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# Coercive Control in Long Term Sex Trafficking Relationships: Using Exhaustion to Control Victims

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Coercive Control in Long Term Sex Trafficking Relationships: Using Exhaustion to Control

Victims

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### Abstract

The importance of coercive control tactics in maintaining women in commercial sex has been well-documented. Less known is how these tactics manifest in long-term relationships and how victims cope or react to establish patterns of control. The current study measured the temporal patterning of coercive control in long term sex trafficking relationships via wiretapped phone conversations between pimps and sex trafficked workers. In addition, victim responses of compliance versus resistance to coercive control tactics were measured. 68 phone calls over four months were transcribed and coded between two pimps and four women working in commercial sex. The findings indicate that coercion was pervasive and extended to all domains of the women's lives. As predicted, tactics of microregulation and surveillance dominated, with occasional instances of intimidation and aggression. As further predicted, higher levels of intimidation by the trafficker were correlated with higher instances of resistance and higher levels of surveillance and microregulation were correlated with higher levels of compliance. While women occasionally resisted, the power imbalance did not shift over time, with the pimps continuing to maintain control in all aspects of the women's lives. The implications of the research are far-reaching as they confirm in real-time the temporal patterns of coercive control as marked by long periods of compliance, or "exhaustion phases," interspersed with rarer instances of aggressive, coercive tactics that elicit resistance in victims.

*Keywords:* sex trafficking, coercive control, exhaustion, compliance

Commercial sexual exploitation is a widespread crisis, with estimates of over 4.5 million people forced against their will to engage in sexual labor internationally (Dank et al., 2014). Referred to as a modern-day form of slavery, sex trafficking boasts an illegal and lucrative industry rampant with secrecy, violence, and victimization. Despite a growing awareness of the alarming presence of sex trafficking both internationally and within the United States, actual numbers are not agreed upon, though they are on the rise (Dank et al., 2014). Methods of recognition, research, and prevention are extremely difficult to develop due to the industry's furtive and illicit nature (Dando, Walsh, & Brierley, 2016). The goal of the current study is to examine patterns of coercion in long term sex trafficking relationships using wiretap data between pimps and sex trafficked workers. Investigations resulting in wiretap data between pimps and their sex trafficked victims provide a valuable, rare, and unique lens into the dynamics of coercive control occurring in real time within the illegal and secretive sex trafficking industry. For the purposes of this paper, the labels of "trafficker" and "pimp" will be used interchangeably. Additionally, the vast majority of traffickers are male and victims of sex trafficking are predominantly female, therefore, traffickers will be referred to as "he/him" and victims as "she/her." In the next section, I will define coercive control in depth and how these tactics manifest in pimp-controlled prostitution.

### **Coercive Control in Sex Trafficking**

Conducting research within a field marked by brutality and illegality lends itself to numerous challenges. For the purposes of research, victims of sex trafficking are most accessible once brought into the legal system. Within these cases, survivors are often treated as prostitutes or testify for the defense on behalf of their pimps. This muddies the waters of the reality that is a

violent and abusive industry that capitalizes on and profits from victimization. While kidnapping for the purposes of sex trafficking exists, coerced persuasion is a less recognized method of recruitment into sex trafficking that entails conditioning women into prostitution via manipulation and other coercive control tactics (Stark, 2007). Recently, efforts have been made to study the psychological tactics that occur in trafficker and victim relationships in order to better understand the dynamics that impact legal proceedings of both abuser and victim (Raghavan & Doychak, 2015). A thorough analysis of these tactics within this population is imperative, as victims of sex trafficking experience coercion and victimization in their most extreme forms, beginning during the recruitment phase into the industry (Matthews, 2015).

Recruitment methods include promises of love and security, drug addiction, violence, and threats of indebtedness that leave the women with seemingly no choice but to oblige with the demands of the trafficker or endure harsh consequences (Kennedy, Klein, Bristowe, Cooper, & Yuille, 2007). Although physical force is a tactic of recruitment, it was rarely reported by women as the driving force that ultimately kept them in commercial sex (Kennedy et al., 2007). Sex trafficking is often conceptualized as a crime involving violent, sudden kidnappings. However, reports show that the less overt methods of recruitment are more common and that psychological tactics are utilized to obtain control over victims (Hom & Woods, 2013; Kennedy et al., 2007).

