

## Sex trafficking: an exploratory study interviewing traffickers

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**Abstract** This paper presents the research methodology of an exploratory study interviewing human traffickers. Utilizing open-ended, semi-structured qualitative interviews with traffickers, exploratory research was conducted in 2003. With an overall goal of understanding the human trafficking phenomenon from the standpoint of those individuals who support, reproduce, and actively work to sustain it, our research questions focused on how traffickers make sense of their position within the illegal market of sex trafficking. Other thematic questions included characteristics and personal dimensions of the traffickers, reasons they entered the business, their perceptions of the business, and their opinions of those they traffic. For the purpose of this paper, we will address the difficulty and simplicity of conducting interviews with human traffickers. Information about the research project in general, methods used, ethical considerations, and thematic scope will also be addressed with a final discussion section highlighting advantages and disadvantages of methods used.

**Keywords** Trafficking · Human trafficking · Sex trafficking · Interviews

The illegal trafficking of persons is generally understood as “the transportation of persons through deception or coercion into exploitative or slavery-like conditions” (Anderson and O’Connell Davidson 2002: 33). Illegal trafficking of human beings has become an international business affecting all countries. However, the illegal trafficking phenomenon is not new. What is new is the global sophistication,

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complexity, consolidation of trafficking networks, as well as an increasing number of women and children who are trafficked each year (Farr 2005; Hughes 2001a; Raymond et al. 2004; Richard 1999). It is estimated that between 700,000 to four million women and children are trafficked internationally each year into illegal sex and labor industries creating an estimated annual “shadow profit” of seven billion dollars from sex trafficking alone (Blank 2007). Importantly, these preliminary estimates do not include intracountry trafficking.<sup>1</sup> Due to the incessant changing clandestine nature of human trafficking, data representing the annual number of victims trafficked is only rough at best. However, while there are conflicting definitions and inconsistent estimates of the nature and scope of human trafficking, a wide range of researchers and academics acknowledge that the illegal trafficking of human beings is a growing social phenomenon greatly in need of continued research (e.g., Anderson and O’Connell Davidson 2002, 2003; Bales 1999; Coalition Against Trafficking in Women [CATW] 1998; Farr 2005; Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women [GAATW] 2001; Hughes 2000, 2001a, b, 2002; McMahon and Stanger 2002; Raymond et al. 2004).

Accurate numbers of trafficked humans are hard to ascertain for various reasons. First, only recently has the phenomenon of human trafficking been addressed as a global social problem making it a modern-day priority for human rights organizations and international legislative bodies. Secondly, the definition of trafficking, let alone human trafficking, is widely contested.<sup>2</sup> Thirdly, the criminal nature of the problem at hand has consequences for what activities are measured and how. There is a massive “dark figure” of crime associated with the phenomenon whereas the amount of collected rates of victims who are trafficked and rates of those human traffickers fail to be adequately reported (Young 1999). It is nearly impossible to estimate the true numbers of women, men, and children who are trafficked each year. Further, what research there is tends to focus only on the victims of human trafficking, usually after they are released from trafficking circles or rescued by enforcement officials (Anderson and O’Connell Davidson 2002; Farr

<sup>1</sup> Here, intracountry trafficking is defined as those human beings trafficked within their own country of residence.

<sup>2</sup> Though trafficking of humans is an age-old phenomenon, it was not until December of 2000 that the international community reached a consensus on a common normative definition on trafficking in humans (called “trafficking in persons”). During the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime held in Palermo Italy, *The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children* was the first international agreement to provide a framework for law reform and the criminalization of human trafficking (Bindman 1997; CATW 1998; GAATW 1996). For the purposes of this research, the definition of “trafficking in persons” within the casually known Palermo Protocol remains a core reference and reads:

“Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the position of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.”

For further information on conflicting opinions on this above definition, please see Bindman (1997), CATW (1998), GAATW (1996), McMahon and Stanger (2002), and Troshynski and Blank (2006).

2005; GAATW 2001; GAATW 1996; Raymond et al. 2004). Therefore, when researching human trafficking, it becomes relevant to note that there has not been an adequate amount of research presented on the actual traffickers themselves.

