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Evaluation of the Enhanced Collaborative Model to Combat Human Trafficking

Technical Report

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Introduction

Over the last 20 years, the United States government has taken substantial steps to address human trafficking¹ in the United States. Notably, in 2000, Congress established the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) as a federal response to human trafficking, which focused on a 3P framework—prosecuting cases of human trafficking, protecting survivors, and preventing trafficking through the mobilization of government agencies to action. Over the course of five subsequent reauthorizations (in 2003, 2005, 2008, 2013, and 2018), Congress has built on to the TVPA to expand the federal strategy to combat trafficking, including adding *partnerships* to the initial framework, recognizing the importance of non-governmental organizations in addressing human trafficking, and funding task forces across the U.S. to focus on combatting human trafficking across cities, counties, and states.²

In 2010, the Office for Victims of Crime (OVC) and Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) launched the Enhanced Collaborative Model (ECM) Task Force to Combat Human Trafficking Program³ with the intent of supporting communities in their efforts to develop effective and sustainable multidisciplinary task forces that employ victim-centered approaches to identify survivors of sex and labor trafficking, provide services to survivors, and investigate and prosecute all forms of human trafficking. ECM task forces bring together key stakeholders, including law enforcement, prosecutors, victim service providers, and others, at the local, state, and federal levels. As of FY2020, there were 47 active federally-funded ECM task forces in the United States.

The purpose of this study was to evaluate the impact that federally funded ECM task forces are having on addressing human trafficking, including sex and labor trafficking. Specifically, this research sought to (1) understand the impact of the ECM task forces in identifying and assisting human trafficking survivors and investigating and prosecuting human trafficking, and (2) analyze differences in various task force implementation models (e.g., structure, organization, and other key characteristics) to understand which task force models and features contribute most to the prosecution of cases. In addition, this research sought to gain insight into the investigative, prosecutorial, and victim service practices among ECM task forces, challenges and barriers faced by ECM tasks forces in combatting human trafficking, and best practices for successfully developing and implementing ECM task forces across the U.S.

A multi-method research approach was implemented to achieve the goals of this study. Qualitative and quantitative data were collected from 10 diverse ECM task forces across the U.S. Qualitative data collection included in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 143 task force stakeholders, including 60 law enforcement officials, 23 prosecutors, 55 victim service providers, and 5 other relevant task force

¹ Human trafficking is defined by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 as: a) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act was not attained 18 years of age; or b) the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, 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 (22 U.S.C. §7102 (9)).

² Todres, J. 2012. The Private Sector's Pivotal Role in Combatting Human Trafficking. *California Law Review Circuit*, 3, 80-98; Zimmerman, C., Hossain, M., & Watts, C. 2011. Human Trafficking and Health: A Conceptual Model to Inform Policy, Intervention and Research. *Social Science & Medicine*, 73(2), 327-335.

³ U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance. Enhanced Collaborative Model to Combat Human Trafficking FY2011 Competitive Grant Announcement, BJA-2011-2873 (Release date: March 16, 2011), (<https://bja.ojp.gov/sites/g/files/xyckuh186/files/media/document/BJA-2011-2873.pdf>), Page 5.

stakeholders across the 10 ECM task forces. Quantitative data collection included reviewing and coding 226 law enforcement closed case files of investigations into potential human trafficking, collected from 8 of the 10 participating ECM task forces, and obtaining and analyzing BJA Performance Measurement Tool (PMT) and OVC Trafficking Information Management System (TIMS) data.

This report summarizes the methods and findings of this research study. Findings will also be published in three topical briefs on the Urban Institute website and through a peer reviewed publication.

Prior Research

Criminal Justice Responses and Challenges to Combatting Human Trafficking

The U.S. criminal justice response to human trafficking has increased since the passage of the TVPA in 2000 and its subsequent reauthorizations in 2003, 2005, 2008, 2013, and 2018. Each reauthorization of the TVPA has broadened the original statute, expanded enforcement measures, added more services for survivors, and increased prevention programs. Mandates have included holistic training for federal law enforcement officers and prosecutors, specialized human trafficking training and technical assistance for victim service providers, specialized techniques for investigating human trafficking, and federally funded benefits such as healthcare and immigration assistance for foreign-born survivors of human trafficking, regardless of immigration status, among others.⁴ Largely as a result of the TVPA, all states in the U.S. have adopted laws and policies to prosecute cases of human trafficking and provide services to survivors; however, significant differences may exist in the statutes and policies across jurisdictions.⁵

Despite legislative gains designed to bolster anti-trafficking efforts and protect survivors, and growing awareness of issues of human trafficking, many challenges continue to exist in identifying, investigating, and prosecuting cases of human trafficking, and in providing adequate services to survivors. Although the prevalence of human trafficking in the U.S. is unknown⁶, scholars and practitioners argue that investigations are disproportionately low compared to the number of occurrences; and, for cases that are investigated, few result in arrest or prosecution.⁷ Of the cases that are prosecuted, most are not prosecuted as human trafficking. For example, a 2013 study found that of 140 human trafficking cases,

⁴ Wells, K. 2019. *The 2019 Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act: A Topical Summary and Analysis of Four Bill*. Washington, DC: Polaris Project; Farrell, A., Owens, C., & McDevitt, J. 2014. New Laws but Few Cases: Understanding the Challenges to the Investigation and Prosecution of Human Trafficking Cases. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 61(2), 139-168.

⁵ Teigen, A. 2018. *Prosecuting Human Traffickers: Recent Legislative Enactments*. Washington, D.C.: National Conference of State Legislatures.

⁶ Although the prevalence of human trafficking in the U.S. is unknown, the National Human Trafficking Hotline, operated by Polaris, and which contains one of the most extensive data sets on human trafficking in the U.S. reports over 63,000 cases of human trafficking being reported to the hotline since 2007.

⁷ Farrell, A., Owens, C., & McDevitt, J. 2014. New Laws but Few Cases: Understanding the Challenges to the Investigation and Prosecution of Human Trafficking Cases. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 61(2), 139-168.

Farrell, A., McDevitt, J., & Fahy, S. 2008. *Understanding and Improving Law Enforcement Responses to Human Trafficking*. Final Report prepared for the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice.

only 18 percent were prosecuted using existing human trafficking laws (7% sex trafficking charge, 9% sex trafficking of a minor charge, and 2% federal labor trafficking charge).⁸

Misconceptions regarding the prevalence of human trafficking among criminal justice stakeholders and misunderstandings around the definition and nature of human trafficking present challenges to identifying, investigating, and prosecuting cases of human trafficking. Several studies to date have shown that law enforcement and prosecutors perceive human trafficking as rare or non-existent in their local communities.⁹ Research also indicates that criminal justice stakeholders may hold negative views towards survivors of trafficking, judge their behaviors, view them as complacent in their victimization, or view them as unreliable and question their credibility.¹⁰ Law enforcement and prosecutors may also be uncertain on how to distinguish between consent and coercion, and rely on traditional vice investigative strategies, such as undercover sting operations that result in the arrest and re-traumatization of survivors.¹¹ These misconceptions and misunderstandings are often magnified by a lack of institutional support or infrastructure to fund trainings and investigate and prosecute cases of human trafficking.¹² For

⁸ Farrell, A., Dank, M., Kafafian, M., Lockwood, S., Pfeffer, R., Hughes, A., & Vincent, K. 2019. *Capturing Human Trafficking Victimization Through Crime Reporting*. Final Report prepared for the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice; Farrell, A., Owens, C., & McDevitt, J. 2014. New Laws But Few Cases: Understanding the Challenges to the Investigation and Prosecution of Human Trafficking Cases. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 61(2), 139-168.

⁹ Farrell, A., Pfeffer, R., & Bright, K. 2015. Police Perceptions of Human Trafficking. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 38(3), 315-333; Farrell, A., McDevitt, J., & Fahy, S. 2010. Where are all the Victims? Understanding the Determinants of Official Identification of Human Trafficking Incidents. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 9(2), 201-233; Farrell, A., McDevitt, J., & Fahy, S. 2008. *Understanding and Improving Law Enforcement Responses to Human Trafficking*. Final Report prepared for the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice; Clawson, H.J., N. Dutch, S. Lopez, & S. Tiapula. 2008. *Prosecuting Human Trafficking Cases: Lessons Learned and Promising Practices*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice; Newton, P., Mulcahy, T., & Martin, S. 2008. *Finding Victims of Human Trafficking*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice Office of Justice Programs; Farrell, A., Owens, C., & McDevitt, J. 2014. New Laws But Few Cases: Understanding the Challenges to the Investigation and Prosecution of Human Trafficking Cases. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 61(2), 139-168.

¹⁰ Farrell, A., Owens, C., & McDevitt, J. 2014. New Laws but Few Cases: Understanding the Challenges to the Investigation and Prosecution of Human Trafficking Cases. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 61(2), 139-168.; Aronowitz, A. 2003. "Trafficking in Human Beings: An International Perspective." In *Global Organized Crime*, edited by Dina Siegel, Henk van de Bunt, and Damian Zaitch, 85–95. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands; Farrell, A., Pfeffer, R., & Bright, K. 2015. Police Perceptions of Human Trafficking. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 38(3), 315-333; Pourmokhtari, N. 2015. Global Human Trafficking Unmasked: A Feminist Rights-Based Approach. *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 1(2): 156–66.; Srikantiah, J. 2007. Perfect Victims and Real Survivors: The Iconic Victim in Domestic Human Trafficking Law. *Immigration and Nationality Law Review*, 28:741–98.

¹¹ Farrell, A., Pfeffer, R., & Bright, K. 2015. Police Perceptions of Human Trafficking. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 38(3), 315-333; Farrell, A., & Pfeffer, R. 2014. Policing Human Trafficking: Cultural Blinders and Organizational Barriers. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 653(1), 46-64.

¹² Farrell, A., McDevitt, J., Pfeffer, R., Fahy, S., Owens, C., Dank, M., and Adams, W. 2012. *Identifying Challenges in the Investigation and Prosecution of State and Local Human Trafficking Cases in the United States*. Final Report prepared for the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice.

example, a 2016 study of 75 U.S. local law enforcement officers found that only 17% had received training or information on human trafficking.^{13 14}

In addition, research suggests that criminal justice stakeholders may respond to human trafficking differently depending on the type of trafficking, the gender, and the age of the survivors involved.¹⁵ Studies have found that most law enforcement efforts to combat human trafficking has focused primarily on sex trafficking and, more specifically, on the sex trafficking of U.S. born children.¹⁶ Reports on labor trafficking have shown that law enforcement struggle to identify cases of labor trafficking and, when cases are identified, suspects are only arrested in half of the cases.¹⁷ Furthermore, investigations of sex trafficking among law enforcement are more likely to focus on women (71%), whereas agencies that focus specifically on the investigation of cases of labor trafficking report disproportionately more men who are survivors of trafficking (62%).¹⁸

Victim Services for Survivors of Human Trafficking

Challenges and inequities exist not only in criminal justice system responses to human trafficking, but also in the coordinated delivery of services for survivors of human trafficking. For example, reporting to law enforcement is a significant barrier for many survivors who distrust law enforcement—prior research has reported that human trafficking survivors may view the police as dangerous, may have had prior negative interactions with law enforcement, or may fear deportation.¹⁹ This is complicated by the fact that many survivors of human trafficking may be initially reluctant to name their victimization experience or to

¹³ Mapp, S., Hornung, E., D’Almeida, M., & Juhnke, J. 2016. Local Law Enforcement Officers’ Knowledge of Human Trafficking: Ability to Define, Identify, and Assist. *Journal of Human Trafficking*, 2(4), 329-342. It is also worth noting that between FY2015 and FY2019, BJA funded just over \$3.5 million in training and technical assistance support for ECM task forces, a majority of which covered development and delivery of trainings.

¹⁴ Yet, it should be pointed out that OJP has provided funding for training for law enforcement and prosecutions on effective strategies under the ECM program. Between FY2015 and FY2019, BJA funded just over \$3.5 million for training and technical assistance support, with a majority of that funding going toward development and delivery of trainings.

¹⁵ Cole, J. & Sprang, G. 2019. *Sex Trafficking of Minors: The Impact of Legislative Reform and Judicial Decision Making in Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Communities*. Final Report prepared for the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice.

¹⁶ Farrell, A., Owens, C., & McDevitt, J. 2014. New Laws but Few Cases: Understanding the Challenges to the Investigation and Prosecution of Human Trafficking Cases. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 61(2), 139-168; Farrell, A., McDevitt, J., & Fahy, S. 2008. *Understanding and Improving Law Enforcement Responses to Human Trafficking*. Final Report prepared for the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice.

¹⁷ Owens, C., M. Dank, A. Farrell, J. Breau, I. Banuelos, R. Pfeffer, R. Heitsmith, K. Bright, & J. McDevitt. 2014. *Understanding the organization, operation, and victimization process of labor trafficking in the United States*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.

¹⁸ Farrell, A., McDevitt, J., & Fahy, S. 2008. *Understanding and Improving Law Enforcement Responses to Human Trafficking*. Final Report prepared for the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice; see also health studies that report similar characteristics of survivors of human trafficking: Varma, S. Gillespie, S., McCracken, C. V. Greenbaum, J. 2015. Characteristics of Child Commercial Sexual Exploitation and Sex Trafficking Victims Presenting for Medical Care in the United States, *Child Abuse & Neglect*, (44), 98-105.

¹⁹ Sheldon-Sherman, J. A. 2012. The Missing P: Prosecution, Prevention, Protection, and Partnership in the Trafficking Victims Protection Act. *Penn St. L. Rev.*, 117, 443.; Hussemann, J. Owens, C., Love, H., Yu, L., McCoy, E., Flynn, A., & Woods, K. 2018. *Bending Towards Justice: Perceptions of Justice among Human Trafficking Survivors*. Technical Report prepared for the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice.

cooperate fully with treatment because of emotional or financial ties to the person who is trafficking them.²⁰

Connecting survivors with the services they need can also be challenging. Across human trafficking types, common service provision needs of survivors of human trafficking include: safety planning, medical treatment, food, clothing, housing, legal assistance and representation, income assistance, childcare, family reunification, immigration assistance, psychological counseling, and a host of other short-term and long-term needs. However, despite the significant amount of money dedicated to anti-trafficking efforts, victim services providers and law enforcement consistently report difficulties in finding medical care, transitional and permanent housing, and mental health or substance abuse services.²¹ Culturally appropriate services and services that offer interpreters for non-English speaking survivors are also cited as a common barrier to successful service delivery.

Finally, a lack of awareness and training on how to identify, respond to, and serve survivors of human trafficking affects survivors. For example, research has shown that survivors are in contact with health care workers, service providers, and law enforcement over the course of their trafficking experience but are rarely identified—a 2018 study revealed that 87.8% of survivors of sex trafficking had been in contact with a healthcare worker in some capacity during their victimization.²²

Once identified, survivors often find themselves relying on victim services that are not specific to human trafficking, such as domestic violence shelters, sexual assault coalitions, and other service providers who are not trained on human trafficking and trauma-informed care. While substantial progress has been made over the past decade, survivors continue to interact with organizations, such as healthcare providers, local Social Security Administration offices, Departments of Motor Vehicles, and other key agencies which are largely untrained on issues related to human trafficking and unaware of how to serve survivors of human trafficking.²³

Human Trafficking Task Forces and the Enhanced Collaborative Model

Coordinated efforts to address human trafficking across service providers and law enforcement have historically been challenging. To address the challenges in coordinating system responses to human trafficking, the Office for Victims of Crime (OVC) and Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) in 2004 utilized

²⁰ Reid, J. A. 2010. Doors Wide Shut: Barriers to the Successful Delivery of Victim Services for Domestically Trafficked Minors in a Southern US Metropolitan Area. *Women & Criminal Justice*, 20(1-2), 147-166.

²¹ Hussemann, J. Owens, C., Love, H., Yu, L., McCoy, E., Flynn, A., & Woods, K. 2018. *Bending Towards Justice: Perceptions of Justice among Human Trafficking Survivors*. Technical Report prepared for the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice; Clawson, H. J., & Dutch, N. 2008. *Addressing the Needs of Victims of Human Trafficking: Challenges, Barriers, and Promising Practices*. Washington, DC: Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation.

²² Long, E., & Dowdell, E. B. 2018. Nurses' Perceptions of Victims of Human Trafficking in an Urban Emergency Department: a Qualitative Study. *Journal of Emergency Nursing*, 44(4), 375-383; Chisolm-Straker, M., Richardson, L. D., & Cossio, T. 2012. Combating Slavery in the 21st Century: The Role of Emergency Medicine. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, 23(3), 980-987; Lederer, L. J., & Wetzel, C. A. 2014. The Health Consequences of Sex Trafficking and their Implications for Identifying Victims in Healthcare Facilities. *Annals Health L.*, 23, 61.

²³ Clawson, H. J., & Dutch, N. 2008. *Addressing the Needs of Victims of Human Trafficking: Challenges, Barriers, and Promising Practices*. Washington, DC: Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation.

funds appropriated through the TVPA to implement a multidisciplinary task force model that was designed to “combat human trafficking by identifying, rescuing, and restoring victims (with a focus on foreign national victims); investigating and prosecuting trafficking crimes, and building awareness around trafficking in the surrounding community.”²⁴ From 2004 through 2010, there were 42 such multidisciplinary task forces funded jointly by BJA and OVC. In 2010, BJA and OVC decided to launch an updated task force model called the “Enhanced Collaborative Model to Combat Human Trafficking” (ECM). This new program took a more comprehensive approach that focused, not only on foreign national victims, but on combatting all forms of trafficking – sex trafficking and labor trafficking of foreign national and U.S. citizens (male and female, and adults and minors). Under the ECM program, two separate awards are made jointly to each jurisdiction selected for funding: one award is made by BJA to a lead law enforcement agency to coordinate the investigation and prosecution of human trafficking, and another award is made by OVC to a lead victim service provider organization to coordinate the provision of services to all human trafficking victims identified within the geographic area covered by the task force. These two grantees work collaboratively with one another to implement the ECM model and function as a comprehensive, multidisciplinary task force by coordinating the goals, objectives, and activities of the task force.²⁵

This ECM program aims to support the development of effective and sustainable multidisciplinary human trafficking task forces to implement and employ victim-centered approaches to identify survivors of sex and labor trafficking, provide services to survivors, and investigate and prosecute all forms of human trafficking. A key goal of the ECM task forces is to bring together law enforcement and prosecutors at the local, state, and federal level, with service providers, mental health professionals, and labor professionals in a coordinated partnership.²⁶

Relatively little research on federally-funded, multidisciplinary anti-human trafficking task forces (including the ECM task forces) has been conducted to date, however, initial findings suggest that federally-funded task forces may be helpful in increasing the number of prosecutions of human trafficking. An early study of federally-funded task forces, conducted in 2008, found that task forces were increasing federal prosecutions and improving state involvement in trafficking investigations and convictions.²⁷ Specifically, the study found that law enforcement who were participating in a human trafficking task force were more likely to perceive human trafficking as a problem, have human trafficking training and protocols in place, make more arrests for trafficking, and follow through with formal charges following arrests—out of over 1500 law enforcement officers surveyed for the study, 91 percent of the task force law enforcement agencies had received human trafficking training and 77 percent had a specialized unit to investigate trafficking cases.²⁸ A 2012 study of law enforcement responses to human trafficking in task

²⁴ U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance. Enhanced Collaborative Model to Combat Human Trafficking FY2011 Competitive Grant Announcement, BJA-2011-2873 (Release date: March 16, 2011), (<https://bja.ojp.gov/sites/g/files/xyckuh186/files/media/document/BJA-2011-2873.pdf>), Page 5.

²⁵ U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance. Enhanced Collaborative Model to Combat Human Trafficking FY2011 Competitive Grant Announcement, BJA-2011-2873 (Release date: March 16, 2011), (<https://bja.ojp.gov/sites/g/files/xyckuh186/files/media/document/BJA-2011-2873.pdf>), Page 5-6.

²⁶ See <https://bja.ojp.gov/sites/g/files/xyckuh186/files/media/document/BJA-2019-15230.PDF> for the Department of Justice’s statement on the purpose of ECM task force funding.

²⁷ Farrell, A., McDevitt, J., & Fahy, S. 2008. *Understanding and Improving Law Enforcement Responses to Human Trafficking*. Final Report prepared for the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice.

²⁸ Farrell, A., McDevitt, J., & Fahy, S. 2008. *Understanding and Improving Law Enforcement Responses to Human Trafficking*. Final Report prepared for the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice.

force and non-task force sites²⁹, however, found that sites with federally funded human trafficking task forces were more likely to have prosecutors attend a training or conference on human trafficking, but were not more likely to have increased institutional infrastructure dedicated to human trafficking or to have prosecutors be more willing to take human trafficking cases than those in non-task force jurisdictions.³⁰

Researchers also suggest that human trafficking task forces increase communication and coordination between service providers and law enforcement. Because survivors of human trafficking are unlikely to report their victimization to law enforcement, law enforcement often rely on traditional investigative techniques, such as sting operations, to identify potential human trafficking cases, particularly related to sex trafficking.³¹ However, task force law enforcement agencies also report heavy reliance on victim service providers for human trafficking case referrals. For example, research conducted in 2008 showed that 82 percent of task force agencies, as opposed to 49 percent of non-task force agencies, reported that victim services support was frequently or occasionally involved in building a trafficking case.³²

In addition to challenges associated with identifying survivors and prosecuting human trafficking cases, scholars and practitioners working with human trafficking task forces have identified challenges associated with implementing, organizing, and sustaining task forces. These challenges include the temporary nature of task forces due to grant funding cycles; competing agency allegiances and priorities; tensions across expanding federal jurisdiction and subsuming state duties by federal officers; the conflict of multiple actors operating on the same investigations; and the prioritizing of certain kinds of trafficking cases (domestic minor sex trafficking) over others (labor trafficking).³³

Research Goals

This research is the first federally-funded, multi-site, mixed methods evaluation to specifically assess the impact of ECM human trafficking task forces on investigating and prosecuting human trafficking crimes and on identifying and assisting human trafficking survivors. The evaluation sought to understand which task force models and features contribute most to specific outcomes and to gain insight into ECM investigative, prosecutorial, and victim service practices, challenges and barriers.

²⁹ This study utilized a targeted sample of primary law enforcement agencies in each of 12 counties: 6 of the law enforcement agencies were in counties that were part of a federally-funded human trafficking task force, while the other 6 law enforcement agencies were in counties that were not part of a federally-funded human trafficking task force.