Several models exist that detail the manner in which victims begin sex work, whether it be by force, pressured choice, or coercion (Doychak & Raghavan, 2018). In pimp-controlled prostitution, which is the population of interest for the current study, oftentimes, several women work for the pimp simultaneously and control is exerted via physical and psychological means (Doychak & Raghavan, 2018; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002). The dynamics of coercion

become even more complicated when emotional and/or romantic relationships exist, as the avenues for abuse and coercion increase (Doychak & Raghavan, 2018; Michelson, 2002).

The physical and sexual violence are accompanied with ongoing patterns of coercive control, including tactics of manipulation, exploitation, intimidation, isolation, microregulation, surveillance, degradation, and deception, interspersed with instances of affection and intimacy (Baldwin, Fehrenbacher, & Eisenman, 2014; Hom & Woods, 2013; Raghavan & Doychak, 2015; Raghavan & Doychak, 2018; Stark, 2007). Coercive control is used by abusers to obtain control and instill fear in victims (Stark, 2007). It is a construct difficult to measure, identify, and thereby study, due to the unpredictable patterns of violence, isolation, and intimidation (Stark, 2007).

Inducing exhaustion in victims is a tactic employed to wear down the victim's sense of autonomy. Extended work hours, controlled access to food, water, shelter, and sleep, as well as withheld medical care, are common methods of manipulation and microregulation within sex trafficking rings (Hopper & Hidalgo, 2006; Morselli, 2014). By depriving the women of basic needs, abusers are able to cultivate a dependency that, when combined with forced long working hours and a harrowing living environment, leads to submission and compliance on behalf of the victim (Baldwin, Fehrenbacher, & Eisenman, 2014; Dando et al., 2016). Submission can be explained by the unpredictability of the abusers' behavior which leads the victims to constantly attempt the alleviation of any issues before violence erupts (Hopper & Hidalgo, 2006; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002). Learned helplessness results once victims have concluded that noncompliance is futile and that submission is a protective measure (Hopper & Hidalgo, 2006). This process is understood as a period of exhaustion, in which the victim is worn down and

reinforced to comply with the demands of the trafficker (Hopper & Hidalgo, 2006; Raghavan & Doychak, 2015).

While coercive control interacts with other tactics of control in unique ways depending upon the setting and victim, ultimately, it explains how and why victims grow compliant within abusive relationships (Williams, 2010). Additionally, victims tend to respond to coercion with compliance, as the risk of dangerous, physical punishment is far higher following resistance (Williams, 2010).

Isolation of the victim and the microregulation of her daily activities is a crucial facet of coercive controlling behavior (Barbaro & Raghavan, 2018). By isolating the victim and using microregulation, surveillance, manipulation and threats of violence, the pimp strips his victim of her sense of self, resulting in a life marked by a constant fear and dependency on the pimp (Barbaro & Raghavan, 2018; Kaplenko, Loveland, & Raghavan, 2018). In situations marked by abusive dynamics, power imbalances, and intermittent reward and punishment, women lose their sense of autonomy and take on the views of the abuser as their own (Hom & Woods, 2013; Raghavan & Doychak, 2015). In the following section, I will discuss the difficulties in identifying sex trafficked victims, as well as the challenges in conceptualizing coercive control as static in nature.

### **The Difficulty of Identifying Sex Trafficked Victims: The Role of Coercion**

The differentiation between a “willing” participant in commercial sex and workers who have been trafficked is misunderstood and perceived as unclear. It is commonly assumed that women working in commercial sex consent freely to prostitution, despite evidence of coercion, violence, and intimidation from partners and pimps (Matthews, 2015). Relationship dynamics

vary between sex workers and pimps, ranging from constricted consent to forced methods (Morselli, 2014; Doychak & Raghavan, 2018). While variations exist for willingness to participate in sex work, persuasive forms of recruitment and eventual compliance are often overlooked or mislabeled as acts of free will (Matthews, 2015). In turn, a vast proportion of sex trafficked women are not considered to be victims, but rather agents who actively participate in their own marginalization. Within sex trafficking specifically, it is argued that the role of the victim is blurred due to the fluid and changing implementation of coercive control tactics that foster a power differential between victim and trafficker (Raghavan & Doychak, 2015).