There has been little, if any, research that directly examines the organization of human traffickers from the standpoint of their personal lived realities. Only a scarce amount of research has focused on those who participate with the business of trafficking and naught is known about the structure of their trafficking networks. Additionally, we do not yet understand why these men enter the business of human trafficking. Common stereotypes insinuate that greed, money, and power attract these men but nothing else is known as to whether or not these supposed reasons are their only motivations (Blank 2003, 2007). It therefore becomes necessary to focus on the multidimensional trend of illegal trafficking of human beings from the perceptions of those who actively work to sustain it including their discernment, justifications, and understandings of the business of human trafficking. Moreover, it becomes imperative to understand how clandestine systems and processes are developed and maintained, allowing trafficking of men, women and children to transpire.

With a goal of alleviating past research shortfalls, we wished to interview human traffickers. Qualitative interviews were used as a main research methodology where we attempted to understand participant's perceptions of the human trafficking experience including their opinions of the sex tourism industry and violence against women (Troshynski and Blank 2006). We aspired to develop a typology of human trafficking that explained the multidimensional phenomenon of the illegal trafficking business. In doing so, interviews conducted by the research team in 2003 addressed a series of research questions associated with characteristics of individuals involved in the trafficking of human beings including their lived experiences as well as their understanding of the business of human trafficking (Blank 2003, 2007; Troshynski and Blank 2006).<sup>3</sup> This study was not funded and is not published in its entirety.<sup>4</sup> For the purpose of this paper, we will address the difficulty and simplicity of conducting interviews with human traffickers. Issues related to research methodology, interview procedures, ethics, as well as advantages, disadvantages and methodological limitations will be highlighted throughout. Information about the research project in general, sampling methods used, access, interview setting, and thematic scope will also be addressed.

## **Method: interviews with traffickers**

### **An exploratory approach**

At the time of this research project (2003), we were unaware of any previous research that focused specifically on and interviewed human traffickers. Therefore,

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<sup>3</sup> Our research team included Jennifer K. Blank as Principle Investigator (PI) and Emily I. Troshynski as Co-Investigator (Co-PI). For all functions of the research project, Blank performed primary research activities, created the script, conducted all interviews, and lead all observations while Troshynski helped with research and worked as the note-taker and secondary observer.

<sup>4</sup> Please see Blank (2007) for several preliminary research findings with more publications to follow.

this project took on the form of an exploratory research venture. Guided by a sincere hope to develop theory, the primary purpose of this exploratory research project was initial discovery via qualitative methodology.<sup>5</sup> For the research team, the importance of utilizing qualitative methodologies included the provision of a research vision namely “where it is that the analyst wants to go with the research,” the flexibility to get there, and the ability to interpret and analyze raw data (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 8). We adhered to the notion that qualitative interviews relied on the participant’s ability to make sense of their world and why it continues to exist.

As provided within the grounded theory approach developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), the main purpose of interviewing human traffickers was to design typology or theory; to develop an empirically grounded theory via observations and interviews. Because of our emphasis in developing grounded theory, our overall research strategy included open-ended, semi-structured, exploratory qualitative interviews with traffickers themselves. Qualitative methods by way of semi-structured and open-ended exploratory interviews were used to gain a novel understanding of and discover a substantive area about which little was known giving us unique insight into the phenomenon of trafficking from the perspective of the human trafficker (Strauss and Corbin 1998; Stern 1980). Seeking new information about and new perspective on the topic at hand, exploratory interviews are exceptionally open with minimal structure giving the researcher the opportunity to follow up on participant’s answers and to pose applicable questions not prepared in advance. Our exploratory interviews were atypically semi-structured promoting very specific thematic questions throughout the interview process.

### Thematic interviews

In our research the personal dimensions of the human trafficker were explored with a main goal of understanding the trafficking phenomenon from the standpoint of those human traffickers who actively support, reproduce, and work to sustain it. The main research question posed: How do human traffickers make sense of their positions in the illegal market of trafficking in women for prostitution? Several questions were divided into three separate thematic categories. The first included prompts that focused on descriptions of why human traffickers initially become involved with illegal human trafficking, their original and sustained motivations behind the desire to become occupied with the business, and their overall perceptions and justifications of their entrepreneurial involvement. Then, based on their involvement, follow-up questions queried how human traffickers construct their social and/or economic justifications for their participation in the business of human trafficking. From this first thematic scheme of questions posed, we wished to recognize strategies used to substantiate participant’s actions and roles within the illegal business of human trafficking.

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<sup>5</sup> Here, qualitative research is understood as that which produces findings without the use of statistical procedures. This process is contrasted to quantitative verification of research hypotheses derived from general theoretical ideas.

The second and third thematic categories sought to ascertain participant's personal perceptions of those individuals they trafficked. Supplementary inquiries throughout section two questioned their discernment towards women and the prostitution business more generally including their thoughts on sex tourism, prostitution, and male clients who purchase sex. Finally, the third category brought up questions related specifically to the trafficking of women for the sex industry. Prompts throughout this section focused on participant's thoughts of women trafficked into prostitution rings and/or the sex tourism industry including several descriptive queries related to the observed ethnicity and age of women trafficked. Each interview closed by questioning how the participants felt about violence against women generally, whether or not violence is used in the sex industry and whether or not violence is used during the trafficking of humans (Blank 2003; Troshynski and Blank 2006).

### Gaining access

Gaining access to the world of human trafficking was the biggest challenge to this initial research project. During the preliminary stages of finding and making a contact, we followed Polsky's (1967) recommendations that initial introductions to criminals (here traffickers) in the field may be gained by frequenting their haunts. When looking for adequate sources of information on deviant hangouts, we were also aware of Becker's (1963) recommendations to contact local cabdrivers, reporters, bartenders, bouncers, and cops. Well known local hangouts as well as areas of prostitution were established through months of casual conversations with bouncers, bar tenders, cab drivers, cops and club goers. Finally, after months of actively seeking out and meeting several interesting characters, we made contact with our "gatekeeper," an individual willing to accept the purpose of the study and vouch for our presence in the field (Hagan 2003: 220).

Our gatekeeper was previously known to us as a local worker with several odd jobs throughout London, England. In his mid-twenties, he worked for numerous clubs, bars, and restaurants. He lived in London for approximately seven years and seemed to be very familiar with, and knew other individuals who worked for the hospitality/nightlife industry. One Friday night in February of 2003, we were at a restaurant where he happened to be working and ended up discussing our research interests with him. When we brought up our academic fervor for issues related to violence against women and trafficking of women for the sex industry he stated, "I know some guys who do that."<sup>6</sup> Since he was busy working, at that time we were unable to have a detailed conversation with him but discovered that he knew of or had other acquaintances that worked odd jobs and occasionally trafficked men, women and children, for "an extra buck."<sup>7</sup> He mentioned to us that he did not know these individuals well but that he had overheard a few conversations regarding the trafficking of persons for extra income. Nothing more was said or expected that night.

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<sup>6</sup> While searching for our contact, we both kept a running journal of notes and observations. This quote was remembered and recorded within our research journals.

<sup>7</sup> Again, this quote was remembered and recorded within our research journals. To us, "an extra buck" was just a term used by the contact when casually discussing money. Future interviews would reveal that those "extra buck(s)" were actually United States Dollar bills and not British Pounds as originally assumed.

Reflecting upon this original conversation several years later, we realize that our lack of follow-up that night was almost certainly due to a sense of doubt, perhaps even shock. We were surprised that we happened to come across such important information so causally and matter-of-fact. This was what we were waiting for yet for some reason, we were a little unsure about what the next step should be. Perhaps it was the location of the restaurant (a busy restaurant on a Friday night), our disbelief in the information we just overheard, or even our confusion over what steps to take next. Either way, we felt like we needed a plan, an organized and well-thought out procedure on what to do next. The weeks following this conversation were filled with us talking to our academic advisors and discussing the research possibilities with other faculty members and peers.

The following month, we ran into our contact again, this time working at a trendy club in the West End of London. He quickly described to us follow-up conversations he had with his acquaintances/co-workers acknowledging to us that he did overhear the previous conversations correctly and that a few of his acquaintances did, from time to time, traffic individuals to make extra money. During this timely exchange, we politely and discretely mentioned to him that we would be very interested in meeting with his so-called acquaintances. He told us that he would “see what he could do.”<sup>8</sup> The following week, we returned to the trendy club to see if he was working that night. We were in luck! He informed us that his acquaintances were willing to meet.

Access to this new social underground world of sex traffickers and participants was gained and made accessible via this helpful gatekeeper. The gatekeeper facilitated a snowball sampling framework used to promote our interviews. Most importantly, introductions made through our trusted insider immediately established a sense of openness, comfortable for those participants involved with the research interviews. Eventually, five traffickers were made available via our contact but, due to last minute scheduling conflicts on the end of the participants, we were only able to interview three.

### Ethical considerations

Beyond the unique knowledge sought by means of these exploratory interviews, the overarching rationale of the research project was considered in light of and with regard to the human phenomenon investigated. For us, ethical considerations did not lend itself only to a separate stage of final analysis, but arose and progressed throughout the research process in its entirety. It was important for us to consider ethics at the forefront of the design stage through to its final analysis. Kvale and others recommend that an “ethical protocol” be developed “treating ethical issues that can be anticipated in an investigation” (1996: 112).<sup>9</sup> Before actual interviews

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<sup>8</sup> Again, this quote was remembered and recorded within our research journals.

<sup>9</sup> Other than Kvale (1996), please see Emerson (2001) for a very thorough review of ethical considerations including issues and dilemmas (pp. 134–41, 301, 312–15), avoiding harm to those studied (pp. 139–41, 312–16), and preserving informant confidentiality (pp. 270–71, 276–79). For information regarding ethical considerations and personal safety, please see Berg (2004).

were conducted, Blank's academic institution required such a document, as well as a standard human subjects protocol and letters of support from academic advisers.

Common ethical considerations included informed consent, confidentiality and privacy. Since it is the researcher's responsibility to "ensure that the physical, social and psychological well-being of research participants is not adversely affected by [the] research," establishing consent and maintaining rapport by means of confidentiality and privacy was imperative (Blank 2003; British Sociological Association [BSA] 1992: 704). In the beginning, introductions were made and we commenced the conversation by explaining to the participants that the purpose of the research was not to be invasive. Rather, only an attempt to "make sense" of the trafficking business through their lived experiences (Blank 2003). After discussing the overall design of the interviews with each participant, informed consent was requested. We also asked for their verbal consent in agreeing to their answers being manually recorded. Once voluntary participation was mutually acknowledged, we also informed each participant of their right to withdraw from the interview at any point in time making it very clear that if they had questions throughout the interview, they should feel free to ask for any clarification.

Creswell (2003: 65) stresses "the ethical code for researchers is to protect the privacy of the participants and to convey this protection to all individuals involved in [the] study." Other ethical contemplations included thoughts on the overall protection of participant's privacy which integrated the changing of their names and identifying features for future analysis, presentation, and publication. In order to ensure future privacy and anonymity for the traffickers, their residential locations and occupations were never discussed. The research team strived to "protect the rights of those stud[ied], their interests, sensitivities and privacy, while recognizing the difficulty of balancing potentially conflicting interests" (Blank 2003; BSA 1992: 704). In keeping with this ideal, we withheld any preconceived notions and stereotypes. As discussed by Berg (2004); Emerson (2001); Reinharz (1992) and Thorne (1980), even though we did reveal the specific focus of our research and intent to participants, we did hold back from explaining our primary analytical concerns and commitments.<sup>10</sup>

### Conducting interviews

Interviews occurred over the course of three months and are to be considered as a very preliminary educational and research tool, valuable due to the unique insights into the illegal business of trafficking. Conducted while we were living in London, interviews were set up through our gatekeeper and occurred sporadically. When conducting interviews with sensitive subjects, we always kept in mind that the

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<sup>10</sup> Many researchers and academics recommend that social science research maintain a value neutral position where researchers are expected to study the world around them and their participants as external investigators neither imposing their own views nor taking any stands on social or political issues. Involving agreeable strategies that listen more and talk less, feminist researchers have developed research orientations that are comfortable for both researchers and subjects involved. We aligned ourselves with this epistemological standpoint and encouraged a humanized research process where we became involved with our subjects while still maintaining a very reflective awareness of our own thoughts. For further information, please see Reinharz (1992).

overall goal is to remain appreciative for the distinctive opportunity and to go out of your way to make sure that an interview could successfully transpire. In order to have each trafficker reveal as much applicable information as possible without feeling uncomfortable, we were also resolute in our efforts to be friendly and agreeable throughout the entire interview.

Interviews conducted were not static in time or location. As an alternative, all interviews were conducted at numerous locations, conscientious and attentive to the desired needs of each participant. We acknowledged our responsibility to conduct each interview in an environment that was comfortable for the participants. When interviews were scheduled, we would meet at their ideal café, restaurant, bar, and on one occasion, a movie theatre. Sometimes we would meet our participants for lunch or coffee while other times we would meet before their late night work shift. For all interviews, the location was always in a public venue.<sup>11</sup> However, the participants always chose the actual private location of the interview within the previously selected public location. In essence, they were choosing a location within a location. For example, one participant wanted to meet at one of his current places of work, a club in North London. In choosing his interview location within a location, this participant purposely scheduled the interview before business hours maintaining a public yet private atmosphere. Another participant wanted to meet over coffee. He chose to meet us at a local movie theatre between showings. His preferred interview location within a location was a small café area within and off to one side of a public movie theatre.

As mentioned previously, we recognized the importance of privacy hence all traffickers interviewed were given pseudonyms and any physical or demographic descriptions were limited. To protect the participants from any possible future voice identification, a tape recorder was not used. In fact, due to ethical and safety concerns expressed by Blank's academic institution, we were not allowed to tape-record conversations with our participants in the first place. As an alternative, drawing on previous field research experience, all interviews were recorded manually while the lead researcher (Blank) personally interviewed each participant, maintaining eye contact at all times. Utilizing previously learned short-hand procedures, all responses and conversations were hand recorded onto a blank script with pen and paper by the co-investigator (Troshynski). Each interview varied in length from 45 minutes to well over two hours. At the end of each interview, the purpose of the study was explained again to each participant. We made sure to ask if they had any questions of us and thanked them for their time.

## **Advantages, disadvantages and other considerations**

### Advantages of interview procedures

The style of exploratory semi-structured interviews promotes flexibility, comfort, and rapport highlighting many advantages and disadvantages (Creswell and Miller

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<sup>11</sup> We did not have access to research offices or institutional classrooms. Knowing this location limitation beforehand, we agreed and arranged to only meet participants at public locations.



2000; Hagan 2003). There are numerous advantages to the exploratory interview approach as utilized here for the 2003 human trafficker research project. First of all, research on the men who are involved in the business of illegal human trafficking is extremely rare. For us, the foremost desirability of such rare interviews included the opportunity provided for individual contact between the researcher and the subject. Due to the personal face-to-face nature of the interviews, higher response rates were acquired when compared to other forms of instrumentation (Creswell and Miller 2000; Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 2000; Hagan 2003; Reinhartz 1992). We strongly believed that such a unique situation presented countless possibilities for education and further understanding of a topic that both of us were genuinely interested in.

For us personally, some of the greatest advantages associated with conducting interviews included “being on the scene” (Hagan 2003). This experience presented the opportunity to clear up any misunderstandings or confusions that the participants may have had while interpreting questions that were asked. At the same time, the flexible structure of the interviews characterized by face-to-face correspondence promoted the opportunity to address any confusions or questions experienced throughout the duration of the conversation. Together, these advantages lent themselves to an atmosphere that was always comfortable and mutually beneficial: We were able to ask follow-up questions for clarification and additional data gathering while the participants were able to ask questions of us.

Additionally, we acted as observers, not only recording verbal responses to questions asked, but also making notes on impressions we had of the participant and his surrounding environment (Goffman 1967). Because of the promotion of such a free exchange, it is our opinion that semi-structured interviews encompassing open-ended questions did not place any constraints on the participant’s answers, nor did it produce answers that were swayed by current policies against trafficking. In all honesty, we were actually stunned by how comfortable, candid and open the participants were with us.

### Disadvantages and limitations of interview procedures

As with any research methodology, disadvantages of interviews made possible by a snowball sampling framework also presented themselves. Prior to conducting the interviews, we were both acutely aware of the disadvantages experienced when utilizing a snowball sampling framework for collecting qualitative data. Being dependent upon a main contact as a source facilitated numerous limitations to this study. Initial goals of interviewing a high number of traffickers did not actually transpire. Originally, we were told by our contact that he could introduce us to several acquaintances. As we have mentioned, five interviews were scheduled but only three emerged. We were at the disposal of our gatekeeper’s known information of his acquaintances including their work and personal schedule, his work and personal schedule and conflicting time schedules. Miscommunications also occurred as well. For example, specific time schedules were made and, at times, the contact would fail to communicate the precise time of the interview to the potential participant. The lack of personal control over scheduling meant precious time wasted as a consequence of such miscommunications.

Due to the simple notion that we were two women interviewing men in the business of trafficking women, limitations due to possible gender effects became a viable concern (Emerson 2001; Reinhartz 1992). We were two researches in our mid-20s and had understandable apprehension towards interviewing men who trafficked women. Because of this potentially precarious research relationship, we were relentlessly cognizant of any disadvantages or limitations that could transpire. In order to minimize such research effects, we relied heavily upon each other for support, our agreeable demeanor, and our previously created interview script. It should be said that we were never concerned for our safety; indeed we felt safe, comfortable, and secure in our educational/research training as well as the research positions we were placing ourselves in. Conversely, we were more worried about the participating traffickers not answering truthfully.<sup>12</sup>

## Discussions and conclusions

The greatest strength of any interview procedure used to collect detailed information includes depth, variability and flexibility. The information collected through our semi-structured interviews was rich and substantial. Limitations to these types of research methodologies highlight a systematic account from only key informants therefore reducing our ability to draw clear and succinct causal inferences. In order to increase rates of reliability, key questions were asked multiple times in varying ways throughout the interview. Answers given were then later analyzed to make sure that discrepancies were lacking. Regardless of any possible negative aspects of semi-structured interview techniques employed via a snowball sampling framework, we strongly believe that positive gains have been and will continue to be made. It is our hope that the qualitative data collected inductively through our interviews with human traffickers will assist in the development of grounded theory.

The purpose of grounded theory research and analysis is to promote discovery, achieve analytic generalization, and to encourage the generation and expansion of meaningful concepts in an area that has not been fully explored. In the vein of other researchers who utilize such methodologies, we anticipate that our study has and will have continued relevance for both nonacademic and academic audiences alike. The results of these exploratory interviews are greatly beneficial for a number of reasons. Increased awareness and a clearer understanding of trafficking of human beings can now be understood from a very different perspective; from the acuity of the trafficker.

Findings and analyses from the interviews (not discussed here) provide innovative information concerning the trafficking business previously unknown to those of us who study trafficking. New insights into the minds of the men working in the human

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<sup>12</sup> We were also worried about other disadvantages associated with academic repercussions. Since most of the previous research conducted on trafficking tends to focus predominately on the powerlessness of the victims rather than the super-ordinate position of the men, personal concerns included negative feedback from both intended and unintended audiences. Being young academics just starting out in our careers, we were worried about conflicting findings, contradictions to previous research, or differing opinions of preconceived notions about trafficking.

trafficking business highlight their justifications, how they make sense of the trafficking industry and their role(s) in the business of human trafficking. Other findings include detailed information on trafficking routes, an analysis of the insider's perspective of why the trafficking industry continues to grow, the "how's," "why's," and to what extent traffickers themselves support the continuation of the illegal trafficking business, and their thoughts on violence against women as a means to maintaining masculine dominance.

To conclude, the international community has recognized human trafficking as a significant problem yet only now are we beginning to understand the multidimensional issues surrounding this phenomenon. The qualitative data gathered and analyzed throughout this exploratory study will help the global community understand complicated problems related to supply and demand of trafficked humans for labor (specifically those trafficked for sex-tourism) as well as the role of the human trafficker. Through the experiences, justifications, and perceptions of these men, it is our conjecture that an immeasurable amount of information has and will be learned. It is our expectation that this research project, as exploratory as it is, could lead to a more comprehensive understanding of the trafficking business and it is our hope that a rich theoretical conception of the global trafficking business, including perceptions of violence against women, will be formulated from the ground up. For us, it is important to "release the details of the research with the study of the design so that the readers can determine for themselves the credibility of the study" (Neuman 2003). We are in the process of publishing major findings in the hopes that qualitative information collected could persuade other researchers to develop and expand upon new understandings of the human trafficking phenomenon.

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