³⁰ Farrell, A., McDevitt, J., Pfeffer, R., Fahy, S., Owens, C., Dank, M., and Adams, W. 2012. *Identifying Challenges in the Investigation and Prosecution of State and Local Human Trafficking Cases in the United States*. Final Report prepared for the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice.

³¹ Farrell, A., Dank, M., de Vries, I., Kafafian, M., Hughes, A., & Lockwood, S. 2019. Failing victims? Challenges of the police response to human trafficking. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 18(3), 649-673.

³² Farrell, A., McDevitt, J., & Fahy, S. 2008. *Understanding and Improving Law Enforcement Responses to Human Trafficking*. Final Report prepared for the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice.

³³ Farrell, A., McDevitt, J., Pfeffer, R., Fahy, S., Owens, C., Dank, M., and Adams, W. 2012. *Identifying Challenges in the Investigation and Prosecution of State and Local Human Trafficking Cases in the United States*. Final Report prepared for the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice; Sheldon-Sherman, J. A. 2012. The Missing P: Prosecution, Prevention, Protection, and Partnership in the Trafficking Victims Protection Act. *Penn St. L. Review.*, 117, 443.

Key research questions that guided this study included:

1. How are ECM human trafficking task forces providing comprehensive victim services?
2. What approaches and techniques are ECM human trafficking task forces relying on to investigate and prosecute cases of human trafficking?
3. Which characteristics of human trafficking cases or features of the offense predict case outcomes (such as prosecution)? In addition, how does the presence of certain ECM human trafficking task force elements contribute to those case outcomes?
4. What is the impact of ECM human trafficking task forces on addressing human trafficking (in terms of sex and labor trafficking survivors identified and assisted, and cases investigated and prosecuted)?
5. Which types of ECM human trafficking task forces perform well and why? Which task force elements (such as task force organization, size, scope, leadership structure, and organizational location) are associated with effective task forces?
6. What challenges and barriers are ECM human trafficking task forces facing?

The sections that follow describe the methodology, the ECM task forces evaluated, results and findings, and the limitations of this study.

Methods

This research relies on qualitative and quantitative data collected across 10 ECM task forces. Task forces were selected for this evaluation based on variation across several factors, including geography, funding cycle, ECM grant purpose area, lead law enforcement organization, and organizational/coverage area. Urban submitted an initial list of proposed evaluation task forces in its application, but upon receipt of the award, worked in consultation with BJA, OVC, and NIJ to make necessary adjustments and finalize the list of 10 evaluation sites that ensured diversity on the aforementioned factors. Two of the 10 task forces were located in the Northeastern section of the U.S, 3 in the Western section, 2 in the Southern section, and 3 in the Midwest section of the U.S. Three of the 10 task forces were funded in 2015, 5 were funded in 2016, and 2 were funded in 2017. Six of the 10 task forces were led (on the law enforcement side) by the local police department, 2 by the sheriff's office, and 3 were led by the state attorney general's office. Five of the ten ECM task forces were organized at the county level, 3 were organized at the state level, and 2 were organized at the city or municipal level (see Table 1 for ECM Task Force Characteristics). Finally, 5 of the 10-task forces were colocated³⁴, and two of the 10 task forces were independently chaired (i.e., chaired by an individual from outside both the lead law enforcement agency and the lead victim services organization of the task force) (Table 1).

³⁴ Colocation of task force members and agency partners occurs when the task force intentionally creates a shared space where task force members (including federal and local law enforcement, victim service providers, as well as stakeholders from other agencies) can work together in the same building for either part of the week (e.g., 1-2 days) or the whole week, but could still return to work at their parent organization as needed. The shared work environment of task force members from different agencies can foster collaboration and create efficiencies in investigating and prosecuting human trafficking cases.

Table 1. ECM Task Force Characteristics (Sample N=10)

	N	%
Lead Law Enforcement Organization		
Local Police Department	5	50%
Sheriff's Office	2	20%
State Attorney General's Office	3	30%
ECM Grant Purpose Area		
Purpose Area 1 (newly formed task forces)	5	50%
Purpose Area 2 (established task forces)	5	50%
Funding Cycle		
2015	3	30%
2016	5	50%
2017	2	20%
Organizational Level		
County	5	50%
State	3	30%
City or Municipality	2	20%
Geographic Region		
South	4	40%
West	3	30%
Midwest	2	20%
Northeast	1	10%
Colocation		
Yes	5	50%
No	5	50%
Independently Chaired		
Yes	2	20%
No	8	80%

Site recruitment included an initial call with the key members of each site to discuss the evaluation goals, timeline, and data collection activities, which included one site visit to conduct interviews and to collect human trafficking case file data, as described below. All sites were assured that the decision to participate in the study was voluntary and that their participation would be kept confidential, (i.e., only known within the research team and by BJA, OVC, and NIJ). Additionally, all sites were offered a stipend as compensation for the time required to organize and participate in the site visit, and to collect the human trafficking case file data requested. Of the ten ECM task forces that were originally selected to be included in the evaluation, only one task force indicated that they were not interested in participating in the study, at which time the research team worked closely with BJA, OVC, and NIJ to select a suitable replacement site from the same geographic region of the country.

One 3-4-day site visit was made to nine of the 10 ECM task forces to conduct in-person interviews and complete human trafficking case file reviews. In one of the 10 sites, the research team was unable to conduct in-person interviews due to the COVID-19 pandemic; however, the research team was able to conduct phone interviews with task force stakeholders and receive hard copies of redacted human trafficking case files from this task force.

An overview of the data sources that the evaluation team used to answer the study’s primary research questions is provided in table 2, below. These data sources are described in detail in the sections that follow.

Table 2. Research Questions and Data Sources

Research Question	Data Sources
1. How are ECM human trafficking task forces providing comprehensive victim services?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stakeholder interviews
2. What approaches and techniques are ECM human trafficking task forces relying on to investigate and prosecute cases of human trafficking?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stakeholder interviews
3. Which characteristics of human trafficking cases or features of the offense predict case outcomes (such as prosecution)? In addition, how does the presence of certain ECM human trafficking task force elements contribute to those case outcomes?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human trafficking case files
4. What is the impact of ECM human trafficking task forces on addressing human trafficking (in terms of sex and labor trafficking survivors identified and assisted, and cases investigated and prosecuted)?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stakeholder interviews • PMT and TIMS performance data
5. Which types of ECM human trafficking task forces perform well and why? Which task force elements (such as task force organization, size, scope, leadership structure, specialized units, and organizational location) are associated with effective task forces?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human trafficking case files
6. What challenges and barriers are ECM human trafficking task forces facing?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stakeholder interviews

Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis

Semi-structured interviews were conducted between February 2019 and May 2020 with 143 task force stakeholders, including 60 law enforcement officials, 23 prosecutors, 55 victim service providers, and 5 other relevant task force stakeholders (e.g., county government, communications staff, etc.), across the 10 ECM task forces included in this study. Interview protocols were developed in collaboration with project consultant, Colleen Owens, and pilot tested during the first site visit, after which the research team made necessary revisions prior to collecting data across the nine remaining sites (see Appendix A for Interview Protocols).

Qualitative data collected in this study is used to answer research questions 1, 2, 4, and 6. During interviews, the research team collected information on task force roles and professional experience, agency background, survivor safety and communication, staff training and community education and awareness efforts, perceptions of the ECM task force (i.e., goals, collaboration, impact, effectiveness, successes), and best practices and recommendations. In addition, the law enforcement interview protocol included questions on investigative techniques, proactive operations, referral sources, arrest of survivors, collaboration, techniques for interviewing survivors, and investigation challenges. The prosecutor interview protocol included questions on prosecutorial practices, referral sources, survivor safety and communication, collaboration, evidence criteria, length of prosecution, survivor participation for prosecution, prosecution challenges, and charging practices and outcomes. Lastly, victim service provider protocol included questions on services provided and gaps in services, approach to human trafficking (i.e., referral sources, initial interaction, survivor safety and communication, collaboration, length of services), victim services' delivery challenges, and perceptions of law enforcement. (See Appendix B for the interview questions associated with each research question).

Interview respondents were identified in coordination with the ECM task force coordinator (or other task force point person) and included key task force members (i.e., local and federal law enforcement and prosecutors, victim service providers, task force leads and coordinators, and subcommittee leads and members). In 5 of the 10 sites, the task force lead chose to coordinate interviews across stakeholders; in the remaining 5 sites, the research team conducted direct outreach to stakeholders to arrange interviews.

Interviews with task force stakeholders occurred in-person during site visits in all but one site, as previously mentioned, and lasted between 30 minutes to 2 hours. If a respondent was unable to meet in-person with a member of the research team in person, a phone interview was completed following the site visit; there were three instances where phone interviews were conducted during the site visits because of last-minute scheduling conflicts that emerged for stakeholders. Most interviews were conducted by at least two researchers from the research team: one to lead the interview and one to provide support and take notes. Prior to the beginning of each interview, the research team administered informed consent to all participants to notify them that the interview was confidential and that their participation was fully voluntary, meaning the respondent could choose to not answer a question or end the interview at any time. Participants were provided a consent form to read through and sign (Appendix B, Interview Consent Form). For the small percentage of interviews that had to be conducted by phone, verbal consent was administered, per the project's Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (IRB). Most interviews were audio recorded. In cases in which the respondent was not comfortable being audio

recorded, a member of the team took notes. After each site visit and data collection activity, the research team stored all audio files and interview notes on a confidential drive at the Urban Institute. Only members of the research team had access to the interview data collected.

Following data collection, all stakeholder interviews were transcribed and uploaded to NVivo, a qualitative analysis software program. Interviews were coded based on a coding scheme that was derived from the research study's interview protocols designed for the three main stakeholder groups—law enforcement, victim service providers, and prosecutors. The coding scheme was organized into 7 primary families, each with respective sub codes. To ensure the quality of the coding scheme and the consistent coding of interviews, members of the research team individually coded interviews for each of the three stakeholder categories and met to discuss coding decisions. Following this initial check, the coding scheme was refined, and a final codebook was generated. In addition, ten percent of the interviews were double coded to ensure intercoder reliability. The results reported in this technical summary rely on the findings and themes generated through data coding and reports generated by NVivo for each respective research question³⁵.

Quantitative Data Collection and Analysis

The quantitative data collection component of this project involved a review of closed case files of law enforcement investigations into human trafficking from our evaluation task force sites. The research team collected and coded data from 226 closed cases of human trafficking investigations (involving 257 suspects and 208 survivors) conducted by law enforcement across eight ECM evaluation task force sites that agreed to provide these data. We requested access to the full investigative files for each case included in our random sample of law enforcement investigations into human trafficking, for each task force. Two of the eight task forces provided electronic case file information to the Urban Institute, while the remaining six task forces provided access to hard-copy paper records that the research team was permitted to review and code in-person during a site visit.

From each task force we requested a random sample of 30-40 cases that spanned the period since the task force began receiving ECM funding. For five of the task forces, the research team randomly selected cases from a list of cases provided by the task force, which then pulled the hard-copy case files for us to review. For the other three task forces, a law enforcement point person on the task force performed the random selection of cases and provided the associated case files for the research team to review.³⁶

Case files typically included police incident reports, interview notes, records of evidence, arrest records, and criminal complaint documents. The research team developed a data collection form that was used to record key information for each case in a standardized manner across sites (see Appendix C, Closed Case Coding Protocol). For each case file reviewed, we collected relevant case information (e.g., type and location of human trafficking, how the incident came to the attention of law enforcement, agencies

³⁵ Throughout this report we use verbatim quotes from individuals interviewed for this study. The perspectives or language reported within the quotes does not represent those held by the authors or the Urban Institute, and we apologize if language is offensive

³⁶ Law enforcement in these task forces indicated that they randomly selected cases for us to review. Though we were not present when the selection occurred, we were provided assurances by law enforcement that cases were selected randomly. In these jurisdictions, law enforcement leadership informed us that this method was the only option available that would permit the research team to receive a random sample of case files to review.

involved in the investigation, type of evidence, and whether minor survivors were involved), demographic information about suspects and survivors, and case disposition and outcome information.

Analysis of case file data helped us answer research questions 3 and 5. Using the case file data, we conducted descriptive analyses and performed bivariate analyses (with chi-square tests of independence) to assess relationships between case-level and suspect variables and case outcomes within task forces. In addition, we ran a multivariate predictive model (logistic regression) to determine which variables were related to the prosecution of cases of human trafficking across task forces.

To supplement the case level analysis, Urban received quarterly administrative performance metrics data on law enforcement investigations and prosecutions (PMT) and survivors identified and assisted (TIMS) from the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) and the Office for Victims of Crime (OVC), respectively. These two performance measures data systems provide a way for OJP to monitor the progress of grantees and improve program operations. The lead law enforcement agency and victim service provider for each ECM task force submit separate performance measures data to fulfill grant requirements for reporting on how they are using funding to combat human trafficking. The law enforcement grantee reports data into BJA's PMT (Performance Management Tool) and the victim service provider grantee reports data into OVC's TIMS (Trafficking Information Management System) on a quarterly basis.

For each quarterly reporting period, the law enforcement grantee is required to enter data into PMT on the number of new investigations into suspected human trafficking, along with: the number of potential and confirmed victims of human trafficking; the number of persons arrested and criminally charged; and, of those criminally charged, the number found guilty of charges. All of these measures are disaggregated by type of trafficking (sex versus labor trafficking). Similarly, for each quarterly reporting period, the victim service provider grantee is responsible for entering data into TIMS on the number of clients (i.e., trafficking victims identified within the geographic area covered by the task force) served and the types of services they received, disaggregated by type of trafficking (sex versus labor trafficking).

The research team used the PMT data to help assess the impact of the ECM task forces on the number of human trafficking investigations and prosecutions by analyzing quarterly trends in these numbers over time. The TIMS data helped us assess the impact of newly-formed ECM task forces on the number of human trafficking survivors identified and assisted since the formation of the task force.

Enhanced Collaborative Model Task Force Site Characteristics

As previously mentioned, the 10 ECM task forces included in this study are diverse across several domains: geographic location within the United States, population size, demographic characteristics, task force structure and leadership, coverage area, funding cycle, length of operation, and ECM grant purpose area (i.e., Purpose Area 1 for newly-formed task forces and Purpose Area 2 for established task forces).

ECM Task Force Structure and Organization

Five of the 10 ECM task forces included in this study were led on the law enforcement side by the local police department, two were led by sheriff's offices, and three were led by the state attorney general's office. All 10 task forces included police departments, prosecutors' offices, and victim service providers as

key partners and stakeholders. Half of the task forces were co-located,³⁷ allowing law enforcement, victim service providers, and prosecutors, to discuss and collaborate across cases in real time. Respondents who were involved in task forces that co-located reported that the structure enhanced their working relationship, increased morale, and led to a greater appreciation of each other's work and role in combatting human trafficking. As one respondent noted, "Having everyone together certainly makes it easier to solve questions and concerns—there's a better working knowledge of the cases everybody has." (Task Force C, law enforcement 6).

Additional agencies or actors involved in task forces, which respondents noted were integral to anti-trafficking work, included nongovernment and non-profit organizations, faith-based organizations, healthcare agencies, child welfare and family services, education providers, housing and homeless agencies, LGBTQ organizations, probation, parole and corrections agencies, coalitions and community awareness groups, the Governor and/or Attorney General, and federal agencies such as the Department of Labor, Federal Bureau of Investigations, and Department of Homeland Security. Respondents expressed a strong desire for more representation and support from federal agencies such as the Department of Labor and the Federal Bureau of Investigations in several of the sites—in at least two of the sites included in this study, federal agencies had either disengaged with the task force, or the task force has struggled to get federal law enforcement representatives to the table. State-wide taskforces, in particular, indicated that, albeit challenging, it was important to have law enforcement, service provider, and prosecutor representatives from across the state, including more rural jurisdictions involved in task force work. Notably, task forces' stakeholders interviewed for this study overwhelmingly did not identify survivors as a key taskforce stakeholder—there was little to no survivors included on the core teams or as members of subcommittees; however, several task forces identified the need to engage survivors moving forward. As one respondent stated, "To have credibility, you need to be survivor-informed and allow them to share their experiences instead of "outsiders" just talking about them and using information they've gotten from other sources to describe their experience" (Task Force H, service provider 3).

Task forces varied with regard to how often they formally met as a team or a larger group. Eight sites indicated that they met quarterly, monthly, or bi-monthly, while two reported that they met only semi-annually. Most of the task force in our study had formed subcommittees or working groups which reportedly communicated or met weekly to bi-weekly and separately from the larger task force meetings. Subcommittees provided the opportunity to focus on specific human trafficking issues. Common subcommittees included law enforcement, service provider, management, training and outreach, labor trafficking, tribal engagement, legal, legislative, public outreach, healthcare, and LGBTQ subcommittees. Some task forces noted that subcommittees were a response to task force meetings that grew to be too large and unproductive.

ECM Task Force Goals

Five out of the ten task forces included in this study existed prior to receiving ECM grant funding, via grant or local funding. The impetus for formally developing a human trafficking task force varied between sites. In several sites, respondents indicated that there had always been an organization/s or multidisciplinary

³⁷ In this context, "colocation" meant that the task force had a common space in one building where task force members from different agencies and organizations (such as local law enforcement, federal law enforcement, victim service providers, etc.) could embed and work together for part of or the whole week on task force activities, but could still return to work at their parent organization as needed. Colocation did not mean that entire agencies or organizations had one single location that they shared.

team/s that provided services to survivors of human trafficking or focused on issues of human trafficking, and they reached out to law enforcement to collaborate on the development of a task force to have a bigger impact in anti-trafficking work. Three task forces indicated that the formation of their task force was in response to a human trafficking event or case that occurred in their area.

The goals and objectives of the task forces varied depending on the role of the respondent. For example, law enforcement and prosecutors most frequently cited the overarching goal of the task force as implementing traditional criminal justice responses to human trafficking, i.e. arresting and prosecuting cases of human trafficking. As one law enforcement officers stated, “I’d like to say strong prosecutable cases. I think we’re all out to get the bad guy.” (Task Force C, law enforcement 6).

In addition to traditional criminal justice goals, law enforcement and prosecutors identified goals related to collaborating with victim service providers to ensure that survivors receive needed services:

If you can get [survivors] in jail without traumatizing a victim, that’s a huge, huge win. But I think, just getting somebody services and getting them well is probably the biggest win. (Task Force H, law enforcement 4)

To help the victims and put bad guys in jail for doing bad things...I think we all have the same goal, and that’s to make sure that justice is done and that we get help for these victims. (Task Force F, prosecutor 2)

From what I perceive, our goal is to identify as many victims [of human trafficking] as possible, and try to get them the services and the assistance they need, and also try to locate and arrest and take out of the system as many human traffickers as possible. [We] are trying to locate, assist, and get as many victims, and arrest as many traffickers as possible, working as a collaboration between the units. We’re no longer just different branches—we’re not just law enforcement over here, victim services over here, prosecution over here, different federal entities over here, state entities over here. [We] work as a collaboration, we work well together, we interact well with the same goal as far as victims—locating victims, assisting victims, rescuing victims and locating traffickers, that we do that jointly as opposed to individual entities. (Task Force J, prosecutor 3)

Victim service provider respondents also articulated the ECM task force goals as identifying and connecting survivors to services that will assist in their healing, as well as building collaborative, multi-disciplinary relationships across agencies and organizations that will more effectively help address human trafficking by identifying service gaps, strengthening handoffs between law enforcement and victim service providers, and creating approaches that reduce trauma for survivors.

At the end of the day, they created this task force to serve any type of trafficking victim because we wanted to have a network of people who, no matter what type of victim walked in your door, we can send somewhere. We have a network...maybe I can’t do it, but here’s a warm referral, here’s a warm handoff to somebody who can.³⁸ Obviously, we wanted to be able to increase investigations. We wanted to be able to identify more victims and get them connected to the

³⁸ A “warm referral” typically involves one agency or provider referring the survivor to another agency or provider on the survivor’s behalf. A warm referral may include the exchange of information about the survivor and occur in the survivor’s presence. A “warm handoff” occurs when an agency or provider introduces the survivor to another agency or provider in-person and in the survivor’s presence.

appropriate services. We wanted law enforcement to become more trauma-informed. We wanted prostitutes to be considered as victims and have that opportunity to be offered services before getting put in jail or charged with a fine and things like that. (Task Force G, service provider 2)

I think it really is relationship-building. The hope was that, as we worked with folks, we had access to systems that we knew that [survivors] were going to engage with. Wanting to limit or minimize re-traumatization within those systems was the goal. I think for many agencies that were a part of that initial push were like, "I need to know who the person is. I just need to know who to call in a situation where this is gonna be relevant." (Task Force I, service provider 3)

I would say the goal or mission of the taskforce now is to really have a group of people who can look at it and say, "Okay, these are the things that we're seeing and these are the gaps." That's really what I feel like the taskforce is doing is trying to identify the gaps in services and saying, "What can we do? How can we address those various gaps?" (Task Force H, service provider 2)

Thus, the goals articulated across task force members closely aligned with their respective professional roles – law enforcement and prosecutors were focused on criminal justice goals, and victim service providers were focused on service and survivor goals. However, and despite the impetus for seeking funding for the ECM task force, stakeholders across all taskforces articulated a common goal of building relationships and working together for the benefit of survivors.

ECM Task Force Human Trafficking Cases Investigated and Prosecuted, and Survivors Served

Law enforcement from all 10 ECM task forces we interviewed reported that a large majority of their investigations focus on sex trafficking. Prosecutors from 9 of the 10 task forces also reported that their caseloads consist overwhelmingly of sex trafficking cases, and that they had little experience prosecuting labor trafficking cases. On the other hand, service providers from at least 8 of the 10 task forces that we interviewed reported that a substantial share of the survivors they provide services to are survivors of labor trafficking. To examine these differences, we analyzed BJA's PMT data and OVC's TIMS data from our 10 study task forces. The data confirm what was reported by the stakeholders that we interviewed.

Table 3 presents the number of investigations conducted by law enforcement for the 10 evaluation task forces for the October 2015-December 2019 period. Most (96%) investigations into human trafficking were for sex trafficking, while only 3% were for labor trafficking, and 1% were for both sex and labor trafficking. There was some variation by task force—the proportion of investigations that were for sex trafficking ranged from a low of 79% to a high of 99%, but for 4 of the 10 task forces, sex trafficking comprised over 97% of investigations.

As is evident in table 3, the ECM task forces that we examined varied widely in terms of the numbers of investigations into human trafficking they conducted over the period of study. This is partly due to variations in the size of the task force and the jurisdiction covered (some task forces covered entire states while other focused on small counties), but it is also due to differences in each task force's approach to identifying potential human trafficking and how each classified what constitutes an investigation into human trafficking. For example, some task forces focused a lot of resources on conducting a high volume

of prostitution stings and undercover operations, while for others, most human trafficking investigations emerged through other methods, such as referrals from other government agencies, tips from the community or the national hotline, or through monitoring online websites and social media accounts based on intelligence. It is important to note that the numbers of investigations into human trafficking shown in table 3 for each ECM task force are based on data extracted from BJA’s PMT database, which reflect information entered by each task force on a quarterly basis. So, it was the task forces themselves (not the research team) that determined what constituted “investigations into human trafficking” and reported that information into the PMT database (which appears in table 3).

Table 3. Number of Law Enforcement Investigations into Human Trafficking, by Type of Trafficking

Study Site (ECM Task Force)	All Investigations	Sex Trafficking Investigations		Labor Trafficking Investigations		Sex & Labor Trafficking Investigations	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Task Force A	960	902	94.0%	39	4.1%	19	2.0%
2. Task Force B	97	95	97.9%	2	2.1%	0	0.0%
3. Task Force C	126	100	79.4%	21	16.7%	5	4.0%
4. Task Force D	76	61	80.3%	8	10.5%	7	9.2%
5. Task Force E	1,558	1,548	99.4%	9	0.6%	1	0.1%
6. Task Force F	109	98	89.9%	8	7.3%	3	2.8%
7. Task Force G	243	237	97.5%	6	2.5%	0	0.0%
8. Task Force H	79	69	87.3%	10	12.7%	0	0.0%
9. Task Force I	115	102	88.7%	11	9.6%	2	1.7%
10. Task Force J	37	36	97.3%	1	2.7%	0	0.0%
	3,400	3,248	95.5%	115	3.4%	37	1.1%

Source: Urban Institute analysis of BJA’s PMT data (for Oct 2015-Dec 2019) for 10 ECM TF Grantees

Table 4 shows the number of prosecutions conducted by law enforcement for the 10 task forces in this study for the October 2015-December 2019 period. These data show an even higher percentage (99%) of prosecutions for sex trafficking, and only 1% of prosecutions for labor trafficking – confirming what prosecutors related to us during interviews. In 4 of the 10 task forces studied, 100% of the prosecutions were for sex trafficking, and they did not prosecute any labor trafficking cases. As was true for table 3, the numbers of prosecutions for human trafficking cases appearing in table 4 were self-reported by each task force in the PMT database.

Table 4. Number of Prosecutions, by Type of Trafficking

Study Site (ECM Task Force)	All Prosecutions	Sex Trafficking Prosecutions		Labor Trafficking Prosecutions		Sex & Labor Trafficking Prosecutions	
	N	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Task Force A	671	653	97.3%	8	1.2%	10	1.5%
2. Task Force B	56	56	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
3. Task Force C	37	32	86.5%	3	8.1%	2	5.4%
4. Task Force D	14	12	85.7%	2	14.3%	0	0.0%
5. Task Force E	902	896	99.3%	6	0.7%	0	0.0%
6. Task Force F	70	67	95.7%	3	4.3%	0	0.0%
7. Task Force G	279	279	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
8. Task Force H	60	60	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
9. Task Force I	101	99	98.0%	2	2.0%	0	0.0%
10. Task Force J	581	581	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	2,771	2,735	98.7%	24	0.9%	12	0.0%

Source: Urban Institute analysis of BJA's PMT data (for Oct 2015-Dec 2019) for 10 ECM TF Grantees

We also examined OVC TIMS data for clients served³⁹. Table 5 shows that although most (69%) clients assisted by service providers were sex trafficking survivors, a substantial share (30%) of clients served were survivors of labor trafficking or both forms of trafficking. These differences show that the law enforcement response on the part of the ECM task forces is focused primarily on sex trafficking, even though labor trafficking survivors are being identified at significant levels in the communities they serve (see table 5)—something which should be kept in mind when interpreting the results from the case-level analyses that are presented later in this report.

³⁹ TIMS data includes clients who are potential and confirmed victims of human trafficking.

Table 5. Number of Human Trafficking Survivors Served by Service Providers, by Type of Trafficking

Study Site (ECM Task Force)	All Survivors	Sex Trafficking Survivors		Labor Trafficking Survivors		Sex & Labor Trafficking Survivors	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Task Force A	252	157	62.3%	51	20.2%	44	17.5%
2. Task Force B	282	243	86.2%	34	12.1%	5	1.8%
3. Task Force C	84	62	73.8%	13	15.5%	9	10.7%
4. Task Force D	35	22	62.9%	4	11.4%	9	25.7%
5. Task Force E	234	152	65.0%	59	25.2%	23	9.8%
6. Task Force F	365	296	81.1%	23	6.3%	46	12.6%
7. Task Force G	133	65	48.9%	35	26.3%	33	24.8%
8. Task Force H	126	72	57.1%	53	42.1%	1	0.8%
9. Task Force I	154	75	48.7%	72	46.8%	7	4.5%
10. Task Force J	42	42	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	1,707	1,186	69.5%	344	20.2%	177	10.4%

Source: Urban Institute analysis of OVC's TIMS data (for July 2015-Dec 2019) for 10 ECM TF Grantees

The ECM task forces we studied varied considerably in terms of their size, coverage area, and urbanicity, as well as how they chose to operationalize their investigative work (i.e., the approach that law enforcement employed to identify potential human trafficking cases). The PMT data in Tables 3 and 4 show that an overwhelming majority of investigations and prosecutions conducted by law enforcement were for sex trafficking. On the other hand, survivor data from TIMS in Table 5 reveal that a considerable share of clients served (as high as 47% for one task force) were victims of labor trafficking. This divergence could indicate: that in some task forces, law enforcement is focused more keenly on sex trafficking and targeting its investigative resources toward those cases; that labor trafficking is much harder to identify and uncover in the community; and/or that law enforcement lacks the proper infrastructure, expertise, or training to fully investigate labor trafficking. On the other hand, part of this divergence may also be explained by a reluctance on the part of labor trafficking survivors to come forward to cooperate with law enforcement for fear of deportation, and a hesitancy on the part of service providers to make the police aware of clients who are victims of labor trafficking out of concern that clients who lack status may be deported if they do.

Results and Findings

Research Question 1: How are ECM human trafficking task forces providing comprehensive victim services?

Victim Services Provided. Fifty-three victim service providers were interviewed for this study. Victim service providers affiliated with the ECM task forces provided a wide array of services to both survivors of sex and labor trafficking, and domestic and foreign-born survivors. The most commonly provided services

were housing, counseling, case management, and crisis response. Additional services included financial assistance, education and employment support, and medical services or referral to medical services.

Many service providers also offered either direct legal services or legal support or advocacy to survivors involved in the criminal justice cases in addition to regular case management services.

We provide victim advocacy...whether a criminal court case is filed or not. What that looks like is court support, emotional support, basic needs, anything that is going to help the victims succeed in the criminal justice system. (Task Force B, service provider 4)

We have travelled out of state to trial with [survivors] if they've had to go and then it's doing things like prepping, making sure they have a room to go to at the courthouse that's by themselves. I had one girl that was testifying as a victim, but she was in detention and they wanted her shackled. I was advocating and saying "No, she's going to this as a victim, not a criminal."...It really is just going through the process and educating and advocating on their behalf to make sure that they feel safe and comfortable. We'll go through grounding exercises they can do. We've had the conversation of "I'll be in the courtroom if you get stuck". "Look at me or pretend you're talking to me the whole time like no one else is there." We talk about what is appropriate in court and what's not. (Task Force F, service provider 8)

I will help clients get to court. I will go with them and sit with them at court. I will write letters to court, probation officers, whatever is necessary. Explaining the support that they're receiving from our program, and their involvement in our program, if that's something that they're looking for. In regard to human trafficking cases being prosecuted, I have not had any cases be prosecuted, but I have helped clients with court support with many other things. (Task Force D, service provider 1)

Gaps in Services. Despite the wide array of services offered across each of the ECM task forces, gaps in services were still noted by respondents. The most frequently cited service needs for survivors of human trafficking included housing, behavioral health services, transportation, employment services, and services for the LGBTQ community.

With regard to housing, in particular, barriers included a shortage of emergency housing, and housing options that can accommodate all genders and the unique needs of human trafficking survivors (i.e., will accept survivors of human trafficking and employ staff trained on issues of human trafficking).

My nightmare still is some sex or labor trafficking case where I've got two dozen or more victims that have to be rescued. What am I gonna do with them? How do I keep them safe? Literally, where can I put them where I can keep them safe from the traffickers, where we can process through what's going on with them...Stuff like that keeps me up at night. (Task Force D, prosecutor 3)

For domestic violence in our [place], the only housing we have is for domestic violence victims. We don't have a lot of housing available for victims of sexual assault. I shouldn't say we don't have a lot, we don't have any unless it's domestic violence related. Our shelters will not take a victim unless there was some domestic violence, but first they have to be related by blood or marriage, and that's what domestic violence situations involve, or they have a child in common... A hotel is not the best place for a victim of trafficking, but we have to do our best to find a place

for them, and that is what we struggle with in this county. We had meetings with our legislative staff and also administration, and we expressed to them that [housing] is needed in this county because you try hard, but if that facility is full, where are you gonna put them? You can't turn them out to the street, you have to find creative places, and that's what we struggle with as advocates. We struggle with it quite often. I would say 95 percent of the time. (Task Force C, service provider 1)

No, I would say there's always a need for housing. Housing, or the proper housing, is usually the challenge. Clients vary. Their needs vary, and I think we struggle with having placements that do not understand the population and their needs and where they're coming from. I think the trauma informed approach is definitely needed when working with our clients, but also they don't have—we don't have a lot of placements or they require certain things, or their criteria does not fit what our client either needs or has at the moment, so we're constantly struggling with placement services. (Task Force B, service provider 2)

Referrals to Victim Service Providers. Victim service providers reported several avenues to receiving referrals of survivors of human trafficking. Through the interviews conducted, referral streams were cited 151 times. The four most frequently cited referral streams included law enforcement (20.5%), other victim service providers (15%), medical providers, including emergency rooms, sexual assault nurse examiners, and hospitals (12.6%), and community organizations and members, including peer survivors, schools, and faith communities (11.9%).

Once a referral was received, 9 out of the 10 task forces reported using an initial screening and assessment process to determine whether the individual had experienced human trafficking, unless the referral was received from law enforcement or a prosecutor. In these cases, victim service providers reported immediately beginning a formal intake process to begin services.

Yeah, I mean we are going through an intake process. Our model is, if it's coming from a legal service provider, they've already gone through screening. We are not going to be going through an intensive screening to determine that someone's a survivor of trafficking. In that instance, we would take that referral source's word for it, especially if they're already applying for legal immigration relief. They've already gone through a pretty intense process. To remain trauma-informed, we would skip over that piece of the screening component, and then think about their actual needs, and do some goal-setting with them to figure that out. (Task Force I, service provider 3)

Some of it is easier in the sense that if law enforcement called us and told us that they thought [the individual] was a victim, then they're a victim and that's it, period...If they call us, we're like, "She's a victim" or he. If we get a referral from an attorney who's like, "Hey, we're in the middle of a T visa application and they need additional services and we were told that you might be able to help." Then, we just say, "Great. Attorney she's a human trafficking victim." (Task Force B, service provider 3)

Most service providers indicated few criteria to receiving services, with the exception of organizations that worked with specific target populations such as youth, the LGBTQ community, or foreign-born survivors. In cases in which a survivor was referred to, or sought out an organization for help, but may not fall within the organizations service population, the providers included in this study would offer emergency services (as needed) and a warm hand-off to an appropriate service provider.

When a survivor of human trafficking is identified, victim service providers conduct a victim-centered comprehensive assessment to identify service needs, starting with basic needs such as immediate safety planning and shelter, food, clothing, and financial assistance. After identifying and assisting survivors with their immediate needs, victim service providers continue to work with survivors to identify needs and goals as they develop or present themselves over time.

Service Duration. Service providers interviewed indicated that service duration can vary greatly depending on the survivor’s needs—some survivors may only be looking for assistance for a few days or weeks and with their immediate needs, while others many want or need years of services and support. Additionally, service duration may be longer for foreign-born survivors who are involved in an elongated immigration processes or for survivors who are involved in court cases, which may last for years.

Years and years. For some individuals, it might be their entire life—case managers are prepared to essentially work with them their entire life if they need to. I know there's some clients that people have been working with for 10 years. Sometimes it might just be a check-in every now and then, but for some it goes through waves where they just need a lot more support. It's challenging because of the trauma. (Task Force F, service provider 1)

We really walk with the client through however long their process is. That can be six months. [It] can be especially [long] for foreign nationals if we're [working] with them until they get their green cards and then also doing family reunification. (Task Force E, service provider 2)

For the criminal court cases, [we work with survivors] all the way until sentencing, and then 45 days after that, so it depends on how long it takes. We've had a case take six years...We've had defendants fire their attorneys every year...If that keeps happening, we keep in contact. We continue. (Task Force B, service provider 4)

Thus, the ECM taskforces are providing a variety of services to survivors of human trafficking. The most provided services were housing, counseling, case management, and crisis response. Survivors were mostly likely to be referred to services by law enforcement, another victim service provider, or a member of the community or community organization. Once connected with a service provider, a survivor may continue to receive services for a very short period or for many years, depending on their unique situation, needs, and goals.

Research Question 2: What approaches and techniques are ECM human trafficking task forces relying on to investigate and prosecute cases of human trafficking?

Investigating Cases of Human Trafficking. Sixty-one law enforcement staff were interviewed as part of this study. As previously mentioned, law enforcement and their investigations into human trafficking primarily focused on sex trafficking across all ECM task forces. In only one of the task forces did law enforcement reference focusing specific attention to proactively investigating cases of labor trafficking.

When asked about proactive investigative techniques used to address sex trafficking, law enforcement respondents most frequently cited relying on the use of fake online ads, via Craigslist, Backpage, Spotlight, Skip the Games, and CityXGuide, as a proactive strategy to identify individuals who were purchasing sex and potential sex trafficking survivors. In these instances, law enforcement will pose as an individual who

identifies as female and who is selling sex, arrange a date and location to meet with the individual interested in purchasing the sex (typically a hotel), and arrest the buyer. Law enforcement will also pose as a person identifying as a male trying to purchase sex from a person identifying as a female, arrange a date and location, and arrest the individual who is the suspect. The female will usually also be arrested for prostitution in these situations; see further discussion below.

There are times when we will do what we call 'operations' where we will actively seek to bring the [survivors] to us, or we go to [them]. Because that's the only way we can—most of the times that we are able to get to the trafficker is through the [survivor]. What we do is set up fictitious ads or we will contact the [survivors] ads, and we will invite them to come out to our location or we may go to their location. Then we end up making arrests, of course, of the [survivor], but then we also—as the investigation furthers, then we're able to get more information from the victim and get the trafficker. We do proactive, but then like I said, we get the tips. We get a lot of tips. (Task Force A, law enforcement 7)

It's really online. The [survivors] are posting ads online. There are 100 different Web sites you can go to. She says she's available in [place], so through confidential means we contact them and arrange to meet up with them. We can either meet with them at their location, and our team will set up, and the undercover will meet the [survivor] at the door, and the rest of the team eventually makes their way in, and we take her up from there. Or we get a room, and they walk right into our room. Now, the [survivors] really aren't the focus of this task force. It's the people who are trafficking and pimping them. That's the easy part, getting them into a room or getting into their room. We're more concerned with the guy that's waiting in the next room or in the bathroom or in the car outside. That's where having this task force and having other guys who know what to look for can [help]. That's how we can generate a case. (Task Force B, law enforcement 2)

Basically, we answer ads and try to get them to come to us. We will go to them if we can...We try and have them come to us and then, basically, we have law enforcement there and we have victim service providers there. We have a routine, so to speak, so that a couple of investigators will talk to them and let them know what's going on. The tell them, "Our intention is to arrest you, and that we want to try and offer you some services or help you out," and then we'll introduce the victim service provider. If they want to talk, then they do. If not, they can turn around and walk out—some will sit and talk and some won't. If they do sit and talk, generally, they just go to the victim service provider. We remove ourselves from the process so they're not—they understand that they're not being interrogated by the police. Then, if they wish to seek out services, then they will give them those. Obviously, on our end, we try and determine if they're being trafficked. If they are, if there is someone who is forcing them into this, someone who is pimping them out, but also the victim service providers will try and get that information too, and generally they probably have more success than we do. (Task Force F, law enforcement 2)

In addition to online platforms, law enforcement noted uncovering potential sex trafficking through routine traffic stops or via reviews of restaurant and bar violations.

Law enforcement respondents also reported learning about potential human trafficking cases via referrals. Through the interviews conducted, referral streams were cited 157 times. The four most frequently cited referral streams included hotline or tip lines, such as Polaris, the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, and local tip lines (33.1%), other law enforcement agencies (24.2%), victim

service providers (13.4%), and non-justice government agencies, including county government and the department of family and children services (10.2%).

Few law enforcement respondents referenced formal procedures to conducting investigations into possible cases of human trafficking, as many respondents noted that each trafficking case can look different and requires flexibility in approach to achieve the best outcome.

You can't work each one the same way. Just like each victim is different, each case is different. Depending on what's identified, that's how you work it. Each case calls for something specific. It takes its own direction. You just go with the demands of the case. They're not all the same. You can't package them up and, "This is the same case across the board." It doesn't work that way. Victims are different. Suspects are different. Behaviors, patterns are all very different. Until you get involved in the investigation, that's when you identify all those. (Task Force C, law enforcement 6)

It's not a cookie-cutter approach. We just come together and decide how can we best get this done? That's pretty much the model we follow. People will come, and they ask, "All right, so what do I do?" It's, like, "I have a manual for you, but just follow along, and we'll show you the ropes, and then you're gonna develop your own way of how you want to do things," because everyone's different in their methodology and how they approach their cases. (Task Force A, law enforcement 9)

Half of the ECM task forces included in this study indicated that they may arrest a survivor as part of the investigation. Task forces who arrest survivors indicated that the practices were used as a strategy for ensuring survivor safety and leverage for cooperation in investigations. Two of the task forces indicated that individuals must identify as a victim of trafficking in order to not be arrested, released from jail, or to receive services.

A lot of the traffickers know if they can intimidate [survivors] enough they get the victim not to show up, then there's no trial, so we have had a time where we've arrested the victims to get them into court. That's our very, of course, last resort, but we've done it. (Task Force G, prosecutor 1)

It's how do you keep them safe but not criminalize them at the same time. Because your gut instinct is to keep them locked up because then I know they're safe, right? That's not always the nice thing to do either. (Task Force F, law enforcement 6)

The key word is victims. Once we identified them as a victim, they become a victim to us, and they are not going to be arrested. But, do you have some [survivors] who are loyal—they're loyal to their pimps or their traffickers, and they're not gonna say anything, and they go to jail. That happens too, but once they sit in...jail a little while, then they're, like, "I don't like this." If they wanna talk to us, then we'll go talk to them, and we identify them as a victim, then we will look at them as victims. (Task Force A, law enforcement 9)

Notably, three of the task forces indicated that there had been a change in practice, or state law, which had resulted in officers no longer arresting survivors of sex trafficking. Yet, survivors may still be arrested for trafficking-related offenses, such as drug possession or probation violations stemming from prostitution charges.

When interacting with survivors of human trafficking upon arrest and through investigations, law enforcement reported implementing victim-centered and trauma-informed practices. Some law enforcement agencies indicated that they will interview a survivor immediately, while others will schedule the interview for another time. Three task forces have soft rooms available at their police station or office for use when interviewing survivors. Law enforcement agencies also incorporate female investigators when interacting with survivors who identify as female, dress in civilian clothes and use survivor's terminology when discussing the trafficking situation.

Law enforcement respondents noted leaning heavily on victim service providers during the first interaction with survivors, if service providers are involved in an operation, and throughout the investigation to ensure that the survivors needs are being met, that they are safe, and to assist in continuing to keep survivors engaged after they are initially identified. Law enforcement emphasized that addressing a survivor's most basic needs was a key part to engaging with the survivor and occurred prior to starting the interview process. Basic needs may include food, a safe place to rest, and medical attention. After the initial interaction, if law enforcement feels that the survivor's safety is at risk, respondents indicated that they work with victim service providers to find housing or shelter for the survivor or may arrest the suspect (if evidence permits), or the survivor, as previously discussed.

Notably, law enforcement frequently commented on the impact that their involvement in the ECM task force has had on how they interact with survivors and investigate cases of human trafficking. For the most part, law enforcement officers are trained on issues related to human trafficking through their departments and offices, as well as supported to attend larger state and national trainings and convenings. Trainings, along with the added funding and capacity to focus on cases of human trafficking has resulted in changes to how law enforcement approach and investigate cases of human trafficking, specifically sex trafficking. In particular, law enforcement agents have begun to perceive cases of human trafficking as requiring more time and labor investment than they may have previously thought was required.

Some of these agencies go out and do a proactive prostitution sting and arrest all of the victims and charge them with prostitution which we found through our methodology that it doesn't work. You're taking someone who is victim not by choice and charging them, you're putting them further into debt and further into the need to be bailed out and that keeps them in the game. The methodology now is to put them at the center of our work. Treat the criminals as criminals, not the victims. (Task Force J, law enforcement 2)

I think there has been a culture change based on the taskforce that's permeated the entire area. I think that I've seen a market shift in cases filed basically by investigators who come from general vice who were used to the street life of 'I'm just gonna make this case and make this deal and be done, and that's my investigation'. (Task Force A, prosecutor 1)

Prosecuting Cases of Human Trafficking. Twenty-four prosecutors were interviewed as a part of this study. Prosecutors indicated that they most frequently received referrals of human trafficking through law enforcement, but that they might learn about potential cases through a tip line, a victim service provider, or other community organization.

Once a case is received, the decision about whether to prosecute a case relied heavily on the evidence available to support the case and whether the survivor was willing to participate in the case. The most

common types of evidence that prosecutors are looking for to support cases of human trafficking are cell phones, text messages, videos, photos, surveillance, receipt of purchases, website ads, and money wires (see Table 9 for the types of evidence present in the case data we analyzed, which supports what prosecutors reported in interviews).

Three of the ten ECM task forces indicated that they can move forward with prosecuting cases of sex trafficking without survivor participation, but respondents across all task forces agreed that survivor testimony was helpful in securing a prosecution (see subsequent analyses presented later in this report as tables 18 and 19, which show that survivor testimony was significantly related to the prosecution decision).

As much corroboration as you could have, generally, it's very difficult to prosecute a case unless you have a victim telling a story. (Task Force J, Prosecutor 1)

A victim is required for prosecution. We have used undercover platforms with recorded conversations before, but we are very victim dependent, and need a consistent story. (Task Force G, law enforcement 3)

We're dead in the water without being able to have the victim tell the jury their story. (Task Force D, prosecutor 3)

It's funny that you asked if we absolutely need victim testimony because, well, for the forced broader coercion, I think you absolutely do unless somebody else has seen the [survivors] getting beat up. (Task Force F, prosecutor 2)

In cases in which there was a lack of evidence or survivor participation to prove human trafficking in court, prosecutors leaned heavily on other charges to secure a conviction against a suspect. These charges included sexual or physical violence charges, drug possession or drug trafficking charges, child related offenses such as child pornography or sexual child exploitation, weapons charges, pimping and promoting prostitution charges, and kidnapping, among others (see Table 13 for the distribution of types of charges filed in the sample of cases we analyzed).

Respondents indicated that federal prosecution criteria, which may require multiple survivors, interstate nexus, and evidence of force, fraud, and coercion, and the sentence that a suspect may receive through a federal versus a state prosecution, influenced whether a case was prosecuted at the federal or state level. Three of the ten ECM task forces included in this study indicated that the majority of sex trafficking cases were referred to federal prosecutors, six task forces referred the majority of cases to state prosecutors, and one task force said that sex trafficking cases are evenly referred to state and federal prosecutors. Task forces that were actively involved in investigating cases of labor trafficking indicated that these cases are typically referred to the federal prosecuting agency.

Part of the decision making is to get the biggest conviction. In some cases, we prosecute in either the federal or state first and then charge other violations in another level. That's not double jeopardy. The determination is largely based upon the prosecutors and what they consider to be a good case...Judges are different. Prosecutors are aware of the judges that they have before them and what the judges believe are worthy cases and how they rule in the courts in certain things. (Task Force J, law enforcement 2)

There are certain cases that are better served with the state level, and then there are certain cases that are better served at federal level. We've worked that out between us, which is gonna get us a bigger buck, basically, for our money. A bigger bite for the money, I guess you could say. (Task Force A, law enforcement 7)

With respect to interacting with survivors, prosecutors indicated spending a significant amount of time with survivors to build rapport and to prepare them for court proceedings. Prosecutors across seven ECM taskforces indicated that they also relied heavily on victim advocates employed by their own office or external service providers to engage with and communicate with survivors over the course of the case. However, respondents also mentioned that how they communicate with survivors may differ across cases depending on how the case was referred to their office, the survivor's preferences, and with whom the survivors have already established rapport, which in some cases may be law enforcement.

My interactions with victims are predominantly through social workers. Quite honestly, they keep tabs on the victims. They're making sure that the victims are getting what they need, getting access to services if they need them, getting help navigating their participation in this whole criminal justice system, making sure they interface with me and build rapport with the victim and build trust with the victim, so that if the time comes that we have to try the case and they have to testify, they're available to support and ready, and we know where they are and we can have access to them, that they are taken [care] of. (Task Force A, prosecutor 1)

We have victim advocates who work in our office. On these types of cases or any cases in general, they talk to them. The victim advocates talk to the victims individually and then depending upon the nature of the communication, we join in on those conversations, whether it's a conference call or meetings with the victims. If it's a more difficult conversation for whatever reason, it's not like the victims can't talk to us. We'll participate in as many of those conversations as needed as well, again, whether on the phone or in person. (Task Force D, prosecutor 2)

If the victim comes in to us through law enforcement, then I generally rely on that law enforcement officer to maintain the relationship with the victim as they've been trained to do, so that the victim continues to assist us in the investigation. For trafficking victims pre-trial, I try and check in with some regularity just to make sure that they're doing okay. That they understand what's going on with the case since they're essential to prosecution. It depends. Some victims want more and need more from our side of things. Some need less. (Task Force E, prosecutor 1)

As previously mentioned, the law enforcement and prosecutors included in this study reported few cases of labor trafficking that had been successfully investigated and prosecuted. Therefore, discussions of human trafficking investigations and prosecution focused primarily on sex trafficking and more specifically, commercial sex trafficking. Investigations into these cases relied heavily on online platforms; however, law enforcement also reported learning about potential cases through hotlines and other law enforcement and government agencies. When a survivor was uncovered, half of the ECM task forces indicated that they may arrest the survivor.

Prosecutors most often learned about cases of human trafficking through law enforcement partners. Decisions about whether to pursue a case relied heavily on the evidence available to support the case, including cell phone and other digital data, and receipts. Only three of ECM taskforces indicated that they can move forward with prosecuting cases of sex trafficking without survivor participation; prosecutors and law enforcement across all task forces agreed that survivor testimony was helpful in securing a

prosecution. In cases in which there was a lack of evidence or survivor participation to prove human trafficking in court, prosecutors leaned heavily on other charges to secure convictions, including drug possession or sexual or physical assault charges.

Research Question 3: Which characteristics of human trafficking cases or features of the offense predict case outcomes (such as prosecution)? In addition, how does the presence of certain ECM human trafficking task force elements contribute to those case outcomes?

To answer this research question, we drew upon analysis from our human trafficking case file review. For context, we first provide a descriptive profile of the characteristics of cases, survivors, and suspects for the law enforcement investigative case files that we analyzed from the 8 evaluation task forces that provided these data. Next, we present the results of our bivariate analyses and multivariate model predicting prosecution in these cases, which get to the heart of the question.

Human Trafficking Case File Review

We collected and coded data from 226 closed cases⁴⁰ identified by law enforcement as investigations into human trafficking across eight ECM task force sites. For each task force, we requested a random sample of cases spanning the period since the task force began receiving ECM funding. These closed cases were defined as investigations into human trafficking which resulted in one of the following three outcomes: (1) a suspect was arrested and prosecuted (on state or federal charges) for human trafficking or other offenses; (2) a suspect was arrested but no charges were filed and the case investigation was subsequently closed; or (3) no suspects were arrested or prosecuted and the investigation was closed by law enforcement.

We utilized the case file data to analyze cases investigated by the ECM task forces and identify differences on key characteristics across task forces and by certain task force features (such as task force leadership, organizational structure/coverage area, and colocation). The case characteristics we examined included:

- the type of trafficking involved
- how the incident was identified by law enforcement
- venue/location of the incident
- agency conducting the investigation
- whether other investigative agencies were involved in the investigation
- whether a minor survivor was involved
- survivor and suspect demographics
- types of evidence collected
- information about the arrest, indictment, and prosecution of trafficking suspects

⁴⁰ We use the terminology of “cases” throughout this section of the report to refer to law enforcement investigations into potential human trafficking. To be clear, the “case file” reviews that we conducted were reviews of law enforcement files and records pertaining to *investigations into possible human trafficking* that law enforcement conducted. Law enforcement refer to investigations they work on as “cases” and we elected to adopt this terminology for this report.

We conducted bivariate analyses to understand how various case and suspect characteristics related to case outcomes (arrest and prosecution), but we first present descriptive statistics of case characteristics. In this section, tables 6 through 13 are based on the total of 226 case investigations in our sample, but each table notes the number of observations used to produce statistics in the table (i.e., the total number of non-missing cases). Table 14 is based on the total of 208 survivors, and tables 15 and 16 are based on the total of 257 suspects from the 226 investigations analyzed. Table 17 is based on the 150 suspects who were prosecuted, while table 18 presents bivariate statistics for 196 suspects arrested and 150 suspects prosecuted. Finally, table 19, which shows results of the multivariate predictive model, is based on the total of 196 arrested suspects who were either prosecuted or not prosecuted.

Table 6, below, shows the distribution of cases across the eight ECM task force sites, classified by trafficking type: investigations of sex trafficking, labor trafficking, or both sex and labor trafficking. A majority (92%) of the sampled cases we reviewed were investigations into sex trafficking, while 6% were investigations into labor trafficking, and 2% were investigations into both sex and labor trafficking. This distribution of trafficking type varied across task forces, with a couple of task forces having exclusively sex trafficking investigations, while one task force had one-third of its cases involve labor trafficking. The low numbers of labor trafficking cases in this random sample illuminates a fundamental challenge that nearly every task force is facing: figuring out how to more effectively uncover, investigate, and respond to labor trafficking in the communities they serve.

Table 6. Number of Investigations into Human Trafficking Reviewed, By Task Force

Study Site (ECM Task Force)	All cases (n)	Sex Trafficking (n)	Labor Trafficking (n)	Sex & Labor Trafficking (n)
1. Task Force A	N/A	-	-	-
2. Task Force B	20	20	0	0
3. Task Force C	30	20	6	4
4. Task Force D	28	24	3	1
5. Task Force E	35	35	0	0
6. Task Force F	20	20	0	0
7. Task Force G	40	38	2	0
8. Task Force H	23	20	3	0
9. Task Force I	N/A	-	-	-
10. Task Force J	30	30	0	0
TOTAL	226	207	14	5

Case Characteristics by Type of Human Trafficking

A profile of case characteristics for investigative cases reviewed across all task force sites is presented in table 7, which includes method of identification by law enforcement, the venue/location of the incident, the lead agency conducting the investigation, whether other investigative agencies were involved in the investigation, and whether there was a minor survivor involved in the suspected trafficking crime.

The data showed that potential human trafficking was most often identified by law enforcement through undercover sting operations (31%), while the second most common method was through a tip to law enforcement (21%), which included tips from the community, services providers, family, and the national human trafficking hotline. The latter is a more reactive approach to identification that occurred for a

greater share of labor cases compared to sex trafficking cases. This is understandable, given the hidden nature of labor trafficking and the fact that most law enforcement agencies are not proactively investigating labor trafficking.

Identification of potential trafficking through online sources (such as Facebook, Backpage ads, and other similar websites) was also common, occurring in 17% of cases, while referral from other actors in the justice system (such as probation, juvenile justice agencies, or NCMEC) led to 14% of all cases identified. The percentage of referrals from other system actors was higher for labor trafficking cases (33%), the most common identification method for this type of exploitation. Other methods of uncovering human trafficking (patrol/traffic stops, referrals from ongoing investigations, and self-report by survivors) occurred less frequently (each comprising 5-7% of all cases).

We also collected information about the venue or location where the incident took place. Several of these venues were physical locations, such as hotels, residences, and businesses (restaurants and bars), but the most common venue was not a physical space, but rather, the internet (44%), where survivors were identified by law enforcement—although in these situations, the arrests of suspects and the identification of survivors usually occurred in other locations such as a residence. Beyond the internet, the next most common venues for human trafficking cases identified by these task forces were hotels (19%), residences (19%), and the street (13%).

A minor survivor was involved in 44% of the human trafficking investigations we reviewed. Minors were involved in all types of trafficking cases and they were involved in a similar share of sex trafficking investigations (43%) and labor trafficking investigations (43%).

In 60% of the cases we reviewed, the agency conducting the investigation was the local police department. Sheriffs' offices led 26% of the investigations, and the State Attorney General's Office was the lead agency for 7% of all cases. Interestingly, for the cases we reviewed, State AG Offices were responsible for investigating a larger share of labor trafficking investigations (21%) than sex trafficking investigations (6%). Other law enforcement entities that led human trafficking investigations for the task forces included statewide law enforcement investigative agencies (3% of investigations) and federal law enforcement components (2% of investigations). In about one-third of cases reviewed, the law enforcement agency conducting the investigation received assistance from another law enforcement agency that provided support. This rate of collaboration was higher (50%) for labor trafficking cases compared to sex trafficking investigations (32%) (Table 7).

Nearly two-thirds of the human trafficking cases (62%) we reviewed went forward to prosecution. The proportion of sex trafficking cases that went forward to prosecution (65%) was much higher than the share of labor trafficking cases (21%), but this finding should be interpreted with some caution since the number of cases (n=19) involving labor trafficking was small. (Table 7).

Table 7. Case Characteristics, By Type of Human Trafficking

Case Characteristic	All cases (n=226)	Sex Trafficking (n=207)	Labor Trafficking (n=14)	Sex & Labor Trafficking (n=5)
Identification/how did case come to the attention of LE?				
Sting/undercover operation	31.3%	33.5%	8.3%	-
Tip (from community, victim services, family, hotline)	20.6%	19.8%	25.0%	40.0%
Online website (Facebook/Backpage/other)	16.8%	17.3%	16.7%	-
Referral from other CJS agency	14.0%	11.7%	33.3%	60.0%
Patrol	6.5%	6.6%	8.3%	-
Ongoing investigation	5.6%	5.6%	8.3%	-
Survivor self-report	5.1%	5.6%	-	-
Venue/locaton of incident				
Internet/online personals	44.4%	48.2%	7.1%	-
Hotel	18.5%	18.5%	-	-
Residence	19.4%	17.8%	21.4%	80.0%
Street	12.5%	12.2%	14.3%	20.0%
Restaurant/bar	1.9%	-	28.6%	-
Other	3.2%	1.5%	28.6%	-
Lead investigative agency				
Local Police Department	59.7%	62.8%	28.6%	20.0%
Sheriff's Office	25.7%	24.2%	35.7%	60.0%
State Attorney General's Office	7.1%	6.3%	21.4%	-
State Law Enforcement Investigative Agency	3.1%	3.4%	-	-
Federal Law Enforcement Agency (FBI, HIS/ICE)	2.2%	1.0%	14.3%	20.0%
ECM Human Trafficking Task Force	2.2%	2.4%	-	-
Other agency involved in the investigation	33.6%	32.4%	50.0%	40.0%
Incident involved a minor victim	43.6%	43.2%	42.9%	60.0%
Case went forward to prosecution	62.1%	65.1%	21.4%	60.0%
Note: Percentages shown are based on non-missing cases				

Case Characteristics by Task Force

Method of identification

In table 8, we present the methods that law enforcement used to identify cases of human trafficking, disaggregated by task force. Undercover sting operations were the most common means of identifying human trafficking (31%), but this rate varied widely across task forces. The second most frequent method of identification was a tip (from the community, victim services, family, or the national human trafficking hotline) (21%), but there was variation on this method among task forces, ranging from 3% to 54%. Identification of human trafficking through online websites and referrals from other CJS agencies both ranged from 0% to 62% across task forces. The share of cases identified through an ongoing investigation was low (ranging from 0% to 20% across task forces), as was the proportion that were identified through survivor self-report (ranging from 0% to 15%) (Table 7). It should be noted that Task Force E has a distribution on identification method that is dramatically different from the other task forces, with 97% of its cases identified through undercover sting operations by law enforcement. This underscores differences in approach in how the law enforcement components of task forces target resources toward identify potential human trafficking cases.

Table 8. Method of Identification, By Task Force (n=214)

Method of identification	All Sites	Study Site (Task Force)							
		B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J
Sting/undercover operation	31.3%	40.0%	0.0%	3.6%	97.1%	5.0%	24.2%	47.8%	13.8%
Tip (from community, victim services, family, national hotline)	20.6%	10.0%	23.1%	53.6%	2.9%	35.0%	18.2%	17.4%	10.3%
Online website (Facebook/Backpage/other)	16.8%	15.0%	0.0%	25.0%	0.0%	0.0%	18.2%	8.7%	62.1%
Referral from other CJS agency	14.0%	5.0%	61.5%	10.7%	0.0%	10.0%	12.1%	4.4%	10.3%
Patrol	6.5%	20.0%	7.7%	0.0%	0.0%	15.0%	15.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Ongoing investigation	5.6%	10.0%	7.7%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	3.0%	13.0%	0.0%
Survivor self-report	5.2%	0.0%	0.0%	7.1%	0.0%	15.0%	9.1%	8.7%	3.5%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Note: Percentages shown are based on non-missing cases									

Venue/location of incident

As mentioned previously, the most common venue where human trafficking was identified was the internet (44%), but the share of cases uncovered through this method varied widely among task forces, from a low of 10% in one task force to a high of 100% in another. The next two most frequent locations where suspected human trafficking was identified (hotels and residences) both comprised 19% of

investigations overall, but also varied considerably across task forces, from 0 % to 73% for hotels, and from 0% to 62% for residences (Table 9).

Table 9. Location of Incident, By Task Force (n=216)

Venue/location of incident	All Sites	Study Site (Task Force)							
		B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J
Internet/online ads	44.4%	50.0%	10.3%	40.7%	100.0%	31.6%	29.4%	59.1%	26.7%
Hotel	18.5%	20.0%	3.5%	11.1%	0.0%	10.5%	14.7%	13.6%	73.3%
Residence	19.4%	0.0%	62.1%	33.3%	0.0%	57.9%	5.9%	9.1%	0.0%
Street	12.5%	30.0%	13.8%	3.7%	0.0%	0.0%	47.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Restaurant/bar	1.9%	0.0%	3.5%	3.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	9.1%	0.0%
Other	3.2%	0.0%	6.9%	7.4%	0.0%	0.0%	2.9%	9.1%	0.0%
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: Percentages shown are based on non-missing cases

Assistance from other law enforcement agencies with investigation

In just over a third of the human trafficking investigative cases reviewed, the primary law enforcement agency was assisted by other agencies (including federal agencies (e.g., FBI, HSI) and statewide investigative partners) on the investigation. The rate of involvement of other law enforcement agencies varied across the task forces, ranging from a low of 10% of cases in one task force to a high of 61% of investigations in another task force (Table 10).

Table 10. Other Agency Involved in Investigations, By Task Force (n=226)

Other law enforcement agency involved in the investigation?	All Sites	Study Site (Task Force)							
		B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J
Yes	34%	40%	50%	46%	11%	50%	23%	61%	10%
No	66%	60%	50%	54%	89%	50%	77%	39%	90%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note: Percentages shown are based on non-missing cases

Investigations involving minor survivors

Minor survivors were involved in 44% of all human trafficking investigations reviewed for this study (this share includes cases involving minor survivors only plus cases that included both minor and adult survivors). The proportion of cases involving minor survivors varied across task forces, from a low of 6% to a high of 60% of all investigations (Table 11).

Table 11. Type of Survivors (Adult/Minor/Both) in Investigations, By Task Force (n=202)

	All Sites	Study Site (Task Force)							
		B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J
Type of Survivor									
Adult only	56%	50%	40%	46%	62%	94%	44%	64%	77%
Minor only	40%	40%	53%	50%	38%	6%	56%	36%	15%
Adult and minor survivors	4%	10%	7%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	8%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Note: Percentages shown are based on non-missing cases									

Types of evidence collected

Evidence (either physical or digital evidence) was collected by law enforcement in a majority (78%) of investigations into human trafficking overall but ranged from a low of 32% in one task force to a high of 100% of cases in two task forces (Table 12). The type of evidence most frequently collected was digital communications (such as text or videos), which was gathered in 63% of all human trafficking investigations. Seized cell phones (56%) and recordings of conversations with suspects and survivors (44%) were also collected in many cases. Other types of evidence collected included proof of purchase records and receipts (31% of cases) and surveillance footage (in 8% of all investigations).

Table 12. Type of Evidence Collected, By Task Force (n=204)

	All Sites	Study Site (Task Force)							
		B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J
Any evidence collected?	78%	100%	100%	32%	86%	76%	85%	61%	97%
Types of evidence collected ^a									
Digital communications (text messages, photos, videos)	63%	63%	80%	32%	71%	71%	63%	70%	70%
Cell phone seized	56%	94%	100%	29%	54%	53%	65%	39%	53%
Recordings of conversations with suspects and victims	44%	42%	75%	21%	46%	59%	58%	26%	50%
Proof of purchase receipts, currency, credit cards	31%	58%	50%	11%	17%	29%	25%	17%	70%
Surveillance footage	8%	5%	0%	7%	9%	6%	10%	9%	10%
Note: Percentages shown are based on non-missing cases									
^a Types of evidence shown are not mutually exclusive -- a case can have multiple types of evidence, so percentages summed for all evidence types will exceed 100%									

Proportion of human trafficking investigations moving forward to prosecution

As Table 13 shows, there was considerable variation on prosecution rates across task forces, from a low of a 12% prosecution rate in one task force to a high of a 96% prosecution rate in another. The data indicates that cases were prosecuted more frequently in state court than in federal court. Federal prosecution was relatively rare for the sample of cases we analyzed from these task forces, with just 2% of all investigations resulting in prosecution in federal court. We must caution, however, that these prosecution trends are only representative of the eight task forces included in this study and cannot be generalized across all the ECM task forces in the United States.

Table 13. Proportion of Investigative Cases Prosecuted, By Task Force (n=211)

Cases Prosecuted	All Sites	Study Site (Task Force)							
		B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J
% cases prosecuted (overall)	62%	95%	71%	12%	88%	12%	58%	36%	96%
% cases prosecuted in state court	60%	95%	64%	8%	88%	12%	53%	32%	93%
% cases prosecuted in federal court	2%	0%	7%	4%	0%	0%	0%	4%	3%
Note: Percentages shown are based on non-missing cases									

In approximately 11% of the cases we reviewed (n=24), there was no actual suspect identified or found, which occurred for a couple of reasons. Some of these investigations were undercover prostitution stings where law enforcement sought to uncover possible trafficking situations by posing online as someone willing to pay money for sex. In these instances, the law enforcement officer would arrange to meet the person at a hotel, but upon further investigation determined that the person was not being trafficked by anyone, so there was no suspect. In addition, there were some investigations initiated based on tips about possible trafficking situations which could not be substantiated or corroborated by law enforcement, so there were no suspects to be identified in these instances.

There were also cases that did not involve any actual survivors. In 22% of the cases we reviewed (n=50), there were no survivors involved or identified in the case. In 15% of cases (n=34), no real survivors were involved because the investigations were undercover sting operations where law enforcement posed online as a woman selling sex as a method of identifying potential suspects. People would sometimes respond to the false ads seeking to recruit the woman to work with them “to make money” selling sex (but more often those responding to the ads were doing so to buy sex). Another 7% of cases (n=16) contained no survivors because they involved tips of reported claims of suspected human trafficking that were followed up and investigated by law enforcement but could not be substantiated or corroborated. Hence, these investigations were closed, without any identified survivors in the record.

Survivor characteristics

Along with collecting information on important case characteristics such as types of evidence collected, we also collected demographic data about survivors and suspects that were identified in the case file records. Across the 226 investigations we reviewed, we collected detailed information for 208 survivors and 257 suspects⁴¹. We first present information on survivor characteristics in table 14, and then describe suspect characteristics shown in table 15.

Half of all survivors in the human trafficking investigations we reviewed were White, while 41% were Black or African American, 4% were Asian, and 4% were of other races. In terms of ethnicity, 18% of the survivors were of Hispanic, Latinx, or Spanish origin, and in terms of gender, an overwhelming majority (96%) were women, while 3% were male and 2% were transgender. Twenty-six percent of the survivor

⁴¹ The demographic data presented for survivors and suspects in this section is based on the information that was recorded in the law enforcement investigative case files and incident reports that we reviewed for each task force.

were non-citizens and the average age of survivors was 21 years of age. Differences in survivor characteristics across trafficking types are shown in table 13. The vast majority (89%) of human trafficking survivors in the cases we analyzed were survivors of sex trafficking (185 out of 208 survivors). The race of sex trafficking survivors was mostly split between White (47%) and Black or African American (44%), although 4% of survivors were Asian, and 5% were of other races. Only 15% of sex trafficking survivors were of Hispanic, Latinx, or Spanish origin. In terms of the distribution on age, over half (54%) of sex trafficking survivors were under age 20, while 35% were between age 20-29, and 11% were age 30 or older. The average age of a sex trafficking survivor was 21 years old (compared to labor trafficking survivors who had an average age of 24 years old) (Table 14).

Although the number of labor trafficking survivors identified in the set of investigative cases we analyzed was small (n=17), the characteristics of these survivors differed from sex trafficking survivors, particularly on gender and citizenship. Labor trafficking survivors were 35% male and 69% were non-citizens (compared to 0% male and 21% non-citizens, respectively, for sex trafficking survivors).

Table 14. Survivor Characteristics, By Type of Trafficking

Survivor Characteristics	All cases (n=208)	Sex Trafficking (n=185)	Labor Trafficking (n=17)	Sex & Labor Trafficking (n=6)
Race (n=186)				
White	50.0%	47.2%	64.7%	83.3%
Black or African American	41.4%	44.2%	23.5%	16.7%
Asian	4.3%	3.7%	11.8%	0.0%
Other	4.3%	4.9%	0.0%	0.0%
Ethnicity (n=137)				
Hispanic ^a	17.5%	15.4%	26.7%	40.0%
Non-Hispanic	82.5%	84.6%	73.3%	60.0%
Gender (n=198)				
Male	3.0%	0.0%	35.3%	0.0%
Female	95.5%	98.9%	58.8%	100.0%
Transgender	1.5%	1.1%	5.9%	0.0%
Citizenship (n=163)				
Citizen	74.2%	78.7%	31.3%	83.3%
Non-Citizen	25.8%	21.3%	68.8%	16.7%
Age (n=204)				
Under 16	12.8%	13.3%	5.9%	16.7%
16-17	27.0%	26.5%	29.4%	33.3%
18-19	13.2%	13.8%	11.8%	0.0%
20-29	33.8%	35.4%	17.7%	33.3%
30-39	10.3%	8.3%	29.4%	16.7%
40+	2.9%	2.8%	5.9%	0.0%
Average age	21	21	24	21
Note: Percentages shown are based on non-missing cases				
^a "Hispanic" is used in this table to indicate Hispanic, Latinx, or Spanish origin				

Suspect characteristics

Information about the characteristics of the 257 suspects identified in the investigative cases files we reviewed are shown in table 14. Most suspects (91%) were from sex trafficking cases, while 7% were from labor trafficking cases, and 2% of suspects were from investigations that involved both sex and labor

trafficking. In terms of race, most human trafficking suspects were Black or African American (66%)⁴². In terms of gender, suspects in human trafficking investigations reviewed were mostly male (85%), while survivors were overwhelmingly female (96%).

There was not much difference on the gender of suspects across trafficking types (males made up 84% of sex trafficking and 83% of labor trafficking suspects), nor on ethnicity (19% of Hispanic, Latinx, or Spanish origin for sex trafficking suspects and 24% for labor trafficking suspects). However, there was variation on race, citizenship, and age by trafficking type. Sex trafficking suspects were mostly Black or African American (69%), whereas labor trafficking suspects were only 44% Black or African American and half of all labor trafficking suspects were White. There were also differences on citizenship across trafficking type: most sex trafficking suspects (96%) were citizens, compared to 80% of labor trafficking suspects who were citizens. However, citizenship information was missing for more than half of the sample, so these statistics should be interpreted with caution. Labor trafficking suspects were generally older than sex trafficking suspects: the average age of sex trafficking suspects was 30 years old, compared to labor trafficking suspects who had an average age of 42 years old. Twenty-one percent of sex trafficking suspects were under 21 years old and 52% were under 30, compared to labor trafficking suspects, all of whom were older than age 20, and 29% were under 30 years old. There was a very small proportion of suspects from case investigations that involved both sex and labor trafficking (2%), and their characteristics usually fell somewhere between those of sex trafficking suspects and labor trafficking suspects.

⁴² It should be noted that the percentage of human trafficking suspects in the sample of investigations we examined that was Black or African American (66%) was considerably higher than the share of Black or African Americans in the overall population of the jurisdictions covered by the ECM task forces, which was 14%.

Table 15. Suspect Characteristics, By Type of Trafficking

Suspect Characteristics	All cases (n=257)	Sex Trafficking (n=234)	Labor Trafficking (n=18)	Sex & Labor Trafficking (n=5)
Race (n=239)				
White	26.8%	23.6%	50.0%	80.0%
Black or African American	65.7%	68.5%	44.4%	20.0%
Asian	3.4%	3.2%	5.6%	0.0%
Other	4.9%	4.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Ethnicity (n=179)				
Hispanic ^a	19.6%	18.5%	23.5%	40.0%
Non-Hispanic	80.4%	81.5%	76.5%	60.0%
Gender (n=245)				
Male	85.1%	84.2%	83.3%	80.0%
Female	15.9%	15.8%	16.7%	20.0%
Citizenship (n=118)				
Citizen	96.8%	96.4%	80.0%	100.0%
Non-Citizen	4.2%	3.6%	20.0%	0.0%
Age (n=249)				
16-18	11.7%	12.7%	0.0%	0.0%
19-20	7.2%	7.9%	0.0%	0.0%
21-29	30.9%	30.7%	29.4%	50.0%
30-39	31.7%	32.9%	17.7%	25.0%
40-49	12.1%	11.4%	17.7%	25.0%
50+	6.4%	4.4%	35.3%	0.0%
Average age	31	30	42	32
Note: Percentages shown are based on non-missing cases				
^a "Hispanic" is used in this table to indicate Hispanic, Latinx, or Spanish origin				

Suspects arrested and criminally charged

For the suspects included in the cases we reviewed, we coded whether those suspects were arrested and indicted on criminal charges (in either state or federal court). In table 16, we present the proportion of suspects who were arrested and indicted on charges, disaggregated by task force. Overall, 76% of the suspects in the cases we reviewed were arrested, and of those who were arrested, 77% were indicted on criminal charges (either state or federal), with the large majority being indicted on state charges. There was some variation on arrest and indictment rates across the task forces, with arrest rates ranging from 54% to 100%, while prosecution rates ranged from a low of 27% in one task force to a high of 91% in another task force.

Table 16. Proportion of Suspects Arrested and Criminally Charged, By Task Force (N=257)

All Suspects (n=257)	All Sites	Study Site (Task Force)							
		B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J
Arrested (n=196)	76%	93%	73%	54%	100%	55%	60%	72%	97%
Indicted on any charge (n=150)	77%	85%	79%	29%	91%	27%	87%	62%	85%
Indicted on state charge	74%	85%	72%	29%	91%	27%	87%	54%	82%
Indicted on federal charge	3%	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	8%	3%
Note: Percentages shown are based on non-missing cases									

Types of charges filed in cases prosecuted

For suspects charged in state or federal court in the cases we reviewed, we assembled data on the type of offense charged. There were many different state and federal offense types and codes that were recorded for suspects across the task forces, but we consolidated them by grouping primary offense types into a set of common offense categories across sites, for analytic purposes. In table 17, we present this primary offense type for suspects charged in state or federal court overall, and by task force.

The single most common type of charge was compelling or promoting prostitution (31%), which included pimping and pandering offenses. This finding is consistent with a strategy that several task forces in our study adopted to try to identify human trafficking in their communities: conducting undercover prostitution stings. In those situations, sometimes evidence of human trafficking was uncovered and sometimes it was not. Additionally, for some of the cases for which a compelling or promoting prostitution charge was the primary offense, human trafficking may have occurred but was determined to be too hard to prove due to evidentiary challenges and/or lack of survivor willingness to participate in the case. Nevertheless, there are several human-trafficking related charges shown in table 17 (“human trafficking”, “human trafficking of a minor”, “labor trafficking”, “sex trafficking”, and “sex trafficking of a minor”), which, when grouped together as one overall human trafficking category, comprise 44% of all suspects charged in these cases. Other primary charges in the cases we reviewed included prostitution/engaging in prostitution (10%), sexual exploitation offenses (4%), and an “other” category of charges, which included a mix of different offense types such as assault, child abuse, kidnapping, drug, and weapon charges (9%).

There was considerable variation of offense distribution across task forces. Some task forces had dispersion across the primary offenses under which suspects were charged, while other task forces tended to have their suspects charged under just one or two offense types. The proportion of suspects with a primary charge of compelling or promoting prostitution varied across task forces, ranging from a low of 0% to a high of 47%. Notably, there was one task force for which 70% of its suspects were charged with labor trafficking (this was truly the exception however, as none of the other task forces in our study had any suspects with a primary charge of labor trafficking, at least among the cases included in our sample).

Table 17. Types of Charges Filed for Suspects in Human Trafficking Cases Prosecuted, By Task Force (n=150)

Primary Charge	All Suspects	Study Site (Task Force)							
		B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J
Compelling/promoting prostitution	31%	27%	4%	0%	47%	0%	41%	37%	36%
Human trafficking	15%	23%	0%	0%	13%	33%	0%	0%	36%
Human trafficking of a minor	8%	50%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Labor trafficking	11%	0%	70%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Prostitution ^a	10%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	25%	9%
Sexual abuse	2%	0%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Sexual exploitation	4%	0%	0%	0%	4%	0%	0%	25%	9%
Sex trafficking	1%	0%	4%	0%	0%	0%	4%	0%	0%
Sex trafficking of a minor	9%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	37%	13%	6%
Other ^b	9%	0%	9%	100%	0%	67%	18%	0%	4%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Note: Percentages shown are based on non-missing cases									
^a Engagng in prostitution									
^b "Other" charges include: assault, child abuse, conspiracy, drug, robbery, and weapon offenses									

Bivariate analyses of the relationship between case characteristics and arrest/prosecution

To better understand the factors associated with the arrest and prosecution of human trafficking suspects in the cases we reviewed, we conducted bivariate analyses examining the relationships between case and suspect characteristics and these two outcomes. Table 18 presents these analyses, with statistically significant relationships at the .05 level indicated by an asterisk (*) in the table.

Several case-level factors and one suspect characteristic were related to arrest for the human trafficking cases we reviewed. Type of trafficking was statistically related to arrest, with sex trafficking suspects more likely to be arrested than labor trafficking suspects. In addition, suspects in cases in which physical or digital evidence was collected were more likely to be arrested than in cases where it was not (and this relationship was statistically significant). Bivariate results showed that involvement from other law enforcement agencies on the investigation and the presence of minor survivors were not statistically related to arrest in the cases that we reviewed.

In terms of suspect demographics, only one statistically significant relationship emerged: race and arrest. Black or African American suspects were more likely to be arrested than White suspects or suspects of

other races. All the other suspect characteristics we examined (ethnicity, gender, citizenship, criminal history) were not statistically related to whether the suspect was arrested.

We also analyzed the relationships between case-level and suspect characteristics and the prosecution of suspects. Several case-level factors were related to whether a suspect was prosecuted in the case files that we reviewed. Suspects in cases in which physical or digital evidence was collected were more likely to be prosecuted, as were cases in which law enforcement collaborated with other agencies in the investigation. Finally, prosecution was also more likely in cases in which the survivor was willing to participate and provide testimony in the case. All three of these relationships were statistically significant. No suspect characteristics were statistically related to the prosecution outcome for the cases we examined, however.

The results of these bivariate analyses must be interpreted carefully, however. The analyses we conducted used case-level data from the eight ECM task forces in our study that provided these data. Thus, these results are not nationally representative of all ECM task forces in the country and *can only be generalized to this set of eight task forces that participated in the study*. Furthermore, we should point out that bivariate analysis is a technique used to begin examining the relationship between two variables, but it does not control for other factors that may be influencing that relationship. However, these bivariate analyses do provide an initial examination into the case factors and suspect characteristics that are related to the prosecutions of cases investigated as human trafficking in these task forces, and similar analyses could be conducted for ECM task forces more broadly.

Table 18. Bivariate Analyses of Relationship Between Case Factors and Arrest/Prosecution

	Arrested (n=196/257)	Prosecuted (n=150/196)
Case factors		
Type of trafficking		*
Sex trafficking	95%	77%
Labor trafficking	33%	67%
Both sex and labor trafficking	80%	75%
Physical or digital evidence		*
Yes	91%	80%
No	41%	44%
Other agencies involved in investigation		*
Yes	78%	82%
No	73%	66%
Minor survivor involved in case		
Yes	76%	73%
No	73%	74%
Survivor willing to provide testimony		*
Yes	87%	90%
No	65%	67%
Suspect characteristics		
Race		*
Black or African American	82%	79%
White/Other	64%	70%
Ethnicity		
Hispanic	77%	81%
Non-Hispanic	73%	73%
Gender		
Male	78%	77%
Female	69%	70%
Citizenship		
Citizen	80%	77%
Non-Citizen	68%	78%
Criminal History		
Yes	94%	87%
No	82%	69%
Age at offense	30	30
Note: Percentages shown are based on non-missing cases		
* statistically significant at p < .05		

Multivariate model predicting prosecution

To evaluate which case characteristics, suspect characteristics, and task force elements were associated with the prosecution of a case investigated as human trafficking, we constructed a multivariate predictive model using logistic regression⁴³. We wanted to determine which case characteristics were important in predicting whether a closed case moved forward to prosecution. We also wanted to understand if there were particular features of a task force (such as leadership structures, organizational features and coverage areas) that were associated with the closed case outcome of prosecution.

The logistic regression model included the following six case characteristics as predictors: type of trafficking (labor trafficking compared to sex trafficking); physical or digital evidence collected; whether law enforcement collaborated with other agencies during the investigation; whether there was a minor survivor involved in the offense; whether the survivor was interviewed; and whether the survivor was willing to provide testimony in the case. The model also included six suspect characteristics (race, ethnicity, gender, citizenship, age, and criminal history) as independent variables. In addition, the predictive model included several task force characteristics to assess their impact on prosecution, including: organizational level (statewide vs. county-based or city-based); law enforcement leadership model (police department-led, sheriff's office-led, or state AG office-led), whether the task force was co-located; and whether the task force was independently-chaired.

The results of the logistic regression model predicting prosecution are displayed in table 19. In terms of goodness of fit, the model had a -2 Log-Likelihood of 142.83, which was statistically significant at the .01 level, and a Pseudo R² of 0.27. The Pseudo R² is a proportional reduction in error measure that assesses improvement in prediction that the model adds.

Results show that two case characteristics were related to prosecution: the presence of physical or digital evidence in the case, and whether the survivor was willing to provide testimony (both were highly statistically significant, at the .01 level). The presence of physical or digital evidence had an odds ratio of 8.34, meaning that cases that included physical or digital evidence had about 8 times the odds of being prosecuted as cases that did not have this type of evidence. Cases in which a survivor was willing to provide testimony were also much more likely to result in prosecution, with 14.59 times the odds of cases that did not have a survivor willing to provide testimony. This finding supports something that we heard repeatedly in stakeholder interviews: the survivor's willingness to participate and provide testimony was of crucial importance for determining whether the case would go forward to prosecution. There were no statistically significant differences in terms of type of trafficking: cases investigated as sex trafficking were no more likely to be prosecuted than cases investigated as labor trafficking, for the closed case files we reviewed.

In terms of the suspect characteristics that were included in the model, only one variable, criminal history, was statistically significant in predicting prosecution. The odds of prosecution among cases involving a suspect with a criminal history were 8 times that of the odds of prosecution among cases where the suspect had no criminal history. In addition, of the five task force characteristics we tested, only one

⁴³ Logistic regression is an appropriate statistical modeling technique to apply for predicting a dichotomous dependent variable (prosecution or not, in this instance). Logistic regression is used to explain the relationship between the dependent variable and a set of independent variables (or "predictors"). Although running a multilevel model would have been preferred, there were too few "higher level" units (i.e., task forces) and too few cases within certain task forces in our sample to meet the assumptions of a multilevel model. To address this limitation, we conducted a logistic regression analysis and included site-level variables to model the fixed effects of the task forces.

emerged as important in predicting prosecution: the organizational level/coverage area of the task force. Cases from statewide task forces had much lower odds (.013 the odds) of being prosecuted than cases from county or city-based task forces. Though law enforcement leadership and colocation were two task force elements that were statistically significant at the bivariate level, they were not statistically significant in the multivariate model which incorporated other case characteristics as controls.

We must caution that the logistic regression analysis presented here is more suggestive than conclusive. Given the small number of task forces (n=8) included and the limited number of cases in certain task forces, a multilevel modeling approach (e.g., Hierarchical Linear Modeling), which would have been preferred, was not feasible, as certain assumptions of the model could not be met.⁴⁴ However, to address this limitation, we included task force-level variables in the logistic regression analysis to model their fixed effects. We must emphasize that the results of this model are not representative of all ECM task forces in the country, they are only representative of the eight task forces that were analyzed.

⁴⁴ The sample size assumptions for multilevel models (e.g., Hierarchical Linear Models) are a minimum of 30 groups (“higher-level” units) and 30 observations (“lower-level” units) per group. See: Maas, C. & Hox, J. 2005. “Sample Sizes for Multilevel Modeling” in *Methodology* 2005: Vol. 1 (3): 86-92; and Hox, J. 2010. *Multilevel Analysis: Techniques and Applications*. New York: Routledge.

Table 19. Logistic Regression Model Predicting Prosecution

Predictors	Odds-Ratio
Case Characteristics	
1 Type of trafficking (Labor trafficking)	0.82
2 Physical or digital evidence	8.34 **
3 Other agencies involved in investigation	0.90
4 Minor survivor involved	0.39
5 Survivor willing to provide testimony	14.59 **
6 Survivor interviewed	0.29
Suspect Characteristics	
7 Race (Black or African American)	0.68
8 Ethnicity (Hispanic, Latinx, or Spanish origin)	0.78
9 Gender (Male)	1.04
10 Citizenship (Citizen)	5.56
11 Age	1.03
12 Criminal history (yes/no)	7.74 *
Task Force Characteristics	
14 Organizational level/coverage area (Statewide task force)	0.013 **
16 Law enforcement leadership: Sheriff's Office-led	1.595
15 Law enforcement leadership: State AG Office-led	5.962
17 Colocation of task force (yes/no)	0.85
18 Independently chaired task force (yes/no)	0.69
	Pseudo-R ² = 0.27
	-2 Log Likelihood= 142.828 **
* statistically significant at p < .05 ** statistically significant at p < .01	
<u>Data Source:</u> Random sample of 226 LE case investigations of human trafficking conducted by the 8 ECM task forces that participated in this part of the study; case file data were coded and analyzed by the Urban Institute.	

Research Question 4: What is the impact of ECM human trafficking task forces on addressing human trafficking (in terms of sex and labor trafficking survivors identified and assisted, and cases investigated and prosecuted)?

As discussed previously, ECM task force stakeholders noted that collaboration had an impact on anti-trafficking efforts by removing barriers to information sharing, breaking down misconceptions about each other's work (specifically law enforcement and victim service providers), and increasing willingness to collaborate. Task force members in co-located areas were particularly appreciative of the value that physical closeness contributed to collaboration potential, yet even those in areas without collocation felt the professional ties of a task force improved collaboration.

I go back to the collaboration. A lot of times I can see it with my domestic violence cases—I'll call law enforcement and say, "Hey, I need this report. We have a protection order hearing tomorrow." They're like, "Oh, we can't release that." They don't wanna talk to me. I got to call state's attorney. State's attorney says, "Oh, no, I'm still investigating, and we can't release." It's a frustrating process. I think the task force has done a really good job of getting everyone on the same page. When [worker] calls law enforcement and says, "I need a police report," they send it right over. I think they've done a really good job with the collaboration. I do think that that has helped. I think it's helped survivors so that it's not a frustrating process for the survivor. That they see that people are working together to help them. I think that is probably a huge success that they've had. (Task Force F, service provider 3)

I think that the relationship [between] all the partners have has grown tremendously. I think just the general ability to pick up the phone and call each other is something that really wasn't happening before. I think that maybe some detectives worked well with the State's Attorney's Office. I don't think that there was the relationship between FBI, HSI, or the relationship between the U.S. Attorney's Office on a regular basis that we have now. (Task Force J, prosecutor 1)

I think quite a bit [of impact]...I think our federal partners—our cases, if they leave our immediate jurisdiction and we go into some of our smaller municipality areas that the partnerships with them are strong. We can make a phone call and reach out to them for assistance or they'll help us with whatever we need. I think the partnerships have grown tremendously. (Task Force C, law enforcement 6)

Respondents also noted perceptions of the impact that ECM task forces had on increasing awareness about human trafficking. Perceived increased awareness about issues of human trafficking occurred within respondents' own organizations, the criminal justice system, public service organizations such as hospitals, and across communities and states.

I think at this point—compared to a [number of] years ago—the awareness is huge, now. There's not a day goes by where I don't hear about some type of human trafficking case or potential case or something that's going on through just this office. Whereas, a couple years ago—granted, I wasn't knee deep in it like I am now—but I never heard about it, ever...It's a lot more awareness than it was a few years ago. I had to put that on the taskforce. They've done a wonderful job doing that. (Task Force F, law enforcement 1)

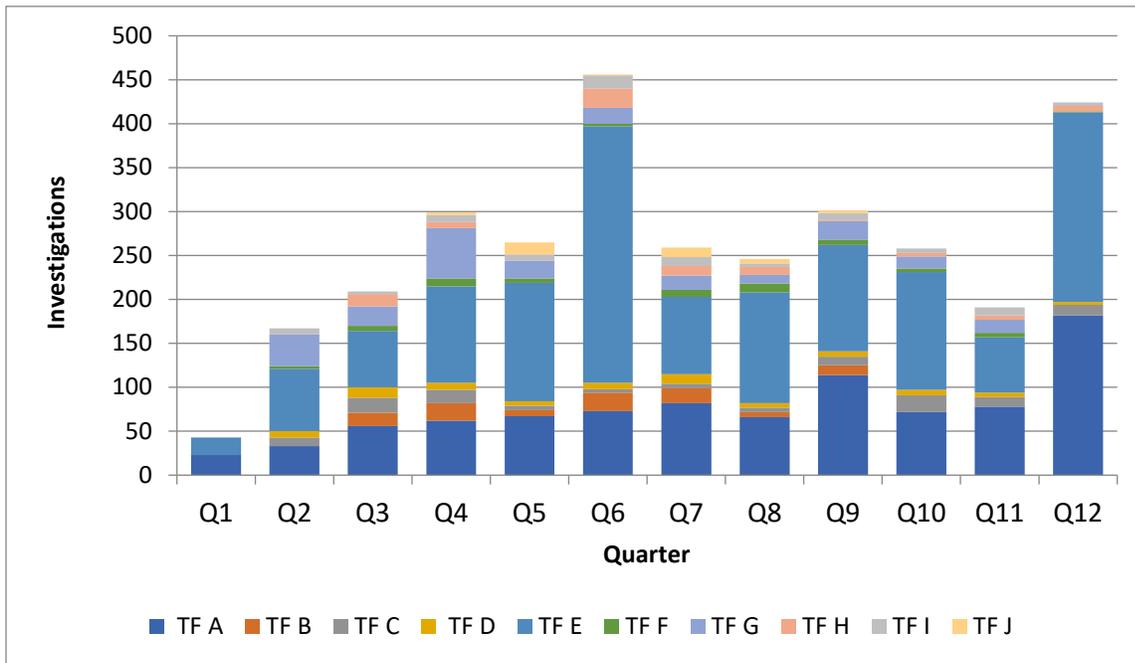
Reports from people in the community and not just social workers has gone way up. You can really see this very quantifiable increase in change and everything in awareness. I mean it's really been amazing what we've been able to accomplish in just [number of] years. (Task Force H, prosecutor 1)

In addition to collaboration and increased awareness, respondents also focused on the more concrete impact that the task forces have had on their ability to focus on cases of human trafficking, including increasing capacity and building the infrastructure to identify and respond to potential cases of human trafficking. Respondents noted that since receiving ECM task force funding, they have established protocols and procedures that guide how potential human trafficking cases are handled across stakeholders, increased or hired new personnel to focus on cases of human trafficking, secured additional funding to support local anti-trafficking efforts, and developed committees to discuss human trafficking cases and issues.

To assess the impact of the ECM task forces on the number of human trafficking investigations and prosecutions and on the number of survivors served, we analyzed BJA's PMT data and the OVC's TIMS data. We first examined the quarterly PMT data on the number of investigations conducted by law enforcement for the 10 task forces included in this evaluation. The data were organized as quarterly counts for quarters 1 through 12. Quarters 1 through 12 for each task force were defined according to the three-year period of funding for each ECM grantee. Because some of the task forces were funded in 2015, others in 2016, and still others in 2017, quarter 1 will correspond to the first quarter that a task force was in operation, in whichever year that falls.

Figure 1 presents these data graphically, which shows that the number of investigations into human trafficking rose steadily over the first six quarters, increasing from 43 investigations in quarter one to 456 investigations in quarter six (a nine-fold increase). Thereafter, the number of human trafficking investigations remained robust from quarters seven through 12, reaching 424 investigations in quarter 12, not far off from the peak of 456 investigations in quarter six. These trends show that after the first few quarters, a time when ECM task forces are still getting situated and establishing protocols for conducting their work, the task forces reached high levels of human trafficking investigations initiated (at least 250) for each quarter except one for the balance of the four-year period.

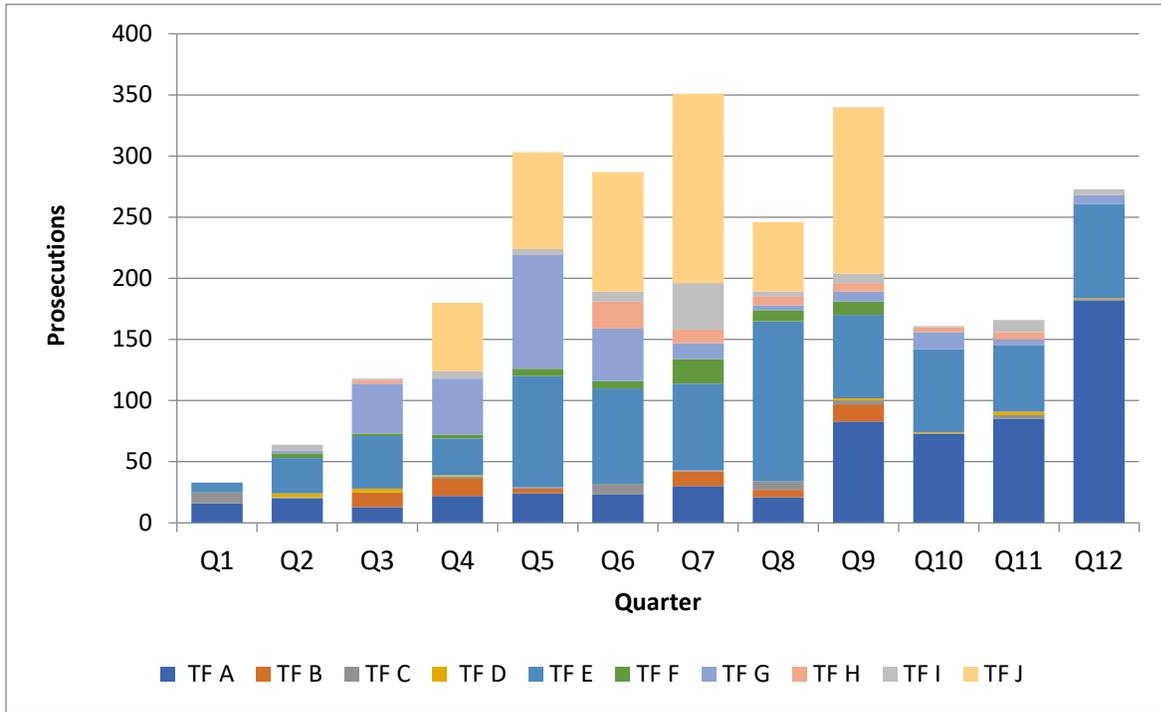
Figure 1. Quarterly Numbers of Investigations into Human Trafficking, by 10 ECM Task Forces



Source: Urban Institute Analysis of BJA’s PMT data (for Oct 2015 – Dec 2019) for 10 ECM Task Forces

We also used the PMT data to examine trends in the number of human trafficking cases prosecuted by the 10 ECM task force over the same 12-quarter period. Figure 2 shows a pattern that is similar to figure 1. There were steady increases in the number of prosecutions between quarter one and quarter seven, from 33 prosecutions in the first quarter to a peak of 351 prosecutions in the seventh quarter, a 963% increase. After that, the number of human trafficking prosecutions remained fairly high for the remainder of the period (rising from 246 prosecutions in quarter 8 to 273 prosecutions in quarter 12). After the first 2-3 quarters when the task forces were still getting set up and staffed, they reached and maintained a high level of human trafficking prosecutions (between 160 and 340) through the end of the period.

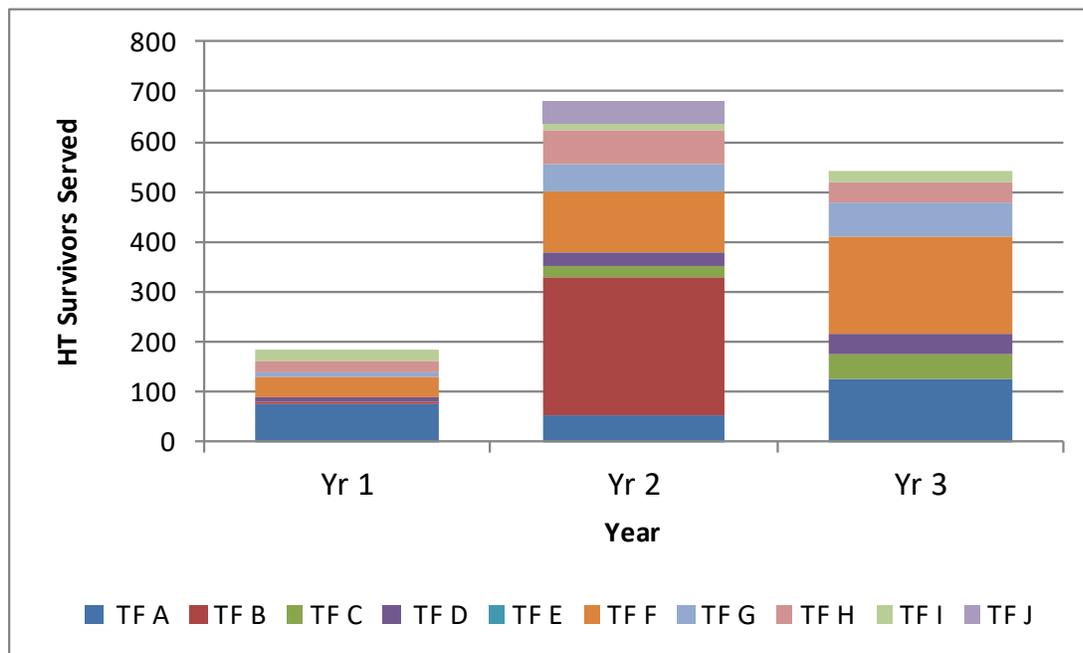
Figure 2. Quarterly Numbers of Cases Prosecuted by 10 ECM Task Forces



Source: Urban Institute Analysis of BJA’s PMT data (for Oct 2015 – Dec 2019) for 10 ECM Task Forces

Finally, we analyzed OVC’s TIMS data on the number of human trafficking survivors served by victim service providers that are part of the 10 ECM task forces. These data are organized as yearly counts for years one through three, for each of the 10 task forces. The data in figure 3 show that the number of survivors served by the task forces increased from 183 in year 1 to 681 in year 2 (a 272% increase) and then remained at a high level (543 survivors served in the third year). These data indicate that the ECM task forces are having an impact in terms of increasing the number of human trafficking survivors assisted in these communities.

Figure 3. Yearly Numbers of Human Trafficking Clients Assisted by 10 ECM Task Forces



Source: Urban Institute Analysis of OVC’s TIMS data (for July 2015 – Dec 2019) for 10 ECM Task Forces

Research Question 5: Which types of ECM human trafficking task forces perform well and why? Which task force elements (task force organization, size, scope, leadership structure, and, organizational location) are associated with effective task forces?

To assess which task force elements were associated with certain case outcomes, we draw again from our case file analysis. We first present results from bivariate analyses of the relationships between several task force elements and the outcomes of arrest and prosecution. Second, we draw from the results of our multivariate model predicting prosecution, which included several task force characteristic variables as predictors.

To understand which task force elements were related to case outcomes in the sample of closed cases we reviewed, we conducted bivariate analyses that examined the relationship between the task force elements and these outcomes. Table 20 presents the results of these analyses. The task force elements that we analyzed were: (1) organizational level/coverage area of task forces (statewide, county-based, or city based); (2) law enforcement leadership (police department-led, sheriff’s office-led, or state AG office-led); (3) colocation of the task force; (4) independently-chaired task forces (or not); and (5) ECM grant purpose area (purpose area 1 for developing newly-formed task forces, or purpose area 2 for enhancing established task forces).

Several task force characteristics were found to be related to the arrest and prosecution of suspects in cases investigated by law enforcement that we reviewed. The organizational level/coverage area was statistically related to both arrest and prosecution of these cases: county-based task forces had higher

rates of arrest (90%) than did statewide and city-based task forces (59-60%), and this difference was statistically significant. On the prosecution side, statewide task forces had prosecution rates that were significantly lower than county and city-based task forces (40% versus 85-87%). The law enforcement leadership agency also mattered for these case outcomes: task forces that were led by police departments and sheriff's offices had higher arrest and prosecution rates than did task forces led by state AG offices, and these differences were statistically significant at the bivariate level. Colocation was not related to arrest, but was related to prosecution: co-located task forces had a prosecution rate of 86% compared to non-co-located task forces with a prosecution rate of 62% (the difference was statistically significant). Task forces that were independently chaired (i.e., chaired by an individual from outside both the lead law enforcement agency and the lead victim services organization) showed no differences on arrest or prosecution compared to those who were not independently chaired. Finally, the ECM grant purpose area was also related to prosecution. The task forces in purpose area 2 (for enhancement of established task forces) were more likely to have closed cases resulting in prosecution than task forces in purpose area 1 (for development of newly formed task forces), which is not a surprising finding. Task forces that are established and have more experience would be expected to be more effective at bringing forth case prosecutions than those task forces that are newer.

Results from our multivariate model predicting prosecution (Table 19) showed that several of the bivariate relationships between task force factors and prosecution that were found to be statistically significant did not hold up as significant in the context of the full explanatory model, when other competing variables were included in the analysis. Only one task force variable (organizational level) was statistically significant in the logistic regression model: suspects in cases from statewide task forces were much less likely (with .013 the odds) to be prosecuted compared to suspects in county and city-based task forces. The other task force characteristics (law enforcement leadership agency, colocation, and independent chairmanship) were all found to be statistically unrelated to prosecution in the multivariate model.

Table 20. Bivariate Analysis of Task Force Characteristics and Arrest/Prosecution

	Arrest (n=196/257)	Prosecution (n=150/196)
Task Force Characteristics		
Organizational level/Coverage area	**	**
Statewide	59%	40%
County-based	90%	85%
City/Municipality	60%	87%
Law Enforcement Leadership Model	*	**
Police Department-led	75%	78%
Sheriff's Office-led	85%	85%
State Attorney General's Office-led	63%	46%
Colocation		**
Colocated	78%	86%
Not colocated	74%	62%
Independently-chaired		
No	74%	78%
Yes	83%	72%
ECM Grant Purpose Area		**
Purpose Area 1 (newly-formed TFs)	73%	68%
Purpose Area 2 (established TFs)	80%	85%
Note: Percentages shown are based on non-missing cases		
* statistically significant at p < .05 ** statistically significant at p < .01		

Research Question 6: What challenges and barriers are ECM human trafficking task forces facing?

While all respondents reported that the ECM task forces had positively impacted anti-trafficking work in their cities, municipalities, counties, and states, challenges to implementing and sustaining ECM taskforces and successfully carrying out anti-trafficking work were noted across stakeholders. Key challenges included the length of time required to investigate and prosecute cases of human trafficking, securing survivor cooperation and keeping survivors engaged throughout the process, identifying labor trafficking, collaborating and coordinating across stakeholders, and a lack of resources and capacity to investigate cases of human trafficking and to provide needed services.

Investigating and Prosecuting Cases of Human Trafficking. Both law enforcement and prosecutors noted challenges related to investigating and prosecuting cases of human trafficking. A primary challenge was the length of time required to investigate cases, as well as securing survivor participation and keeping

them engaged throughout the investigation and prosecution. Both law enforcement and prosecutors described human trafficking cases as complex, lengthy, and emotionally draining.

Another challenge is the length of time it takes for a case from the time a suspect is arrested to the time of adjudication. Our cases in [place] on the really low end could take a year and a half. On the high end, we're looking at three years or longer before the cases are actually tried, and trying to keep a victim on board, stabilized, secured through this whole process, when it takes that many years and they can't put it behind them, is really difficult. (Task Force G, law enforcement 2)

You've gotta have a million hours on your hands to dig into just the sheer volume of evidence. I've said this during presentations I've given and other meetings I've been in that I legitimately feel that anyone of my trafficking cases—assuming it's a big case that's filed correctly, that we have everything we need, I could spend years going through—just statistically, years going through the amount of phones, the amount of social media content, the amount of just sheer evidence. (Task Force A, prosecutor 1)

Given the length that it can take to investigate cases, prosecutors and law enforcement perceived maintaining survivor engagement and cooperation as a significant challenge, as survivors may physically move away from the city or state where the trafficking occurred, become unreachable, be re-victimized, or decide that they want to move on from the trafficking experience and not continue to pursue a criminal justice response. Respondents noted that survivors who experience mental health and/or substance use issues may be difficult to keep engaged throughout the case. Survivors who are minors can also be challenging to work with if they have run away from their home environment and require parental or guardian approval for case involvement. Finally, law enforcement respondents, in particular, noted challenges to working with survivors because they may not trust law enforcement, are not willing or able to divulge information relevant to the case, or are currently in a trafficking situation.

Who wants to come forward? A lot of times [survivors] are afraid to come forward to say that they are a victim. They're fearful of their trafficker, their pimp, so they don't divulge the information. Sometimes they feel they're—they're so loyal to that person as well, they don't wanna divulge that information to authorities. It can be difficult. (Task Force A, law enforcement 7)

It's difficult to get that information. It's difficult to get the victims to come forward. To trust law enforcement. I mean, that's obviously why we have the victim service providers, but I think even for them to trust them, my feeling—and maybe I'm wrong—but my feeling is that they see the victim service providers as part of us. They don't distinguish between us—this guy's got a badge and a gun and this person does not. I don't think they distinguish that. (Task Force F, law enforcement 2)

From the victim's perspective, the uncooperativeness is because...They've been victimized by law enforcement because law enforcement has arrested them in the past for prostitution or for drugs and pretty much discounted their stories because it's just not believable. (Task Force C, law enforcement 4)

Finally, prosecutors noted that it is challenging to prosecute cases with judges and jury members who are not educated on issues of human trafficking, including not understanding that human trafficking affects

individuals domestically in the U.S. and within their local community, and holding stereotypes about individuals who are trafficked.

It's everywhere. Yeah. I think it's problematic... The narrative is complicated by race issues and by the fact that people [are more likely] to accept a trafficking victim who is in no way complicit with her own abuse. They want that [see] that person tied in a cage, and who was taken against her will from her family. That's generally not how it happens. You have to educate the jury. That's what your expert is there to do. But it's hard. I think the more the message can get out there that like, "Look, people are victims via coercion and via fraud. You don't have to have the force all the time to get people to fall in line." That takes a lot of work to get people to understand that. (Task Force E, prosecutor 1)

We have to do a lot of educating to help [juries] understand what exactly it is we're talking about. That this isn't international, this is mostly domestic, and it involves the 14-year-old runaway who lives in a mansion in [place] who's now been picked up by a pimp or somebody who's exploiting them. We do spend a lot of time with that. We use experts to help us do that. We've met a fair amount of resistance with our judges in different ways about human trafficking, and we've had to spend time educating them. When we want to show leniency to a young female who maybe has been charged with drug possession or something, but we learned that they're a trafficking victim, some of our judges have balked at that, thinking that this female is making her own choices and therefore she should be held accountable for her actions, even though our investigation has shown that she's been under the control or the direction of a pimp or trafficker. It's education. It's simply breaking down those paradigms that have existed for a long time about prostitution, about how all this works, about human trafficking in general. (Task Force A, prosecutor 3)

Labor Trafficking. A significant challenge disclosed by the ECM task forces included in this study was the lack of ability of law enforcement and prosecutors to identify, investigate, and prosecute cases of labor trafficking. Law enforcement across all 10 task forces indicated that their anti-trafficking work overwhelmingly focused on sex trafficking. According to the task force respondents interviewed for this study, the most prominent barriers to proactively responding to cases of labor trafficking were: 1) lack of knowledge among law enforcement and prosecutors about labor trafficking—prosecutors from 9 of the 10 task forces indicated that they had little to no experience prosecuting cases of labor trafficking, 2) the complexity of labor trafficking cases, and 3) lack of survivor identification and cooperation due to fears of deportation.

What do you do? How do you get these people? You can't put cameras in there, so you got to have somebody that's reporting it, for the most part. Yeah, I don't know. Like I said, the labor trafficking part of this is right now what's on my mind. How do we identify it—get it identified to law enforcement so that we can actually do something? It's tough. (Task Force F, law enforcement 1)

The labor trafficking for the task force seems to be a harder and more intensive investigation to find and work. I know lately there's been more of an emphasis on labor trafficking, but I know that sex trafficking seems to be in our face more of the time. (Task Force A, law enforcement 10)

Making a forced labor or domestic servitude case at the federal level is really difficult. It's hard to corroborate a lot of times. (Task Force J, law enforcement 1)

The only other problem would be them fearing their status because a lot of them are working, trying to get T visas for status, which is what HSI and a task force like ours can help with, where if they're still fearful, thinking we're gonna tell law enforcement and then they're gonna deport us, those are two different conversations, but that's some of the fear that they have in not wanting to also come forward. (Task Force E, law enforcement 7)

With labor trafficking, since, primarily, your victims are going to be foreign nationals a fair number of them are going to be in the country without authorization. It kind of goes hand in hand. Not always...but, percentage-wise, there is going to be a fair number of them that are in the country without authorization, and that makes them very reluctant to cooperate with us. (Task Force G, law enforcement 1)

Notably, law enforcement respondents across the ECM task forces included in this study identified building knowledge about labor trafficking as either an issue they were currently trying to address or had established as a future goal.

Collaboration and Coordination. Although respondents across all task forces indicated that the ECM task force has impacted collaboration on issues related to anti-trafficking work across stakeholders, they also noted challenges to collaboration and coordination. These included challenges associated with staff turnover, lack of communication, differences in goals, task forces that are too large and unproductive, staff burnout, and personality clashes.

Notably, service providers from all three of the state-organized ECM task forces expressed significant geographical challenges to working with stakeholders in various counties and coordinating across different law enforcement agencies where survivors resided, as well as engaging with survivors. For instance, service providers struggled to work across city and county borders within states, provide outreach, support, and services across all counties in the state, reach rural areas, and ensure that survivors had access to transportation to receive services.