It is important to note the variable nature of controlling tactics by abusers (Raghavan & Doychak, 2015). Traffickers and pimps utilize a myriad of tactics in unpredictable ways and to everchanging degrees, making it even more difficult to identify or anticipate when or what type of abuse is imminent. When initially engulfed within the industry of commercial sex, traffickers cultivate a fostered dependency of the victim for total support, financially and often emotionally (Dalla et al., 2003). This makes escape not only a bleak option but a dangerous one. Controlling behaviors of pimps and traffickers include both violent and nonviolent tactics (Hom & Woods, 2013). Physical abuse exists in the form of beatings, forced drug use, starvation, and rape (Hom & Woods, 2013). Additionally, control is asserted and maintained by traffickers by fostering chemical dependencies (Dalla et al., 2003). Drug and alcohol abuse eventually becomes a seemingly inescapable crutch for the women to cope with their harrowing situation (Dalla et al., 2003; Hom & Woods, 2013). Coerced drug use is also a method utilized to force the women to endure longer shifts (Hom & Woods, 2013). Additionally, sexual access of all the women working for the pimp or trafficker is expected (Dalla et al., 2003). Initially, external threats are

used to break down the victim's personality, leading to guilt, shame, decreased self-esteem, fear, and eventually, attachment (Stark, 2007; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002).

While the methods of exploitation listed are explicitly coercive and forceful in nature, traffickers are increasingly using covert methods, including tactics of psychological abuse, coercion, and manipulation, to assert control over vulnerable, sex trafficked women (Dando et al., 2016; Hom & Woods, 2013). This phase of coercion consists of isolation and learned helplessness, a pattern similar to that of Biderman's framework of coercion (Stark, 2007). As detailed by Biderman's framework, patterns of control involve the installation of chronic stress onto the victims by limiting the victims' coping mechanisms (Baldwin et al., 2014). Traffickers and pimps strip the women of contact from others, isolating them from any source of social support and reinforcing the victims' dependency upon the abuser (Dando et al., 2016). The sex trafficked victims endure aggressive behavior and threats that contribute to a heightened sense of fear, anxiety, and despair, further increasing physical and psychological exhaustion (Dando et al., 2016; Hopper & Hidalgo, 2006; Michelson, 2002; Stark, 2007).

Constant monitoring also contributes to further exhaustion (Stark, 2007). By assessing coercive control in sex trafficking through Biderman's framework, it is evident how the autonomy and free will of the victims is stripped, reinforcing dependence upon the traffickers and pimps (Dando et al., 2016; Matthews, 2015). Stark (2007) also speaks to the absolute control over every facet of sex trafficked workers' lives that abusers hold. Physical violence is used sparingly within this context, according to Stark (2007), as the will of the victim is destroyed, ultimately making it easier for the abuser to control the victim with mainly psychological tactics and fewer physically violent incidents.

Ioannou & Oostinga (2015) conceptualize coercion in a sex trafficking context as best understood through the manipulation via the different roles experienced by the victim. Victims of sex trafficking are assigned various roles as object, vehicle, and person by the trafficker with the ultimate goal being attainment of control (Ioannou & Oostinga, 2015). The victim as an object entails confinement, isolation, and surveillance in order to instill the feeling of possession by trafficker or pimp (Ioannou & Oostinga, 2015). The abuser treats the victim as a vehicle by threatening children she may have or forcing her to witness violence against others (Ioannou & Oostinga, 2015). In the role of victim as a person, the women are further isolated to limit their social interactions to within the sex trafficking ring (Ioannou & Oostinga, 2015).

The conceptualization of abuse against sex trafficked victims within the bounds of these roles is crucial in understanding why identity crises develop amongst victims and why it is sometimes difficult to identify a woman as trafficked (Williams, 2010). Separate identities often form to manage the multiple roles as object, vehicle, and person, though in sex trafficking, these identities often overlap, as violence, control, and abuse occur within each role (Raghavan & Doychak, 2015; Williams, 2010). These more subtle methods of exploitation highlight the complicated process of identifying women as victims of sex trafficking, due to the fluid nature of tactics used to maintain control.

Further contributing to the nuanced identification of a victim of sex trafficking, the relationship between victim and perpetrator becomes even more unique in the context of sex trafficking, as the abuser is the source of pain and relief (Hopper & Hidalgo, 2006; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002). Additionally, sex trafficked victims experience such manipulation via the alternation of affection and abuse that the women perceive fully consenting to their participation

in sexual labor and make what they think is the choice not to leave (Doychak & Raghavan, 2018).

These patterns of coercion, exhaustion, violence, compliance, and resistance have been reported by victims of abuse and sex trafficking. Victims specifically recall periods of alternating compliance and resistance during captivity (Williams, 2010). While self-report of these occurrences by survivors is valuable information, the tactics have yet to be observed in real-time or empirically mapped, based on the inaccessible nature of the sex trafficking industry. Therefore, it is difficult to glean an accurate picture of all the dynamics of abuse and how they interact to result in submission, control, and ultimate compliance of victims of sex trafficking. In conclusion, a deeper analysis of the dynamics of control between pimps and sex trafficked victims is crucial in order to better understand the true nature of sex trafficking, coerced sex work, and their prevalence.

### **Study Overview**

To date, the majority of the existing literature focuses on psychological tactics of control within abusive relationships generally speaking, as well as the negative health outcomes that result from trauma. Sex trafficking is a complicated industry to research, as those involved are a challenging population to access. The current study aims to assess the temporal patterns of coercive control between pimps and victims of sex trafficking. Coercive control tactics utilized and victim responses to coercion were measured. Wiretapped phone conversations between pimps and their sex trafficked workers were transcribed and coded for coercive control tactics and compliant versus resistant victims responses.

Hypothesis 1 a) Pimps and traffickers use microregulation and surveillance within the exhaustion phase as a primary tactic of coercion.

Hypothesis 1 b) Pimps and traffickers use intimidation as a secondary tactic of coercion interspersed between exhaustion phases.

Hypothesis 1 c) The coercive control tactics within the exhaustion phases are correlated with compliant victim responses.

Hypothesis 1 d) The utilization of intimidation by the trafficker is correlated with higher instances of resistant victim responses.

## **Method**

### **Design**

The present study is qualitative in nature and includes wiretap data from a police investigation of two traffickers and four sex trafficked victims. Wiretapped conversations allowed for the analysis of coercive control dynamics between traffickers and victims in real time. The entire dataset includes a four-month period of phone conversations from December 14, 2011 through April 5, 2012. Calls were randomly sampled and coded in consecutive order based on date for coercive control tactics and victim responses. This study included the first 68 calls, from December 14, 2011 through February 16, 2012. The data includes solely information from the wiretapped phone calls and no data from in person conversations. Each pimp and workers' phone conversations were recorded during the wiretap time period. Any information regarding incidents before or after this time period was retrieved from conversations within the calls.

In order to examine the specific factors that facilitate qualitative measures such as coercive control, grounded theory was utilized as a means of preliminarily analyzing the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The current study uses grounded theory to obtain information and themes from the wiretapped conversations that are particularly relevant to coercive control. The grounded theoretical approach guided the analysis towards the development of reliable codes for themes in the wiretapped phone conversations.

### **Participants**

The participants in this study consist of four adult female victims and two adult male traffickers. The participants were located in an urban setting in the United States. The traffickers and victims spent most of their time in close proximity with one another. The victims were

dependant on the traffickers for basic necessities, such as food, shelter, and finances. In addition, traffickers were the primary source of emotional support for the victims, due to the extreme isolation from their family and friends.

### **Materials, Measures, and Procedure**

A hard drive was obtained containing files with wiretap phone calls between the dates of December 14, 2011 and April 5, 2012. All calls were transcribed and ordered by date and month. The phones of each pimp and worker were tapped and thereby recorded and included in the hard drive. Calls within the dataset consisted of conversations between workers, pimps, dealers, and clients or “johns.” The calls were split into halves based on date, from December 14, 2011 to February 13, 2012 and from February 14, 2012 to April 5, 2012. Coding began on the first set of calls from December 14, 2011 to February 13, 2012 which resulted in the analysis of 68 calls. Coding then began on the second set of calls. 14 calls were added from the second set of calls by the commencement of the study. Trained lab members were trained to code for coercive control tactics present. Each call was allotted one code per three minutes within each phone conversation.

At least two raters were assigned to code each call. Any calls with discrepancies in coding results were discussed in the lab for tiebreaking. Any calls with discrepancies in coding were resolved by Dr. Chitra Raghavan and the lab of graduate students. For calls that were longer than three minutes and received more than one code, each sparsing of the conversation was treated as its own call. For example, if a call was five minutes long and received more than one code, it was treated statistically as two calls, to account for the variations in coding. Therefore, while there were 68 calls total in the sample, 75 “datapoints” were included in the

sample. Calls longer than three minutes that required more than one code were essentially treated as separate calls for statistical purposes.

The sampled calls were also coded for victim response codes. There were four codes included within the victim responses: (list A) initial topic, (list B) pimp positivity, (list C) victim behavior/interaction style, and (list D) victim emotional tone/expression. Coders were limited to one code for lists A and B, no matter the length of the calls. Each call was allotted one code per three minutes for lists C and D. For example, if a call was eight minutes long, it would contain anywhere from one to three coercive control codes, one list A victim response code, one list B victim response code, anywhere from one to three list C codes, and anywhere from one to three list D codes. As with the coercive control codes, each call was assigned at least two lab members to code. If any discrepancies arose in coding, they were resolved by tiebreaking in the lab as a whole. The full coding schemes for both coercive control codes and victim response codes can be found in the Appendix.

## **Results**

### **Outcome 1**

The first hypothesis, “Pimps and traffickers use microregulation and surveillance within the exhaustion phase as a primary tactic of coercion,” was confirmed. Microregulation and surveillance, as well as their subtype codes (routine daily activities and routine surveillance) were present in 93.7% of calls. Microregulation and routine daily activities were present in 30.4% of calls and surveillance and routine surveillance were found in 63.3% of calls.

### **Outcome 2**

The second hypothesis, “pimps and traffickers use intimidation as a secondary tactic of coercion interspersed between exhaustion phases,” was also confirmed. Intimidation was present in 17.7% of calls.

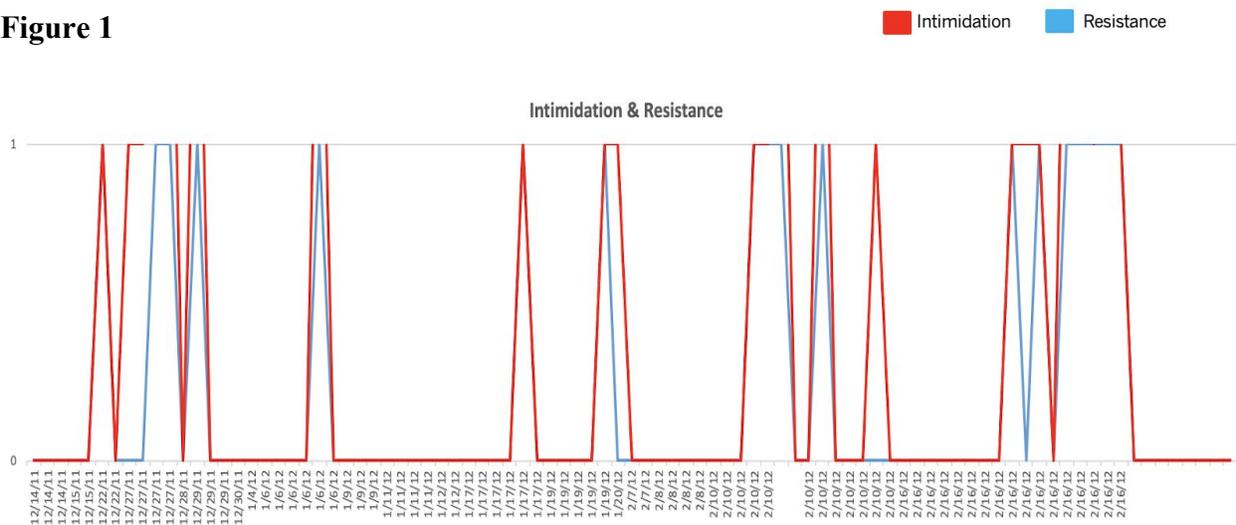
### **Outcome 3**

The third hypothesis, “the coercive control tactics within the exhaustion phases are correlated with compliant victim responses,” was confirmed. When pimps used microregulation or routine daily activities, victims complied 79.2% of the time. When pimps used surveillance or routine surveillance, victims complied 90% of the time. Overall, victims resisted 23.1% of the time and were compliant in 76.9% of calls.

**Outcome 4**

The last hypothesis, “the utilization of intimidation by the trafficker is correlated with higher instances of resistant victim responses,” was confirmed. When pimps used intimidation, victims resistant 71.4% of the time. The co-occurrence of pimp intimidation and resistant victim responses is depicted in Figure 1.

**Figure 1**



### **Discussion**

The existing research on coercive control within a sex trafficking context is robust, though this study is the first to examine these dynamics of control in real time conversations. These findings contribute to the extant literature in a valuable way by temporally mapping the patterns of coercion and victim responses of compliance versus resistance. The results highlight the complex patterns of coercion in a sex trafficking context, marked by long periods of inducing exhaustion interspersed with sporadic intimidation or threats. These findings also shed light on which tactics elicit compliant versus resistant responses amongst victims.

Victims responded compliantly throughout phases of exhaustion, characterized by coercive control tactics such as microregulation and surveillance. More aggressive tactics, such as intimidation, were followed by resistance amongst sex trafficking victims. However, it is important to highlight that despite instances of momentary noncompliance, victims ultimately always complied with the demands of the pimp. This emphasizes the extremity of control by the pimps and subsequent deterioration of autonomy of the victims.

The implications of this research are far reaching, based on the literature surrounding the physical and psychological repercussions of coercive control and violence on survivors. The psychological, abusive methods of control whilst working beneath a trafficker or pimp exist in order to ensure submission, with the consequences lingering long after (Hopper & Hidalgo, 2006). The unpredictable environment that sex trafficked women live within is marked by chronic stress, anxiety, and fear (Hopper & Hidalgo, 2006; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002). Victims of violence therefore suffer from higher levels of depression, posttraumatic stress disorder, and various other trauma symptoms (Anderson & Saunders, 2003; Levine, 2017).

Symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder are also correlated with incidences of violence experienced in one's lifetime (Dalla et al., 2003). Hyperarousal symptoms are particularly prevalent among survivors of sex trafficking (Dalla et al., 2003). Guilt and shame are common emotions with long-lasting effects amongst survivors of sex trafficking (Hom & Woods, 2013; Hopper & Hidalgo, 2006).

Anxiety, insomnia, fatigue, aggression, irritability, and social withdrawal are other negative health outcomes in survivors of sex trafficking (Levine, 2017). Common physical health risks include infectious diseases, sexually transmitted diseases, addiction, and withdrawal from alcohol and drug dependencies (Hopper & Hidalgo, 2006; Levine, 2017). Psychosomatic symptoms, such as sleep disturbances, eating disorders, and self-harm, are not uncommon consequences that impact daily functioning, even when imminent threats are no longer present (Hopper & Hidalgo, 2006; Williams, 2010). Victims are at higher risk of contracting various physical illnesses, as the body constantly strives to achieve homeostasis and heal a suppressed immune system (Hopper & Hidalgo, 2006).

Understanding the wide range of symptoms experienced by survivors of violence is vital in understanding the high-risk environment victims are trafficked into. In addition, empirical evidence of the health repercussions that trafficking and violence have on survivors is vital in order for medical and mental health professionals to best serve this community. Based on the research that exists, trauma-informed approaches to therapy and public health outreach programs are the resulting major implications for victims of sex trafficking (Hom & Woods, 2013). Researchers have made meaningful contributions to the growing body of literature on sex trafficking, though it is important to note that a portion of the information has been adapted from

more accessible sources, such as victims of domestic violence and intimate partner violence. While this information is valuable, applying what is known about the dynamics of coercive control within a sex trafficking context is necessary in order to best serve this population of victims.

### **Limitations**

The access to naturalistic observations through wiretap data is a rare and valuable opportunity for empirical analysis, however there are limitations that exist. The information derived from this research is based solely upon the phone conversations that were transcribed and coded. Due to technical difficulties, some calls were dropped mid-conversation. Additionally, no information was gathered from in-person interactions, leaving gaps in the data. No information existed regarding when each woman was trafficked and began working with the pimps. Access to this information could explain differences in attachment style and victim responses.

It is also important to note that the sex trafficking ring in this study was limited geographically. Therefore, differences may exist depending on location, whether within the United States or internationally, including different victim responses and pimping styles. Applying the findings of the present study to other sex trafficking rings must be done with caution, as the results may not be generalizable due to variations in the factors mentioned.

### **Future Research**

Future directions for research should examine coercive control and victim response patterns in other sex trafficking rings in order to support the current study's findings of exhaustion phases, victim compliance, intermittent aggression, and victim resistance.

Additionally, analyzing these relationships over a longer period of time would provide valuable information regarding how these dynamics evolve over time. For example, how do coercive control tactics shift based on how long the woman has been trafficked?

Further research should compare and contrast victim responses to various other forms of coercive control, such as degradation, manipulation, and isolation. In addition, temporally mapping all coercive control tactics would allow for a more informative picture of the ways in which these tactics are implemented over time. Victim awareness of potential cognitive shifts is another valuable route for future research. In doing so, we can better understand the nuances of submission of the victim and further explore momentary resistance yet ultimate compliance.

Finally, ensuring the education of clinicians, researchers, and particularly officials within the criminal justice system is paramount. Emphasizing the nuances of victimization and coercion within the industry of sex trafficking is imperative in order to shift the focus from criminalization of solicitation of prostitution to education, thereby supporting the victims. In doing so, health and legal professionals can better meet the needs of victims via methods of prevention, intervention, and rehabilitation.

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## Appendix

### Coercive Control Codes

No Evidence of Coercion/Subcoercion

Surveillance

- monitoring location and/or activities of target

Microregulation

- controlling aspects of target's everyday life, daily tasks, and/or daily functioning

Manipulation/Exploitation

- using intentional deceit, misrepresentation, or existing vulnerabilities to induce compliance and/or alter the target's perception

Isolation

- restricting or denying access to family, friends, people, or places

Intimidation

- engaging in behaviors to induce fear, self-blame, or compliance, with or without the threat of physical harm

Deprivation

- denying target basic necessities and/or fundamental needs
  - physical or physiological (e.g., denial of medicine, food, sleep, etc.)
  - emotional (e.g., denial of warmth, support, etc.)

\*\*\*\* *For use when she explicitly asks/requests or states a need, or by a reasonable person standard*

Degradation

- using directly degrading language

Relevant subcodes:

- Routine Surveillance – nonviolent, non-threatening, seemingly “normal” checkins
  - Initiated by: Male or Female
- Routine Daily Activities- control of daily activities that does not meet requirement for micro, yet still involves regulation of day-to-day behaviors
  - *No "right" to say no to requests or expectations*

\*\*\*\**Helpful to consider how “routine” codes are a mirror—rather than a subcategory—of surveillance and microregulation*

**Victim Codes**

Initial Topic: \_\_\_\_\_ A \_\_\_\_\_

Shift 1 (if applicable): \_\_\_\_\_ A \_\_\_\_\_  
*Under 3 minutes, only 1 topic/no shifts\*\*\*\**

## List A:

- Check in – when callers check in (no other content)
- Drugs – any call with dealer or about drugs
- Financial – when any topic of money arises
- Food – when the callers discuss eating
- Group – when callers discuss things pertaining to the group of women working for Greg
- Location – when location of either caller is discussed or daily tasks
- Police – calls about authorities, arrest, etc.
- Johns/Sex/Dates – calls about dates, johns, etc.
- Conflict – conflict between callers or within group
- Prostitution – “work” related calls/topics, *possible summary code*
- Other: \_\_\_\_\_

He was: Positive/ Other

Positive must *be clear, verbal, linguistic, explicit\*\*\*\**

If Positive: \_\_\_\_\_ B \_\_\_\_\_

## List B:

- Praise
- Compliments
- Social support
- Warmth
- Reward
- Apology
- Other: \_\_\_\_\_

She was:

Behavior/ Interaction Style: \_\_\_\_\_ C \_\_\_\_\_

List C:

- Submissive- (Begging, Pleading, Need to Please)
- Apologetic
- Compliance (Obedient, Following Orders)
  
- Defensive (Self-Blame present)
- Blame others
- Blame the self
- Over-explanatory – *Level of detail reasonable by the reasonable person's standard? \*\*\*\**
- Justifying – *reasonable explanation by the reasonable person's standard? \*\*\*\**
  
- Resistant (Absence of Self-Blame)
- Defiant
  
- Standard “Business as Usual”
- Expressing Accomplishment/ Achievement

Emotional Tone/ Expression: \_\_\_\_\_ D \_\_\_\_\_

List D:

- Tearful
- Regressive/Infantile
- Nervous/Anxious
- Disengaged
- Angry
- Assertive
  
- Matter-Of-Fact
- Hesitant/ Guarded
- Neutral
  
- Proud
- Cheerful
- Other: \_\_\_\_\_