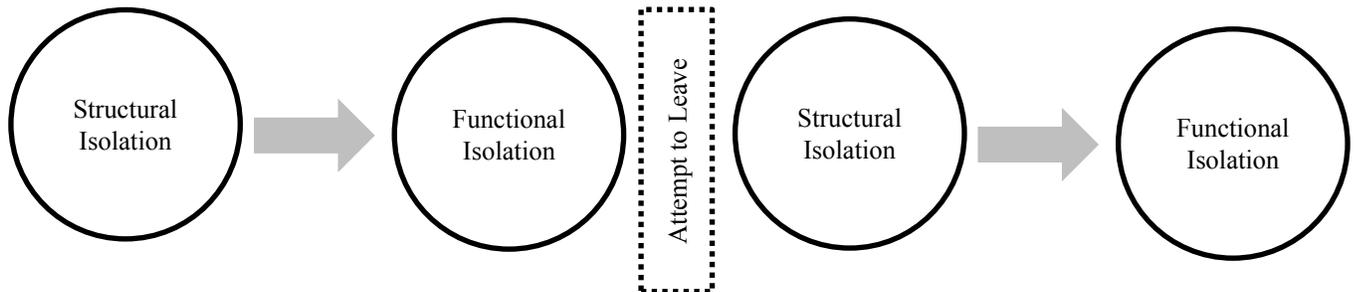
Simple Start (and Linear Movement):



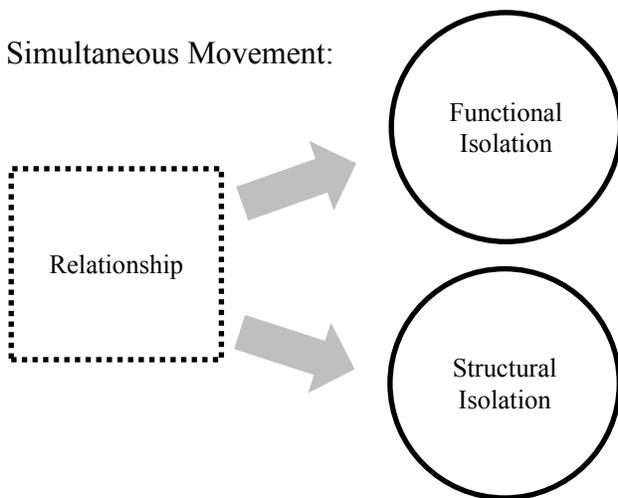
Relationship Start (and Linear Movement):



Prompted Movement:



Simultaneous Movement:



Rotating Movement:

