August 2013

Indicators of Labor Trafficking Among North Carolina Migrant Farmworkers

Final Report

Prepared for

National Institute of Justice
810 7th Street
Washington, DC 20531

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Abstract

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Human trafficking is a hidden problem of unknown numbers and unsubstantiated estimates. Among known trafficking cases, nearly 80% have been sex trafficking. However, it is suspected that labor trafficking is underidentified (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2009). The purpose of the current study is to investigate potential correlates of labor trafficking in an effort to identify indicators of labor trafficking that could be used by state and local law enforcement as signals that labor trafficking may be taking place in their communities. The study sought to achieve two goals: (1) document the characteristics and indicators of labor trafficking, including component crimes, collateral crimes, and other community impacts; and (2) provide law enforcement with actionable knowledge to help identify labor trafficking.

RESEARCH DESIGN

We used the rapid appraisal method (RAM), an applied ethnographic method characterized by collecting data from multiple sources to triangulate findings (Bergeron, 1999; Crawford, 1997). The data collection strategies included stakeholder interviews, a farmworker survey, and secondary community data (demographics, labor, and crime).

FINDINGS

The major findings of the study include the following.

- Whereas law enforcement respondents were insistent that farmworkers were treated well, outreach workers, who have more contact with farmworkers, reported that they were frequently abused and exploited.
- About one-quarter of farmworker respondents reported ever experiencing a situation that may constitute trafficking, and 39% reported other abuse.

- The most common type of exploitation was abusive labor practices (34%), followed by deception and lies (21%), restriction and deprivation (15%), and threats to physical integrity (12%).
- Workers with greater English proficiency were more likely to experience any violation and trafficking, but English proficiency was not associated with non-trafficking abuse.
- A worker's lack of legal status was the strongest and most consistent predictor of experiencing trafficking and other violations.
- Workers in counties with moderate and large Hispanic populations were less likely to report all types of victimization than were those from counties with relatively small Hispanic populations.
- Trafficking and non-trafficking abuse were less common in counties with a high proportion of the labor force employed in agriculture than in counties with low levels of agriculture.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

First, it is important to recognize that labor trafficking has a law enforcement identity problem, which makes it difficult for government agencies to develop effective counter-strategies. Additionally, there are no easy solutions to rampant trafficking violations and gross exploitation of farmworkers. However, measures can still be devised to investigate and prosecute the most egregious forms of trafficking violations. Because law enforcement representatives often do not view labor trafficking either as a problem or as a law enforcement issue, training on investigation and prosecutorial guidance are key activities for sensitizing local law enforcement personnel to the various aspects of labor trafficking and preparing them to address it. Investigation and prosecution efforts require close collaboration with community-based organizations that have much closer interactions with unauthorized immigration populations. Perhaps one of the most effective ways to reduce labor trafficking is awareness campaigns, including flyers and billboards, particularly in areas with large immigrant populations. The idea is not to catch traffickers per se, but to create a social environment that becomes sensitized to

trafficking activities and labor law violations and safely makes services available to victims.

The primary limitation of this study is our use of systematic but not probabilistic sampling methods to identify respondents. Our research procedures also resulted in our interviewing farmworkers who were not hidden and who were willing and able to talk with us. Thus, our findings are not generalizable and most likely represent an underestimate of exposure to trafficking and other abuse.

Acknowledgements

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The authors thank our community partners, including Student Action with Farmworkers, for their guidance and assistance in developing strategies to identify and recruit farmworkers to participate and for their assistance in training our field interviewers. We acknowledge Deborah Gibbs for assistance and input throughout the project, as well as Cindy J. Smith for help and support during the early part of the project. Dr. Smith was an important contributor to the original study design, the development of the stakeholder interview instrument, and early work on the farmworker interview instrument. Any errors are those of the authors.

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Executive Summary

ES-1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Human trafficking is a hidden problem of unknown numbers and unsubstantiated estimates. Among known trafficking cases, nearly 80% have been cases involving sex trafficking. However, it is suspected that labor trafficking is underidentified (United Nations, 2009). Research involving systematic data collection and quantitative analysis is limited and has focused on sex trafficking almost "to the detriment of investigating trafficking for bonded labor and domestic servitude" (Goździak & Bump, 2008, p. 7). In recent years, research has focused on distinguishing sex trafficking victims from prostitution by identifying factors in prostitution cases that may indicate sex trafficking (Newton, Mulcahy, & Martin, 2008) and examining cases of component crimes to determine whether they include potential sex trafficking (Farrell, McDevitt, & Fahy, 2008). However, much less is known about indicators of labor trafficking. Labor trafficking may be more difficult to identify than sex trafficking for a number of reasons, including lack of awareness and understanding by law enforcement, entanglement with illegal immigration, and coexistence with other criminal activities.

The purpose of the current study is to investigate potential correlates of labor trafficking in an effort to identify indicators of labor trafficking that could be used by state and local law enforcement as signals that labor trafficking may be taking place in their communities. The study sought to achieve two goals: (1) document the characteristics and indicators of labor trafficking, including component crimes, collateral crimes, and other community impacts; and (2) provide law enforcement with actionable knowledge to help identify labor trafficking.

ES-2 RESEARCH DESIGN

We used the rapid appraisal method (RAM), an applied ethnographic method characterized by collecting data from multiple sources to triangulate findings (Bergeron, 1999; Crawford, 1997). The data collection strategies included stakeholder interviews, a farmworker survey, and secondary community data (demographics, labor, and crime).

Stakeholder interviews were conducted with nongovernmental organizations (NGOs; e.g., advocacy and legal aid), clergy members, public health personnel, and social service agencies. These semistructured interviews covered topics such as the labor market, health conditions, crime conditions, working and living conditions of farmworkers, and knowledge of human trafficking.

We interviewed 380 farmworkers, who were attending migrant worker and Hispanic/Latino festivals or living at farm labor camps. The interview instrument, which was adapted from one validated in San Diego by Zhang (2012), included primarily closed-ended questions covering demographics, housing, immigration experiences, agricultural experiences, trafficking and exploitation, movement within the United States, and the transportation of other goods into and within the United States.

Secondary community-level data were collected on demographic characteristics (age, sex, race/ethnicity), citizenship and language spoken at home, unemployment and agricultural business patterns, crime, communicable disease, and pregnancy and infant mortality.

These triangulated data allowed for the development of a comprehensive description of farmworkers who are being exploited and may be in labor trafficking situations.

ES-3 FINDINGS

ES-3.1 Non-Law Enforcement Stakeholders

Respondents consistently described the overall job market in the community as poor. Moreover, a few respondents suggested that changes in immigration laws have made it more difficult for some to find work and have changed the lives of migrant workers. With regard to health conditions, some stakeholders thought that sexually transmitted diseases (STDs)

had increased in the past few years, whereas others noted that an increase in requests for screening does not necessarily equate to higher incidence. However, work-related injuries appear to be a significant health concern. Furthermore, stakeholders suggested that some farmworkers do not have access to outreach workers or health clinics or may rely on self-treatment and home remedies because they fear that going to a clinic will result in their identification as an undocumented worker. Farmworkers are also vulnerable to crime; an ongoing problem in the community is that farmworkers are being robbed in their camps. Stakeholders consistently reported that a range of abusive and exploitative labor practices are common on N.C. farms, including working without getting paid; experiencing worse living conditions, treatment by the grower, hours, and pay than expected; having inadequate breaks to eat, drink, and use the bathroom; working or living in a place that made them feel scared or unsafe; being threatened; or being locked inside their living or working space.

ES-3.2 Law Enforcement Stakeholders

Law enforcement observations of and experiences with labor trafficking provide another critical perspective for understanding the local community context and the working conditions for migrant farmworkers. Generally, the sheriffs agreed that law enforcement calls involving migrant farmworkers were uncommon and that there had been no incidents of human trafficking in general or labor trafficking specifically. All agreed that migrant farmworkers are well treated and that the local economies depend heavily on the migrant labor, so that employers really cannot afford to mistreat workers. However, one sheriff mentioned that there had been multiple reported kidnappings of Latino farmworkers and that some were held for ransom, sometimes with the victims not even knowing that their families were being extorted. The sheriffs did mention that there had been an increase in the number of formal Latino rights organizations and that these agencies provide critical reinforcement to the oversight of the farmworker camps.

ES-3.3 Farmworkers

Most of the farmworkers interviewed were male; the average age was 35. Educational attainment was extremely low. Most respondents were Mexican and nearly half lived in a migrant

labor camp at the time of the interview. On average, workers had been in North Carolina for 2 years. More than 40% were undocumented.

Following Zhang (2012, p. 50), we measured trafficking conservatively, including only actual or threatened infringement of freedom of movement and actual or threatened physical violence. Abusive practices included other grossly unfair treatment or exploitative practices, including fraud and deception. Trafficking violations and other abusive practices may be perpetrated by individuals assisting workers with transportation to or within the United States (sometimes referred to as coyotes) as well as by employers.

About one-quarter of respondents reported ever experiencing a situation that may constitute trafficking, and 39% reported other abuse. Among workers who reported traveling with a coyote to get into the United States or for transportation within the United States, 20% reported experiencing trafficking and 38% reported other abuse. One in five workers reported experiencing trafficking at the hands of an employer and one in three reported experiencing other abuse. The most common type of exploitation was abusive labor practices (34%), followed by deception and lies (21%), restriction and deprivation (15%), and threats to physical integrity (12%).

To identify potential predictors or indicators that trafficking and other forms of abuse are occurring, we examined differences in these outcomes across a number of characteristics of the workers. Male workers were significantly less likely to report experience trafficking than female workers, but the likelihood of other abuse did not vary significantly by gender. Additionally, workers with greater English proficiency were more likely to report experiencing any violation and trafficking, but English proficiency was not associated with non-trafficking abuse. A worker's legal status was the strongest and most consistent predictor of experiencing trafficking and other violations. Among those who are undocumented (but not among those who have legal documentation), living in a labor camp and working in the western part of the state (i.e., tree farming) were associated with a greater likelihood of experiencing trafficking.

ES-3.4 Secondary County-Level Data

Workers in counties with moderate and large Hispanic populations were less likely to report all types of victimization than were those from counties with relatively small Hispanic populations. The results were similar for the proportions of public school students who are Hispanic. However, workers in counties with moderate and larger increases in the Latino population between 2000 and 2010 were more likely to report being victimized than those in counties with relatively small increases in the Hispanic population. Victimization was most common in counties with relatively small populations of noncitizens. Trafficking and non-trafficking abuse were less common in counties with a high proportion of the labor force employed in agriculture than in counties with low levels of agriculture. Victimization was more common among workers in counties with low levels of poverty than in those with moderate and high levels of poverty.

ES-4 CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

ES-4.1 The Problem of Enforcement Identity

Labor trafficking has a law enforcement identity problem, which makes it difficult for government agencies to develop effective counter-strategies. Three major components make up this enforcement identity problem. First, as we found in this study, the victims' legal status was found to be among the most important predictors of their risk exposure; few other variables could explain as much of their victimization experience. Second, unlike sex trafficking, which often involves unsavory establishments and characters, such as strip clubs and pimps, labor trafficking is perpetrated by business operators, homeowners, and farm owners who are mostly ordinary members of the community. Third, labor trafficking activities (i.e., those meeting the criteria of legal definition) and abusive labor practices have traditionally been handled by regulatory agencies that enforce compliance with labor laws rather than by the criminal justice system.

ES-4.2 Deterrence

There are no easy solutions to rampant trafficking violations and gross exploitation of farmworkers. However, measures can

still be devised to investigate and prosecute the most egregious forms of trafficking violations. The planning and implementation of these measures require a clear priority in resource allocation and sustained attention oriented toward long-term outcomes. Relentless and high-profile prosecutions are needed to reaffirm the government's determination to stop trafficking violations and project deterrence throughout the business community.

ES-4.3 Training and Collaboration With Community Service Providers

As found in this study, law enforcement representatives do not view labor trafficking either as a problem or as a law enforcement issue. Therefore, training on investigation and prosecutorial guidance are key activities for sensitizing local law enforcement personnel to the various aspects of labor trafficking and preparing them to address trafficking activities. More importantly, investigation and prosecution efforts require close collaboration with community-based organizations that have much closer interactions with unauthorized immigration populations. Because of the recent changes in laws in some states, local police agencies are increasingly viewed, in the eyes of unauthorized immigrants, as an extension of the federal immigration agency. Therefore distrust and apprehension of local police are a common experience in migrant communities, legal or illegal.

ES-4.4 Public Awareness Campaigns

Perhaps one of the most effective ways to reduce labor trafficking is awareness campaigns, including flyers and billboards, particularly in areas with large immigrant populations. Anti-trafficking messages, including information about high-profile prosecutions of trafficking cases, and available social services such as venues for reporting trafficking violations and shelters, need to be publicized through community outreach efforts by community advocacy groups. The idea is not to catch traffickers per se, but to create a social environment that becomes sensitized to trafficking activities and labor law violations and safely makes services available to victims.

ES-4.5 Implications for Further Research

This study found that labor trafficking activities and abusive labor practices among migrant farmworkers were both common in parts of North Carolina. Although our study was not based on

probability sampling, thus limiting our ability to generalize the findings, the high frequencies of identified trafficking activities and other abusive labor law violations warrant additional validation using more rigorous methods. Considering that the number of migrant farmworkers in North Carolina is estimated to be 150,000, any sizeable percentage of verified labor trafficking activities would suggest a large population of trafficking victims. Human trafficking research involving systematic data collection and quantitative measures remains rare in the United States. However, valid empirical estimates on the scope of the problems are imperative for resource allocation as well as for effective policy development.

ES-4.6 Limitations

The primary limitation of this study is our use of systematic but not probabilistic sampling methods to identify respondents. Our identification of farmworker respondents was systematic, based on a strategy of approaching workers where we knew they would be; however, we did not use probabilistic sampling methods because of the absence of a reliable sampling frame. We used a database of labor camps known to an advocacy organization, but we were aware that this list was not complete. As a result, we cannot assume that our findings are generalizable to the population of migrant farmworkers in North Carolina. Our research procedures also resulted in our interviewing farmworkers who were not hidden and who were willing and able to talk with us. Individuals who were being held captive and were subjects of the most egregious trafficking practices were not included in our study. Thus, our findings most likely represent an underestimate of exposure to trafficking and other abuse.

1 Introduction

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Human trafficking is a hidden domestic and international problem of unknown numbers and unsubstantiated estimates. The International Labor Organization (ILO) estimated that nearly 10 million people are forced to work by private agents and enterprises worldwide (Belser et al., 2005). Of these, the ILO estimates that whereas about 1.4 million are commercially sexually exploited, the overwhelming majority (7.8 million) are in forced labor situations. Most forced-labor cases involve migrant workers in economic sectors (such as agriculture) where the share of labor in the cost of production is highest and a main determinant of competitiveness (Belser, 2005). In the United States, about 1.2 million laborers work on farms and ranches; 70% of them are hired directly by the farm operators (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 2008). Most of the farmworkers are male with limited education, and about half of them lack work authorization. A large proportion of farmworkers work in producing such crops as fruit, vegetables, and other horticultural crops for which planting and harvesting are labor intensive.

Although these situations seem conducive to exploitation, labor trafficking has gained little attention relative to sex trafficking, which has remained front and center in the anti-trafficking movement (Goździak & Bump, 2008). A recent literature review (Goździak & Bump, 2008) suggests a lack of systematic and reliable data on labor trafficking, echoing earlier findings (Government Accountability Office, 2006; Laczko, 2002; Laczko & Gramegna, 2003). Among known trafficking cases, a United Nations report estimates that approximately 79% have entailed sex trafficking, but it is suspected that labor trafficking is

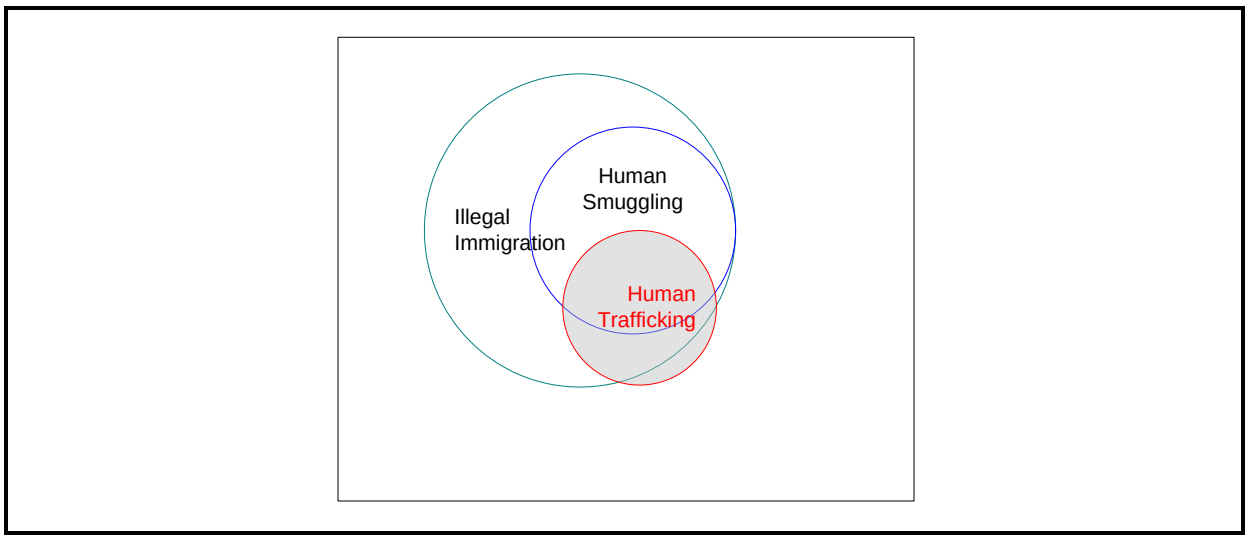
underidentified (United Nations, 2009) and that it may be more prevalent than sex trafficking (ILO, 2005). If labor trafficking is underidentified, and thus underinvestigated and underprosecuted, it is incumbent on researchers to determine why this is the case in order to move the field forward.

Labor trafficking may be underidentified for several reasons. First, labor trafficking is entangled with illegal immigration (UNODC, 2006). Second, the results from past surveys of state and local law enforcement (SLLE) suggest that definitions of labor trafficking and its components are vague, with trafficking often being confused with smuggling (Farrell, McDevitt, & Fahy, 2008; Laczko & Goździak, 2005). Indeed, even Immigration and Customs Enforcement, the branch of the Department of Homeland Security responsible for human trafficking investigations, was not correctly distinguishing between smuggling and trafficking as recently as 2004 (U.S. DOJ, 2006). Smuggling consists of "the facilitation, transportation, attempted transportation, or illegal entry of a person(s) across an international border in violation of one or more countries [sic] laws, either clandestinely or through deception, such as the use of fraudulent documents" (Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center [HSTC], 2006, p. 2). Whereas smuggling often includes two willing parties, the purpose of trafficking is to exploit the victim (HSTC, 2006).

The potential confusion surrounding labor trafficking is demonstrated in **Exhibit 1-1**, which shows the overlap between illegal immigration, human smuggling, and human trafficking (as the dimensions of each of these activities are unknown, the relative sizes of the circles are for illustrative purposes only). As indicated, a proportion of illegal immigration is accomplished with the aid of smugglers who are paid to convey willing immigrants to a desired country—in this case, the United States. Among individuals who enter illegally, either on their own or with help from smugglers, it is suspected that some fall prey to traffickers. For example, smuggling may become trafficking when individuals become so deeply indebted to their transporters that they fall into debt bondage (Chin, 1999). Although the individual may agree to work for the smuggler or his designee until the smuggling fees are paid, the situation becomes trafficking if force, fraud, or coercion is involved. Finally, there are the individuals who are trafficked;

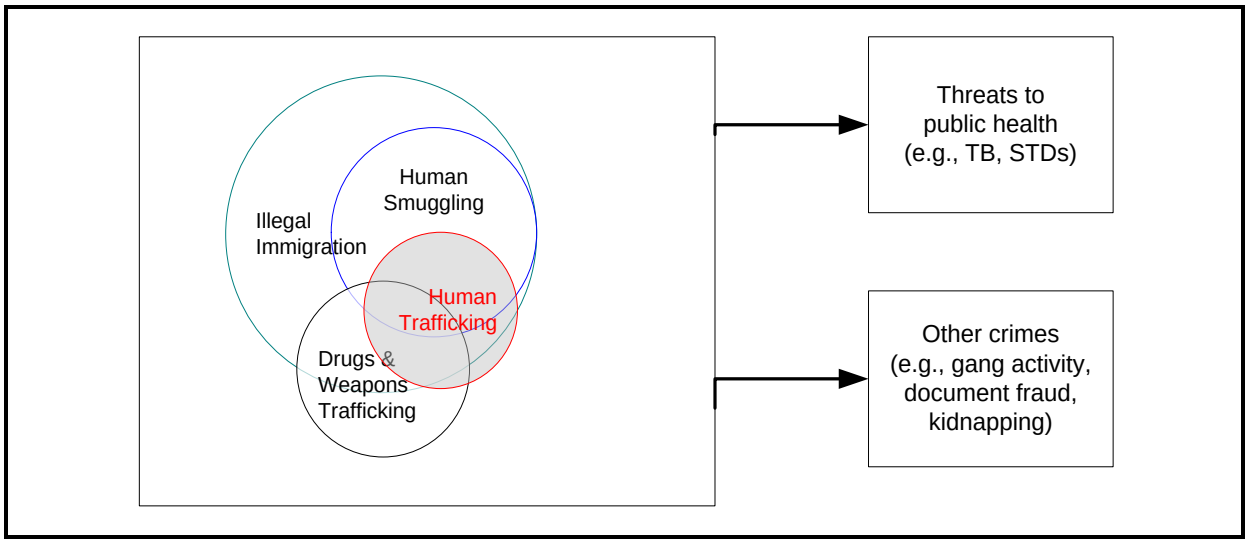
that is, moved or held against their will either transnationally or domestically for labor (or sex work).

Exhibit 1-1. Overlap of Human Movement



A third reason for the difficulty of identifying labor trafficking is that trafficking coexists with other forms of criminal activity (Bales & Lize, 2005; Farrell et al., 2008; UNODC, 2002). Once trafficking (or smuggling) routes are established, they can be used to move goods, such as weapons or drugs (Aronowitz, 2001; Farrell et al., 2008). Trafficking may also be associated with threats in communities that serve as nodes on the routes, including other criminal enterprises, such as document fraud (Bales & Lize, 2005). In addition, there may be other threats, including threats to public health associated with communicable diseases, such as tuberculosis or sexually transmitted diseases. The integration of these activities and outcomes is shown in **Exhibit 1-2**.

Exhibit 1-2. Web of Crime: Human Trafficking and Other Criminal Activities



The relative success in recent years of distinguishing sex trafficking from prostitution is attributed to efforts focused on (1) identifying the factors in prostitution cases that may indicate sex trafficking (e.g., lack of freedom of movement; Newton, Mulcahy, & Martin, 2008) and (2) examining cases of component crimes (e.g., kidnapping) to determine whether they include potential sex trafficking (Farrell et al., 2008). These efforts have provided law enforcement with indicators that can be used to identify, investigate, and prosecute sex trafficking cases.

Similar efforts are needed to investigate the dimensions of labor trafficking and its component crimes to develop a comprehensive list of indicators that will signal SLLE that there is a potential labor trafficking problem in their communities. However, because labor trafficking hides within the confines of legitimate employment and because SLLE have had relatively little experience with labor trafficking cases, the present research approach goes beyond the SLLE surveys and case reviews that compose much of the extant literature to conduct a comprehensive labor trafficking study in North Carolina using multiple data collection strategies.

1.2 LITERATURE REVIEW AND CITATIONS

The international and domestic foundations for investigations into human trafficking include the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress

and Punish Trafficking in Persons that was adopted in 2000 by the United Nations member states and the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) that was passed by the U.S. Congress in 2000. The TVPA defines human trafficking as (1) sex trafficking in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age; or (2) the recruiting, harboring, transporting, providing, or obtaining of a person for labor or services through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery. In addition to this federal law, a number of U.S. states have recently adopted anti-trafficking laws (Center for Women Policy Studies, 2008). From 2001 to 2007, in response to the federal legislation, the U.S. Department of Justice prosecuted 449 federal cases (U.S. Attorney General, 2008), established 42 federal anti-trafficking task forces, and developed and provided training for SLLE officers.

These legislative actions provide a solid foundation or legal framework within which to protect victims, prosecute traffickers, and prevent trafficking. In contrast, rigorous research into the characteristics of human trafficking that would facilitate the identification, investigation, and prosecution of trafficking cases is nascent, with knowledge about labor trafficking in particular being scarce. For example, Goździak and Bump (2008) document the relative lack of scientific rigor within the human trafficking literature. In this section, we describe the current state of knowledge about trafficking and identify gaps that the present research addresses.

The initial exploratory studies directed at building the knowledge base about human trafficking included research surveying law enforcement (Clawson, Dutch, & Cummings, 2006; Farrell et al., 2008; Finckenauer & Chin 2004; Newton et al., 2008), prosecutors (Clawson, Dutch, Lopez, & Tiapula, 2008), human service providers (ICF International Company, 2007; Logan, 2007), and task forces (Farrell et al., 2008), as well as a study of the process of identification, investigation, and prosecution (Bales & Lize, 2005). Key findings from this body of research relevant to labor trafficking include respondents' confusion over the definition of trafficking; belief by SLLE that trafficking does not exist in their communities; enhanced SLLE awareness after training; and concern among researchers that there is little guidance on how to identify, investigate, and prosecute this hidden crime.

First, definitions of labor trafficking and its components remain vague, with law enforcement personnel often confusing trafficking with smuggling (Farrell et al., 2008; Laczko & Goździak, 2005). This lack of definitional clarity calls into question the validity of research findings based on surveys of individuals whose understandings of what constitutes human trafficking may differ from what was specified by the TVPA. It also suggests that more work is needed to identify a common understanding of labor trafficking to determine the types of training or information campaigns that could help to bring trafficking cases to the attention of SLLE. Second, Farrell and colleagues (2008) suggest that law enforcement personnel in rural areas do not believe trafficking exists in their communities. This finding may also reflect a lack of understanding of what constitutes labor trafficking. Third, awareness of trafficking issues is greatest in law enforcement agencies that have received training and are actively involved with federal agencies. Awareness is also higher in states where there is anti-trafficking legislation than in states where there is no legislation (Newton et al., 2008). Several researchers and practitioners concluded that agencies need to be educated and armed with strategies to assist them in identifying, investigating, and prosecuting trafficking cases (Bales & Lize, 2005; Clawson & Dutch, 2008; Wilson, Walsh, & Kleuber, 2006; Wilson & Dalton, 2008). Fourth, the greatest concern for the protection of victims is the lack of information on how to identify, investigate, and prosecute trafficking cases, leaving law enforcement with little guidance about how to identify and investigate this hidden crime (U.S. Attorney General, 2008).

Researchers have also attempted to clarify the association of trafficking with other types of criminal activities. This association has been documented, although it is not thoroughly understood. In a survey of law enforcement personnel who had investigated at least one trafficking case, Farrell and colleagues (2008) found that the following crimes were associated with trafficking: drug trafficking, false identification, money laundering, organized crime, tax evasion, conspiracy, gangs, pornography, computer-assisted crimes, corruption, arms dealing, terrorism, and organ trafficking. Although these authors cautioned that there is "little reliable evidence that human trafficking networks overlap with other existing criminal networks" (p. 119), Finckenauer and Chin (2004) found that

transnational crime, such as drug trafficking and smuggling, overlaps with human trafficking. In addition, we conducted a Westlaw search using the term "human trafficking" and identified 139 federal, state, and Supreme Court cases from January 2006 to March 2009. These cases were associated with an extensive list of crimes that co-occurred with both sex trafficking and labor trafficking. In addition to the crimes identified by Farrell's team, other such disparate offenses as racketeering, torture, breach of contract, gambling, counterfeiting, bribery, and murder were related to trafficking.

Recently, the federal government has initiated several research agendas to learn more about this issue. Specifically, the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) funded research on the prevalence of labor trafficking of migrant workers in San Diego (Zhang, 2012); the Bureau of Justice Statistics funded data collection from 42 federal task forces, which were located primarily in urban metropolitan areas and have received more than $15 million in funding since the first three task forces were established in 2004. These efforts represent an excellent beginning to build knowledge about trafficking in places where significant resources have been devoted to the problem. However, attention is also needed to determine the extent to which rural or nonmetropolitan areas need to address trafficking. Although, as previously noted, rural law enforcement personnel often deny that they have labor trafficking in their communities, trafficking may be hidden, given that it is entangled with illegal migration (United Nations, 2006) and that victims who are in the country illegally may be afraid to reach out for assistance (Clawson et al., 2008). Further complicating the issue, labor trafficking victims might not know they are being trafficked (Bales & Lize, 2005; Clawson & Dutch, 2008; Garrett, 2008).

The extant literature, built largely on surveys of SLLE and victim services providers, is predominantly focused on sex trafficking (Goździak & Bump, 2008). These cases come to attention either when an arrest occurs or the victim seeks services. In comparison, labor trafficking is a hidden crime that only rarely comes to the attention of law enforcement or service providers and, when it does, it may not be recognized as trafficking. When sex trafficking victims are misidentified as prostitutes, a review of law enforcement case files may identify trafficking cases that were processed as prostitution or other

related crimes instead of trafficking. Labor trafficking, however, does not have an analogous criminal activity (i.e., work in jobs that may result in exploitation is legal), suggesting that locating these cases may be more difficult than identifying sex trafficking because there may be no law enforcement file. Thus, looking for labor trafficking cases solely in law enforcement and court files will likely overlook most labor trafficking incidents.

Although trafficking cases may not come to the attention of law enforcement, others in the community may be aware of activities that would indicate the presence of trafficking. For example, in a content analysis of news articles, Wilson and Dalton (2008) uncovered five labor trafficking cases, yet only one had come to the attention of law enforcement. Bales and Lize (2005) noted that trafficking survivors reported stops at gas stations, fast-food restaurants, and discount retail stores while being transported across the country, with the gas stops being used as connection points along the transportation network. Thus, the absence of cases may not be because of the lack of them, but rather because of the hidden nature of human trafficking crime in general and of labor trafficking in particular.

On the basis of previous work and the limitations therein, the current research included a broad, holistic, community-focused research strategy to capture the nuances that will assist in identifying labor trafficking cases. The aim was to collect sufficient data to ensure that patterns begin to emerge so that practical solutions and strategies can be developed to aid in the identification, investigation, and prosecution of labor trafficking crimes.

1.3 RATIONALE FOR RESEARCH

The present research addressed two goals.

1.3.1 Goal 1. Document the characteristics and indicators of labor trafficking, including component crimes, collateral crimes, and other community impacts.

To achieve this goal we established the following objectives:

- Objective 1: Determine the understanding of local constituencies (e.g., clergy members, community and faith-based organizations, health care providers, businesses) of what labor trafficking is, and identify potential indicators of trafficking (e.g., patterns of purchases), collateral crimes, and community impacts

by conducting a community scan using the rapid appraisal method (RAM), which included individual and small group in-depth interviews.

- Objective 2: Identify current circumstances or individual-level indicators (e.g., freedom of movement) and migration and transportation networks (e.g., where did individuals come from and how were they transported) using RAM, including a survey of migrant farmworkers.
- Objective 3: Identify potential community indicators of trafficking (e.g., increases in suspected component crimes or of communicable diseases), collateral crimes, and community impacts using RAM, including collecting and analyzing macro-level data from law enforcement and other local agencies, businesses, and organizations.

1.3.2 Goal 2. Provide SLLE with actionable knowledge to help identify labor trafficking through improving their decision making with respect to, and their response to, potential trafficking in human labor.

To achieve this goal we established the following objective:

- Objective 4: Produce a list of potential indicators of labor trafficking by triangulating findings from the proposed multiple data collection efforts. By using multiple data collection techniques, we were able to document individual characteristics and community conditions that are associated with labor trafficking and other exploitation.

2 Methods

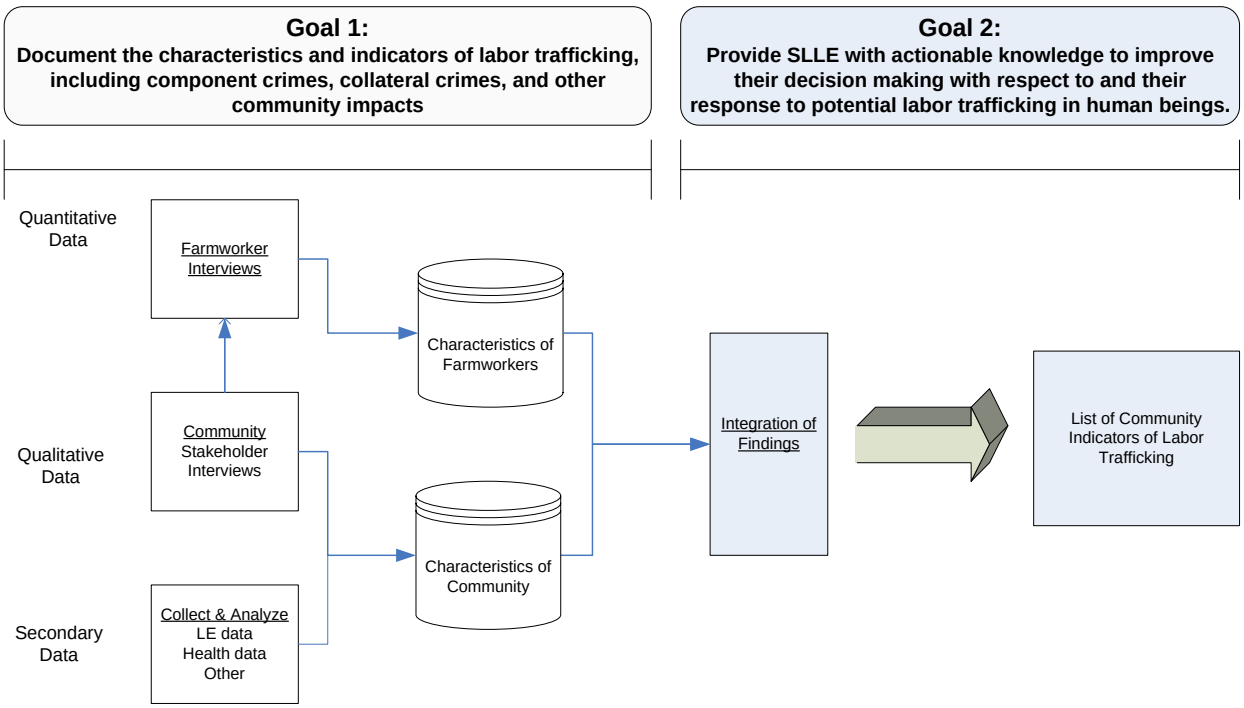
The nature of labor trafficking makes it difficult to study. Cwikel and Hoban (2005) address the challenges of accessing for research women who are trafficked for sex because of "the hidden and illicit nature of the migration of people" in the sex industry. They suggest that the best research approach is to use "multiple data sources and methods to triangulate data." Whereas previous research on labor trafficking has primarily maintained a narrow focus on gathering information from law enforcement and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), the current study uses a community-wide research design that expands the labor trafficking knowledge base.

We used RAM, an applied ethnographic method characterized by collecting data from multiple sources to triangulate findings (Bergeron, 1999; Crawford, 1997). The data collection strategies included law enforcement and other stakeholder interviews, a farmworker survey, and secondary community data (demographics, labor, and crime). These triangulated data allowed for the development of a comprehensive description of farmworkers who are being exploited and may be in labor trafficking situations. Of particular interest is identifying indicators outside the normal line of sight of SLLE that may prompt greater community reporting of potential trafficking situations.

Exhibit 2-1 presents the multimethod data collection that was used to meet the study goals of developing a better understanding of labor trafficking within the broader confines of human trafficking. The findings were integrated to produce a list of potential labor trafficking indicators for SLLE. Exhibit 2-1 also shows the two databases that were developed, including information on characteristics of farmworkers and potential trafficking indicators from farmworker surveys, as well as

potential community-level trafficking indicators from the secondary data analyses.

Exhibit 2-1. Data Flow to Achieve Goals



2.1 SITES

North Carolina is home to many of the business sectors that have been associated with poor working conditions, low wages, and human trafficking, including agriculture (such as "table crops" including cucumbers, potatoes, etc.), food processing (e.g., baked goods, pickles), poultry and pork production and processing, Christmas tree farming, landscaping, and construction. The North Carolina coast is also home to commercial seafood industries and a hospitality industry that supports tourism. Many North Carolina counties also have substantial Hispanic/Latino populations. Overall, 8.4% of North Carolina residents reported that they were Hispanic or Latino in the 2010 Census, representing a 111% increase over the 2000 Census (U.S. Census, n.d.). According to the North Carolina Farmworker Institute (2013), about 150,000 migrant farmworkers and their dependents work and live in North Carolina, making the state sixth nationally in the number of farmworkers. These characteristics make North Carolina an ideal location in which to study labor trafficking.

We first focused data collection on agriculture in predominantly rural counties in central and eastern North Carolina so that we could develop more in-depth information on exploitation and trafficking experiences within one industry in the state. We originally selected 19 counties in our area of interest; Hispanic or Latino (see **Exhibit 2-2**) individuals compose about 10% or more of the population in 13 of these counties. In 2011, data extracted from the Agricultural Safety and Health Bureau of N.C. Department of Labor[1] indicated that these counties had nearly 1,000 registered labor camp facilities housing nearly 10,000 migrant workers. These counties also include or are served by multiple migrant health entry points in North Carolina. Because of our interest in focusing predominantly on agriculture, we excluded Durham, Wake, and Cumberland counties, which include mostly urban populations.

Exhibit 2-2. Population of Selected Central and Eastern North Carolina Counties, by Percentage of Hispanic/Latino Residents

County	Population			% Hispanic or Latino
	Not Hispanic or Latino	Hispanic or Latino	Total	
Duplin	46,446	12,059	58,505	20.6%
Lee	47,290	10,576	57,866	18.3%
Sampson	52,991	10,440	63,431	16.5%
Greene	18,308	3,054	21,362	14.3%
Durham	231,510	36,077	267,587	13.5%
Chatham	55,277	8,228	63,505	13.0%
Johnston	147,064	21,814	168,878	12.9%
Harnett	102,319	12,559	114,878	10.9%
Onslow	159,876	17,896	177,772	10.1%
Wayne	110,461	12,162	122,623	9.9%
Wake	813,922	87,922	901,844	9.7%
Wilson	73,510	7,724	81,234	9.5%
Cumberland	289,241	30,190	319,431	9.5%
Franklin	55,843	4,776	60,619	7.9%
Bladen	32,688	2,502	35,190	7.1%
Lenoir	55,578	3,917	59,495	6.6%
Nash	89,825	6,015	95,840	6.3%
Jones	9,755	398	10,153	3.9%
Edgecombe	54,448	2,104	56,552	3.7%

Note: Population estimates are from the 2010 Census.

[1] https://www.dol.communications.its.state.nc.us/ash/scripts/pa_1a.cfm

From September 2 through October 25, 2012, we interviewed 257 farmworkers in nine counties in eastern and central North Carolina. We adjusted the target area to correspond to the primary crop in season during this period—sweet potatoes—and to account for logistical constraints. After the harvest season for table crops ended, we expanded the data collection to seven counties in western North Carolina, which has a large number of Christmas tree farms. Hispanic or Latino (see **Exhibit 2-3**) individuals compose about 5% of the population in each of these counties. From November 9 through December 2, 2012, we interviewed 123 farmworkers in these western counties. In addition to providing us additional interviews, this expansion also allowed us to compare exploitation and trafficking experiences in two types of agriculture, table crops and tree farming.

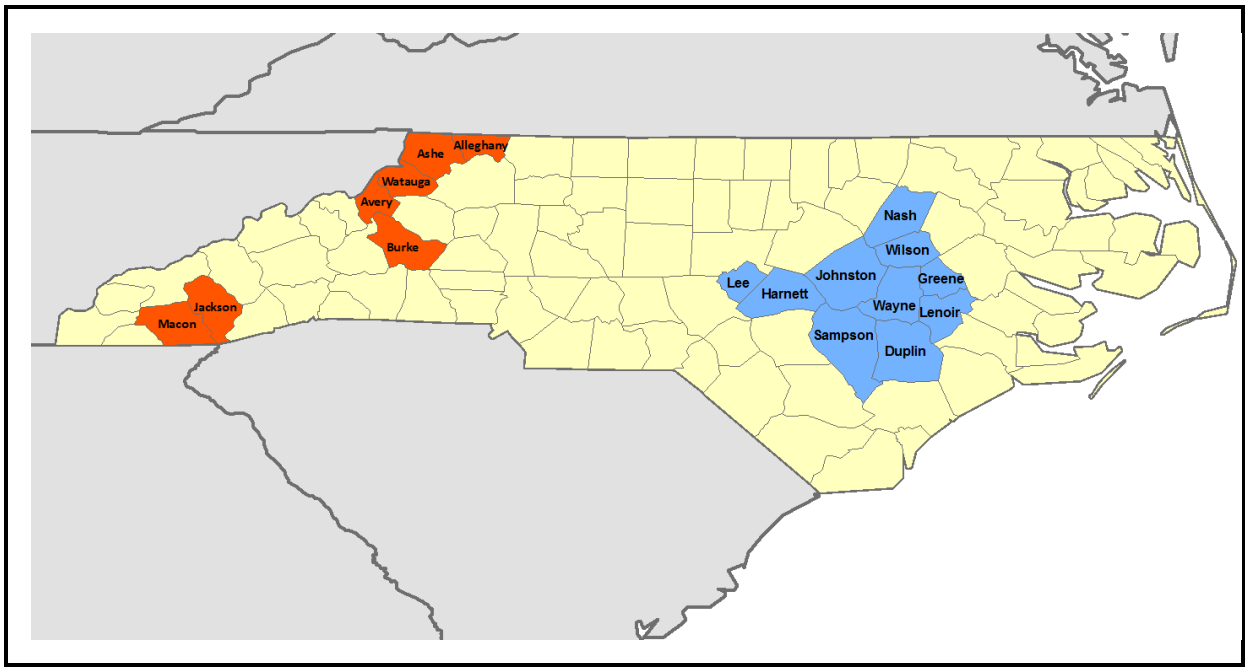
Exhibit 2-3. Population of Selected Western North Carolina Counties, with Percentage of Hispanic/Latino Residents

County	Population			% Hispanic or Latino
	Not Hispanic or Latino	Hispanic or Latino	Total	
Macon	31,692	2,230	33,922	6.6%
Burke	86,278	4,634	90,912	5.1%
Jackson	38,233	2,038	40,271	5.1%
Ashe	25,970	1,311	27,281	4.8%
Avery	17,000	797	17,797	4.5%
Watauga	49,366	1,713	51,079	3.4%

Note: Population estimates are from the 2010 Census.

A map of North Carolina (**Exhibit 2-4**) shows the location of the counties in which interviews were conducted.

Exhibit 2-4. County Map of North Carolina



Note: Blue counties have traditional table crop agriculture; red counties have Christmas tree farms.

2.2 DATA SOURCES

2.2.1 Stakeholder Interviews

A series of in-depth, semistructured interviews was conducted with key informants working in various capacities who may come in contact with migrant farmworkers. We first piloted the stakeholder survey with eight non-law enforcement respondents in late September 2010. Only minor adjustments were made to the instrument after the pilot test. From October 2011 through March 2012, we interviewed 16 individuals representing eight non-law enforcement organizations. In December 2012 we interviewed three sheriffs. This section describes the interview protocol, respondent selection, and procedures for fielding the survey.

2.2.1.1 Instrument

The primary purpose of the stakeholder interviews was to identify four key elements: (1) the community awareness of human trafficking; (2) potential indicators of trafficking; (3) collateral crimes; and (4) community impact. An interview protocol (**Appendix A**) was developed to cover each of these topic areas. The protocol included more than 80 questions and covered the following issues:

- respondent characteristics and experience
- labor market
- health conditions (e.g., sexually transmitted infections, hepatitis, work-related injuries)
- crime conditions (e.g., drugs, prostitution, gang-related crime)
- working and living conditions of workers
- knowledge and awareness of human trafficking

Although the interview protocol was rather long, not all interviewees were asked each question. Because the interviews covered a broad range of topics, participants were instructed to feel free to say that they didn't know the answer to a specific question. Similarly, interviewers were instructed to skip questions when it became clear that a particular respondent was not knowledgeable in that area.

The interview protocol was submitted to RTI's institutional review board (IRB) and was approved for an exemption from IRB review. The protocol was also reviewed by NIJ's human subjects protection officer. As part of the research protocol, respondents were provided with a hard copy of an informed consent form (**Appendix B**) and asked to verbally consent or refuse to participate in the research.

2.2.1.2 Respondent Identification and Recruitment

Interview respondents were identified through a combination of purposive and snowball sampling. The identification of individuals to participate in the interviews involved first identifying non-law enforcement agencies and organizations in the communities that serve migrant workers. These organizations were identified primarily through Internet searches. The types of organizations identified included NGOs (e.g., advocacy groups, legal assistance), clergy members, public health personnel, and social service agencies. Some organization Web sites included staff descriptions and contact information. In these cases, the individuals who seemed most involved with migrant workers were contacted directly by e-mail or telephone. When individual contact information was not available, we contacted the agency through its general telephone line or e-mail address and requested to be put in contact with the most appropriate persons. Additionally, we concluded each interview by asking the respondent to provide

names and contact information for others who may be able to provide information.

Law enforcement participants were recruited by contacting county sheriffs' offices and asking them to participate in stakeholder interviews. During the pilot activities, we called 12 sheriffs in Eastern North Carolina. We left messages on voicemail at eight of these departments and with a receptionist at the four others. We received no callbacks despite multiple follow-ups. In December 2012, we invited 12 sheriffs in counties in which we completed migrant farmworker interviews to participate in an interview.[2] They were sent introductory and follow-up e-mails explaining the goals of the project, and each received at least two follow-up calls asking for a an interview. The introduction informed the potential respondents that the project was funded by NIJ and was related to human trafficking, migrant labor, and the movement of migrant laborers into the area. Two sheriffs refused to participate; three others explained that there was no need to do an interview because no incidents of trafficking had been reported in their counties. In four other departments, the requests for interviews were forwarded to undersheriffs, public information officers, and other subordinates; however, callbacks were never completed. Three sheriffs did consent to participate.

We also reached out to North Carolina Department of Labor officials tasked with compliance checks and worker identity verification programs; however, they were not willing to participate in the research.

In total, interviews were conducted with 24 individuals representing 16 organizations, including the 3 sheriffs. It is important to note that, although we initially anticipated that stakeholders would serve a relatively confined area (e.g., city or county), we quickly learned that most non-law enforcement stakeholders served broader areas; some served the entire state. As a result, we interviewed fewer stakeholders than we had originally anticipated, and we feel that this approach was an efficient and effective way to gain information about stakeholder perceptions of trafficking in the area. However, our

[2] We contacted 20 sheriff's department in total (4 departments were contacted both during the pilot and later during the primary field data collection).

ability to link stakeholder experience to a specific county was limited.

2.2.1.3 Fielding

The instrument was piloted in September 2010, and minor adjustments were made to the instrument. The larger stakeholder data collection occurred from October 2011 through March 2012. Interviews were scheduled in advance and took place at the respondent's place of work. Most were completed in less than 1 hour. Stakeholder interviews were typically conducted face to face by two-person teams of RTI interviewers; however, on a few occasions interviews were conducted by only one interviewer. When two interviewers were available, one led the interview while the other took notes. Interviewers working alone led the interview and took notes. With participants' permission, interviews were recorded as a backup to written notes. After completing the interview, the note-taker entered the interview responses into an Excel spreadsheet that tracked the responses from all interviewees. The interviewer then went back through the Excel spreadsheet to check the responses against the notes and added any additional detail. Organizing the responses in this manner facilitated the identification of themes and allowed for comparison among respondents on particular items.

2.2.2 Farmworker Interviews

One of the main contributions of this study is the 380 in-person interviews that we conducted with farmworkers who may be experiencing labor exploitation or trafficking. This section describes the interview instrument, respondent identification, and procedures for fielding the survey.

2.2.2.1 Instrument

The primary purpose of the farmworker interviews was to identify potential trafficking cases as well as indicators that trafficking may be occurring. An interview instrument with more than 200 questions was developed to cover the following issues:

- respondent demographics (sex, age, place of birth)
- housing (type, people living with)
- immigration experiences (when, how, why entered the United States and North Carolina)

- agricultural experiences (types of crops, size of farms)
- trafficking or exploitation experiences (transportation, threats and fear, rules and control, deception and lies, exploitative labor practices)
- movement within the United States (timing and location of last four entries)
- transport of goods into and within the United States (food, medicine, money, clothes, electronics, drugs, and weapons)

To promote consistency in the definition and measurement of labor trafficking, we used trafficking and exploitation questions already developed and successfully used by Dr. Sheldon Zhang (2012). However, we developed other items in the survey to address additional foci of the current research (e.g., transport of goods, patterns of movement). After the survey was finalized, it was translated into Spanish.

The English version of the farmworker interview instrument is provided in **Appendix C** and the Spanish version is provided in **Appendix D**. The interview instrument and research protocol were submitted to RTI's IRB and approved in May 2012. As part of the research protocol, respondents were provided with a hard copy of an informed consent form (**Appendices E** and **F** in English and Spanish, respectively) and asked to verbally consent or refuse to participate in the research.

2.2.2.2 Hiring and Training Field Interviewers

Bilingual field interviewers were recruited and hired through a local labor agency under close supervision by an RTI data collection field coordinator.[3] After a rigorous screening process to verify cultural competency, Spanish language skills, and overall suitability for the job, six field interviewers were hired. Three RTI staff, including the field coordinator, also joined the data collection team. A 2-day training session was conducted by RTI staff and guest speakers from local farmworker outreach organizations. Trainees completed several rounds of mock interviews and received information about best practices for

[3] Field interviewers were hired through Headway HR Solutions. RTI competitively and strategically sources a master services agreement to provide data collection personnel and services, including data collection, interviewing, address listing, survey participant tracing, data abstracting, and field survey supervision. Headway HR Solutions was chosen through a competitive process in 2009.

interacting with farmworkers and farmers. At the conclusion of training, field interviewers signed a confidentiality agreement and were paired into three teams.

2.2.2.3 Respondent Identification and Recruitment

The field data collection activities began in September 2012. Interview data were collected at residential migrant labor camps; at community events; and, in Western North Carolina, at integrated housing and locations (e.g., stores, laundromats) frequented by farmworkers. In all cases, farmworkers were approached, the study was explained as a study of labor practices, and individuals were asked to consent to complete the 15- to 20-minute interview. A variety of nonmonetary items was offered as compensation for their time (see Section 2.2.2.4).

Labor camps were located using a database of registered farmworker labor camps that was supplemented by outreach notes collected by a local outreach organization. Data collection efforts at labor camps were focused in 10 counties: Wayne, Sampson, Duplin, Lenoir, Greene, Wilson, Johnson, Lee, Nash, and Harnett. These 10 counties were chosen because they had a high concentration of active farms involved in the sweet potato harvest, but also for logistical reasons linked to the availability of the interviewers and the best times of day to complete interviews. The counties were separated into three county groups, then these groups were split into three clusters based on convenience and the geographic proximity of camps. Camps with obvious warning signs listed in the outreach organization notes (e.g., avoid sand pits, follow dirt path through the woods, previously uninhabited, gated access) were excluded from the sample because they were potentially too difficult to access or were expected to be uninhabited. The sample was conveniently drawn from the camps that remained and were representative of the different types of camps in the area (i.e., packing houses, single owner camps, larger labor agency camps, barracks). Three camps of each type were chosen in each cluster. Some camps included multiple camps. For example, a large farming operation may have multiple camp sites. Special care was given to include large farms as well as smaller ones; the convenience sampling plan excluded sites in different locations owned by the same farmer.

The field interviewers were sent out in three teams of two interviewers each. To avoid duplication of efforts, each pair of interviewers was assigned to complete interviews in separate counties.

In the peak of harvesting season, the farmworkers often do not return to their camps until after 7 p.m. Although interviewers would normally begin driving to the sites before 5 p.m., locating the camps was frequently challenging because of incomplete or missing directions; abandoned or unoccupied camps; unclear landmarks; and, as the season continued, nightfall. Interviewers were instructed never to remain at the camps after dark.

Once a camp was identified, teams were instructed to approach farmworkers at their residence and obtain their consent for an interview. Normally, the interviewer teams did not seek permission of the farmers because North Carolina law allows farmworkers to receive guests. If at any point a team of interviewers was asked to leave a property, they did so promptly, but this rarely happened. The interviewer teams normally collected two or three interviews per camp; usually the conveniently identified respondent was someone outside the dwelling unit. Each interviewer team normally visited one camp per outing.

Refusals to participate in the survey were not tracked systematically. It was rarely possible to approach a potential respondent who was alone. Typically, the interviewers garnered a lot of interest from the farmworkers upon their arrival and often, one of the interviewers would describe the project to the entire group of those potential respondents who were nearest. After a self-selection process, a respondent or two would agree to talk further. At this point, the formal consent to participate would be read to the respondent as privately as possible. If one person agreed to complete the survey, others were usually willing to participate. The most common reasons for refusal were because the respondents said they were too tired or hungry to be bothered. In most cases they were just arriving home after a 10- to 12-hour work day. Others were reticent to participate because of concerns about their employer or the contract boss. On at least two occasions workers said they would do the survey only if their boss approved. There was at least one reported refusal because the respondent was

concerned the interviewers might be working with immigration enforcement authorities. Most respondents, however, were curious about the survey and were very willing to participate.

Interview teams also attended **community events** to recruit respondents. For these large events, all available field interviewers participated. The first event was a festival held in September in conjunction with a religious service at a church that meets in a large outdoor shed and predominantly serves farmworkers. The attendees arrived 2–3 hours before the church service, which began at noon, because of the food and the opportunity to talk with friends. The team of interviewers arrived at 9 a.m. and began engaging respondents. By noon, the teams had collected more than two dozen interviews. In mid-September, the interview team went to an enormous community festival that an estimated 4,000 farmworkers attended to enjoy live music, free food, soccer matches, dancing, games, and exhibition booths. The data collection team had a booth and many respondents were recruited there. Most respondents, however, were identified by interviewers circulating through the crowds. The number of potential respondents who refused to complete the survey during the community events was lower than during the labor camp outings. During the first event, the pastor of the church introduced the team to many parishioners. The pastor is a well-known advocate for migrant farmworkers, and his endorsement carried a lot of weight. There were no refusals in the first event. In the second, larger event, there were a few refusals but not due to belligerence or fear: those who refused were simply more interested in participating in the festival activities.

By the end of October, the agricultural season in central and eastern North Carolina was coming to an end and many H2A[4] workers began leaving; other migrant workers began moving on to new opportunities in other communities. The preliminary analyses of the interview data indicated that the interview teams had been successful at interviewing H2A workers but that undocumented workers—those with presumably higher trafficking risks—were underrepresented.

[4] The H2A visa is granted as part of a guestworker program for temporary foreign farmworkers that is administered by the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration. It provides some legal protection for visa holders.

We then shifted our attention toward another North Carolina agricultural sector—Christmas trees. North Carolina is the second largest producer of Christmas trees in the country, with more than 1,600 growers, more than 50 million Fraser firs, and approximately 25,000 acres of land in the industry.

The decision to expand the data collection area into this sector required an adjustment in the data collection strategy. Although migrant farmworkers return every year to work in this sector, the housing situations and the conditions of work are considerably different from those for agricultural workers in central and eastern North Carolina. The list of registered camps and the other databases were not helpful in identifying the farmworker population in these areas. Also, the Christmas tree-producing counties are predominantly in the northwestern part of the state and, thus, several hours' drive from where the interviewers lived.

Integrated housing and other locations were identified during multiple-day trips to the northwestern part of North Carolina. Before the trips, the data collection coordinator accessed the Web site of the N.C. Christmas Tree Association (NCCTA; http://www.ncchristmastrees.com/), which offers a list of all of the wholesale and retail Christmas tree outlets by county. A team of four interviewers made the first trip to Ashe, Watauga, and Avery counties. Using the NCCTA list and a map of the area, they were able to identify many Christmas tree farms, but farmworker housing was far more integrated into the community and difficult to identify. As the team travelled, the interviewers scanned the roadsides for clues to places where farmworkers might be living. Some of the possible indicators of migrant worker housing included passenger vans, twin cab pick-up trucks with equipment or trailers for hauling trees, out-of-state license plates, mobile home parks, lower-end motels, and many pairs of boots outside on a porch. The team also asked local residents about places where concentrations of farmworkers were living. Using these techniques, the team screened the area looking for possible housing areas and identified many. Another effective strategy emerged during this excursion. The team visited businesses where farmworkers go when they are not working—laundromats, stores serving Latino customers, and bus stations. During these visits, the team engaged diverse respondents, including more undocumented individuals,

women, and people who had a broader range of experiences than those who were interviewed in central and eastern North Carolina. On at least two occasions, contract bosses traveling with the workers, usually driving the vehicle, discouraged workers from participating or otherwise influenced their participation.

This diversity in potential respondents, especially the higher proportion of undocumented workers and the lower number of H2A workers, did affect the number of refusals. We found both latent refusals—those who refused to come to the door—and manifest refusals—those who declined because of suspicions about the team or the survey.

The team also identified more respondents in the western part of the state who spoke indigenous languages. Another situation that sometimes led to refusals was potential respondents who were cohabiting with native English speakers. These English speakers were more likely to influence the potential respondents and encourage them not to participate. On a couple of occasions, interviewers identified potential respondents at gas stations or other commercial establishments. The respondents would agree to be interviewed at another location, usually their residence. When the interviewers followed some potential respondents to where they were living, on at least two occasions the grower, landlord, or contract boss was present, and the respondent declined to participate. Overall, most potential respondents who were approached were interested in the survey topic (and the offered compensation) and they agreed to be interviewed.

2.2.2.4 Compensation for Respondents

Determining the type of compensation to offer respondents for participating in a research study is always challenging. For this research study, several considerations guided our choices. First, we wanted nonmonetary compensation, as we did not want the field interviewers to be traveling in rural, isolated areas with large amounts of cash. Second, we wanted the compensation to be something substantial that potential respondents would want. Third, we wanted to offer an incentive that would be responsible and practical. For most of the study, the primary compensation offered was bilingual picture dictionaries, which were especially popular.

Toward the end of the data collection period, the team experimented with a variety of other items, including makeup kits, miniature soccer balls, perfume or cologne, flashlights, a variety of tools (pliers, screwdrivers, wrenches), pocket knives, hats, stationery kits (pens and paper), blankets, school supplies, cooking pots, and stuffed animals. Respondents were offered their choice from among these items. The most often chosen were flashlights, hats, and tools. Surprisingly, blankets, cooking pots, and miniature soccer balls were the least favorite. Additionally, some items turned out to not be practical in a field interview setting because they were too bulky for interviewers to carry (e.g., cooking pans or blankets) or because they became a distraction to children and others, which distracted the interviewers and respondents (e.g., soccer balls, stuffed animals, school and art supplies).

The dictionaries were more expensive than the other items but they were clearly the best choice. Having a single choice simplified matters for interviewers, and the softcover books were easy to transport and could be ordered in bulk. Flashlights were a less expensive option and they were extremely popular; however, they were somewhat more difficult for interviewers to carry.

2.2.3 Secondary Data

We extracted secondary data from a number of sources to create profiles of each county in which interviews were conducted. From the 2010 Census, we gathered data on the basic demographic characteristics of each county, including

- total population,
- percentage of residents who were male,
- percentage of residents under age 18,
- racial composition (white, black, American Indian/Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, other race, or two or more races), and
- percentage of residents who were Hispanic.

Additionally, we extracted data from the Center for Geographic Information and Analysis on the percent change in the Hispanic population in each North Carolina county between 2000 and 2010. The North Carolina Public Schools Statistical Profile was used to identify the percentage of school students who are Hispanic. More detailed information on citizenship, language

proficiency, labor force participation, income, and poverty of county residents was extracted from the 2010 American Community Survey (5-year estimates), including

- percentage of residents who held U.S. citizenship by birth;
- percentage of residents who held U.S. citizenship by naturalization;
- percentage of residents who were not U.S. citizens;
- percentage of residents who spoke Spanish in the household;
- percentage of Spanish speakers who spoke English very well;
- percentage of adults who were in the labor force;
- percentage of adults who were employed in agriculture, forestry, fishing, hunting, or mining;
- median and mean household income;
- percentage of households receiving food stamps; and
- percentage of families with income below the poverty level.

We also collected data, from the 2010 County Business Patterns, about the size of each county's agriculture industry and level of unemployment; the number of agriculture, forestry, fishing, and hunting establishments; the number of paid employees in agriculture, forestry, fishing, and hunting; and the annual payroll in agriculture, forestry, fishing, and hunting. The unemployment rate for July 2012 (when data collection began) was extracted from the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Information on crime was extracted from the 2010 Uniform Crime Reports. We included only data on crimes reported to sheriffs' departments, as these reports are more likely to reflect crime in the rural parts of the counties. The number of offenses known to the police was extracted for

- total violent crime,
- murder and nonnegligent manslaughter,
- forcible rape,
- robbery,
- aggravated assault,

- total property crime,
- burglary,
- larceny-theft,
- motor vehicle theft, and
- arson.

Crime rates were calculated by dividing the number of offenses known to the police by the total population in 2010 and multiplying by 10,000.

Finally, information on public health was collected from the North Carolina State Center for Health Statistics (Table 8, North Carolina Health Statistics Pocket Guide 2009). These data included

- communicable disease rates, 2005–2009 (syphilis, gonorrhea, AIDS, chlamydia, and tuberculosis);
- pregnancy rates for young females (ages 15–19), 2005–2009 (birth, abortion, and pregnancy); and
- infant mortality rates, 2005–2009 (fetal, neonatal, postneonatal, and infant).

3 Results

3.1 STAKEHOLDER INTERVIEWS

The first objective of this study was to determine the understanding of local stakeholders (e.g., clergy members, community- and faith-based organizations, health care providers, businesses) of what labor trafficking is and identify potential indicators of trafficking (e.g., patterns of violations), collateral crimes, and its impact on the community. To this end, we conducted semistructured individual and small group interviews with community stakeholders. The stakeholders, a diverse group of professionals and paraprofessionals, included employees of advocacy and legal assistance organizations, religious organizations, public health clinics, social service agencies, and law enforcement.

Given the wide diversity of stakeholder types, the interview guide included questions covering a broad array of topics, including

- the labor market,
- health conditions in the community (e.g., sexually transmitted infections, hepatitis, work-related injuries),
- crime conditions in the community (e.g., drugs, prostitution, gang-related crime),
- working and living conditions of workers, and
- human trafficking.

Themes identified in responses for each of these topic areas are summarized below. Because of the distinctly different role that law enforcement plays in labor trafficking relative to other stakeholders, their responses are analyzed and presented separately.

3.1.1 Non-Law Enforcement Stakeholders

3.1.1.1 Labor Market

Respondents consistently described the job market in their communities as poor, using phrases such as "deeply dire" and "very difficult." Job opportunities have also declined in recent years. For example, an advocate from a farmworker ministry noted that it is difficult for some people to get even 5 hours of work each week, and a farmworker health advocate noted that some workers will be out of work for a whole month. While many of the stakeholders reported that the job market was poor, it is important to note that most of them were describing the overall job market in their communities and not specifically describing the job market for farm labor, so these comments could reflect the economic downturn more generally.

A migrant health outreach worker also mentioned that, while historically the agricultural work in North Carolina was done by African Americans, it is now done by Hispanic workers. Most African Americans who work in agriculture now operate the machinery or drive vehicles, whereas Hispanics do the manual jobs. She also noted that the increase in minimum wage has led growers to rely more on migrant or seasonal workers, who are paid less or paid piece rates rather than an hourly wage, and to reduce the amount of labor hours while also trying to increase productivity. Others noted that opportunities for jobs in the food processing and manufacturing industries have also worsened.

A few respondents suggested that changes in immigration laws have made it more difficult for some to find work and have changed the lives of migrant workers. For example, an immigration attorney noted that immigration enforcement has affected jobs more than the economy has. A farmworker advocate stated that post-9/11 immigration policies, including 287(g) and Secure Communities (programs run by the Department of Homeland Security), have resulted in migrant farmworker families' moving back to their home countries or to other states. The implementation of these policies has also resulted in other demographic changes among the migrant farmworker population, including larger numbers of workers from farther south in Mexico and Central America and from indigenous backgrounds. Because Spanish is often their second language, advocates believe that these workers represent a

more vulnerable population. Moreover, outreach workers reported having seen a greater number of young boys (under age 12) working without their parents.

Changes in job opportunities due to the economy and immigration enforcement have made it more difficult for stakeholders to work in the community. The consequences have been felt the most by health outreach workers. Respondents indicated, for example, that the economic downturn has translated into anxiety and mental health issues among farmworkers, who fear that because the economy is so bad they may have to move to find work. Another health care stakeholder noted that it was the harsh working environment that has driven some immigrants to go back to their home countries. This has resulted in lower participation in prenatal and health programs. Others suggested that worries related to job opportunities and immigration enforcement have made workers more fearful of coming into the clinic, as moving about in the community increases the opportunity to be identified as an undocumented immigrant.

Additionally, growers have been less collaborative and outreach workers encounter more resistance to gaining simple access to the farms. Overall, these factors appear to have made it more difficult for farmworkers to receive health care services. However, one outreach group noted that it is now easier for them to see workers because they are not out working as much—but they acknowledged that more free time for the workers can be more time to engage in potentially harmful activities such as substance use and unprotected sex. Health outreach workers are not the only ones to feel the impact of declining job opportunities. For example, an immigration attorney noted that it is now harder to talk to workers, who are more reluctant to bring legal action.

3.1.1.2 Health Conditions

When asked about sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), a farmworker advocate mentioned that a study recently conducted in North Carolina found more farmworkers were engaging in activities with sex workers than the stakeholder had anticipated. Whereas some stakeholders thought that STDs had increased in the past few years, others noted that an increase in requests for screening does not necessarily equate to a higher incidence. An increase in screening requests may

reflect successful health education efforts such that workers are aware of STD risks and are seeking diagnosis and treatment.

Work-related injuries appear to be a significant health concern. Although a couple of stakeholders thought that the rate of injuries had increased recently, others reported that the problem has been fairly stable. Indeed, a health advocate noted that the prevalence of work-related injuries ebbs and flows. For example, recently, growers have been more focused on providing safety training, but they still do not always provide protective gear. These activities may change the nature and frequency of injuries. However, it is important to consider a number of difficulties in measuring work-related injury among farmworkers. Many injuries are ignored, because workers feel pressure from their employer that if they take time off for an injury they would not get their job back. Another complication in measuring work-related injuries involves how they are reported. A farmworker advocate noted that while a state report shows these injuries have declined, regulators are not conducting routine investigations. Moreover, food processing plants no longer report ergonomic injuries like repetitive motion injuries. Thus, while the statistics may produce the appearance of a decline, the change may be due to a change in reporting requirements instead of a change in the patterns of workplace injuries. A stakeholder also claimed that North Carolina has the highest number of heat-related deaths in the country, yet the state has not provided regulations for protecting workers from heat-related illness.

With regard to medical treatment for illness and injuries, stakeholders suggested that some farmworkers have access to outreach workers or are able to get to health clinics, whereas others rely on homeopathic and natural remedies. It is also important to note that workers may rely on self-treatment and home remedies because they are afraid of going to a clinic, which could result in an individual's being identified as undocumented and subsequently being deported.

3.1.1.3 Crime Conditions

Respondents were also asked a series of questions about crime conditions in their communities and whether those conditions had changed recently. Although a number of stakeholders reported only general crime trends in the community as had been reported in local newspapers, some had insight into crime

among farmworkers in particular. For example, a health advocate noted that farmworkers are committing crimes in only a few cases; they are more likely to be victims. This observation was repeated by other respondents as well. A legal advocate stated that an ongoing problem in the community is that farmworkers are being robbed in their camps. Because most labor camp housing does not have locks, it is relatively easy for outsiders to come to a camp and victimize workers. Another participant believed that crime has increased because it is known throughout the community that migrant workers keep cash on their persons, rather than depositing it into bank accounts, because they plan to send or take it home. This makes migrant workers easier targets for robbery. A health advocate made it clear that these thefts are not perpetrated by other farmworkers but rather outsiders who know that Latinos are vulnerable and that law enforcement is not particularly attentive to crimes against farmworkers. Furthermore, when workers are victimized, they will probably not report it to the police because of fear of both being deported and losing their jobs.

There was also some discussion of other crimes, including drug offenses and prostitution. A health advocate stated that drugs were rampant in North Carolina and that, in some camps, the crew leader's wife handed out drugs to the workers. This assertion was not reported by any of the other respondents. A few participants reported that the use of sex workers has increased in recent years. One respondent suggested that the increase was due to the economy; more women were going into prostitution for financial reasons.

3.1.1.4 Working and Living Conditions

Stakeholders consistently reported that a range of abusive and exploitative labor practices are common on N.C. farms. Nearly all of the respondents stated that working without getting paid occurs regularly. A farmworker health advocate noted that H2A workers' contracts ensure that they get paid; undocumented workers do not have this assurance. Respondents from another advocacy group had heard of cases where workers were paid less than expected or not paid at all. One way this may happen is if a crew leader reduces their pay to cover the costs of transportation, housing, and food. However, the amount charged for these services may be excessive. For example,

after a 60-hour work week, a worker may receive only $10 in wages after other costs have been garnished by the crew leader. Another farmworker advocate noted that these deductions may be more than the worker expected. A migrant health outreach worker stated that workers were commonly paid for fewer hours than they worked (about 4–5 hours less per week) and were paid at a lower wage than was expected ($1.50–2.00 less per hour). Another health advocate described a situation in which workers were told they would be paid hourly but were actually paid per bucket of produce picked. In the worst cases, the grower or crew leader simply refused to pay the worker at all. A ministry stakeholder reported turning two such cases over to legal services.

The work itself may also be different from what was expected. Those who are working in the United States for the first time may be the most surprised by the work and working and living conditions. A couple of respondents suggested that the workers had expected better living conditions, treatment by the growers, hours, and pay. The work was very physically demanding, and they worked more hours than they had expected. Some first-timers also may not have understood the level of social isolation that may exist in some rural areas, the intense heat and humidity of N.C. summers, and the lack of available shade while working in the fields. However, not only newcomers face unexpected work conditions. A legal advocate said that some workers came on visas for a specific type of work but ended up doing something else. For example, they may have come on an unskilled worker visa to work in the seafood industry and ended up cooking or babysitting instead, or they worked construction instead of agriculture. Two interviews revealed situations where women had come to work in agriculture and ended up doing sex work.

In addition to the difficulty of the work, most stakeholders thought that farmworkers are not given adequate breaks to eat, drink, and use the bathroom. Because farmers are in a hurry to pick the crops, they push workers to continue working without breaks. Growers and crew leaders may get angry when workers drink water because drinking itself takes time, and it results in the need for additional breaks to urinate. As a result, they may limit water breaks or not allow workers to drink water at all. Moreover, workers want to earn as much as possible, so they do not take breaks. While regulations mandate portable toilets

out in the fields, a health advocate said that they are nowhere to be found, and a farmworker advocate noted that only 4% of farms were found to be in complete compliance with field sanitation laws. Workers simply use the field when needed.

When asked about whether they knew of situations where workers worked or lived in a place that made them feel scared or unsafe, some respondents noted that fear and lack of safety is the nature of the job. Farmworkers often live in labor camps, sharing housing with complete strangers. Growers do not conduct criminal or background checks, so workers may be sharing housing with convicted criminals. This type of living environment can create some scary situations for workers.

In addition to living with strangers, workers often live in unsanitary camps, and some of them are afraid to go to the bathroom because the facilities are so dirty. A couple of stakeholders noted that the working and living conditions may be especially unsafe for women. A farmworker advocate described instances in which women and children were being sexually abused in the camps where they did not have separate living facilities. However, male workers may also live in fear of the grower. One stakeholder mentioned an instance in which a worker was hit.

As further evidence of the poor working and living conditions, outreach workers reported feeling unsafe when visiting certain camps. In one situation, a grower yelled at an outreach worker who showed up to pass out health information. This organization experiences at least one confrontation with a grower each year. These incidents have included staff having guns pulled on them, being locked into the camp, and being arrested for trespassing. A health advocate described one farm in particular in which the workers appeared scared, did not want to talk, and hid when the grower showed up. Furthermore, the grower threatened multiple times to call the police to kick the advocate off his property.

Stakeholders also described instances in which workers were actually threatened. The most common types of threats appear to be being fired or deported. A health advocate described an instance where the perpetrator of a crime threatened to call immigration if the victim did not drop the case against him. In another incident a worker bought a car and, when the car had problems, asked the seller about the warranty. The seller

proceeded to tell the worker to leave it alone or he would call immigration. Incidents in which the threats were actually carried out were also described. For example, a workforce development advocate described a situation in which a woman reported unsanitary conditions and was fired from her crew.

Some workers have also been threatened with physical violence. A legal advocate mentioned that some crew leaders carry weapons and may threaten workers if they try to leave or if they owe the crew leader any money. An advocate from a ministry described a situation in which a worker was intentionally almost hit with a vehicle and received death threats. He also reported that crew leaders have threatened workers with sticks and have followed through on the threat. Another ministry outreach worker mentioned a farmworker who was threatened with physical harm if he left his crew or the farm or simply talked about what happens on the farm.

A few stakeholders recounted incidents in which workers were locked inside their living or working spaces. A health advocate described a situation in the western part of North Carolina in which growers locked an area where workers lived and claimed it was for the workers' security. The workers did not necessarily know they were locked in (i.e., if they did not try to leave the area, they would have no way of knowing it had been locked). The advocate suggested that these growers may feel they own their workers. In other camps, the grower or crew leader may impose a curfew and lock the camp down at a certain time. Some growers put up a chain or gate blocking a road or driveway; however, workers may be able to walk around some of these. (A legal advocate suggested that these types of blockades are more likely used to keep outreach workers out of the camp than to keep the workers in.) A ministry outreach worker described a camp that used locks to force workers to pay for meals. In this situation, the kitchen was locked so that the workers could not cook their own food. They had no control over what they ate and were forced to eat whatever the crew leader's wife cooked. The crew leader then charged them for the meal service. Because these workers had no transportation of their own, they were unable to get food elsewhere. In other cases no locks were used, but the workers were unable to leave the farm because they had no transportation and were also told that they were not allowed to leave.

Respondents were also asked whether they were aware of situations in which workers were not allowed to contact family and friends. For the most part, it appears that any difficulty workers have in contacting others is a consequence of the lack of access to a telephone. Not all camps provide a landline telephone, and most workers do not have cell phones. Workers also may not have access to transportation to a pay phone. The cost of international calls may be prohibitive for workers who do have telephone access. With regard to in-person visits, a health advocate noted that most workers do not have friends or family in the area. A ministry outreach worker stated that some camps do not allow visitors, including friends or outreach services.

When asked whether they knew of workers who felt that they were unable to quit their jobs, respondents consistently reported that workers feel compelled to continue working regardless of the working and living conditions. For example, a health advocate said that undocumented workers feel they cannot quit because they have nowhere to go. They fear the crew leaders and feel they have made a commitment to work, so they do not want to leave. They also feel that they have no other options; when the work ends they are homeless. A farmworker advocate said that workers will not quit a job because it is the only way they can take care of their family. Workers may have no transportation and do not know how to find other work.

These experiences are not limited to undocumented workers. A health advocate noted that H2A workers are afraid of quitting because if they leave they are not allowed to work for another grower; the visa essentially grants a worker the right to work for one particular employer and no one else. Some workers may also be unable to quit if they arrive with debt for fees to cross the border, recruitment, or other travel costs. A legal advocate stated that in these situations an employer may provide a high-interest loan to the worker, who then has to continue working to earn enough money to pay back the employer. Only one interview revealed an incident in which a worker was physically kept on a farm, and that respondent did not provide additional detail about the situation. Although physical confinement was not prevalent, it is clear that workers are effectively confined on farms by other means, such as lack of transportation and fear of quitting.

3.1.1.5 Human Trafficking

Although the interview questions tapped into components of labor trafficking, the word "trafficking" was not mentioned until the end of the interview. The questions were ordered in this manner so that stakeholders' responses would not be limited to situations that they considered trafficking. At the conclusion of the interview respondents were asked to describe the key components of labor or human trafficking, describe situations in which they saw someone they thought might be a trafficking victim, and suggest how issues related to trafficking could be fixed.

Most non-law enforcement stakeholders seemed to have a general understanding of what labor trafficking is, using phrases such as "slavery" and "compelled to work by threat or force." Several of the participants also reported having seen situations in which they thought someone was being trafficked. Examples given included

- a group of young boys who were indigenous speakers, were not with family members, and were in a camp with a bad reputation;
- women at a labor camp who appeared desperate, whose living quarters were separated from the men's only by a sheet, and who were afraid to talk with the outreach workers;
- workers who reported not being able to leave the camp, being paid less than expected, and appearing fearful; and
- a crew leader who engaged in verbal and physical abuse.

Although several of the stakeholders reported situations that they thought might have been trafficking, these instances appeared to occur infrequently. This is particularly interesting given the picture of the working and living conditions of farmworkers that was described in the farmworker interviews (described in detail in the next section), which are suggestive of trafficking. Although various forms of exploitation were seen as common occurrences, most respondents did not think these situations arose to the level of labor trafficking. When contrasting the experiences of farmworkers and the reports of stakeholders, it is important to keep in mind that we cannot definitively say they were victims of trafficking or not. We did not directly ask the farmworkers if they felt they had been

trafficked but rather asked about their experiences with various incidents that could be trafficking. This is a complicated legal issue that cannot be addressed through this type of survey research. The stakeholders clearly feel that the farmworkers are being exploited and abused on a regular basis; however, they rarely view these incidents as actual trafficking.

Moreover, a health outreach worker noted that the workers do not view themselves as being trafficked. Often the situation in the United States is better than in their home country, so they put up with the exploitation they experience. A farmworker advocate also reported that a lot of farmworkers will present potential red flags that suggest trafficking because of the nature of the work. This makes the issue even more difficult to identify and address.

When asked how these problems can be fixed, stakeholders suggested changing labor laws, educating farmworkers about their legal rights, enforcing current labor laws, creating a more welcoming environment for immigrants in general, improving living conditions, and improving access for workers to health clinics and churches.

3.1.2 Law Enforcement Stakeholders

Law enforcement observations of and experiences with labor trafficking provide another critical perspective for understanding the local community context and the working conditions for migrant farmworkers. The three sheriffs who completed the interview are from eastern North Carolina, areas largely dominated by H2A workers. Generally, all three agreed that law enforcement calls involving migrant farmworkers were uncommon and that there had been no incidents of human trafficking in general or labor trafficking specifically. All agreed that migrant farmworkers are well treated and that the local economies depend heavily on the migrant labor so that employers really cannot afford to mistreat workers. The labor demand is so high during the peak agricultural seasons that unhappy workers could easily find other work (although obviously H2A workers are under contract).

The reports of the sheriffs are in direct contrast to the reports by non-law enforcement stakeholders that the job market is poor. This discrepancy may be the result of the sheriffs' limiting their responses to the demand for farm labor, whereas the

other stakeholders reported about the job market overall—yet, the contrast in perceptions of how farmworkers are treated remains clear. Law enforcement respondents insisted that workers were treated well, whereas outreach workers, who have more contact with farmworkers, reported that workers were frequently abused and exploited.

The sheriffs did offer some anecdotes for some local expressions of crimes that seemed to affect migrant farmworkers more than the general population. One sheriff mentioned that there had been multiple reported kidnappings of Latino farmworkers and that some were held for ransom, sometimes with the victims not even knowing that their families were being extorted. Kidnapping as a modus operandi in many parts of Latin America is on the rise, and the strategy may have been replicated among U.S. Latinos.

The main charges against migrant farmworkers who are arrested in these three counties seemed to be alcohol related, usually DUI, and sex crimes, including statutory rape, sexual misconduct, sexual contact with minors, and sexual assault crimes. Two of the sheriffs mentioned criminal complaints related to prostitution for sex workers serving the farmworker populations. The sheriffs also reported some gang activities associated with migrant farmworkers, but, more frequently, they referred to incidents of these types of behaviors in other counties than their own. Farmworker-related burglaries and violent narcotics activities and drug trafficking were not mentioned as an area of concern by any of the sheriffs.

All of the sheriffs reported confusion and frustration with federal responses to undocumented immigrants, especially regarding the apparent lack of border enforcement. Another recurring issue was the local government costs associated with holding violators in local jails on immigration detainers with slow or no response from federal authorities. Generally, the sheriffs believe the federal stance on enforcement is inconsistent with federal law and that local and state governments are forced to deal with the consequences, especially the financial costs, of illegal immigration.

The sheriffs did mention that the increase in formal Latino rights organizations has provided critical reinforcement to the oversight of the farmworker camps. Besides formal federal and state oversight of the camps, the sheriffs indicated that these

advocacy agencies provide additional opportunities for workers to report any problems. Trust between the migrant farmworker and law enforcement is an issue, especially for undocumented workers, but support from advocacy groups plus the addition of bilingual officers has helped improve some of these concerns.

3.2 FARMWORKER INTERVIEWS

The second objective of this study was to survey migrant farmworkers to identify current circumstances or individual-level indicators and migrant and transportation networks of trafficking. To this end, we conducted structured in-person interviews with 380 farmworkers in North Carolina. The respondents were all agricultural workers and included those who worked with table crops in the central and eastern parts of the state and those who worked in the Christmas tree industry in the western counties. The interviews were conducted from September through December 2012.

As described in **Section 2.2.2.1**, the interviews covered a number of topics, including

- respondent demographics (sex, age, place of birth),
- housing (type, people living with),
- immigration experiences (when, how, why entered the United States and North Carolina),
- agricultural experiences (types of crops, size of farms),
- trafficking or exploitation experiences (transportation, threats and fear, rules and control, deception and lies, exploitative labor practices),
- movement within the United States (timing and location of last four entries), and
- transport of goods into and within the United States (food, medicine, money, clothes, electronics, drugs, and weapons).

Responses from the interviews were used to identify the level and type of abuse and exploitation workers experienced, potential individual-level indicators that are associated with trafficking and other forms of abuse, and transportation and migration networks.

3.2.1 Characteristics of Farmworker Respondents

Characteristics of the 380 farmworkers who participated in the research are presented in **Exhibit 3-1**. The vast majority of the workers were male and the average age was 35. Most of the respondents were either married (46%) or cohabitating (21%); less than one in three was single. Educational attainment was extremely low. Nearly half of the workers had either no education or had completed only primary school, 37% had completed secondary school, and only 16% had more than a secondary education. The workers also knew very little English. Nearly one-third knew no English and nearly half knew only a few words; 11% could make simple sentences and 9% were proficient or fluent in English. Most respondents were Mexican and nearly half lived in a migrant labor camp at the time of the interview. On average, workers had been in North Carolina for 2 years. More than 40% were undocumented.

Exhibit 3-1. Characteristics of Interviewed Farmworkers (*n* = 380)

Variable	Mean or %	Std. Dev.
Male	89.21	0.31
Age	35.26	10.47
Marital status		
▪ Single	28.95	0.45
▪ Married	45.53	0.50
▪ Living together	21.05	0.41
Widowed, divorced, or separated	4.47	0.21
Number of children	2.21	1.91
Highest level of education attained		
▪ None	15.30	0.36
▪ Primary	31.40	0.46
▪ Secondary	37.20	0.48
▪ More than secondary	16.09	0.37
English proficiency		
▪ No English	31.84	0.47
▪ Only a few words	47.63	0.50
▪ Simple sentences	11.32	0.32
▪ Proficient or fluent	9.21	0.29
Country of birth		
▪ Mexico	94.46	0.23
▪ Other country	5.54	0.23
Living in a migrant labor camp	47.63	0.50
Years in North Carolina	2.07	4.23
Undocumented	41.93	0.49
Works in western North Carolina	32.37	0.47

3.2.2 Summary of Experiences With Trafficking and Abusive Practices

Manifestations of labor trafficking within the migrant farmworker population are widely varied. Sometimes, workers experience abuses at the hands of middlemen, labor contractors, or crew leaders. A 41-year-old man from Guanajuato, Mexico working in tobacco shared the following, "the crew leader requires all of the workers to pay a $100 fee in order to work here - the owner has no idea the workers must pay a fee to a crew boss." Another 53-year-old Mexican worker reported that he had crossed the border approximately 20 times. Despite his experiences, the contractor who transported him from Florida to North Carolina this year forced him to pay all of his labor earnings for several weeks. Workers often refer to these types of exploitation as a "*trata de blancas*" which is a colloquialism meaning the contractors are like pimps.

Other abusive practices were frequently related to working or housing conditions. A 29-year-old man from Queretaro, Mexico, reported that he fell off of the top of a moving tobacco truck and split his head open. The farmer took him to the doctor but refused to pay for the treatment. Accounts of workers being forced to return to the fields too soon after spraying pesticides or working in tobacco fields without protective gear were prevalent. Other Christmas tree workers in western North Carolina were offered $10 per hour rather than the normal $9 per hour to work late into the night, sometimes all night, and during extreme cold or heavy snowfall but later did not receive the extra pay because it was not specified in their contracts.

Bait and switch deals were also common and some workers mentioned being promised a certain dollar amount or weeks of work and receiving some different arrangement. A 30-year-old man from Nayarit, Mexico reported that he was promised $9.75 an hour to work in tobacco but when he arrived in North Carolina, the only work available was in sweet potatoes for 45¢ a bucket. Similarly, Christmas tree workers earn considerable more than those who weave garland and make wreaths. Several workers say they were lured with promises of cutting trees but forced to accept other work once they arrived. Workers are aware of their vulnerability and one stated, "We do not complain because of our status. I have a big family to support and so, I'll take anything because if I get deported my wife and children will have no one to support them."

H2A and undocumented workers reported different types of exploitation. One 37-year-old H2A worker from Taumalipas said, "Growers will take sick contract (H2A) workers to the doctor but not undocumented workers." One respondent reported that the workers' movements were restricted and that the grower did not allow them to, "leave and do recreational things (clubs, drink, etc.) which might put [the workers] in danger. [The workers] were disciplined after one incident." Another worker said his, "contract states we cannot leave for recreation. They take us to grocery store on Sundays."

Growers sometimes threaten workers saying, "if you leave, I'll call immigration on you," according to a 22-year-old worker from Oaxaca, Mexico. Another worker from Jalisco, Mexico who spoke English said, "Knowing English is a curse because I can understand all the cheating that occurs. The grower pays $17 an hour, the crew leader gets $8 and I get $9." Another shared a similar thought, "my strategy is to avoid speaking English to bosses. That's when you have problems."

Several respondents reported they or their family members had been abandoned by coyotes or being exploited financially and/or sexually. A 30-year-old man from Guatemala reported that his daughter was kidnaped by coyotes on the Mexican border. The dad was forced to electronically transfer $4000 to have his daughter delivered to North Carolina and then the coyote extorted another $400 upon delivery of the child. Another said that 27 people were in her group when she began crossing the border into the United States but only four made it safely.

The survey instrument captured a variety of work experiences that range from abusive practices to labor trafficking. First, we asked the respondents whether a coyote or other individual helped get them into the United States during their most recent trip or helped them travel within the country since their most recent arrival. Individuals who admitted that they did use a coyote were asked several questions about experiences that occurred during transportation, such as being forbidden to leave or restricted in where they could go, being assaulted, or being required to pay higher smuggling fees than originally agreed. A farmworker who agreed that an experience had occurred was subsequently asked whether it happened while crossing into the United States, while traveling within the

country, or both. The results are presented in **Exhibit 3-2**. The most common experience was being forbidden to leave the traveling group or being restricted in where they could go (19%). Among those whose movement was restricted, 88% reported experiencing this while crossing into the United States, and 80% reported that it happened while traveling within the country. Some respondents also reported having their communication with family (17%) and other travelers (11%) restricted or forbidden; communication restrictions occurred more frequently while crossing into the country than while traveling within it. About 13% of farmworkers reported having their identification documents withheld for control purposes. About 5% of respondents were assaulted or threatened with assault if they failed to obey the coyote's rules.

Exhibit 3-2. Summary of Trafficking and Abusive Practices During Transportation

	Number of Respond-ents	%	Std. Dev.
Trafficking			
Held hostage or prevented from leaving safe house while the coyote demanded ransom from their families	142	8.45	0.28
Required to pay more smuggling fees than originally agreed or bad things would happen to the worker or his or her family	131	14.50	0.35
Abusive Practices			
Forbidden from leaving traveling group or restricted as to where they could go	143	18.88	0.39
▪ If yes, while crossing into the United States	26	88.46	0.33
▪ If yes, within United States	20	80.00	0.41
Identification documents withheld for control purposes	142	13.38	0.34
▪ If yes, while crossing into the United States	17	76.47	0.44
▪ If yes, within United States	15	46.67	0.52
Communicating freely with family forbidden or restricted	142	16.90	0.38
▪ If yes, while crossing into the United States	23	69.57	0.47
▪ If yes, within United States	19	63.16	0.50
Communicating freely with other travelers forbidden or restricted	142	11.27	0.32
▪ If yes, while crossing into the United States	14	71.43	0.47
▪ If yes, within United States	11	45.45	0.52
Assaulted or fined for failing to obey the coyote's rules	142	3.52	0.18
▪ If yes, while crossing into the United States	5	80.00	0.45
▪ If yes, within United States	4	50.00	0.58
Threatened with assault or fines for failing to obey the coyote's rules	142	4.93	0.22
▪ If yes, while crossing into the United States	7	57.14	0.53
▪ If yes, within United States	6	50.00	0.55

After the series of questions on transportation, respondents were asked about their experiences with incidents related to threats and fear, rules and control, deception and lies, and other exploitative labor practices. For most items, they were first asked whether each experience had ever happened to them. If they responded affirmatively, they were then asked whether it had happened in the past 12 months and, if so, how many times in the past 12 months. The results are presented in **Exhibit 3-3**. The most common experiences were being denied pay (15%), receiving less pay than promised (12%), and receiving a different amount of work from what was promised (11%). Fewer than 10% of respondents reported ever experiencing physical abuse or threats, sexual abuse or threats, lock-ins, threats to family, and various other threats. However, although physical abuse was reported by fewer than 4% of respondents, those who were physically abused reported the incidents occurring, on average, more than 40 times in the past year.

Exhibit 3-3. Summary of Trafficking and Abusive Practices by Employers

	Number of Respondents	% or mean	Std. Dev.
Trafficking			
Physical abuse ever	373	3.75	0.19
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	15	33.33	0.49
– If yes, # times in past year	9	43.89	120.45
Sexual abuse ever	370	0.27	0.05
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	2	0.00	0.00
– If yes, # times in past year	0		
Threats of physical abuse ever	372	4.57	0.21
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	16	25.00	0.45
– If yes, # times in past year	6	63.83	147.56
Threats of sexual abuse ever	370	0.27	0.05
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	1	0.00	
– If yes, # times in past year	0		
Locked up ever	372	0.81	0.09
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	1	0.00	
– If yes, # times in past year	0		

(continued)

Exhibit 3-3. Summary of Trafficking and Abusive Practices by Employers (continued)

	Number of Respondents	% or mean	Std. Dev.
Threats of harm to you in any other form ever	372	2.15	0.15
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	7	85.71	0.38
– If yes, # times in past year	5	12.80	20.96
Threats of harm to your family in any form ever	372	0.54	0.07
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	2	100.00	0.00
– If yes, # times in past year	2	15.00	7.07
Threats to get you deported ever	372	4.30	0.20
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	14	50.00	0.52
– If yes, # times in past year	7	6.86	14.63
Threats to get you arrested ever	372	1.08	0.10
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	4	50.00	0.58
– If yes, # times in past year	2	2.00	1.41
Threats to turn you over to police or immigration officials ever	372	2.15	0.15
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	8	37.50	0.52
– If yes, # times in past year	3	4.00	5.20
Forbidden from leaving workplace ever	373	6.43	0.25
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	24	37.50	0.49
– If yes, # times in past year	9	23.56	66.17
Restricted where you could go during non-work hours ever	372	5.65	0.23
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	21	38.10	0.50
– If yes, # times in past year	8	2.50	1.93
Identification documents taken away for control purposes ever	372	2.69	0.16
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	9	22.22	0.44
– If yes, # times in past year	1	2.00	
Not allowed adequate food or sleep ever	372	4.03	0.20
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	14	50.00	0.52
– If yes, # times in past year	6	69.00	94.59
Prevented or restricted from communicating freely with family ever	372	1.61	0.13
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	5	60.00	0.55
– If yes, # times in past year	3	61.00	103.06
Prevented or restricted from communicating freely with other workers ever	372	1.88	0.14
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	7	28.57	0.49
– If yes, # times in past year	2	96.00	118.79

(continued)

Exhibit 3-3. Summary of Trafficking and Abusive Practices by Employers (continued)

	Number of Respondents	% or mean	Std. Dev.
Prevented or restricted from communicating freely with others ever	372	1.61	0.13
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	6	16.67	0.41
– If yes, # times in past year	1	180.00	
Abusive Practices			
Pay was less than promised at most recent job	372	11.83	0.32
Type of work different from what was promised at most recent job	371	6.47	0.25
Work environment different from what was promised at most recent job	371	8.09	0.27
Amount of work different from what was promised at most recent job	371	11.32	0.32
Told you would not be believed if you seek help at most recent job	371	4.58	0.21
Instructed to lie about your identity at most recent job	370	1.62	0.13
Instructed to lie about identity of employer	371	1.62	0.13
Denied pay for worked performed in United States ever	371	15.09	0.36
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	56	37.50	0.49
– If yes, # times in past year	21	2.48	4.21
Received less pay than you were promised ever	372	11.83	0.32
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	41	58.54	0.50
– If yes, # times in past year	21	2.33	2.27
Received a bad check from your employer ever	370	2.70	0.16
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	10	20.00	0.42
– If yes, # times in past year	3	1.33	0.58
Employer disappeared before paying you ever	370	4.59	0.21
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	15	20.00	0.41
– If yes, # times in past year	3	1.67	0.58
Told to work in hazardous environments without proper protection ever	371	8.89	0.29
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	27	55.56	0.51
– If yes, # times in past year	18	21.72	50.13
Experienced other work situation you consider abusive or exploitative ever	369	7.32	0.26
▪ If yes, did it occur in the past year	23	65.22	0.49
– If yes, # times in past year	14	3.57	7.69

A legal advocate suggested that, in addition to examining the occurrence of these practices separately, we examine the constellation of violations that farmworkers report; in her experience, a combination of violations may be supportive of a trafficking charge. To this end, we ran an exploratory cluster analysis to determine whether respondents were experiencing particular sets of victimization. First, we summed the number of trafficking and other abusive practices each farmworker reported experiencing. Among those who reported at least one victimization experience, 27% reported only one, whereas 73% reported two or more; the average number of violations was nearly 4 and the maximum was 16.

Given evidence that workers tend to experience multiple violations, we ran a cluster analysis among those who reported at least one victimization experience. We used the Hierarchical Cluster Analysis procedure in SPSS and specified the method as complete linkage method and the measure as a simple match, which are appropriate for use with binary data. The cluster analysis yielded four clusters (**Exhibit 3-4**). Cluster 1 had only 1 respondent who reported experiencing a number of violations, including physical and sexual abuse, threats, and restrictions. Most of the respondents were in Cluster 2 (n = 123) and primarily reported exploitation. Cluster 3 had 17 respondents who reported both exploitation and threats. Cluster 4 had 18 respondents who reported primarily threats and restrictions. These results suggest that there may be patterns of abuse among farmworkers. Future research should further explore the co-occurrence of certain types of exploitation.

Exhibit 3-4. Cluster Analysis Results of Trafficking and Abusive Practices by Employers

Practice	Cluster 1 (n = 1) %	Cluster 2 (n = 123) %	Cluster 3 (n = 17) %	Cluster 4 (n = 18) %
Physical abuse ever	100.00	8.13	11.76	5.56
Sexual abuse ever	0.00	0.81	0.00	0.00
Threats of physical abuse ever	100.00	10.57	5.88	0.00
Threats of sexual abuse ever	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Locked up ever	0.00	1.63	0.00	5.56
Threats of harm to you in any other form ever	100.00	1.63	17.65	11.11
Threats of harm to your family in any form ever	100.00	0.81	0.00	0.00
Threats to get you deported ever	100.00	6.50	23.53	11.11
Threats to get you arrested ever	0.00	0.00	17.65	0.00
Threats to turn you over to police or immigration officials ever	100.00	2.44	17.65	0.00
Forbidden from leaving workplace ever	100.00	14.63	17.65	0.00
Restricted where you could go during non-work hours ever	100.00	13.01	5.88	16.67
Identification documents taken away for control purposes ever	0.00	4.88	11.76	11.11
Not allowed adequate food or sleep ever	100.00	5.69	29.41	5.56
Prevented or restricted from communicating freely with family ever	100.00	0.81	11.76	5.56
Prevented or restricted from communicating freely with other workers ever	100.00	1.63	5.88	11.11
Prevented or restricted from communicating freely with others ever	100.00	0.00	5.88	11.11
Pay was less than promised at most recent job	0.00	20.33	100.00	0.00
Type of work different from what was promised at most recent job	0.00	14.63	23.53	0.00
Amount of work different from what was promised at most recent job	0.00	22.76	70.59	0.00
Told you would not be believed if you seek help at most recent job	0.00	8.94	23.53	0.00
Instructed to lie about your identity at most recent job	100.00	1.63	11.76	5.56
Instructed to lie about identity of employer	100.00	1.63	11.76	5.56
Denied pay for worked performed in United States ever	0.00	20.33	82.35	61.11
Received less pay than you were promised ever	0.00	20.33	76.47	5.56
Received a bad check from your employer ever	0.00	4.07	23.53	5.56
Employer disappeared before paying you ever	0.00	6.50	41.18	0.00
Told to work in hazardous environments without proper protection ever	0.00	17.07	11.76	33.33
Experienced other work situation you consider abusive or exploitative ever	0.00	11.38	35.29	33.33

The items summarized above were used to identify potential trafficking victims. Following Zhang (2012, p. 50), trafficking was measured conservatively, including only actual or threatened infringement of freedom of movement and actual or threatened physical violence. Abusive practices included other grossly unfair treatment or exploitative practices, including fraud and deception. Trafficking violations and other abusive practices may be perpetrated by individuals assisting workers with transportation to or within the United States as well as by employers.

Exhibit 3-5 lists the items that were used to identify potential victims and differentiate between trafficking and non-trafficking abuse by type of perpetrator (i.e., someone assisting with transportation and employers). Workers who responded affirmatively to at least one item in the first column (trafficking violations) were coded as having experienced trafficking; those who responded affirmatively to at least one of the items in the second column (non-trafficking violations) were coded as having experienced non-trafficking abuse. Individuals who reported experiencing either a trafficking violation or non-trafficking abuse were coded as having experienced any violation.

Exhibit 3-5. Survey Items Used to Measure Trafficking and Abusive Practices

Trafficking	Non-Trafficking Abuse[5]
Transportation	
▪ Your identification documents were withheld not for safekeeping or travel convenience but for control purposes ▪ You were held hostage at or prevented from leaving a safe house before or after you crossed into the United States while the coyotes were demanding ransom from your family	▪ You were forbidden from leaving the traveling group, or restricted as to where you could go ▪ You were forbidden or restricted from communicating freely with your family ▪ You were forbidden or restricted from communicating freely with other travelers ▪ You were assaulted or fined when you failed to obey the coyote's rules ▪ You were threatened with assault or fines when you failed to obey the coyote's rules ▪ You or your family were required to pay more smuggling fees than originally agreed or bad things would happen to you or your family
Employer	
Threats and fear: ▪ Physical abuse (including beating, kicking, slapping, etc.) ▪ Sexual abuse ▪ Threats of physical abuse (including beating, kicking, slapping, etc.) ▪ Threats of sexual abuse ▪ Locked up (including physically restrained) ▪ Threats of harm to you in any other form ▪ Threats of harm to your family in any form ▪ Threats to get you deported ▪ Threats to get you arrested ▪ Threats to turn you over to police or immigration officials	Deception and lies: ▪ Pay was less than you were promised ▪ The type of work was different from what you were promised ▪ The work environment was different from what you were promised ▪ The amount of work was different from what you were promised ▪ You were told that you will not be believed if you try to seek help from U.S. authorities ▪ You were instructed to lie about your identity ▪ You were instructed to lie about the identity of your employer
Rules and control: ▪ You were forbidden from leaving the workplace ▪ You were restricted as to where you could go during non-working hours ▪ Your identification papers were taken away, not for safekeeping but for control purposes ▪ You were not allowed adequate food or sleep ▪ You were prevented or restricted from communicating freely with your family ▪ You were prevented or restricted from communicating freely with other workers ▪ You were prevented or restricted from communicating freely with others outside the workplace	Exploitative labor practices: ▪ You were denied pay for work you performed in the United States ▪ You received less pay than what you were promised ▪ You received a bad check from your employer ▪ Your employer disappeared before paying you ▪ You were told to work in hazardous environments without proper protection ▪ You experienced any other work situation you consider abusive or exploitative

[5] A legal advocate who reviewed this classification scheme suggested that a combination of the practices listed under non-trafficking abuse can, in some circumstances, be supportive of a trafficking charge.

A summary of the prevalence of each type of violation is presented in **Exhibit 3-6**. About one-quarter of respondents reported ever experiencing a situation that may constitute trafficking, and 39% reported other abuse. Among workers who reported traveling with a coyote to get into or move about in the United States, 20% reported experiencing trafficking and 38% reported other abuse. One in five workers reported experiencing trafficking at the hands of an employer, and one in three reported experiencing other abuse. The most common type of exploitation was abusive labor practices (34%), followed by deception and lies (21%), restriction and deprivation (15%), and threats to physical integrity (12%).

Exhibit 3-6. Summary of Trafficking and Abusive Practices

Practice	Number of Respondents	%	Std. Dev.
Any violation	373	45.00	0.50
▪ Trafficking violation	373	25.47	0.44
▪ Abusive practice	372	39.25	0.49
Any violation during transportation*	142	45.77	0.40
▪ Trafficking violation	142	19.72	0.40
▪ Abusive practice	143	38.46	0.49
Employer violation	372	40.05	0.40
▪ Trafficking violation	373	20.38	0.40
– Threat to physical integrity	373	12.33	0.33
– Restriction/deprivation	373	15.01	0.36
▪ Abusive practice	372	33.60	0.47
– Deception/lies	372	20.97	0.41
– Other abusive practices	372	33.60	0.47

*Among respondents who traveled with a coyote

3.2.3 Individual-Level Indicators of Trafficking and Abusive Practices

To identify potential predictors or indicators that trafficking and other forms of abuse are occurring, we examined differences in these outcomes across a number of characteristics of the workers. We first conducted bivariate t-tests (dichotomous variables) and chi-square tests (categorical variables) to identify characteristics that are associated with the likelihood of experiencing trafficking and abuse. We then estimated a series of multivariate logistic regression models that allowed us to identify significant associations while controlling for other factors.

3.2.3.1 Bivariate Results

Results from the bivariate analyses are presented in **Exhibit 3-7**. The results suggest that women are more likely than men to report experiencing any violation; this difference appears to be driven by non-trafficking abuse, which was reported by 56% of female respondents and 37% of male respondents. Marital status was associated with non-trafficking abuse: single workers were the most likely to report experiencing abuse and married workers were the least likely (50% and 32%, respectively). However, we do not know whether this result is due to living with a partner or something else; married respondents' spouses could be living in their home country. Educational attainment was not associated with trafficking or other abuse.

The likelihood of reporting all forms of abuse increases with English proficiency. Respondents who reported speaking no English were the least likely to report experiencing abuse or trafficking, whereas those who were fluent were the most likely. This is somewhat consistent with Zhang's (2012) finding that those who could speak simple sentences in English were more likely to experience trafficking and other violations than those who spoke only a few words.

In discussions with advocates, as well as anecdotal findings during interviews, possible explanations for this finding emerged. These include the following: (1) English speakers may be more likely to understand that they are being abused or mistreated; (2) English speakers may have more interaction with owners, crew leaders, and others in authority and, thus, may be more frequent targets of abuse; and (3) English speakers may be more forthcoming during the interviews (although interviews were conducted in Spanish). The first and third explanations would suggest that the observed difference is due to differences in recognition and reporting and not of actual differences in abuse. The second posits an explanation for why there may be an actual difference in abuse. Future research should collect information to address these (and other) explanations, as well as to confirm the findings.

Workers from Mexico reported lower levels of non-trafficking abuse than those from other countries in Latin America; however, the reported levels of trafficking were similar for Mexican and non-Mexican workers. This is perhaps not

surprising, because stakeholders reported that those from farther south in Mexico and from other Central American countries were more vulnerable. Advocates also suggested that indigenous workers, who speak Spanish as a second language or not at all, are particularly vulnerable to abuse. However, we did not collect information on ethnicity, and our field interviewers were not fluent in indigenous languages. Future research should collect information about indigenous ethnicity in the interview and, if possible, conduct interviews in indigenous languages for those who are not proficient in Spanish to better capture the experiences of those who may be most at risk for trafficking.

Workers living in a migrant labor camp were less likely to report non-trafficking abuse than those with other living arrangements, and respondents in western counties reported higher levels of abuse and trafficking than those in the eastern and central counties. These findings may be related. Most workers in this sample who reported living in a labor camp were contracted through H2A or were living in areas in the east where H2A workers and the accompanying oversight are more common. Generally, farmers in eastern North Carolina are more accustomed to contracting with larger numbers of migrant farmworkers for longer periods of time. In these scenarios, the growers are aware of the competition for able and willing workers, and improved housing and working conditions are one incentive that owners can provide. Workers not living in a labor camp are more likely to be transient and undocumented. They have increased vulnerability for a variety of reasons: undocumented status, unstable employment or housing, lack of transportation, increased likelihood of complications or vulnerabilities related to dependents, greater likelihood of being non-Spanish speaking or female, higher numbers of children, fewer community advocates, and less official oversight of housing and labor conditions.

Exhibit 3-7. Trafficking and Abusive Practices, by Respondent Characteristics

Characteristic	Any Violation		Trafficking		Abuse	
	%	Std. Dev.	%	Std. Dev.	%	Std. Dev.
Gender [a, c]						
▪ Male	**42.47**	0.50	23.80	0.43	**37.16**	0.48
▪ Female	**65.85**	0.48	39.02	0.49	**56.10**	0.50
Marital status [c]						
▪ Single	51.85	0.50	25.93	0.44	**49.53**	0.50
▪ Married	38.69	0.49	25.00	0.43	**31.55**	0.47
▪ Living together	47.50	0.50	22.50	0.42	**41.25**	0.50
▪ Widowed, divorced, or separated	52.94	0.51	41.18	0.51	**41.18**	0.51
Highest level of education attained						
▪ None	50.00	0.50	30.36	0.46	46.43	0.50
▪ Primary	43.86	0.50	26.32	0.44	39.47	0.49
▪ Secondary	46.10	0.50	22.70	0.42	39.72	0.49
▪ More than secondary	40.98	0.50	26.23	0.44	31.67	0.47
English proficiency [a, b, c]						
▪ No English	**31.93**	0.47	**15.13**	0.36	**30.25**	0.46
▪ Only a few words	**46.07**	0.50	**28.65**	0.45	**39.55**	0.49
▪ Simple sentences	**59.52**	0.50	**30.95**	0.47	**52.38**	0.51
▪ Proficient or fluent	**67.65**	0.47	**38.24**	0.49	**52.94**	0.51
Country of birth [a, c]						
▪ Mexico	**43.18**	0.50	25.00	0.43	**37.32**	0.48
▪ Other country	**75.00**	0.44	30.00	0.47	**70.00**	0.47
Housing [a, c]						
▪ Migrant labor camp	**34.09**	0.48	22.16	0.42	**29.71**	0.46
▪ Other than migrant labor camp	**54.82**	0.50	28.43	0.45	**47.72**	0.50
Legal status [a, b, c]						
▪ Undocumented	**65.07**	0.48	**36.99**	0.48	**60.27**	0.49
▪ H2A visa or other legal status	**26.11**	0.44	**15.76**	0.37	**19.31**	0.40
Location [a, b, c]						
▪ Western North Carolina	**64.75**	0.48	**35.25**	0.48	**58.20**	0.50
▪ Eastern/central North Carolina	**35.46**	0.48	**20.72**	0.41	**30.00**	0.46

Notes: Results of significance tests are t-tests for dichotomous variables and chi-squares for categorical variables.
[a] $p < 0.05$ for any violation
[b] $p < 0.05$ for trafficking
[c] $p < 0.05$ for abuse.

3.2.3.2 Multivariate Results

With the exception of educational attainment, which was not significant in any of the bivariate models, each of the individual characteristics was included in logistic regression models for reports of any violation, trafficking violations, and non-trafficking abuse. The results are presented in **Exhibit 3-8**. Male workers were significantly less likely to report trafficking than female workers, but the likelihood of other abuse did not vary significantly by gender. Additionally, workers with greater English proficiency were more likely to experience any violation and trafficking, but English proficiency was not associated with non-trafficking abuse. A worker's legal status was the strongest and most consistent predictor of experiencing trafficking and other violations. The odds that an undocumented worker will experience any violation, trafficking, or other abuse were 4.2, 2.8, and 5.2 times greater, respectively, than those of a worker with legal status.

Exhibit 3-8. Logistic Regression Models of Individual Level Indicators of Trafficking and Abusive Practices

Variable	Any violation			Trafficking			Abuse		
	Coef	OR	p	Coef	OR	p	Coef	OR	p
Constant	-0.74	0.48	.401	-2.73	**0.07**	.003	-1.19	0.31	.163
Male	-0.73	0.48	.076	-0.89	**0.41**	.027	-0.43	0.65	.286
Marital status									
▪ Single (reference)									
▪ Married	0.08	1.08	.803	0.26	1.30	.436	-0.19	.544	0.83
▪ Living together	0.00	1.00	.993	-0.24	0.78	.547	-0.13	.708	0.87
▪ Widowed, divorced, or separated	-0.09	0.91	.876	0.96	2.62	.105	-0.64	.298	0.53
English proficiency									
▪ No English (ref)									
▪ Only a few words	0.79	**2.21**	.006	1.01	**2.75**	.003	0.56	1.75	.057
▪ Simple sentences	0.92	**2.50**	.032	0.86	2.37	.069	0.65	1.92	.130
▪ Proficient or fluent	1.33	**3.78**	.005	1.37	**3.94**	.006	0.57	1.77	.232
Born in Mexico	-0.34	0.71	.597	0.57	1.77	.395	-0.21	0.81	.728
Living in a migrant labor camp	0.00	1.00	.990	0.50	1.64	.167	0.10	1.11	.747
Undocumented	1.43	**4.18**	.000	1.03	**2.80**	.001	1.65	**5.22**	.000
Works in western North Carolina	0.47	1.61	.172	0.71	2.02	.068	0.39	1.48	.263
Nagelkerke R Square	.249			.165			.248		

Given the strength of the relationship between legal status and various forms of exploitation, we next reran the logistic regression models and included only undocumented workers. The results are presented in **Exhibit 3-9**. Consistent with the model including all workers, marital status was not a significant predictor of any type of violation for undocumented workers. In contrast to the findings for all workers, gender was not associated with trafficking among those who are undocumented. Moreover, English proficiency was not as strongly related to trafficking among undocumented immigrants.

The most interesting differences to emerge involve living in a migrant labor camp and working in a specific region of North Carolina. Neither of these variables was significant in the model including all workers. For workers who are undocumented, living in a labor camp and working in the western part of the state (i.e., tree farming) were associated with a greater likelihood of experiencing trafficking.

We also reran the logistic regression models including only documented workers (**Exhibit 3-10**). Consistent with the undocumented workers, marital status and sex were not associated with trafficking or other violations. Documented workers with greater English proficiency were more likely to report experiencing any violation and trafficking. In contrast to the results for undocumented workers, living in a labor camp and working in western North Carolina were not associated with trafficking or other violations among those with an H2A visa or other documentation.

Exhibit 3-9. Logistic Regression Models of Individual Level Indicators of Trafficking and Abusive Practices, Undocumented Workers

	Any violation			Trafficking			Abuse		
	Coef	**OR**	**p**	**Coef**	**OR**	**p**	**Coef**	**OR**	**p**
Constant	0.59	1.80	0.53	-1.84	**0.16**	0.06	0.13	1.14	0.89
Male	-0.65	0.52	0.21	-0.74	0.48	0.15	-0.20	0.82	0.69
Marital status									
▪ Single (ref)									
▪ Married	0.16	1.18	0.72	-0.26	0.77	0.57	0.05	1.05	0.92
▪ Living together	-0.11	0.89	0.82	-0.43	0.65	0.41	-0.22	0.80	0.65
▪ Widowed, divorced, or separated	-0.48	0.62	0.50	0.88	2.41	0.21	-0.74	0.48	0.29
English proficiency									
▪ No English (ref)									
▪ Only a few words	1.02	**2.78**	0.02	0.71	2.04	0.11	0.95	**2.58**	0.02
▪ Simple sentences	0.67	1.95	0.25	0.20	1.23	0.75	0.56	1.75	0.32
▪ Proficient or fluent	0.75	2.11	0.26	0.68	1.97	0.32	0.17	1.19	0.79
Born in Mexico	-0.37	0.69	0.58	0.68	1.97	0.33	-0.15	0.86	0.81
Living in a migrant labor camp	0.19	1.21	0.71	1.02	**2.78**	0.07	0.12	1.13	0.80
Works in western North Carolina	0.54	1.72	0.26	1.16	**3.18**	0.03	0.28	1.32	0.55
Nagelkerke R Square	.084			.112			.072		

Exhibit 3-10. Logistic Regression Models of Individual Level Indicators of Trafficking and Abusive Practices, Documented Workers

	Any violation			Trafficking			Abuse		
	Coef	**OR**	**p**	**Coef**	**OR**	**p**	**Coef**	**OR**	**p**
Constant	-1.06	0.34	0.27	-3.05	**0.05**	0.01	-0.69	0.50	0.48
Male	-0.69	0.50	0.38	-1.01	0.36	0.20	-0.87	0.42	0.26
Marital status									
▪ Single (ref)									
▪ Married	0.14	1.15	0.76	1.24	3.46	0.08	-0.28	0.76	0.56
▪ Living together	0.11	1.11	0.85	0.56	1.75	0.49	0.01	1.01	0.98
▪ Widowed, divorced, or separated	0.84	2.32	0.41	1.16	3.20	0.38	0.00	1.00	1.00
English proficiency									
▪ No English (ref)									
▪ Only a few words	0.59	1.81	0.14	1.58	**4.85**	0.01	0.11	1.11	0.80
▪ Simple sentences	1.17	**3.22**	0.06	2.17	**8.79**	0.01	0.59	1.81	0.37
▪ Proficient or fluent	1.79	**5.96**	0.01	2.39	**10.95**	0.01	0.81	2.24	0.25
Living in a migrant labor camp	-0.17	0.85	0.66	-0.02	0.98	0.96	-0.03	0.97	0.95
Works in western North Carolina	0.50	1.65	0.35	0.10	1.10	0.89	0.47	1.60	0.42
Nagelkerke R Square	0.104			0.169			0.055		

3.2.4 Migration and Transportation Networks

In addition to identifying individual-level indicators of trafficking, this study sought to better understand the migration and transportation networks of farmworkers in North Carolina, including where individuals come from and what goods may be transported with them. The rest of this section summarizes farmworker migration and the goods that may be brought with them.

3.2.4.1 Farmworker Migration

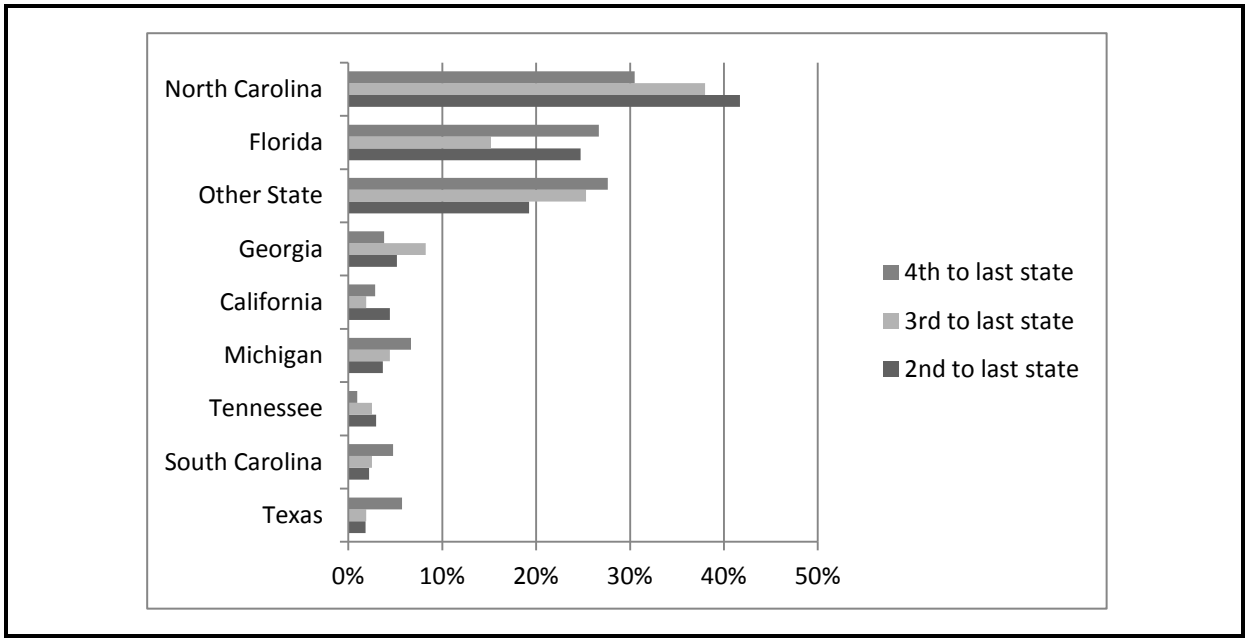
Migrant farmworkers were asked why they came to North Carolina this time, how many other times they had come to North Carolina, whether they planned to stay for a while, and whether they were assisted by a coyote when traveling to or within the United States (**Exhibit 3-11**). The most commonly reported reason for coming to North Carolina was for work (54%), followed by recruiters for the H2A visa program (22%), and family (17%). Over one-third of the respondents used a coyote for help getting into the United States, and about one-quarter used a coyote to help travel within the country. Relatively few workers reported following seasonal crops (5%) or following a crew leader or boss (< 1%). On average, farmworkers had come to North Carolina more than three times before their current stay, and nearly one-third reported wanting to stay in the area.

Exhibit 3-11. Travel to North Carolina

	Mean or %	Std. Dev.
Why did you come to North Carolina this time*		
▪ Family	17.4	0.379
▪ Look for better job	53.8	0.499
▪ Seasonal crops	5.4	0.227
▪ Crew leader/boss	0.3	0.053
▪ Recruiters for H2A	22.2	0.416
▪ Other	9.4	0.292
How many other times had you come to North Carolina?	3.51	4.769
Do you want to stay in North Carolina for a while?	30.3	0.460
Did a coyote help you get into the United States?	36.1	0.483
Did a coyote help you travel within the United States?	25.3	0.438

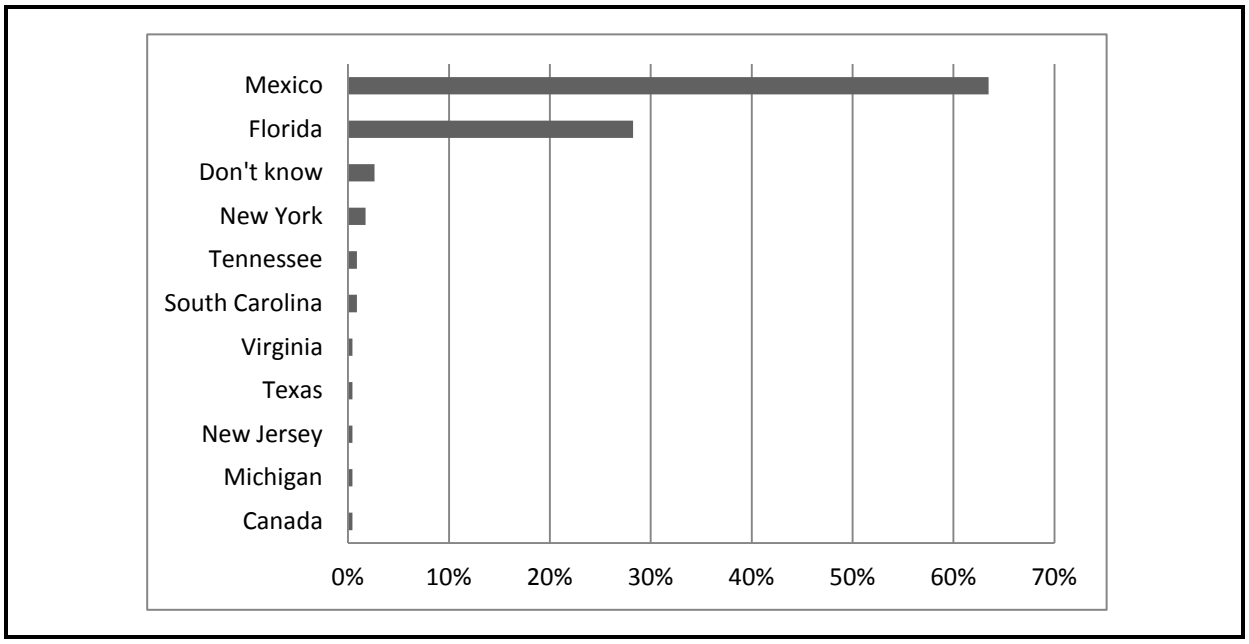
Respondents were also asked about where they lived (city and state) before moving to their current location in North Carolina this time. The questions were asked separately about the previous three places they lived. The frequencies of the previous three states respondents reported living in before their current stay in North Carolina are presented in **Exhibit 3-12**. Most workers appeared to be moving primarily either within North Carolina (i.e., they reported living in a different North Carolina town than where they live currently) or between North Carolina and Florida. Although most workers reported living in the Southeast, Michigan, Texas, and California were also among the most common states where workers reported living previously.

Exhibit 3-12. Previous Three States Where Respondents Reported Living Before Current Stay in North Carolina



Respondents were also asked to report where they planned to move next (**Exhibit 3-13**). Over 60% of the workers said that they would be going back to Mexico next; another 30% were going to Florida. These findings are likely due to the timing of the interviews, most of which were conducted fairly late in the season. Indeed, during our interviews some respondents indicated that many workers had already returned home. Workers going to Florida may have been planning to work in the citrus industry, which peaks in the winter.

Exhibit 3-13. Next Location Where Respondents Planned to Move



3.2.4.2 Transportation of Goods

In addition to learning about the migration patterns of North Carolina farmworkers, we were interested in examining whether the movement of workers may be accompanied by the movement of other goods, such as weapons or drugs. Respondents were read a list of items and asked whether the people who provided them transportation into or within the United States brought any of the items with them. Respondents were asked about the transportation of relatively benign items (i.e., food, clothing, and medicine) in addition to those of primary interest (i.e., guns and drugs).

As shown in **Exhibit 3-14**, farmworkers reported that people who provided them transportation did not bring other goods into or within the United States. Fewer than 4% of respondents indicated that each of these items was transported with them. For example, only 3% of respondents reported that mundane items such as food were transported into or within the country. Fewer than 2% of respondents indicated that either drugs or weapons were transported. However, field interviewers reported that respondents were frequently confused by this question, which may suggest that the networks in which they were traveling did not appear to be involved in the transport of other goods.

Exhibit 3-14. Transportation of Goods

	Transported Into the United States		Transported Within the United States	
	%	Std. Dev.	%	Std. Dev.
Food	3.25	.178	2.52	.157
Medicine	2.37	.152	0.94	.097
Money	3.55	.185	0.63	.079
Clothes	2.96	.170	1.26	.112
Electronics	1.18	.108	0.63	.079
Drugs	0.89	.094	0.94	.097
Weapons	1.78	.132	1.26	.112

3.3 SECONDARY COUNTY-LEVEL DATA

The third objective of this study was to identify potential community indicators and impacts of trafficking. To this end, we collected county-level data from a number of existing datasets, including the 2010 Census and American Community Survey, 2010 County Business Patterns, 2010 Uniform Crime Reports, and the North Carolina State Center for Health Statistics. As described in more detail in **Section 2.2.3**, the data covered a broad range of community characteristics, including

- demographic characteristics (age, sex, race/ethnicity),
- citizenship and language spoken at home,
- unemployment and agricultural business patterns,
- crime,
- communicable disease, and
- pregnancy and infant mortality.

The secondary data were first used to describe the characteristics of the counties in which farmworker interviews were conducted. Data from the farmworker interviews were used to identify the number of farmworker respondents who reported trafficking or other abuse within each county. The farmworker and secondary datasets were merged to compare the prevalence of trafficking and other abuse across various county characteristics.

3.3.1 Characteristics of Counties

Interviews were conducted in 17 counties in North Carolina; characteristics of these counties are shown in **Exhibit 3-15**. On average, the counties had more than 65,000 residents, about half of whom were male and nearly one-quarter under the age of 18. The racial composition varied substantially across counties, with 51%–95% of the population identifying as white (mean = 72%). On average, about 10% of the county residents were Hispanic; however, Latino composition ranged from 3% to 21%. The vast majority of county residents were citizens. About 8% of residents speak primarily Spanish at home; of these, 38% speak English very well.

Exhibit 3-15. Characteristics of Counties

	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Dev.
Total population[a]	17	11,155	168,878	65,666.4	42,433.0
Percent male[a]	17	47.7	54.4	49.6	1.8
Percent under age 18[a]	17	13.8	27.8	22.5	4.0
Race[a] (%)					
▪ White only	17	50.8	95.5	72.3	17.2
▪ Black only	17	0.6	40.5	18.3	15.3
▪ American Indian/Alaska Native alone	17	0.2	9.4	1.1	2.2
▪ Asian only	17	0.3	3.5	0.8	0.7
▪ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander only	17	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1
▪ Other race only	17	1.2	15.1	5.7	3.8
▪ Two or more races	17	0.8	3.1	1.7	.6
▪ Hispanic ethnicity[a]	17	3.4	20.6	9.7	5.2
Citizenship[b] (%)					
▪ U.S. citizen by birth	17	86.9	96.5	92.65	3.0
▪ U.S. citizen by naturalization	17	.42	2.3	1.2	0.5
▪ Not a U.S. citizen	17	2.1	12.3	5.9	3.0
Percent who speak Spanish in the home[b]	17	3.0	17.5	8.2	4.4
Percent Spanish speakers who speak English well[b]	17	7.1	62.8	38.4	11.4
Percent adults in labor force[b]	17	68.7	60.3	4.3	51.9
Percent employed in agriculture, forestry, fishing, hunting, and mining[b]	17	11.5	4.4	3.6	0.7
Median household income ($)[b]	17	49888.0	39032.2	4670.0	32478.0
Mean household income ($)[b]	17	60693.0	51555.4	4968.9	42770.0
Percent households receiving food stamps[b]	17	21.0	13.7	3.4	5.9

(continued)

Exhibit 3-15. Characteristics of Counties (continued)

	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Dev.
Percent families with income below poverty[b]	17	19.9	13.9	2.7	10.4
Percent change in Hispanic population, 2000–2010[c]	17	45.7	391.2	126.2	83.7
Percent school students who are Hispanic[d]	17	7.2	35.0	16.5	9.0
Unemployment rate, July 2012[e]	17	8.4	13.5	10.5	1.4
Violent crime[f]	12	4.7	28.5	13.0	8.2
▪ Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter[f]	12	0.0	1.9	0.4	0.6
▪ Forcible rape[f]	12	0.2	4.7	1.2	1.2
▪ Robbery[f]	12	0.2	4.7	1.5	1.3
▪ Aggravated assault[f]	12	3.1	26.5	9.8	6.6
▪ Property crime[f]	12	94.7	305.2	155.7	59.5
▪ Burglary[f]	12	21.5	142.3	63.6	33.6
▪ Larceny-theft[f]	12	56.9	149.8	82.9	25.5
▪ Motor vehicle theft[f]	12	3.9	14.2	9.2	3.3
▪ Arson[f]	12	0.0	3.5	0.9	0.9
Communicable disease rates, 2005–2009[g]					
▪ Syphilis	17	0.0	21.4	4.6	5.4
▪ Gonorrhea	17	3.3	397.3	131.9	121.4
▪ AIDS	17	0.0	17.1	6.0	5.0
▪ Chlamydia	17	39.7	582.3	292.1	190.7
▪ Tuberculosis	17	0.0	8.7	3.6	2.9
Pregnancy rates, females 15–19, 2005–2009[g]					
▪ Birth	17	26.5	78.9	55.9	13.8
▪ Abortion	17	3.3	16.6	10.2	3.8
▪ Pregnancy	17	34.1	84.8	66.4	15.1
Infant mortality rates, 2005–2009[g]					
▪ Fetal	17	1.9	12.7	7.5	3.1
▪ Neonatal	17	2.2	8.8	5.8	1.9
▪ Post	17	0.7	5.6	3.0	1.1
▪ Infant	17	4.3	14.3	8.8	2.4

[a] 2010 U.S. Census
[b] 2010 American Community Survey (5-year estimate)
[c] Center for Geographic Information and Analysis
[d] North Carolina Public Schools Statistical Profile
[e] Bureau of Labor Statistics
[f] 2010 Uniform Crime Reports crime rates per 10,000 population
[g] North Carolina State Center for Health Statistics

3.3.2 Summary of County-Level Experiences With Trafficking and Abusive Practices

To assess whether victimization varied by county characteristics, we assigned the counties values of low, medium, or high across a number of characteristics (percentage of population that reports Hispanic ethnicity, percentage of public school students who report Hispanic ethnicity, Hispanic population change 2000–2010, percentage of population not a citizen, percentage of labor force employed in agriculture, and percentage of families below poverty). Counties in which interviews were conducted were ranked on each item and divided into thirds. Counties in the top third of a distribution were coded as high, those in the middle third were coded as medium, and those in the bottom third were coded as low. We then merged the county data with the worker data and ran t-tests comparing the prevalence of any violation, trafficking violations, and non-trafficking abuse across these county-level characteristics.

As shown in **Exhibit 3-16**, workers in counties with moderate and large Hispanic populations were less likely to report all types of victimization than those from counties with relatively small Hispanic populations. The results were similar for the proportion of public school students who are Hispanic. However, workers in counties with larger increases in the Latino population between 2000 and 2010 were more likely to be victimized than those in counties with small increases in the Hispanic population. Victimization was most common in counties with relatively small populations of noncitizens. It is unclear what is driving these findings. It appears that areas with large (and stable) Hispanic populations provide some protection for farmworkers, whereas areas that experienced a larger increase in the Hispanic population place workers at greater risk for victimization. This is somewhat consistent with the minority threat perspective, which suggests that increases in minority populations may be perceived as threatening and result in greater social control of these groups. It is also plausible that changes in an area's ethnic composition may be accompanied by other changes in industry and job availability that in turn affect risk for trafficking and exploitation.

Interestingly, trafficking and non-trafficking abuse were less common in counties with a high proportion of the labor force employed in agriculture than in counties with low levels of

agriculture. It is possible that counties with high levels of agriculture are also home to large commercial farms, which may be subject to more oversight and regulation than smaller farms. Victimization was also more common among workers in counties with low levels of poverty than in those with moderate and high levels of poverty.

Exhibit 3-16. Comparison of Trafficking and Abusive Practices, by County Characteristics

	Any Violation		Trafficking		Abuse	
	%	Std. Dev.	%	Std. Dev.	%	Std. Dev.
Percent population Hispanic						
▪ Low	60.59	11.79	31.75	10.32	54.80	11.62
▪ Medium	48.81[a]	23.62	29.01	17.37	42.12[a]	22.49
▪ High	35.21[b]	12.03	20.68[b]	6.14	29.70[b]	13.81
Percent public school students Hispanic						
▪ Low	60.59	11.79	31.75	10.32	54.80	11.62
▪ Medium	41.48[a]	25.12	28.32	15.76	33.80[a]	24.59
▪ High	37.34[b]	11.04	20.43[b]	6.47	32.27[b]	12.44
Percent Hispanic population change 2000–2010						
▪ Low	35.43	7.28	20.03	4.52	29.87	7.75
▪ Medium	46.46[a]	25.59	23.23	17.76	40.15[a]	23.09
▪ High	56.83[b]	18.07	33.58[b]	9.69	50.89[b]	20.21
Percent population not a citizen						
▪ Low	60.59	11.79	31.75	10.32	54.80	11.62
▪ Medium	33.23[a]	15.20	23.30[a]	13.09	27.03[a]	17.88
▪ High	41.52[b]	17.46	22.89[b]	10.27	35.83[b]	16.79
Percent labor force employed in agriculture						
▪ Low	50.00	26.81	28.57	15.58	50.00	26.81
▪ Medium	49.07	18.24	29.15	10.08	42.65	19.56
▪ High	40.14	16.16	21.26[b]	10.94	33.97[b]	14.70
Percent families below poverty						
▪ Low	62.11	8.03	32.77	8.25	56.96	8.95
▪ Medium	29.69[a]	18.47	21.88[a]	16.37	25.00[a]	19.90
▪ High	39.71[b]	15.43	22.20[b]	9.29	33.11[b]	14.67

[a] t-test comparing workers living in low- and medium-ranked counties significant at $p < 0.05$.
[b] t-test comparing workers living low- and high-ranked counties significant at $p < 0.05$.

4 Conclusions

4.1 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In summary, the major findings of the study include the following.

- Whereas law enforcement respondents were insistent that farmworkers were treated well, outreach workers, who have more contact with farmworkers, reported that they were frequently abused and exploited.
- About one-quarter of respondents reported ever experiencing a situation that may constitute trafficking and 39% reported other abuse.
- The most common type of exploitation was abusive labor practices (34%), followed by deception and lies (21%), restriction and deprivation (15%), and threats to physical integrity (12%).
- Workers with greater English proficiency were more likely to experience any violation and trafficking, but English proficiency was not associated with non-trafficking abuse.
- A worker's lack of legal status was the strongest and most consistent predictor of experiencing trafficking and other violations.
- Workers in counties with moderate and large Hispanic populations were less likely to report all types of victimization than those from counties with relatively small Hispanic populations.
- Trafficking and non-trafficking abuse were less common in counties with a high proportion of the labor force employed in agriculture than in counties with low levels of agriculture.

These findings address the two primary goals of this study:

- Goal 1. Document the characteristics and indicators of labor trafficking, including component crimes, collateral crimes, and other community impacts.
- Goal 2. Provide SLLE with actionable knowledge to help identify labor trafficking through improving their decision making with respect to and their response to potential human labor trafficking.

With regard to Goal 1, we identified several individual and community indicators of labor trafficking. English proficiency and legal status were the strongest and most consistent indicators that trafficking and other exploitation may be occurring. Interestingly, workers in areas with small Hispanic populations and low levels of agriculture were more likely report victimization than workers in other areas. We did not find support for the notion that a web of crime is associated with human trafficking. Indeed, very few workers reported that any goods were being transported with them when they entered the country or traveled within it.

These findings provide SLLE with some actionable knowledge. First, these findings highlight that, in contrast to the understanding of law enforcement respondents, the farmworkers reported that labor trafficking activities and abusive labor practices were both common in parts of North Carolina. The implication of this law enforcement identity problem is described in more detail below. Additionally, the results suggest that when SLLE encounter undocumented farmworkers, they should consider them to be potential trafficking victims. As SLLE becomes more involved in immigration enforcement, they may be more likely to have these types of encounters. Additionally, the study findings suggest that law enforcement agencies in areas with small Hispanic populations and low levels of agriculture are not immune from trafficking; indeed, they may have greater problems than other areas.

4.2 IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

4.2.1 The Problem of Law Enforcement Identification

It should be noted that labor trafficking has a law enforcement identification problem, which makes it difficult for government agencies to develop effective counter-strategies. Three major

components make up this enforcement identification problem. First, as we found in this study, the victims' legal status was found to be among the most important predictors of their risk exposure; few other variables could explain as much of their victimization experience. However, the illegal status of the migrant farmworkers may also confound anti-trafficking efforts. Because of their lack of legal status, undocumented workers will most likely choose to remain quiet about abuses (Brennan, 2010). Immigration raids at workplaces conducted by federal agents and the recent passage of state laws empowering local police to act on immigration matters only drive unauthorized workers further underground, thus making them even more vulnerable to trafficking violation and abuse at the workplace. It is difficult to contemplate or implement law enforcement measures when the victims are hidden and unwilling to cooperate because of their illegal status.

Second, unlike sex trafficking, which often involves unsavory establishments and characters—such as strip clubs and pimps—labor trafficking is perpetrated by business operators, homeowners, and farm owners who are mostly ordinary members of the community. Their otherwise ordinary presence in the community makes it difficult to provoke moral outrage. To complicate the matter further, the most likely victims of forced labor are the undocumented farmworkers who are often regarded by law enforcement as "illegal" rather than "victims." The stigmatization of illegal immigrants makes it difficult to invoke sympathy from legislative bodies or the public.

Third, labor trafficking activities (i.e., those meeting the criteria of legal definition) and abusive labor practices have traditionally been handled by regulatory agencies that enforce compliance with labor laws, rather than by the criminal justice system. However, standard economic theory suggests that business owners will comply with labor regulations only if the likelihood of detection of violations is high and penalties are costly (Becker, 1968). Business owners weigh the consequences of noncompliance should they be caught and fined by government audits (Ashenfelter & Smith, 1979). Unfortunately, for most employers and smugglers, penalties for labor abuses seem a remote possibility. Only in recent years have legislatures begun to consider aspects of these labor abuses to be criminal. Police investigations and prosecutorial agencies will need time to develop protocols and procedures that target these activities.

Moreover, the bailiwicks of the police and that of Department of Labor officials overlap such that labor trafficking and abusive labor practices are traditionally handled by labor officials, whereas conventional criminal matters fall to the police. Our law enforcement interviews combined with the Department of Labor's refusal to participate in the study suggest that no official agencies believe that they are responsible for protecting farmworkers from abuse, exploitation, and trafficking. Each of these agencies needs to take greater responsibility for the well-being of farmworkers. If neither agency will take the necessary steps to protect farmworkers, then it may be necessary to create a distinct government agency whose sole purpose is to protect the interests of the farmworkers.

These identification issues among law enforcement underscore the importance of engaging others who may come into contact with labor trafficking victims, such as the medical community. Whereas law enforcement may not come into frequent contact with migrant farmworkers, a potentially greater number of workers will seek out medical services. Moreover, farmworkers may feel more comfortable reporting abuses to health care professionals than law enforcement officers, who are becoming increasingly involved in immigration matters. However, it is important to keep in mind that stakeholders reported that farmworkers are using health care services less frequently for fear of discovery.

4.2.2 Deterrence

Rampant trafficking violations and gross exploitation of farmworkers have no easy solutions. However, measures can still be devised to investigate and prosecute the most egregious forms of trafficking violations. Planning and implementing these measures require a clear priority in resource allocation and sustained attention oriented toward long-term outcomes. Relentless and high-profile prosecutions may help reaffirm the government's determination to stop trafficking violations and project deterrence far and wide in the business community. The federal government is stepping up its efforts to prosecute labor trafficking cases. In March 2007, DOJ established a Human Trafficking Prosecution Unit within the Civil Rights Division and heightened its effort to investigate and prosecute trafficking and slavery cases. In the first 5 years after the enactment of the TVPA, the Civil Rights Division at DOJ charged 92 cases;

over the next 5 years, the number increased to 199 (DOJ, 2010). By 2008, more labor trafficking cases than sex trafficking cases were prosecuted in the federal courts (Clawson et al., 2008).

Many states have also passed laws to establish commissions and task forces, to mandate law enforcement training, and to provide victims' services. Several states, such as California and Maryland, have already revised and expanded their anti-trafficking laws to make it easier for authorities to seize property from convicted traffickers. However, to date, legislative efforts to increase the cost of doing business have focused largely on sex trafficking. Because prostitution is illegal in most states in the United States, legislative changes to increase fines or lower the threshold for property seizure can be achieved with relative ease. This is not the case for labor trafficking. In a case review study, Clawson and colleagues (2008) found that the legal response against labor trafficking at the state level was rather anemic, with most prosecutors never having prosecuted any labor trafficking cases or even recognizing it as a problem. Much more leadership is needed from federal law enforcement agencies, whose investigations and prosecutions often set the standard and example for state judiciaries to consider or emulate. The Clawson team (2008) argued that the lack of prosecution of human trafficking cases is due not to a lack of legal framework, but to a lack of training and guidance in interpreting and executing existing laws. Federal prosecutors in the study, however, were generally more familiar with the TVPA and found it helpful in implementing the key elements of the anti-trafficking effort: prevention, protection, and prosecution. However, many challenges remain, the most common of which is the lack of buy-in, lack of law enforcement personnel dedicated to investigating human trafficking cases, and unwillingness of law enforcement agencies to recognize human trafficking offenses as crimes (Clawson et al., 2008; Farrell et al., 2008).

4.2.3 Training and Collaboration With Community Service Providers

As found in this study, law enforcement representatives do not view labor trafficking either as a problem or as a law enforcement issue. Therefore, training on investigation and prosecutorial guidance are key activities for sensitizing and preparing local law enforcement personnel to the various

aspects of labor trafficking. More importantly, investigation and prosecution efforts require close collaboration with community-based organizations that have much closer interactions with unauthorized immigration populations. Because of the recent changes in laws in a few states, local police agencies are increasingly viewed, in the eyes of unauthorized immigrants, as an extension of the federal immigration agency. Therefore distrust and apprehension of local police are common in migrant communities, legal or illegal.

Although the rights-based agendas of community-based agencies are not always congruent with the needs of law enforcement agencies, it is important to recognize the indispensable role of these community agencies in raising awareness and creating a social environment that is hostile to trafficking violations and gross exploitation. Without the bridge provided by the community advocacy groups, law enforcement agencies, federal or local, will have a difficult time reaching out to immigrants.

4.2.4 Public Awareness Campaigns

Perhaps awareness campaigns, including flyers and billboards, particularly in areas with large numbers of immigrants, would have an impact on the identification of labor trafficking. Anti-trafficking messages, including information about high-profile prosecutions of trafficking cases, and available social services, such as shelters and ways to report trafficking violations, need to be publicized through community outreach efforts by community advocacy groups. Billboard spaces, commercial airwaves (particularly in Spanish and other languages), and public health brochures are some of the effective vehicles for the dissemination of anti-trafficking messages. Day labor centers, major throughways, community churches, public health clinics, and other places where there are high concentrations of immigrants are venues where such information campaigns can be launched. The idea is not to catch traffickers per se, but to create a social environment that becomes sensitized to trafficking activities and labor law violations and safely makes services available to victims.

4.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study found that labor trafficking activities and abusive labor practices among migrant farmworkers were both common

in parts of North Carolina. Although our study was not based on probability sampling, thus limiting our ability to generalize the findings, the high frequencies of identified trafficking activities and other abusive labor law violations warrant additional validation using more rigorous methods. Considering that the number of migrant farmworkers in North Carolina is estimated to be 150,000, any sizeable percentage of verified labor trafficking activities would suggest a large population of trafficking victims. Human trafficking research involving systematic data collection and quantitative measures remains rare in the United States. However, valid empirical estimates on the scope of the problems are imperative for resource allocation as well as for effective policy development.

4.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The primary limitation of this study that we hope to address in future research is our use of systematic but not probabilistic sampling methods to identify respondents. We are confident that we identified and talked with representatives of most NGOs that provide services to migrant workers in the counties in which we focused our efforts; however, we were less successful in engaging members of local law enforcement, primarily because they did not view trafficking as a problem. Our identification of farmworker respondents was systematic, based on a strategy of approaching workers where we knew they would be (e.g., at festivals, known labor camps, and other locations where they shopped or conducted business). We did not use probabilistic sampling methods because of the absence of a reliable sampling frame. We used a database of labor camps known to an advocacy organization, but we were aware that this list was not complete. As a result, we cannot assume that our findings are generalizable to the population of migrant farmworkers in North Carolina.

Our research procedures also resulted in our interviewing farmworkers who were not hidden and who were willing and able to talk with us. Individuals who were being held captive and were subject to the most egregious trafficking practices were not included in our study. Thus, our findings most likely represent an underestimate of exposure to trafficking and other abuse.

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Community Stakeholder Interview Protocol

These semi-structured interviews will be conducted with professionals and paraprofessionals, including employees of NGOs (e.g., advocacy, legal aid, and food banks), clergy, medical personnel (ED, urgent care), public health personnel, social services agencies, labor agencies (e.g., wage and hour, OSHA) and first responders (Fire Department, EMS).

The interviews will be conducted by a two-person team of RTI interviewers. The interviewers will take notes. The interview will be audio recorded with the permission of the interviewee.

Appointments will be scheduled with individuals (e.g., Executive Director) of three-to-five NGO's prior to arrival in the community. In addition, web searches and media reviews will be used to identify other potentially informed individuals to be interviewed (e.g., what position in the local social service agency may be the most appropriate to interview; what type of public clinics are available and who at those clinics may be the most appropriate to interview). Individuals we determine may be potentially knowledgeable will be placed on a list and approached while we are in the community. Individuals identified as having relevant information will have appointments made in advance. In addition, the NGO representatives will be asked to identify other individuals in their community who we should talk to (i.e., snowball sample). These individuals will also be approached in person about participation in interviews. Those approached in person will be offered the opportunity to complete the interview then or make an appointment at a later time. No compensation will be provided.

To be completed by interviewer before beginning interview.

RESPONDENT Number: ___#____ (corresponds to a separate list to ensure confidentiality)

DATE: _____ TIME INTERVIEW BEGAN: _____

1. STAKEHOLDER CATEGORY:
- **1.a**_____NGO (advocacy/legal aid)
- **1.b**_____NGO (food bank)
- **1.c**_____NGO (other)
- **1.d**_____Clergy
- **1.e**_____Emergency Department
- **1.f** _____Police; line staff
- **1.g**_____Urgent Care Facility
- **1.h**_____Public Health Department (nursing/direct service, education)
- **1.i** _____Labor/ wage & hour; OSHA
- **1.j** _____Social Services
- **1.k**_____Fire Department/EMS
- **1.l** _____Community developers
- **1.m** _____Other
- **1.n** Specify _____

2. LOCATION:
- **2.a** _____ Place of Business
- **2.b**_____ Other
- **2.c** Specify _____

3. GENDER:
- **3.a**_____ Male
- **3.b**_____ Female

4. RACE/ETHNIC (check all that apply)
- **4.a**_____ White
- **4.b**_____ Black
- **4.c**_____ American Indian or Alaska Native
- **4.d** _____ Asian or East Indian
- **4.e**_____ Hispanic, Latino or Spanish
- **4.f** _____ Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- **4.g**_____ Don't know

BEGIN

Hello, I am a researcher from RTI, a non-profit research group based in North Carolina. (As we discussed on the telephone,) We are studying conditions in this area, with a primary focus on jobs where workers may be exploited. We are interested in how work opportunities may have changed over the last 2-3 years and the impact these changes have had—for example, in terms of crime and health conditions.

Please read this consent form. Are you willing to talk with me about this?

IF REFUSES, CHECK HERE _____ AND THANK THEM FOR THEIR TIME.

IF AGREES, CHECK HERE _____ AND ADMINISTER INFORMED CONSENT.

The first questions provide us with a measure of your familiarity with the community.

---

5. How long have you lived in this area? _____ years

6. What is your current position? _____

7. How long have you worked in this field? _____ years

8. Please describe your day-to-day activities—who you work with, the types of services or activities you provide, the geographic area that you serve (e.g., the county, multiple counties, or the state).

Now, let's turn our attention to the general condition of the area in terms of jobs. Because we are asking these questions of a variety of professionals, we do not expect everyone to be able to answer every question. Please feel free to say that you "don't know" and we will move on to other questions.

---

9. How would you describe the current job market in your community?

10. Have there been major changes in the job opportunities here since the start of the recession—over the last two or three years? ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO or DK, go to Question 13.

IF YES:

11. Please describe these changes.
PROBE:
Has there been a need for or use of cheap labor? local crises; going out of business; unemployment rates; new job opportunities; labor shortage;
What has been the impact of the changes in demand for workers?

12. How have these changes impacted your work with the community?

The next questions concern health and crime conditions in your community.

13. Have there been changes in the number of cases of **sexually transmitted diseases,** such as gonorrhea, syphilis, Chlamydia and AIDS/HIV, over the past two or three years? ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO or DK, go to question 15.

IF YES:

14. Please describe the changes.

15. Have there been changes in the number of cases of **Hepatitis** in the community over the past two or three years? ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO or DK, go to question 17.

IF YES:

16. Please describe the changes.

17. Have there been changes in the number of cases of **work related injuries** in the community over the past two or three years? ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO or DK, go to question 19.

IF YES:

18. Please describe the changes.

19. Have there been changes in the types of **illicit drugs**

used in your community over the past two or three years? By illicit drugs, I mean illegal drugs like marijuana and cocaine or misuse of prescription drugs like oxycodone/oxycontin. ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO or DK, go to question 21.

IF YES**:**

20. Please describe these changes. (PROBE: moving from marijuana to "hard" drugs; more ecstasy, LSD, heroin)

21. Is there someone in the community who **provides medical treatment** to people informally? Maybe this person is a person licensed in another country, but not in the US? ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO or DK, go to question 23.

IF YES:

22. Can you tell us how to contact them? Or ask them to contact us? ____ Yes ___ No ___DK

Crime section: skip to Q36 as soon as the respondent indicates knowledge comes from the newspaper.
Skip to Q37 after 3 "don't know"

23. Thinking about the community, has **crime** changed over the past couple of years? ____ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO or DK, go to question 25 AND indicate that you would like to ask about some specific crime types just for completeness.

IF YES:

24. How has crime changed?

PROBE: Question each crime type to determine if it is related to trafficking or the web of crime in some way. For example, are guns and cars going to Mexico where drugs and trafficked victims are returning? Or are the guns being stolen to pawn.

____Yes ___ No ___DK

25. Have there been changes in **drug crime** in your community over the past two or three years?

IF NO or DK, go to question 27.

IF YES:

26. How has drug crime changed?
DRUG PROBE: Type(s) of drug(s); location of markets; who is dealing; dealer replacement (disposable teens).

____Yes ___ No ___DK

27. Have there been changes in **prostitution** in your community over the past two or three years?

IF NO or DK, go to question 29.

IF YES:

28. How has prostitution changed?
PROSTITUTION PROBE: Who is “pimping”? child prostitution? Sex trafficking for laborers?

____Yes ___ No ___DK

29. Have there been changes in **burglaries** in your community over the past two or three years?

IF NO or DK, go to question 31.

IF YES:

30. How has burglary changed?

____Yes ___ No ___DK

31. Have there been changes in **gang-related crime** in your community over the past two or three years?

IF NO or DK, go to question 33.

IF YES:

32. How has gang-related crime changed?
GANG PROBE: What crimes do they do?

____Yes ___ No ___DK

33. Have there been changes in **weapons-related crime** in your community over the past two or three years?

IF NO or DK, go to question 35.

IF YES:

34. How has weapons-related crime changed?
WEAPON PROBE: Where did the weapons come from? Where did they go?

____Yes ___ No ___DK

35. Have there been changes in **auto theft** or auto parts theft in your community over the past two or three years?

IF NO or DK, go to question 37.

IF YES:

36. How has auto theft or auto parts theft changed?
CAR PROBE: Where are they taken? For what purpose?

____Yes ___ No ___DK

37. Have you heard of immigrants bringing foods into the US that have not gone through the regular inspection process?

IF NO or DK, go to question 39.

IF YES:

38. Please describe.

Now, let's turn our attention to the working and living conditions of workers. Keeping in mind that in today's economy, people may have to take extreme measures to make ends meet, including working in pretty bad conditions, we want to learn more about the kind of jobs where that happens.

As we talk, if a name comes to mind, please refrain from saying it. I do <u>not</u> want to know the names of ANY people or of the businesses that employ them.

---

39. Have you seen or heard about anyone who worked without getting the **pay** he or she expected? ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO or DK, go to question 41.

IF YES:

40. Please describe what you saw or heard. (Probe: What kind(s) of work were they doing? What payment did they expect? Why? What did they receive? Is this routine? Or a one time event?)

41. Have you seen or heard about anyone who worked someplace where the work was **substantially different** from what they had expected? For example, they were hired as a nanny, but were now working in a factory. ___ Yes __ No ___DK

IF NO or DK, go to question 43.

IF YES:

42. Please describe what you saw or heard. (Probe: What did they expect to do? Why? What did they end up doing?)

43. Have you seen or heard about anyone who worked in a place where they were **not given reasonable breaks**, for example, to eat or use the bathroom ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO or DK, go to question 45.

IF YES:

44. Please describe what you saw or heard.

___ Yes ___ No ___DK

45. Have you seen or heard about anyone who worked or lived in a place or with people that made them **feel scared** or unsafe?

IF NO or DK, go to question 47.

IF YES:

46. Please describe what you saw or heard. (Probe: any type of unsafe conditions – including conditions of the workplace or work; actions, statements, written or non-verbal messages from employers, associates or co-workers, etc.)

___ Yes ___ No ___DK

47. Have you seen or heard about anyone who worked or lived in a place where they were **threatened** with harm either to self or others like family or friends?

IF NO or DK, go to question 49.

IF YES:

48. Please provide some examples of the threats.

___ Yes ___ No ___DK

49. Have you seen or heard about anyone who worked or lived in a place where there were **locks on the doors** or windows that prevented them from leaving when they wanted to? ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO or DK, go to question 51.

IF YES:

50. Please describe what you saw or heard.

51. Have you seen or heard about anyone who was not allowed to **contact their family o**r friends? ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO or DK, go to question 53.

IF YES:

52. Please describe what you saw or heard.

53. Have you seen or heard about anyone who worked in a place where he or she felt they **could not quit**? ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO or DK, go to question 55.

IF YES:

54. Please describe what you saw or heard that made you believe that they didn't feel free to quit their job.

55. Have you seen or heard about anyone whose identification **documents** ("papers") were kept by someone else? ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO, go to question 57.

IF YES:

56. Please describe what you saw or heard.

57. Have you seen or heard about anyone who has been asked to lie about their **age** or the type of work they did? ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO, go to question 59.

IF YES:

58. Please describe what you saw or heard.

59. Have you seen or heard about anyone who has been **threatened to be reported** to the police or other authorities? (threatened with deportation or to report them to immigration?) ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO, go to question 61.

IF YES:

60. Please describe what you saw or heard.

61. Have you seen or heard about anyone who has been **tricked or forced** into performing illegal activities, such as dealing drugs or performing sex acts ___ Yes ___ No _ __DK

IF NO or DK, go to question 63.

IF YES:

62. Please describe what you saw or heard

63. Have you heard of people who can't leave their job because they **owe money** to the person they work for? ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO or DK, go to question 65.

IF YES:

64. Please describe to your knowledge the circumstances of these workers.
PROBES: employer was helpful in crisis and now worker has to pay back pay advance; someone didn't get paycheck because they owed for uniforms or equipment; someone stayed in debt to employer for routine things to employer even after working for a long period; ask questions about what people owe $ for – housing, work-related items, medical care, crisis or routine expense.

65. Have you seen or heard about anyone who appears to be **watched** by someone? (a Waitress that seems fearful to spend time talking with customers when the boss is watching; someone going into a store while a person waits outside and seems to be watching) ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO or DK, go to question 67.

IF YES:

66. Please describe what you saw or heard.

67. Have you seen or heard about groups of people who are brought here to work by someone who **arranges work** for them? ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO or DK, go to question 72.

IF YES:

68. Please describe what you have seen (or heard about). (PROBES: people coming here for seasonal work; people from other parts of the country who may have been brought here to work; people from another country brought here by others who may be holding their papers)

69. Please describe what you know about where these groups **came from** (most recent previous location).

70. Please describe what you know about **how** these individuals were **brought** here.

Probes: Did someone help them move here? Was anyone else involved in organizing their move?

71. Please describe what you know about the nature of their **travel** here.

Probes: How many people did they travel with? Were they able to stop when they needed to while they were traveling for food and bathroom breaks? When they were traveling here, did they carry their own passports and documents?

72. Do you know of (or have heard of) groups of workers who are **living together**? ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

IF NO or DK, go to question 75.

IF YES:

73. Please describe to your knowledge the circumstances of these workers.
PROBES: people live together to save money or to have money to send home; people were brought here expecting another kind of job, but now they're stuck. Very helpful employer – or college kids living together?

74. Please describe to your knowledge whether these workers **move from one job to the next together**. (Do they have someone who helps them find jobs/work?)

---

75. Are the immigrants workers kept separate from US citizens in the factory or restaurant? ___ Yes ___ No __ _DK

76. You have mentioned several issues of concern during this interview. For example, _____ & _____. Did all of these things happen to the same person? Or was it a variety of people?

One part of our study deals with human trafficking. As we near the end of our questions, I would like to ask you some specific questions:

77. Have you heard the terms **labor trafficking** or human trafficking? ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

78. When did you first hear of trafficking? # of years ago _____

79. What are the **key components** of the definition of labor or human trafficking? (What are the key components? – be sure to see if respondent can apply the definition)

80. Some of the activities you described in this interview could be components of trafficking. Have you ever **seen someone that you thought might be a trafficking victim**? ___ Yes ___ No ___DK

81. If yes, how many? Over what time period?

82. If yes, what **made you think that** the individual was a trafficking victim, as opposed to some other type of victim? (what other indicators exist that laborers are being exploited or treated unfairly)

83. Were the traffickers of these victims **prosecuted**?

84. If not, why not?

85. We have talked about work, health, and crime and asked many questions. As we talked, is there a question you wished we would have asked? Or do you have **additional information** that you believe would help us in our study?

86. (If they have identified trafficking issues – policy, lack of law enforcement, etc.) How would we fix the problems you've identified in this interview?

Finally, I'd like to talk with others in the area who are familiar with work situations.

87. Who else would be able to help us understand the situation in this community?
Probes: NGOs, clergy, ED, urgent care, public health clinics, social services, first responders; code enforcers.

TIME INTERVIEW ENDED: _____

Consent to Participate in Research

Title of Research: Working Conditions, Crime and Health—Community Stakeholder Interviews

Introduction

You are being asked to participate in a research study. The Working Conditions, Crime and Health Study is a research study paid for by the National Institute of Justice. The study is being conducted by RTI International, a research organization located in Research Triangle Park, North Carolina. The purpose of this study is to find out about working conditions in your community, focusing on jobs where workers may be exploited.

This study is being conducted in five communities in the U.S. You are one of approximately 25 individuals in this community being asked to participate. The interview will take about 60 minutes.

Procedures

If you agree to participate, you will be asked questions about working conditions in your community. We will also ask about crime and health in your community and how these may have changed over the past two or three years. If you agree, we will be record the interview. In addition, we will take written notes of the interview.

Possible Risks and Benefits

The primary risk of participating is that the questions might make you feel uncomfortable or be upsetting. If you should feel uncomfortable or upset during the interview, you may ask the interviewer to take a break and/or to skip any of the questions.

There are no direct benefits to you from participating in this study. We hope that this research will help us better understand labor markets and working conditions the U.S. You will not be paid for participating in the study.

Confidentiality

Many precautions have been taken to protect your information. We will not record your name with your responses and only the people working on the study will be able to see your answers. No one else will be able to find out what you said in the interview. Results from the study will be reported in the aggregate and no names will be included in reports of findings.

Your Rights

Your decision to take part in this research study is completely voluntary. You can refuse any part of the study and you can stop participating at any time. You can refuse to answer any question.

If you have any questions about the study, you may call Dr. Pamela Lattimore at 1-866-784-1958 ext. 7759. If you have any questions about your rights as a study participant, you may call RTI's Office of Human Subjects Protection toll-free at 1-866-214-2043.

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS CONSENT FORM TO KEEP

North Carolina Labor Trafficking Survey Questionnaire

1. **Date of interview:** _____ **(mm/dd/yyyy)**
2. **Interview Location:** _____
3. **Interviewer Initials:** _____
4. **Questionnaire #:** _____

5. **Overall, in your opinion, how honest was respondent to the questions?**

    1 . . . . Very honest
    2 . . . . Honest
    3 . . . . Somewhat honest
    4 . . . . Not very honest
    5 . . . . Not honest at all
    6 . . . . Not sure

6. **INTERVIEWER'S OBSERVATIONS: (description of interview settings, any interruptions or interferences by others, subject's attitudes, responsiveness, sincerity, concern regarding sensitive/personal information, cooperativeness, etc.)**

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

TABLE A: Information About Respondent

7. Gender	8. Year of birth	9. Place of Birth (City, State, Country)	10. Marital Status [a]	11. How many children?	12. Highest Level of Education Completed [b]	13. English Proficiency [c]	Employment in Mexico	Current Employment in NC
							14. Primary Employment [d]	15. Primary Employment [d]
M F								

---

[a] **Marital Status:**
1 - Single
2 - Married
3 - Living together
4 - Widow
5 - Divorced
6 – Separated

[b] **Education completed:**
Primaria = 6
Secundaria = 9
Técnica sin secundaria = 9
Técnica = 12
Academia = 12
Preparatoria = 12
Normal sin prepa = 13
Normal = 16
Normal Superior = 18
Universidad = 17

[c] **English:**
1 – No English
2 – Only a few words
3 – Can make simple sentences
4 – Proficient (can discuss work/pay w/ employer)
5 – Fluent

[d] **Primary Employment**
1 – Agriculture or crop farming
2 – Poultry or hog farming
3 – Poultry or meat processing
4 – Food production, (i.e. bakery)
5 – Construction
6 –Street vendor
7 –Manufacturing
8 –Salaried Job
9 –Other, specify

TABLE B: Housing Situation

16. Housing Type [a]	17. Tenancy [b]	18. Who are the people you are living with now? [c]	19. Are you able to interact with family, friends, and others who do not live at the labor camp?	19A. *If no*, why don't you interact with individuals who do not live at the labor camp?
			Yes **No**	1. Visitors are not allowed at the camp 2. I do not have transportation off of the labor camp 3. I do not have any friends or relatives in the area 4. Other (specify)_____

---

[a] **Housing Type**
1 – House
2 – Apartment
3 – Trailer
4 – Outdoors/Abandoned Building/Car
5 – Migrant Labor Camp
9 – Other, specify

[b] **Tenancy:**
1 – Rent
2 – Own
3 – No rent
4 – Own Trailer - rented lot
5 – No permission
9 – Other, specify

[c] **Living Arrangement**
1 –Relatives
2 –Friends
3 –Co-workers
4 –Other migrants who are not friends, relatives, or co-workers
9–Other, specify

TABLE C: Information about your US/NC immigration experience

Trip #	A. When did you come to the United States? (month/year)	B. How did you cross into the U.S.? [a]	C. Legal Papers[a]	D. When did you come to North Carolina? (month/year)	E. Why did you decide to come to North Carolina this time? [c]	23. Do you want to settle in North Carolina for a while, or do you plan to move to other places?
20. The last time						1-Yes, relatively permanent 2-Plan to move on
21. The first time						23A. Where do you plan to go next? (City/State)
22a. How many other times have you come to the United States?						
22b. How many other times have you come to North Carolina?						

(a) Crossing Type
1–Through border check point with legal papers
2–Illegal crossing on foot
3–Illegal crossing in hidden compartments
4–Illegal crossing by boat
9–Other, specify

(b) Type of Documentation:
1 - Legal Resident - Green Card
2 - Contracted - Bracero (1942-1964)
3 - Contracted - H2A (agriculture)
4 - Tourist / Visitor (w/o work permit)
5 – Citizenship
6 - Silva Letter
7 – Undocumented
8 - Refugee/Asylum

(c) NC Reason
1–Family or relatives
2–Looking for a better job
3–Following seasonal crops
4–Crew leader/boss moved group for work
5–Recruiters for the Guest Worker (H2A)Program
9–Other, specify

TABLE D: Information About Agricultural Workers

Thinking about your most recent stay in NC…

24. Which types of crops have you worked with?	**25. On average, about how many others worked in the fields with you?**	**26. What is the most common way you find work?**	**If through crew leader…**		
1–Tobacco 2–Sweet potatoes 3–Christmas trees 4–Cucumbers 5–Berries 6–Tomatoes 7–Cotton 9–Other, specify _____ _____	1. <5 2. 25-10 3. 311-20 4. 4>20	1–Friends 2–Other migrant laborers 3–CREW LEADER/BOSS ▶ ▶ 4–Arranged as part of H2A Program 5–At day labor sites 9–Other, specify	26A. How many workers on your crew?		
			26B. How long have you worked on this crew?		Days Months Years
			26C. How many days in a week do you typically work?		Days/Week
			26D. How much do you typically earn each day?		$/Day
			26E. How many hours each day do you usually work?		Hours/Day

TABLE E: Trafficking/Exploitation Questions

READ: In this section, I am going to ask you about your travel to and within the United States and about your work in the United States. Remember that all your answers are confidential and no one can trace our data back to you.

Transportation: *Coyotes, people who work with coyotes, and other individuals who transport people to and within the United States may use threats or other intimidating acts (against you, your family members or anyone you care about) to make you feel too afraid to try to leave.*
At any stage during your most recent trip to the U.S. or during travel since your most recent arrival to the U.S., did any of the following happen to you? (If yes, did this occur while crossing into the U.S.? While traveling within the U.S.?)

	Yes	No	Crossing	Within
27. Did a coyote or other individual help you get into the United States? If No, responses to these transportation questions will all refer to "Within" United States travel.	1	2		
28. Since your most recent arrival into the United States have coyotes or other individuals helped you travel within the United States (for example, transported you to North Carolina)? **If responses to Q39 and 20 are No, go to Q49.**	1	2		
29. You were forbidden from leaving the traveling group, or restricted where you could go?	1▶	2		
30. Your identification documents (including passport, visa, birth certification) were withheld not for safekeeping or travel convenience but for control purposes?	1▶	2		

31. You were forbidden or restricted from communicating freely with your family?	1►	2		
32. You were forbidden or restricted from communicating freely with other travelers?	1►	2		
33. You were assaulted or fined when you failed to obey the coyote's (or other person providing transportation) rules?	1►	2		
34. You were threatened to be assaulted or fined when you failed to obey the coyote's (or other person providing transportation) rules?	1►	2		
35. You were held hostage at or prevented from leaving a safe house before or after you crossed into the U.S. while the coyotes (or other person providing transportation) were demanding ransom from your family?	1	2	[redacted]	
36. You/your family were required to pay more smuggling fees than originally agreed or bad things would happen to you or your family (e.g., be abandoned halfway, be turned over to U.S. border patrol, or family members would be hurt)?	1	2		

TABLE F: Threats and Fear

Read: Employers, and people who help employers, may use threats and other intimidating acts to make you feel too afraid to try to leave; or to try to leave, complain, report, or to seek help for your situation.

Have any of the following incidents happened to you at the hands of your employer or people working for your employer?	**Has this ever happened to you?**		**Has this happened in the last 12 months?**		**How many times in the last 12 months?**
	Yes	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	
37. **Physical abuse (including beating, kicking, slapping, etc.)?**	**1►**	**2**	**1►**	**2**	
38. **Sexual abuse?**	**1►**	**2**	**1►**	**2**	
39. **Threats of physical abuse (including beating, kicking, slapping, etc.)?**	**1►**	**2**	**1►**	**2**	
40. **Threats of sexual abuse?**	**1►**	**2**	**1►**	**2**	
41. **Locked up (including physically restrained)?**	**1►**	**2**	**1►**	**2**	
42. **Threats of harm to you in any other form?**	**1►**	**2**	**1►**	**2**	
43. **Threats of harm to your family in any form?**	**1►**	**2**	**1►**	**2**	
44. **Threats to get you deported?**	**1►**	**2**	**1►**	**2**	
45. **Threats to get you arrested?**	**1►**	**2**	**1►**	**2**	
46. **Threats to turn you over to police or immigration officials?**	**1►**	**2**	**1►**	**2**	

TABLE G: Rules and Control

Read: Employers, and people who help them, may use rules and controls to make it harder for you to leave, complain about mistreatment, or seek help.

Have any of the following incidents ever happened to you at the hands of your employer or people working for your employer?	Has this ever happened to you?		Has this happened in the last 12 months?		How many times in the last 12 months?
	Yes	No	Yes	No	
47. You were forbidden from leaving the workplace?	1►	2	1►	2	
48. You were restricted where you could go during non-working hours?	1►	2	1►	2	
49. Your identification papers (such as passport, visa, or birth certification) were taken away, not for safekeeping but for control purposes?	1►	2	1►	2	
50. You were not allowed adequate food or sleep?	1►	2	1►	2	
51. You were prevented or restricted from communicating freely with your family?	1►	2	1►	2	
52. You were prevented or restricted from communicating freely with other workers?	1►	2	1►	2	
53. You were prevented or restricted from communicating freely with others outside the workplace?	1►	2	1►	2	

TABLE H: Deception and Lies

Read: Employers, and people who help them, may also use deception and lies.

Have any of the following incidents happened to you at your most recent job?	Did this happen to you?	
Employment conditions turned out to be very different from those that were originally promised to you. Specifically:	Yes	No
54. Pay was less than you were promised	1	2
55. The type of work was different from what you were promised	1	2
56. The work environment was different from what you were promised	1	2
57. The amount of work was different from what you were promised	1	2
58. You were told that you will not be believed if you try to seek help from U.S. authorities?	1	2
59. You were instructed to lie about your identity?	1	2
60. You were instructed to lie about the identity of your employer?	1	2

TABLE I: Exploitative Labor Practices

Read: Employers, and people who help them, may take advantage of you because of your legal status, your skill/education, or your language barriers.

Have any of the following incidents ever happened to you?	Has this ever happened to you?		Has this happened in the last 12 months?		How many times in the last 12 months?
	Yes	No	Yes	No	
61. You were denied pay for work you performed in the United States?	1►	2	1►	2	
62. You received less pay than what you were promised?	1►	2	1►	2	
63. You received a bad check from your employer?	1►	2	1►	2	

64. Your employer disappeared before paying you?	1►	2	1►	2	
65. You were told to work in hazardous environments (with unknown chemicals) without proper protection?	1►	2	1►	2	
66. You experienced any other work experience you consider abusive or exploitative? If yes, explain in the space below.	1►	2	1►	2	

TABLE J: Movement Within the United States

Finally, we want to talk about where else you lived in the United States. If the respondent has never lived anywhere else in the U.S. other than their current location, leave this TABLE J blank.

Sequence	Where did you live before coming here?		C. How many months did you live there?	D. Why did you move? [(a)]	E. Who helped you travel from there?[(b)]	F. How many people did you travel with?
	A. City	B. State				
67. **2nd to last**						
68. **3rd to last**						
69. **4th to last**						

[(a)]Reason for leaving
1-Job
2-Family
3- Employer
9-Other, specify

[(b)]Travel Help
1- No one
2-Family
3-Friend
4- Co-worker
5-Crew leader/boss
6-Employer
9-Other, specify

TABLE K: Transport of Goods

	A. Did the people who provided you transportation **into the U.S.** the most recent time bring any of the following into the U.S. for sale or trade (not for personal use or consumption)?		B. Did the people who provide you transportation **within the U.S.** also transport any of the following items within the U.S. for sale or trade (not for personal use or consumption)?	
	Yes	**No**	**Yes**	**No**
70. Food	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**
71. Medicine	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**
72. Money	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**
73. Clothes	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**
74. Electronics	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**
75. Drugs	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**
76. Weapons	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**

Encuesta sobre las Prácticas de trabajo en los Estados Unidos

RTI International

Agosto 2012

TABLA A: Información sobre el participante

7. Sexo (Hombre/ Mujer)	8. Año de naci-miento	9. Lugar de nacimiento (Ciudad, estado, país)	10. Estado civil [a] (LEE)	11. ¿Cuántos hijos tiene?	12. Nivel de estudios más avanzado que ha completado [b] (LEE)	13. Aptitud del idioma inglés [c] (LEE)	Empleo en _____	Empleo actual en Carolina del Norte
							14. Empleo principal [d]	15. Empleo principal [d] ***(Nota: Debe haber sido un trabajador del campo en algún momento desde 01/01/2007 para ser elegible.)***
H= ☐$_1$ **M=** ☐$_0$								

---

[a] **Estado civil:**
1 – Soltero(a)
2 – Casado(a)
3 – Vive con una pareja
4 – Viudo(a)
5 – Divorciado(a)
6 – Separado(a)

[b] **Educación que ha completado:**
Menos de Primaria = 0
Primaria = 1
Secundaria = 2
Técnica sin secundaria = 3
Técnica = 4
Academia = 5
Preparatoria = 6
Normal sin prepa = 7
Normal = 8
Normal Superior = 9
Universidad = 10

[c] **Inglés:**
1 – Nada de inglés
2 – Solo unas cuantas palabras
3 – Puede hacer oraciones simples
4 – Hábil (puede hablar de trabajo/pago c/ empleador)
5 – Lo habla con fluidez

[d] **Empleo principal**
1 – Agricultura o campo de cultivo
2 – Granja de aves o cerdos
3 – Procesamiento de carne aves o res
4 – Producción de alimentos, (ej. panadero)
5 – Construcción
6 –Vendedor en la calle
7 –Manufactura/ fabricación
8 –Trabajo a sueldo/salario
9 –OTRO, ESPECIFICAR

TABLA B: Situación de vivienda

16. Tipo de vivienda [a]	17. Tenencia, renta o es propietario [b]	18. ¿Quiénes son las personas con la que vive usted ahora? [c]	19. ¿Puede usted comunicarse con/visitar a la familia, amistades y otras personas que no viven en el campo de trabajo?	19A. *De no ser así*, ¿por qué no puede comunicarse con/visitar a personas que no viven en el campo de trabajo?
			Sí= ☐$_1$ **No=** ☐$_0$ ►► **NO VIVE EN UN CAMPO** ☐$_9$	☐$_1$ No se permiten visitantes en el campo de trabajo ☐$_2$ No tengo transporte para salir del campo de trabajo ☐$_3$ No tengo amistades o familiares en el área ☐$_4$ Otra razón (especifique)_____

---

[a] **Tipo de vivienda**
1 – Casa privada
2 – Apartamento privado
3 – Casa móvil o "Tráiler" privada
4 – Afuera / en un edificio abandonado/ en un auto
5 – Campo de trabajadores inmigrantes
9 – Otro, especificar

[b] **Tenencia:**
1 – Renta/alquila
2 – Propiedad
3 – No renta/no alquila
4 – Dueño de casa móvil/Tráiler – renta el lote
5 – Sin permiso
9 – Otro, especificar

[c] **Arreglo de vivienda**
1 –Familiares
2 –Amistades
3 –Compañeros de trabajo
4 –Otros inmigrantes que no son amistades, familiares o compañeros de trabajo
9–Otro, especificar

TABLA C: Información acerca de su experiencia de inmigración en Carolina del Norte en Estados Unidos

Viaje #	A. ¿Cuándo vino a los Estados Unidos? (mes/año)	B. ¿Cómo cruzó a los Estados Unidos? [a]	C. Documentación legal (papeles)[b]	D. ¿Cuándo vino a Carolina del Norte? (mes/año)	E. ¿Por qué decidió venir a Carolina del Norte esta vez? [c]	23. ¿Desea establecerse en Carolina del Norte por un tiempo o planea mudarse a otros lugares?
20. La última vez						☐1-Si más o menos permanente ☐0-Planea mudarse
21. La primera vez						**23A. ¿A dónde piensa ir? (Ciudad/estado)**
22a. ¿Cuántas **otras** veces ha venido a los Estados Unidos?						
22b. ¿Cuántas **otras** veces ha venido a Carolina del Norte?						

(a) Tipo de cruce
1–Por puntos de control fronterizo con documentos legales
2–Por un punto de entrada ilegal, a pie
3–Por un punto de entrada ilegal, escondido en compartimientos
4– Por un punto de entrada ilegal, en bote/lancha
9–Otro, especificar

(b) Tipo de documentación:
1 - Residente legal – Tarjeta de residencia o «Green Card»
2 - Contratado – Programa Bracero (1942-1964)
3 - Contratado - H2A (agricultura)
4 - Turista / Visitante (sin permiso de trabajo)
5 – Ciudadanía
6 – Carta «Silva»
7 – Indocumentado
8 - Refugiado/Asilado

(c) Razón para venir a Carolina del Norte
1–Por su familia o parientes
2–En busca de un mejor trabajo
3–Siguiendo los cultivos o cosechas de la temporada
4–El capataz/líder del grupo movió el grupo de trabajo
5–Reclutadores del Programa H2A de trabajadores temporales agrícolas del extranjero
9–Otro, especificar

TABLA D: Información acerca de trabajadores agrícolas

LEER: Piense en su viaje más reciente a Carolina del Norte…

24. ¿En qué tipo de cultivos/cosechas ha trabajado? (LEE)	25. Por lo general, ¿cómo cuántas otras personas trabajaban con usted en el campo?	26. ¿Cuál es la manera más común que puede encontrar trabajo? (LEE)	Si fue a través de un capataz o líder de grupo…		
☐1–Tabaco ☐2–Camote ☐3–Árboles de navidad ☐4–Pepinos ☐5–Moras (por ejemplo fresas, zarzamora) ☐6–Tomatoes/Jitomates ☐7–Algodón ☐9–Otro, especificar _____ _____	☐1 Menos de 5 ☐2 De 6 a 10 ☐3 De 11 a 20 ☐4 Más de 20	☐1–A través de amistades ☐2–Otros trabajadores migrantes ☐3–CAPATAZ O LÍDER DE GRUPO/ JEFE ▶▶ ☐4–Arreglo del programa H2A ☐5–En lugares donde se obtiene trabajo por un día ☐9–Otro, especificar _____	26A. ¿Cuántos trabajadores forman parte de su grupo?		
			26B. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha trabajado en este grupo?		Días
					Meses
					Años
			26C. ¿Cuántos días a la semana trabaja usted normalmente?		Días/ Semana
			26D. ¿Cuánto gana usted al día normalmente?		$/Día
			26E. ¿Cuántas horas al día trabaja usted normalmente?		Horas/día

TABLA E: Preguntas sobre tráfico de personas y explotación laboral

LEER: En esta sección, le voy a preguntar acerca de su viaje a los Estados Unidos, viajes dentro del país y su trabajo en los Estados Unidos. Recuerde que todas las respuestas son confidenciales y nadie puede asociar estos datos con usted.

Transporte: *Los «coyotes» o las personas que trabajan con «coyotes» y otras personas que transportan personas a los Estados Unidos y dentro del país, pueden usar amenazas o cometer actos que intimiden (en contra de usted, sus familiares o cualquier ser querido) y hacer que usted sienta demasiado temor como para tratar de irse.*
En algún momento durante su viaje más reciente a los Estados Unidos o durante un viaje desde que llegó la vez más reciente a los Estados Unidos, ¿le sucedió algo de lo siguiente?

(SI LA RESPUESTA ES "SÍ", ¿OCURRIÓ ESTO AL CRUZAR HACIA ESTADOS UNIDOS? O ¿CUÁNDO VIAJABA DENTRO DE ESTADOS UNIDOS?)

	Sí	No	A. Al cruzar		B. Dentro	
27. ¿Recibió la ayuda de un coyote o de otra persona para entrar a los Estados Unidos? **SI LA RESPUESTA ES "NO", LAS RESPUESTAS A ESTAS PREGUNTAS SOBRE TRANSPORTE SE VAN A REFERIR A LOS VIAJES "DENTRO" DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS.**	☐1	☐0				
28. Desde la vez más reciente que llegó a los Estados Unidos, ¿le ayudaron coyotes u otras personas a viajar dentro de los Estados Unidos (por ejemplo, lo(a) transportaron a Carolina del Norte)? **IF RESPONSES TO Q27 AND 28 ARE NO, GO TO Q37.**	☐1	☐0				
29. ¿Le prohibieron dejar el grupo con el que viajaba o tenía restricciones dónde podía ir?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0
30. ¿Se quedaron con sus documentos de identificación (como su pasaporte, visa, acta de nacimiento) sin la intención de cuidarlos o para facilitar su viaje, sino para tener control sobre usted?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0
31. ¿Le prohibieron comunicarse con su familia o tenía restricciones para hacerlo libremente?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0
32. ¿Le prohibieron comunicarse con las otras personas que viajaban o tenía restricciones para hacerlo libremente?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0
33. ¿Le agredieron/lastimaron o le multaron por no obedecer las reglas del coyote (o del transportista)?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0
34. ¿Le amenazaron con agresión física o multa por no obedecer las reglas del coyote (o del transportista)?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0
35. ¿Estuvo secuestrado(a) o no lo(a) dejaron salir del lugar seguro donde estaba antes o después de cruzar a los Estados Unidos, mientras los coyotes (o el transportista) exigía una recompensa/dinero de parte de su familia?	☐1	☐0				
36. ¿Le exigieron a usted o a su familia que pagara más de lo que originalmente habían acordado por pasarlo(a) a los Estados Unidos o le pasaría algo malo a usted o a su familia (como ser abandonado a mitad de camino, entregarlo a la patrulla fronteriza de los Estados Unidos o miembros de su familia serían lastimados)?	☐1	☐0				

TABLA F: Amenazas y temor:

LEER: Puede que los empleadores (patrones) y sus ayudantes usen amenazas y otros actos que le intimiden para hacer que usted sienta demasiado temor como para tratar de irse, reclamar, reportar o buscar ayuda debido a su situación.

(SI LA RESPUESTA ES "SÍ", PREGUNTA LA COLUMNA B)

¿Le sucedieron a usted algunos de los siguientes incidentes en manos de su empleador o las personas que trabajan para su empleador en los Estados Unidos?	**A.¿Alguna vez le ha sucedido esto?**		**B.¿Le ha sucedido esto en los últimos 12 meses?**		**C.¿Cuántas veces le sucedió en los últimos 12 meses?**
	Sí	**No**	**Sí**	**No**	
37. ¿Abuso físico (incluyendo golpes, patadas, bofetadas/cachetadas, etc.)?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
38. ¿Abuso sexual?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
39. ¿Amenazas de abuso físico (incluyendo golpes, patadas, bofetadas/cachetadas, etc.)?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
40. ¿Amenazas de abuso sexual?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
41. ¿Ser encerrado(a) (incluyendo restricción física)?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
42. ¿Amenazas de hacerle daño de alguna otra manera?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
43. ¿Amenazas de hacerle daño a su familia de alguna forma?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
44. ¿Amenazas de hacer que lo/la deporten?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
45. ¿Amenazas de hacer que lo/la arresten?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
46. ¿Amenazas de entregarlo(a) a la policía o a los oficiales de inmigración?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	

TABLA G: Reglas y control

LEER: Puede que los empleadores (patrones) y sus ayudantes usen reglas y control para hacerle más difícil irse, reclamar maltratos o buscar ayuda. ***(SI LA RESPUESTA ES "SÍ", PREGUNTA LA COLUMNA B)***

¿Le sucedieron alguna vez a usted algunos de los siguientes incidentes en manos de su empleador o las personas que trabajan para su empleador en los Estados Unidos?	**A. ¿Alguna vez le ha sucedido esto?**		**B. ¿Le ha sucedido esto en los últimos 12 meses?**		**C. ¿Cuántas veces le sucedió en los últimos 12 meses?**
	Sí	**No**	**Sí**	**No**	
47. ¿Le prohibieron dejar su lugar de trabajo?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
48. ¿Tenía restricciones en cuanto a los lugares donde podía ir cuando no estaba en su horario de trabajo?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
49. ¿Le quitaron sus documentos de identificación (como su pasaporte, visa, acta de nacimiento) sin la intención de cuidarlos, sino para tener control sobre usted?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
50. ¿No le permitieron comer o dormir en forma adecuada?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
51. ¿Hicieron lo posible para que usted no se comunicara con su familia o tenía restricciones para hacerlo libremente?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
52. ¿Hicieron lo posible para que usted no se comunicara con otros trabajadores o tenía restricciones para hacerlo libremente?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
53. ¿Hacían lo posible para que usted no se comunicara con otras personas fuera del lugar de trabajo o tenía restricciones para hacerlo libremente?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	

TABLA H: Engaños y mentiras

LEER: Puede que los empleadores (patrones) y sus ayudantes usen engaños y mentiras.

¿Le sucedieron algunos de los siguientes incidentes en su trabajo más reciente?	**¿Le sucedió esto a usted?**	
Las condiciones de trabajo resultaron ser muy diferentes de las prometidas originalmente a usted. Específicamente:	**Sí**	**No**
54. El pago era menos de lo que se le prometió	☐1	☐0
55. El tipo de trabajo era diferente de lo que se le prometió	☐1	☐0
56. El ambiente de trabajo era diferente de lo que se le prometió	☐1	☐0
57. La cantidad de trabajo era diferente de lo que se le prometió	☐1	☐0
58. ¿Le dijeron que no le creerían si trataba de pedir ayuda a las autoridades de los Estados Unidos?	☐1	☐0
59. ¿Le dieron instrucciones de mentir acerca de su identidad?	☐1	☐0
60. ¿Le dieron instrucciones de mentir acerca de la identidad de su empleador?	☐1	☐0

TABLA I: Prácticas de explotación laboral:

LEER: Los empleadores (patrones) y sus ayudantes, pudieran tomar ventaja de usted debido a su situación legal, sus habilidades/educación o su dificultad con el idioma.

(SI LA RESPUESTA ES "SÍ", PREGUNTA LA COLUMNA B)

¿Le han sucedido alguna vez a usted algunos de los siguientes incidentes?	**A. ¿Alguna vez le ha sucedido esto?**		**B. ¿Le ha sucedido esto en los últimos 12 meses?**		**C. ¿Cuántas veces le sucedió en los últimos 12 meses?**
	Sí	**No**	**Sí**	**No**	
61. ¿No le pagaron por trabajo que hizo en los Estados Unidos?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
62. ¿Le pagaron menos de lo que se le prometió?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
63. ¿Su empleador le dio un cheque que no era válido?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
64. ¿Su empleador desapareció antes de pagarle?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
65. ¿Le pidieron que trabajara en un ambiente peligroso (con productos químicos desconocidos) sin protección adecuada?	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	
66. ¿Tuvo alguna otra experiencia de trabajo que considera abusiva o de explotación? SI LA RESPUESTA ES SÍ, EXPLIQUE EN EL ESPACIO A CONTINUACIÓN.	☐1	☐0	☐1	☐0	

TABLA J: Movimiento dentro de los Estados Unidos

Me gustaría hablar acerca de otros lugares donde usted haya vivido en los Estados Unidos.

(SI SOLO HA VIVIDO EN LOS E.E.U.U., DEJA TABLA J VACIO.)

Secuencia	**¿En dónde vivía usted antes de venir aquí?**		**C. ¿Cuántos meses vivió ahí?**	**D. ¿Por qué se mudó de ahí? [a]**	**E. ¿Quién le ayudó a viajar desde ese lugar?[b]**	**F. ¿Con cuántas personas viajaba usted?**
	A. Ciudad	**B. Estado**				
67. **2º a último**						
68. **3º a último**						
69. **4º a último**						

[a]Razones del cambio/mudanza
1-Trabajo
2-Familia
3- Empleador/patrón
9-Otro, especificar

[b]Ayuda para viajar
1- Nadie
2-Familia
3-Amistad
4- Compañero de trabajo
5-Capataz/ líder
6-Empleador/patrón
9-Otro, especificar

TABLA K: Transporte de cosas

	A. ¿Traían las personas que lo(a) transportaron a usted **a los Estados Unidos** la vez más reciente, cualquiera de las siguientes cosas para vender o intercambiar en los Estados Unidos (no para uso o consumo personal)?		B. ¿Llevaron también las personas que lo(a) transportaron a usted **dentro de los Estados Unidos** cualquiera de las siguientes cosas para vender o intercambiar dentro de los Estados Unidos (no para uso o consumo personal)?	
	Sí	**No**	**Sí**	**No**
70. Comida	☐ 1	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 0
71. Medicina	☐ 1	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 0
72. Dinero	☐ 1	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 0
73. Ropa	☐ 1	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 0
74. Aparatos electrónicos	☐ 1	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 0
75. Drogas	☐ 1	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 0
76. Armas	☐ 1	☐ 0	☐ 1	☐ 0

LEER: Estas son todas las preguntas que tengo. Muchas gracias por su tiempo.

DARLE EL REGALO DE AGRADECIMIENTO Y FIRMA DEL RECIBO

North Carolina Labor Trafficking Survey Questionnaire in Spanish

1. **Date of interview:** _____ **(mm/dd/yyyy)**
2. **Interview Location:** _____
3. **Interviewer Initials:** _____
4. **Questionnaire #:** _____

5. **Overall, in your opinion, how honest was respondent to the questions?**

    1 . . . . Very honest
    2 . . . . Honest
    3 . . . . Somewhat honest
    4 . . . . Not very honest
    5 . . . . Not honest at all
    6 . . . . Not sure

6. **INTERVIEWER'S OBSERVATIONS: (description of interview settings, any interruptions or interferences by others, subject's attitudes, responsiveness, sincerity, concern regarding sensitive/personal information, cooperativeness, etc.)**

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Consent to Participate in Research

Title of Research: Labor Practices in the U.S.—Survey

RTI International, a research organization located in Research Triangle Park, North Carolina, is conducting a research study on behalf of the National Institute of Justice. The purpose of the study is to look at work and living conditions among farmworkers. In this part of the project, RTI is conducting surveys with people living in this community who are at least 18 years old. Up to 200 people will be surveyed for this research across central and eastern North Carolina.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN

You will be asked to answer survey questions in either English or Spanish by an interviewer. The interviewer will take notes and record your responses on the questionnaire. You will be asked questions about working and living conditions in your community. The survey is expected to last no more than 30 minutes. For your time, you will receive a small gift.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Every precaution will be taken to protect your privacy. We will not ask your name and your name will never be associated with the responses that you give or disclosed to the organization sponsoring the study.

YOUR RIGHTS

Your participation in this study is voluntary. Some of the topic areas that will be discussed in each group may be considered personal. It is possible that some of the survey questions may make you uncomfortable or upset. You can refuse to answer any question, or you may take a break at any time during the interview. Every effort will be made to protect your information, but this cannot be guaranteed.

If you have any questions about the study, they may be answered at this time or you may call Dr. Pamela Lattimore at 1-866-784-1958 ext. 7759 (a toll-free number) in the future. If you have any questions about your rights as a study participant, you can call RTI's Human Research Protections Office at 1-866-214-2043 (a toll-free number).

Consentimiento de participación en un estudio

Título del estudio: Encuesta sobre las Prácticas de trabajo en los Estados Unidos

RTI International, una organización que realiza estudios sociales y que está ubicada en Research Triangle Park, Carolina del Norte, está realizando un estudio en nombre del Instituto Nacional de Justicia. El propósito del estudio es conocer las condiciones de trabajo y de vida de los trabajadores agrícolas. En esta parte del proyecto, RTI está realizando encuestas con personas que viven en esta comunidad y que tienen por lo menos 18 años de edad. Para este estudio vamos a entrevistar hasta 200 personas en el área central y este de Carolina del Norte.

QUÉ VA A SUCEDER

Se le pedirá que responda preguntas de una encuesta que hace un entrevistador, ya sea en español o en inglés. El entrevistador tomará notas y registrará sus respuestas en el cuestionario. Se le harán preguntas acerca de las condiciones de trabajo y de vida en su comunidad. Se espera que la encuesta tenga una duración de no más de 30 minutos. Usted recibirá un regalo pequeño por su tiempo.

CONFIDENCIALIDAD

Se tomarán todas las precauciones necesarias para proteger su privacidad. No le vamos a preguntar su nombre y las respuestas que usted nos dé nunca se van a asociar con su nombre, ni se van a dar a conocer a la organización que patrocina el estudio.

SUS DERECHOS

Su participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Puede ser que algunos de los temas que se van a tratar en cada grupo se consideren personales. Es posible que algunas de las preguntas de la encuesta le hagan sentirse incómodo o le molesten. Usted se puede rehusar a contestar cualquier pregunta o puede tomar un descanso en cualquier momento durante la entrevista. Se harán todos los esfuerzos necesarios para proteger su información, pero esto no se puede garantizar.

Si tiene alguna pregunta acerca del estudio, se pueden contestar en este momento o usted puede llamar al Dr. Wayne Pitts al (919) 541-8752 en el futuro. Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como participante en un estudio, puede llamar a la Oficina de RTI para la Protección de Participantes en Estudios al 1-866-214-2043 (número gratuito).