It was hard to deliver comprehensive services to individuals that don't live near our office; we have to refer people out to places that are closer to them. The challenge is taking those cases and not providing the comprehensive services that they need. (Task Force J, service provider 1)

If we have someone who's in another part of the state it really limits the ability to just run out and check-in or offer for them to come into the office because we're an hour, two hours, two and a half hours away, so that makes it difficult. Also when you're going to meet with someone who's two hours away that's most of your day to meet with that individual, so that certainly has an effect on availability for others, and it feels different I think when they no-show because if you drive-up to somebody's house ten minutes away, and they are not home or you're waiting in the office, and they don't come in and you're like, "Ah, I'll just get on with something else," but when you drive a couple of hours it's a challenge when that persons like, "Oh, sorry double-booked," and you're like, "Hmm, okay." (Task Force D, service provider 3)

Resources. As noted previously, ECM task forces included in this study offered a variety of services to survivors of human trafficking. However, all sites noted that gaps in services still existed, particularly for emergency, temporary, and long-term housing, behavioral health services, and services that focused specifically on survivors of human trafficking (versus on domestic violence survivors). Additionally, eight out of the 10 task forces included in this study indicated that they do not have sufficient resources to

investigate and prosecute all cases of human trafficking. Criminal justice respondents noted that the low number of cases that are prosecuted can serve as a barrier to securing funding to support additional anti-trafficking work.

That's always a challenge in getting resources devoted to [trafficking investigations]. The hard part is when you start talking about case numbers. They're very, very small. You can go a year without a human trafficking case. Then you can go a year where you've got two, and that's a huge resource commitment just to do two of those kinds of cases. You compare that to drug cases where we're doing scores of drug cases a year. Kind of justifying the expense and the commitment is—that's a challenge, but you just have to stay on it. (Task Force D, prosecutor 3)

Limitations

There are some limitations of this study that should be considered when interpreting the findings and results. These include the following:

- This study included 10 ECM task forces as evaluation sites. Therefore, all findings (both qualitative and quantitative) are generalizable only to these 10 task forces and *are not nationally representative of all ECM task forces in the country.*
- Labor trafficking cases are underrepresented in this study. The qualitative interviews we conducted with stakeholders revealed a dearth of respondents who worked on labor trafficking investigations and with labor trafficking survivors. Thus, the results of our qualitative analysis focused heavily on sex trafficking, except where noted. We faced similar challenges with the quantitative analysis. For the case file reviews that we conducted, we focused on a random sample of human trafficking investigations pursued by law enforcement in each task force; however, apart from one task force, that approach resulted in very few labor trafficking cases in the sample. We made efforts, whenever possible, to stratify the sample to ensure that some labor trafficking cases would purposefully be included. However, seven of the eight task forces that contributed case-level data for the study simply had very few labor trafficking cases (several did not have any) that we could include in our study sample of cases. It is possible, however, that the set of 10 ECM task forces selected for this evaluation were unusual in this regard, and that an entirely different set of task forces would have included more labor trafficking cases.
- The case-level data analyses conducted used case information only from the eight ECM task forces in this study that provided these data. Thus, we must caution that the bivariate and multivariate results presented are not nationally representative of all ECM task forces in the country and *can only be generalized to this set of eight task forces that participated in the study.*
- Only closed case files were used for the case-level analysis, so these cases were not representative of all human trafficking cases investigated by these task forces, but only those that had been resolved/closed. Ongoing investigations that were open for an extended period of time and remained open at the time of our review (perhaps due to complexity or scope) were not included in the study sample. We strictly conducted a closed case file review for this study.

- The investigative case files that were provided to the research team varied in terms of the quality of information included and completeness, both within and across task forces. This made it challenging to collect the data elements desired in as comprehensive a manner as preferred, in some instances.
- The investigative case files provided to the research team were cases that were identified as investigations of human trafficking by the ECM task forces (not by the research team).
- The qualitative interviews we conducted only included stakeholders (law enforcement, prosecutors, and service providers) that were members of the task forces. Although we spoke with survivor advocates, we did not knowingly interview survivors, who could have different perspectives on the ECM task forces' approaches and practices. In retrospect, it would have been worthwhile to include survivors' perspectives as well; we regret this omission.

Conclusion and Recommendations

OJP launched the Enhanced Collaborative Model to Combat Human Trafficking in 2010 to foster a multidisciplinary approach that brought together law enforcement, prosecutors, and victim service providers in communities to work together on a coordinated response to address all forms of human trafficking. Until this report, limited research had been conducted regarding the impact and effectiveness of these ECM task forces. The current study was undertaken to help fill that knowledge gap.

We conducted a comprehensive, mixed-methods examination of 10 diverse ECM task forces around the country to learn about the different approaches these task forces were taking to address human trafficking, understand which strategies had been effective, and assess the impact of the task forces on investigating and prosecuting human trafficking cases and on identifying and assisting human trafficking survivors. This evaluation provides an in-depth understanding of these task forces and the challenges that they face in achieving their goals. The findings of this report contribute to the growing body of knowledge about ECM task forces and, we hope, will lead to supportive improvements.

The major findings that emerged from this evaluation are summarized below, followed by a set of recommendations for how the task forces might be improved to help them better achieve their goals.

Major Findings

- **The ECM model has helped task forces obtain resources needed to support the work they are doing to address human trafficking**, including augmented law enforcement staff (i.e., more detectives and support staff dedicated exclusively to human trafficking), and, in certain places, the establishment of hubs to coordinate work across stakeholders in one location. These additional resources have made a huge difference in jurisdictions' capacity to do this type of work more effectively.
- **Most of the ECM task forces evaluated for this study are primarily focused on identifying and investigating sex trafficking.** The most common investigative method used for uncovering sex trafficking is undercover sting operations for prostitution. During the course of these operations, law enforcement determines whether individuals are being trafficked or engaging in prostitution through their own free will (except when individuals are under 18, in which case it is defined as human trafficking, by law).

- **The vast majority of investigations into suspected sex trafficking resulted in arrest (95%) and prosecution (77%), however only 33% of these cases were prosecuted using human trafficking charges.** There are several reasons for this: 1) some cases did not include elements of human trafficking even though human trafficking was suspected; 2) survivors were not willing to cooperate, so the prosecutor determined that trafficking charges would be difficult to prove; and 3) non-trafficking charges were used as a way to secure a plea and avoid potential survivor testimony.
- **Nearly all ECM task forces are struggling with their response to labor trafficking.** Very few labor trafficking crimes are being identified, investigated, and prosecuted by the task forces, even though labor trafficking victimizations are occurring in their jurisdictions. Several task forces that we studied did not focus on labor trafficking at all.
 - Law enforcement components of the task forces are generally not well-positioned, organizationally or structurally, to effectively address labor trafficking—most human trafficking investigators at police departments and prosecutors’ offices are situated within sex crimes or vice units, so they tend to focus almost entirely on sex trafficking.
- **Collaboration and cooperation among stakeholders are crucial for task forces to be effective.** Facilitating task force collaboration involves creating an organizational culture where task force members: understand and respect each other’s roles; perceive their roles, and the roles and contributions of others, as valuable and critical for meeting the shared goals of the task force; communicate openly; and work through conflicts.
 - In the study task forces, the ECM model proved largely effective at connecting various stakeholders and increasing collaboration across the continuum of interactions that system actors (law enforcement investigators, prosecutors, and service providers) have with survivors; however, these benefits have come with some challenges -- for example, the need for improved communication between service providers and law enforcement, and better/more meaningful collaboration with federal partners.
 - Some local stakeholders interviewed expressed the need for federal partners to be more actively involved and engaged in task force activities. Members from several task forces reported wanting to receive greater support from federal partners and said that they struggled, at times, to get federal entities (e.g., the FBI, USAO) to participate. In certain task forces, this disconnect between federal and local partners resulted from differing perspectives about the types of human trafficking investigations on which the task force ought to be focusing resources.
- **Colocation of task force members and agency partners is valuable.** Colocation facilitates collaboration and promotes relationship-building among task force members.
 - A shared space where task force members (including federal and local law enforcement, victim service providers, and stakeholders from other agencies) work together in the same building for a few days a week facilitates collaboration and creates certain efficiencies and economies of scale.

- Colocation boosts morale among stakeholders—they get to know each well and can get problems solved “in real time”, that formerly may have taken several days to solve.
 - Task forces that are co-located tend to perform better in terms of investigating and prosecuting human trafficking cases.
 - Colocation is not feasible for all task forces, however, depending on their structure and coverage area (i.e., colocation is not possible in statewide task forces).
- **Statewide task forces struggle the most with collaboration and service provision.** Due to their geographic scope, statewide task forces face special challenges (both logistically and financially) in supporting collaboration among task force members from across the state (time and costs required to travel across the state to engage in task force work are significant hurdles). It can also be difficult for statewide task forces to match appropriate services for certain types of survivors that might only be available from agencies on the other side of the state. Special consideration (perhaps supplemental funding or set asides) should be provided to statewide ECM task forces to assist with these challenges.
 - **Half of the ECM task forces included in this study indicated that they may arrest a survivor as part of the investigation.** Law enforcement who arrest survivors indicated that the practice was used as a strategy to ensure survivor safety and leverage for cooperation in investigations. Three of the task forces indicated that there had been a change in practice, or state law, which had resulted in officers no longer arresting survivors of sex trafficking; yet, survivors may still be arrested for trafficking-related offenses, such as drug possession or probation violations stemming from prostitution charges.
 - **Individuals who were investigated and arrested for human trafficking were disproportionately Black or African American.** Our case file review of closed law enforcement cases across ECM task forces indicated that 66 percent of suspects in sex trafficking cases, and 44 percent of suspects in labor trafficking cases were Black or African American – compared to U.S. Census data for the geographical areas covered by the task forces which showed that 14% of the general population was Black or African American.
 - **More and better housing options are needed for human trafficking survivors.**
 - Adequate housing for survivors (both short-term and long-term housing) was identified in nearly every task force we visited as an unmet need for survivors.
 - Task force stakeholders that we interviewed reported that housing options, such as domestic violence shelters or group homes for juvenile offenders, are not adequate for meeting the needs of human trafficking survivors. Notably, program development and staff training in such facilities is not centered on the specific needs of survivors of human trafficking.
 - In certain task forces we visited, we learned that law enforcement arrested and detained human trafficking victims because they were not comfortable with existing housing options, including hotels and domestic violence shelters, as a means of keeping survivors safe.
 - **More targeted training on labor trafficking is desired by the task forces.** The task forces included in this study indicated that they lacked information and knowledge about labor trafficking, including how to identify when and where labor trafficking was occurring in their communities or states. Some task forces were actively trying to reach out to other task forces to gain insights

about their approach to addressing labor trafficking; all task forces indicated an interest in additional training to build their capacity to conduct labor trafficking investigations.

Recommendations

- **ECM task forces must improve their response to labor trafficking.**
 - More resources, infrastructure, and training that focus specifically on labor trafficking are needed.
 - Task forces should develop stronger partnerships with regulatory agencies (such as the Department of Labor) to find ways to better identify and prosecute labor trafficking.
 - Law enforcement entities on task forces should work harder to identify risk areas for labor trafficking in their communities. Skills and expertise should be developed among law enforcement (potentially through working with partner organizations) to gather intelligence about potential labor trafficking victimization in these areas.
 - For future ECM task force funding decisions, OJP might consider a bifurcated funding structure, perhaps as a pilot program (i.e., OJP could fund one or two task forces to focus exclusively on labor trafficking, while other task forces could be funded to address sex trafficking or both types of trafficking) – because whenever task forces are funded to address both sex and labor trafficking, there tends to be a focus on sex trafficking that usually crowds out anti-labor trafficking efforts.
- **Encourage colocation of ECM task forces (if feasible).** Our research found that colocation of the task force facilitates collaboration and cooperation, promotes relationship-building among task force members, allows problems to be solved in real time, and facilitates prosecutions. We recognize that colocation is probably not feasible for statewide task forces, however.
- **Ensure that ECM task forces are survivor-informed.** It is important that the ECM task forces be survivor-informed. Individuals with lived experience can offer task forces victim-centered and trauma-informed insight to task force practices, including investigation practices and the overall development of task force responses, protocols, and coordination around cases of human trafficking.
- **Encourage ECM task forces to avoid arresting survivors.** Task forces should be encouraged to not arrest survivors because this can lead to further trauma, negative interactions with law enforcement, and destabilization for survivors. Additional training on victim-centered and trauma-informed approaches for investigating human trafficking may be needed, as well as training on survivor perceptions of safety for task forces that rely on arresting and incarcerating survivors as a means of keeping them “safe”.
- **Encourage ECM task forces to engage in proactive work in communities.** Four of the task forces included in this study reported that stings or undercover operations were their primary investigative strategy. Additionally, a disproportionate number of individuals arrested for trafficking in this study were Black or African American. Task forces should be encouraged to examine their relationships with communities of color and engage meaningfully with communities in which trafficking is occurring. Task forces should also be encouraged to collaborate with local members and organizations of communities to learn about their needs and to support efforts to identify survivors and to decrease the likelihood of trafficking occurring.

- **Provide statewide task forces with additional funding.** Due to the significant logistical challenges faced by statewide task forces in meeting essential components of the ECM task force, such as facilitating collaboration among task force members/agencies from across the state, providing necessary training, and meeting victim services needs across a large geographic area, these task forces should be given special consideration and supplemental funding to put them in position to succeed.
- **Encourage federal partners to engage more in ECM task force activities and collaborate with local partners.** In several of the evaluation task forces, the relationship between local and federal partners was not as strong as it could be, due to different perspectives about the types of human trafficking investigations on which the task force should focus, and the overall approach to adopt to respond to the problem. While we understand that agreement is not possible on all aspects, task forces generally perform better when federal partners collaborate with local stakeholders toward a common goal, which should be encouraged.
- **Provide more resources to add appropriate housing options for human trafficking survivors.** Adequate housing for survivors was consistently identified as an unmet need across almost every task force. Alternative housing strategies (such as domestic violence shelters) have been used in a pinch by some task forces but are not conducive to meeting the specific needs of human trafficking survivors. Additional housing responses that are geared specifically for human trafficking survivors is needed.⁴⁵
- **Provide opportunities for more targeted and specialized human trafficking training.** More specific and targeted training that focuses on effective investigative and prosecutorial techniques (particularly for labor trafficking) was expressed as a need by task forces. One suggestion we heard multiple times is to offer cross-training or immersion training, where task force members have the chance to visit and observe other model task forces in action to learn best practices that they could bring back to their own task force.

⁴⁵ Notably, the Department of Justice announced on August 4, 2020 that the Office of Victims of Crime (OVC) had awarded over \$35 million in grant funded to 73 organizations across the U.S. to provide housing to survivors of human trafficking.

Appendix A. Interview Protocols

Evaluation of the Enhanced Collaborative Model to Combat Human Trafficking

Service Provider Interview Guide

Part 1: Respondent Background Information

1. Please describe your current position.
2. How long have you been in your current position?
 - a. How long have you worked on human trafficking issues?
3. What kind of training/education have you received relevant to your position?

Part 2: Organization Background Information

4. Please provide some background about your organization.
 - a. *Probe:* Goals of the organization/topical focuses
 - b. *Probe:* Size/structure
5. Could you explain any funding restrictions or resource considerations relevant to your organization?
 - a. How does this impact your work on human trafficking?
6. Are there any policies (either at the local, state, or federal levels) that impact your ability to work on human trafficking cases?
 - a. *Probe:* service provision before clients have T-Visas; continued presence; safe harbor etc.

Part 3: Human Trafficking Involvement (Note: Qs # 8,9,10 are optional – can get from other sources)

7. Please describe your organization's involvement in anti-trafficking work.
8. About how many human trafficking clients (of any type) does your organization serve per year? **(*OPTIONAL*)**
9. Of your clients, about how many are survivors of labor trafficking, and how many are survivors of sex trafficking? **(*OPTIONAL*)**
10. What is a general breakdown of your clients' demographic characteristics (minor/adult; foreign-born/domestic; race, gender, class, etc.) *(estimate, not looking for exact numbers)*? **(*OPTIONAL*)**
11. Does your organization offer any training on human trafficking?
 - a. If so, what does that training contain?
 - b. Who attends the training, and is it mandatory?

Part 4: Services Offered

12. What specific services does your organization provide both in general and specific to human trafficking?

- a. *Probe:* housing, healthcare, counseling, clothing/basic needs, residential treatment, court accompaniment, legal and immigration services, civil legal services
13. What services do survivors typically come to your organization for?
14. Are there certain types of services, client requests, or needs that you have challenges or difficulties providing/accessing?
- a. *Probe:* funding restrictions for certain services or length of services
15. Are there waiting lists for any of your services?
- a. If so, how are survivors' needs met during the waiting period?
16. What services do you refer out to other organizations?
- a. What are the main difficulties you encounter in making referrals?
 - b. Do you follow up to see if your clients have been able to access these services?

Part 5: Human Trafficking Case Decisionmaking and Processing

17. How do survivors of human trafficking typically come to your attention/get referred?
- a. *Probe:* Are there any specific differences between survivors of labor and sex trafficking in referral pathways (e.g., diversion court, arrests, child welfare, immigration violations, community members, other survivors)?
18. Do you have instances where trafficking victims come directly to you without having gone to the police? If so, do you report these crimes or only report them if the victim agrees to speak with law enforcement? Do you encourage the victim to speak with law enforcement?
19. What generally happens in your first interaction with a client?
- a. What are clients' main requests when they first meet with you?
 - b. Is there core information you communicate during the first meeting?
 - c. Is there a formal process to talking about clients' rights and options?
20. How do you communicate with clients after a case is opened?
- a. About how often are you in contact with clients?
 - b. Who maintains contact with clients? (*Probe:* You, a case manager, etc.)
 - c. What method of communication do you use? (*Probe:* email, phone, notification system, etc.)
21. How long do you typically work with a client?
- a. When do you decide if a case should be closed? (*Probe:* funding restrictions, outcomes met, etc.)

22. How many of your clients have had involvement with the criminal justice system as defendants themselves? (*Probe*: differences between sex and labor trafficking)
23. Do you or your organization collaborate with local, state and/or federal law enforcement during investigations of human trafficking?
 - a. If yes, which law enforcement entities do you most often interact with?
 - b. If yes, please describe the nature of your collaboration. Does a formal MOU guide this collaboration?
 - c. If yes, are there challenges to this collaboration? Please describe.
24. Of your organization's caseload of human trafficking clients, approximately what percentage of clients are providing information to law enforcement and are involved in the prosecution of criminal cases against traffickers?
25. Do you or your organization collaborate with state or federal law enforcement or prosecutors during human trafficking case prosecutions?
 - a. If yes, which law enforcement entities do you most often interact with?
 - b. If yes, please describe the nature of your collaboration. Does a formal MOU guide this collaboration?
 - c. If yes, are there challenges to this collaboration? Please describe.
26. Is client involvement in the investigation or prosecution of a criminal case related to their trafficking experience encouraged by your organization?
 - a. If yes, how? What are the benefits of clients participating in criminal cases?
 - b. If not, why not? What are the risks of clients participating in criminal cases?
27. What are the main barriers or challenges your human trafficking clients face during the investigation or prosecution of a criminal case?
28. If one of your clients has a case that goes forward to prosecution, are you privy to information and updates about the case? Do you encounter any barriers in receiving updates and case details for your clients?
29. Are there other remedies outside of the criminal justice system that you think could be utilized to help restore victims?
 - a. *Probe*: what percentage of your clients utilize civil action to hold traffickers accountable for their victimization?
30. What is your assessment of how well law enforcement in your jurisdiction is doing investigating cases of human trafficking?
 - a. If unfavorable, how can it be improved?
31. How do you define a successful outcome for your client?

32. What are some key “lessons learned” that you’ve taken away from your work with human trafficking clients?

Part 6: Task Force Overview (Qs # 35,36,37,38, 43, and 46 are ONLY for LEAD Victim Services Provider Person on the Task Force)

33. How would you describe your organization’s role in the Task Force?

34. When did your organization become involved in the Task Force?

35. Could you give some background on the impetus for forming the Task Force?

a. *Probe:* Were there “champions”; who were the primary applicants?

36. How would you describe the goal or mission of the task force?

37. Could you describe the structure and organization of the Task Force?

b. Which agency leads the task force?

c. Which organizations are represented?

d. Approximately how many people are on the task force?

e. How was membership composition determined?

f. Are there sub-committees on different topical issues (i.e. labor trafficking, domestic sex trafficking, etc.)?

g. How often do task force meetings occur?

h. Where do they occur?

i. Do you have a formal memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the other organizations in the Task Force?

j. Does the Task Force have protocols or policies in place regarding client/victim referrals between service providers and law enforcement agencies?

38. In your opinion, are the right people and agencies represented at the Task Force?

k. *Probe:* Are there any stakeholders missing?

l. Is there survivor representation in the Task Force?

39. What are your organization’s duties and responsibilities for participating in the Task Force?

m. Do duties/responsibilities vary across participating organization types?

40. Does the Task Force provide any specialized training on human trafficking?

n. If so, what does that training contain?

o. Who attends the training, and is it mandatory?

41. How has the Task Force influenced collaboration across agencies and organizations (like prosecutors, the courts, and service providers) on human trafficking issues?

p. What does successful collaboration with other stakeholders look like to you?

- q. What are some challenges to successful collaboration with other stakeholders?
 - r. How has your organization worked towards addressing these challenges?
42. How would you describe the effectiveness of the Task Force?
- s. *Probe:* Is the task force accomplishing its stated goals?
 - t. *Probe:* effectiveness in identifying victims, investigating crimes, prosecuting crimes
43. Has the Task Force ever requested and received any technical assistance or training from OVC or BJA? If yes, what did the training and TA provided cover?
44. Could you please describe any challenges you have encountered while participating in the Task Force?
45. Could you describe key successes accomplished through the Task Force?
46. How does the Task Force track and report outcomes pertaining to human trafficking victims and the services provided to those victims? Who is responsible for assembling the quarterly data [from service providers] on the number of human trafficking victims assisted and the type of services received that is submitted into OVC's "TIMS" database?

Part 8: Recommendations/Close-Out

47. Are there best practices that you or your Task Force have identified as important to promoting the work of Human Trafficking Task Forces?
48. What could help your Task Force move further along in achieving its goals? Any recommendations for improvements?
49. Is there anything we didn't discuss or ask that you think is important for us to know?

Evaluation of the Enhanced Collaborative Model to Combat Human Trafficking

Law Enforcement Interview Guide
(Local, state, and federal law enforcement stakeholders)

Part 1: Respondent Background Information

1. Please describe your current position. What unit/department do you work in?
2. How long have you been in your current position?
 - a. Please describe your current role and the role of your unit/department (in general, and with respect to human trafficking).
 - b. How long have you worked on human trafficking issues?
 - c. How did you first get involved in investigating human trafficking?

Part 2: Agency Background Information

3. Please provide some general background about your agency.
 - a. *Probes*: State, local, or federal
 - b. Size of department
 - c. Focuses/current priorities of your agency/department (how much of a priority is human trafficking?)
4. Could you explain any resource considerations relevant to your agency?
 - a. How does this impact your work on human trafficking, if at all?

Part 3: Human Trafficking Involvement (Note: Qs #6,7 & 8 are optional – can get from other sources)

5. Please describe your agency's approach to addressing/responding to human trafficking
 - a. *Probe*: Does your agency have a specialized unit for human trafficking cases?
6. About how many human trafficking investigations does your agency works on per year (we are not looking for exact numbers here, just a ballpark estimate)? **(*OPTIONAL*)**
7. Of these cases, what share are labor trafficking and what share are sex trafficking?
(*OPTIONAL*)
8. Can you describe the demographic characteristics of victims and suspects?
(*OPTIONAL*)
 - a. *Probe*: labor/sex; minor/adult; foreign-born/domestic (*ballpark estimate*)
9. Do officers in your agency/dept. receive training on investigative techniques specific to human trafficking?
 - a. If yes, ask how often and who provides the training

Part 4: Human Trafficking Case Decisionmaking and Processing

10. How are potential human trafficking cases commonly referred/come to your attention?

- a. Are there differences in referrals between labor and sex trafficking cases?
11. When a potential human trafficking case comes to your attention, do you inform other members of the task force about it?
12. Is there a formal protocol (i.e., some type of guidelines) in place that guides officers in your agency/dept. on how to investigate cases of human trafficking?
 - a. If yes, what does the protocol cover?
 - b. If no, how are decisions made and who makes these decisions?
13. Does your department take a proactive approach toward investigating human trafficking (e.g., through sting operations, undercover work and surveillance), or do most of your cases result from tips, referrals, and complaints?
14. At what point does an investigation into prostitution turn into a charge of sex trafficking? (*probe for adults and juveniles*)
 - a. Is involvement by a pimp a requirement to charge sex trafficking in the case of adult sex trafficking?
 - b. Is involvement by a pimp a requirement to charge sex trafficking in the case of a minor/child sex trafficking?
15. How often are victims of human trafficking arrested on prostitution charges initially before it is discovered that they are actually victims of trafficking situations?
16. What challenges do you encounter in investigating human trafficking cases, from the moment of first investigation to bringing the case forward to prosecution? (*probe for specific challenges based on type of trafficking – sex/labor, adult/minor, foreign national/domestic*)
17. How are these challenges overcome (or how can they be overcome)? Does the presence of the task force help overcome these challenges? How?
18. Are certain types of human trafficking cases (sex/labor, adult/minor) more difficult to investigate and prosecute than others?
19. Are there any differences in the investigation and prosecution of human trafficking cases involving U.S. citizen victims versus foreign national victims and/or suspects?
20. How much do you collaborate with other law enforcement agencies on the task force, such as other local police departments or sheriff's offices, and federal partners (FBI, HSI, State Dept) on the investigation and/or prosecution of cases? For what types of cases? At what point do these agencies get involved? How helpful is this type of collaboration when it occurs?

21. How are victim service providers on the task force involved in the investigation and prosecution of a human trafficking case (if at all)?
22. Are victims interviewed by law enforcement immediately after identification?
 - a. What particular challenges do you face when interviewing victims?
 - b. Who conducts these interviews? Are the interviewers trained in trauma-informed techniques and have experience interviewing these types of victims?
 - c. Where are the interviews usually conducted?
23. Where do victims go following identification and the initial interview?
24. Are there challenges in keeping the victim safe following the initial interview?
25. How is information about victims and their needs communicated to the task force? Does the task force help to arrange for victims get the services they need?
26. How are requests for Continued Presence (CP) handled? Does the task force have procedures in place for requesting CP on behalf of victims?
27. Do you face any specific challenges keeping victims engaged and trusting of law enforcement during the investigation and as the case moves forward?
28. Of the human trafficking cases that your department refers for prosecution, what proportion are referred to state or local prosecutors vs. federal prosecutors? (*estimate*)
29. Are state/federal prosecutors generally willing to prosecute human trafficking cases?
30. Of the human trafficking cases that you refer for prosecution, about what percentage are accepted for prosecution (*estimate*)?
31. Are there certain types of cases that prosecutors are more willing to take than others?
32. In your experience, what elements and level of evidence is needed for prosecutors to charge a case of human trafficking?

Part 5: Task Force Overview (Qs # 35, 36, 39, 40, 48, 51, 52, and 53 are for LEAD LE person only)

33. How would you describe your agency's role on the Task Force?
34. When did your agency become involved in the Task Force?
35. Could you give some background on the impetus for forming the Task Force?
36. What is the geographical reach of the Task Force (city, county, jurisdiction, etc.)?

37. How would you describe the goal or mission of the Task Force?
38. Does that mission align with the goals and mission of your organization?
- If no, why not?
39. Could you describe the structure and organization of the Task Force?
- Which agency leads the task force? Are there co-leaders?
 - Which organizations are represented?
 - Approximately how many people are on the task force?
 - How was membership composition determined?
 - Are there sub-committees on different topical issues (i.e. labor trafficking, domestic sex trafficking, etc.)?
 - Are any of the members co-located, meaning they share office space?
 - How often do task force meetings occur?
 - Where do they occur?
 - Do you have a formal memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the other organizations in the Task Force?
 - Does the Task force have procedures on information sharing and/or confidentiality? Is intelligence about cases shared among different agencies?
 - Does the Task Force have protocols or policies in place regarding client/victim referrals between service providers and law enforcement agencies?
40. In your opinion, are the right people and agencies represented on the Task Force?
- Probe:* Are there any stakeholders missing?
 - Is there survivor representation in the Task Force?
41. What are your agency's duties and responsibilities for participating in the Task Force?
- Do duties/responsibilities vary across participating organization types?
42. Do you feel that you have enough time and resources to support your participation/duties/responsibilities in the Task Force?
43. Does the Task Force provide any specialized training on human trafficking?
- If so, what does that training include?
 - Who attends the training, and is it mandatory?
44. Has the Task Force provided any training (or outreach) to the community on human trafficking?
- If yes, what kind of training or outreach; and, who was it directed to?
45. Do you think the Task Force has influenced collaboration across agencies and organizations (like prosecutors, the courts, and service providers) on human trafficking issues?

- a. How has the Task Force has influenced collaboration?
 - b. Would you like there to be more collaboration? And, how so?
 - c. Have you experienced challenges in collaborating with other agencies? Please describe those challenges.
 - d. How has your agency or the Task Force worked to address those challenges?
46. Has the Task Force influenced the number or types of services that are available to survivors?
- a. If yes, what services are provided now that were not available previously; or, what services have been expanded?
 - b. What services still need to be addressed or expanded?
47. How would you describe the effectiveness of the Task Force?
- a. Probe: Is the task force accomplishing its stated goals?
 - b. Probe: effectiveness in identifying victims, investigating crimes, prosecuting crimes
48. Has the Task Force ever requested and received any technical assistance or training from BJA and OVC? If yes, what did the training and TA provided cover?
49. Could you please describe any challenges you have encountered while participating in the Task Force?
50. Could you describe key successes accomplished through the Task Force?
51. How does the Task Force track and report outcomes? How does the Task Force assemble the quarterly data for BJA's PMT and OVC's TIMS databases?
52. Has the Task Force engaged in any type of research or evaluation to assess its performance or effectiveness?
53. Do you think the Task Force will be sustained at the end of the grant?
- a. If yes, how will it be sustained?

Part 6: Recommendations/Close-Out

54. Are there best practices that you or your Task Force have identified as important to promoting the work the Human Trafficking Task Forces?
55. What could help your Task Force move further along in achieving its goals?
56. Is there anything we didn't discuss or ask that you think is important for us to know?

Evaluation of the Enhanced Collaborative Model to Combat Human Trafficking

Prosecutor Interview Guide (Local, state, and federal prosecutors)

Part 1: Respondent Background Information

1. Please describe your current position.
2. How long have you been in your current position?
3. How long have you worked on human trafficking cases?

Part 2: Agency Background Information

4. Please provide some background about your prosecutor's office.
 - a. *Probes:* State, local, or federal
 - b. Focuses/current priorities (caseload composition)
5. Could you explain any funding or resource considerations relevant to your work?
 - a. How does this impact your work on human trafficking cases?
6. Are there any policies (either at the local, state, or federal levels) that impact your ability to work on human trafficking cases? (*Probe:* safe harbor; continued presence)

Part 3: Human Trafficking Involvement (Note: Qs #8, 9, &10 are optional – can get from other sources)

7. Please describe your office's involvement in anti-trafficking work.
 - a. *Probe:* Do you have a specialized unit for trafficking cases?
8. About how many human trafficking cases (of any type) does your agency work on per year? (***OPTIONAL***)
9. Of these cases, about how many are labor trafficking and how many are sex trafficking? (***OPTIONAL***)
10. Can you describe the demographic characteristics of victims and suspects (*estimate*)? (***OPTIONAL***)
 - b. *Probe:* labor/sex; minor/adult; foreign-born/domestic
11. Does your office offer any specialized training on the prosecution of human trafficking using the federal TVPA or state human trafficking laws?
 - a. If so, who conducts the training and what is its frequency and duration?
 - b. What does the training include?
 - c. Who attends the training, and is it mandatory?

Part 4: Human Trafficking Case Decisionmaking and Processing

12. How are human trafficking cases commonly referred to your office?
 - a. Are there differences in terms of labor and sex trafficking cases?
13. Have you prosecuted both sex and labor trafficking cases?
 - a. What types of human trafficking cases do you and colleagues in your office most often prosecute?
14. Is there a protocol that you use to decide whether or not to accept a case of human trafficking for prosecution in your district (or state/county)?
 - a. If yes, who developed the protocol? What is the protocol?
 - b. If no, how do you decide which cases you accept for prosecution?
15. Is there a protocol that you use to decide whether or not a case of human trafficking should be prosecuted at the state or federal level?
 - a. If yes, who developed the protocol (*perhaps the Task Force*)? What is the protocol?
 - b. If no, how do you decide which cases of human trafficking you prosecute at the state or federal level?
16. How do you communicate with victims after a case is opened?
 - a. About how often are you in contact with victims?
 - b. Who maintains contact with clients? (*Probe: You, a victim witness coordinator, etc.*)
 - c. What method of communication do you use? (*Probe: email, phone, notification system, etc.*)
17. What steps do you take to secure and support the victim during a case?
18. Do you typically collaborate or communicate with other primary stakeholders on the Task Force when you are working on the prosecution of a human trafficking case? If so, how? (describe)
19. Are there certain types of evidence that are particularly important in your decision of whether to go forward with criminal charges in a human trafficking case? What are they?
20. What specific elements do you need to prosecute a case of human trafficking in your district (or state/county) -- (*probe: evidentiary requirements; multiple victims in the case*)?

- a. Do these elements vary based on whether a case is prosecuted at the state or federal level?
 - b. Do these elements vary based on type of trafficking? (sex, labor, adult, child, foreign national, US citizen)
21. Are there certain elements that, if missing, would prevent you from prosecuting a case (e.g., victim witness)?
- a. Do these elements vary based on whether a case is prosecuted at the state or federal level?
 - b. Do these elements vary based on type of trafficking? (sex, labor, adult, child, foreign national, US citizen)
22. Are there certain elements that, if present, lead to a more favorable prosecution or increase the chances of winning the case?
- a. Do these elements vary based on whether a case is prosecuted at the state or federal level?
 - b. Do these elements vary based on type of trafficking? (sex, labor, adult, child, foreign national, US citizen)
23. What other types of charges (besides human trafficking) do you commonly use to prosecute a human trafficking case at the state or federal level?
- a. Do these other charges vary based on type of trafficking case (sex, labor, adult, child, foreign national, US citizen)
24. What challenges do you as a prosecutor typically face *during* the prosecution of a case of human trafficking? Do these challenges vary by type of trafficking? (prompts: lengthy court case processing, no victim participation, lack of sufficient evidence from investigator, judges unfamiliar with human trafficking cases)
- a. How are you able to overcome these challenges?
25. What challenges do you as a prosecutor typically face *after* the prosecution of a case of human trafficking? Do these challenges vary by type of trafficking?
26. In your opinion, are anti-human trafficking laws (federal TVPA and state laws) being applied/implemented as intended?
27. How long does a typical human trafficking case take to prosecute (*estimate*)? Has the time it takes to prosecute these cases changed/improved at all over the past few years?
28. What are typical outcomes of human trafficking cases (both labor and sex trafficking) in terms of adjudication (i.e., percentage that go to trial, plea, are dismissed?) and sentencing?

- a. Do you see any differences in outcomes by type of case? (e.g., labor/sex; cases with multiple victims and/or suspects; cases with younger victims, etc.)
- b. What is the range of prison sentences imposed in these cases?
- c. Is restitution typically ordered? How are restitution amounts determined?

Part 5: Task Force Overview (Qs # 31, 33, 34, 39, 42, 43, and 44 are ONLY for the LEAD Prosecutor on the Task Force)

29. How would you describe your office's role in the Task Force?

30. When did your office become involved in the Task Force?

31. Could you give some background on the impetus for forming the Task Force?

- a. *Probe:* Were there "champions"; who were the primary applicants?

32. How would you describe the goal or mission of the Task Force?

33. Could you describe the structure and organization of the Task Force?

- a. Which agency leads the task force?
- b. Which organizations are represented?
- c. Approximately how many people are on the task force?
- d. How was membership composition determined?
- e. Are there sub-committees on different topical issues (i.e. labor trafficking, domestic sex trafficking, etc.)?
- f. How often do task force meetings occur?
- g. Where do they occur?
- h. Do you have a formal memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the other organizations in the Task Force?
- i. Does the Task force have procedures on information sharing and/or confidentiality? Is intelligence about cases shared among different agencies?

34. In your opinion, are the right people and agencies represented on the Task Force?

- a. *Probe:* Are there any stakeholders missing?

35. What are your agency's duties and responsibilities for participating in the Task Force?

- a. Do duties/responsibilities vary across participating organization types?

36. Does the Task Force provide any specialized training on human trafficking?

- a. If so, what does that training contain?

- b. Who attends the training, and is it mandatory?
37. How has the Task Force influenced collaboration across agencies and organizations (like law enforcement, the courts, and service providers) on human trafficking issues?
- a. What does successful collaboration with other stakeholders look like to you?
 - b. What are some challenges to successful collaboration with other stakeholders?
 - c. How has your agency worked towards addressing these challenges?
38. How would you describe the effectiveness of the Task Force?
- a. *Probe:* Is the task force accomplishing its stated goals?
 - b. *Probe:* effectiveness in identifying victims, investigating crimes, prosecuting crimes
39. Has the Task Force ever requested and received any technical assistance or training from BJA and OVC? If yes, what did the training and TA provided cover?
40. Could you please describe any challenges you have encountered while participating in the Task Force?
41. Could you describe key successes accomplished through the Task Force?
42. How does the Task Force track and report outcomes of human trafficking prosecutions? How does the Task Force assemble the quarterly data on the number of human trafficking prosecutions for BJA's PMT database?
43. Has the Task Force engaged in any type of research or evaluation to assess its performance or effectiveness?
44. Do you think the Task Force will be sustained at the end of the grant?
- a. If yes, how will it be sustained?

Part 7: Recommendations/Close-Out

45. Do you have any recommendations for what could be done to help your Task Force move further along in achieving its goals and improving its effectiveness?
46. Is there anything we didn't discuss or ask that you think is important for us to know?

Appendix B. Research Questions and Associated Interview Questions

Appendix B. Research Questions and Associated Interview Questions

Research Question	Interview Questions
<p>1. How are ECM human trafficking task forces providing comprehensive victim services?</p>	<p><i>Questions for Service Providers:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What specific services does your organization provide both in general and specific to human trafficking?• What services do survivors typically come to your organization for?• Are there certain types of services, client requests, or needs that you have challenges or difficulties providing/accessing?• Are there waiting lists for any of your services?• What services do you refer out to other organizations?• How do survivors of human trafficking typically come to your attention/get referred?• What generally happens in your first interaction with a client?• How do you communicate with clients after a case is opened?• Do you have instances where trafficking victims come directly to you without having gone to the police?• How long do you typically work with a client?
<p>2. What approaches and techniques are ECM human trafficking task forces relying on to investigate and prosecute cases of human trafficking?</p>	<p><i>Questions for Law Enforcement:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Please describe your agency's approach to addressing/responding to human trafficking• How are potential human trafficking cases commonly referred/come to your attention?• Are there differences in referrals between labor and sex trafficking cases?• When a potential human trafficking case comes to your attention, do you inform other members of the task force about it?• Is there a formal protocol (i.e., some type of guidelines) in place that guides officers in your agency/dept. on how to investigate cases of human trafficking?• Does your department take a proactive approach toward investigating human trafficking (e.g., through sting operations, undercover work and surveillance), or do most of your cases result from tips, referrals, and complaints?• How often are victims of human trafficking arrested on prostitution charges initially before it is discovered that they are actually victims of trafficking situations?

- Are victims interviewed by law enforcement immediately after identification?
- Where do victims go following identification and the initial interview?
- Are there challenges in keeping the victim safe following the initial interview?

Questions for Prosecutors:

- How are human trafficking cases commonly referred to your office?
- Is there a protocol that you use to decide whether or not to accept a case of human trafficking for prosecution in your district (or state/county)?
- Is there a protocol that you use to decide whether or not a case of human trafficking should be prosecuted at the state or federal level?
- How do you communicate with victims after a case is opened?
- What steps do you take to secure and support the victim during a case?
- Are there certain types of evidence that are particularly important in your decision of whether to go forward with criminal charges in a human trafficking case?
- What specific elements do you need to prosecute a case of human trafficking in your district (or state/county)?
- Are there certain elements that, if missing, would prevent you from prosecuting a case?
- Are there certain elements that, if present, lead to a more favorable prosecution or increase the chances of winning the case?
- What are typical outcomes of human trafficking cases (both labor and sex trafficking) in terms of adjudication (i.e., percentage that go to trial, plea, are dismissed) and sentencing?

4. What is the impact of ECM human trafficking task forces on addressing human trafficking (in terms of sex and labor trafficking survivors identified and assisted, and cases investigated and prosecuted)?

Questions for all respondents:

- How would you describe the effectiveness of the task force?
 - Could you describe key successes accomplished through the task force?
-

5. What challenges and barriers are ECM human trafficking task forces facing?

Questions for Law Enforcement:

- What challenges do you encounter in investigating human trafficking cases, from the moment of first investigation to bringing the case forward to prosecution? And, how are these challenges overcome?
- What particular challenges do you face when interviewing victims?
- Are there challenges in keeping the victim safe following the initial interview?
- Do you face any specific challenges keeping victims engaged and trusting of law enforcement during the investigation and as the case moves forward?

Questions for Prosecutors:

- What challenges do you as a prosecutor typically face during the prosecution of a case of human trafficking?
- Do these challenges vary by type of trafficking? How are you able to overcome these challenges?
- What challenges do you as a prosecutor typically face after the prosecution of a case of human trafficking? Do these challenges vary by type of trafficking?

Questions for Service Providers:

- Are there certain types of services, client requests, or needs that you have challenges or difficulties providing/accessing?
- What are the main barriers or challenges your human trafficking clients face during the investigation or prosecution of a criminal case?

Questions for all stakeholders:

- What are some challenges to successful collaboration with other stakeholders? And, how has your agency worked towards addressing these challenges?
 - Could you please describe any challenges you have encountered while participating in the task force?
 - How are these challenges overcome (or how can they be overcome)?
-

Appendix C. Interview Consent Form

**Urban Institute Evaluation of Enhanced Collaborative Model
Stakeholder Interview Consent Form**

Introduction

The Urban Institute is conducting a study sponsored by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) to evaluate the impact of the Enhanced Collaborative Model (ECM) of human trafficking task forces. The study aims to identify the role task forces play in identifying and assisting victims of labor and sex trafficking and in investigating and prosecuting human trafficking cases. While the project is funded by NIJ, the Urban Institute is not affiliated with the government. In the interview, you will be asked questions about your task force, including: its structure and organization, leadership model, size and scope, effectiveness, among other things. You will also be asked about your role on the task force and about human trafficking cases you have worked on, although you will not be asked to share any identifying information about these cases. You may refuse to answer any questions for any reason.

We'd like to interview you, given your critical role on your local human trafficking task force. We expect the interview to last approximately 1 hour. Your decision to participate in this interview is completely voluntary. If you decide to participate and then during the interview decide that you do not want to continue, you may quit at any time.

Note on Confidentiality: This interview provides Urban with the opportunity to learn more about your task force's structure and organization, leadership model, size and scope, and effectiveness, among other things. We're also interested in hearing about your role on the task force and about human trafficking cases you have worked on, although you will not be asked to share any identifying information about these cases. We would like to audio-record the interview if you will consent to being audio-recorded. In the case that you do not consent to be audio-recorded, we will take notes during the interview. We consider this interview to be confidential and voluntary. Your name will not be recorded in our notes, or in any of our reports. If we would like to quote you in any report, we will first seek your permission to do so. Your responses will be attributed to your general position (i.e. law enforcement, prosecutor, or service provider) and not to you or your organization personally. You may decline questions that you are not comfortable answering or stop the interview at any time. If you decline to participate, we will not share that decision with anyone outside the study team. The information collected from these interviews will be used only to inform our national evaluation of the enhanced collaborative model (ECM) of human trafficking task forces. General quantitative information not linked to you personally, or your organization, will be archived with NACJD at the conclusion of this study. Further, our reports will combine information across all the individuals we interview across ten task forces nationwide. We believe there is minimal risk to you participating in this

research project, given the data security protocols that we are using to protect your identity.

Do you agree to participate in this interview?

[Interviewer indicate] Yes____ No____

Interviewee Signature _____

Do you agree to have this interview audio recorded?

[Interviewer indicate] Yes____ No____

Interviewee Signature _____

Urban Staff Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix D. Closed Case Coding Protocol

Urban Institute ECM TF Evaluation - Closed Case Coding Form

MISSING CODE = -9 (for all categorical variables)

Reviewer initials

Review date

Task force (alias name)

Unique ID/incident number/case number

Case information

Brief summary of incident (2 sentences)

Case open date

Incident date

Physical evidence collected? (0 or 1)

Recordings of conversations with suspects/victims (0 or 1)

Identification documents (SSN, driver's license) (0 or 1)

Currency & proof of purchase (cash, credit cards, receipts) (0 or 1)

Advertisements (0 or 1)

Cell Phone (0 or 1)

Communications (Text messages, photos/videos) (0 or 1)

Surveillance footage (0 or 1)

Miscellaneous (0 or 1)

Investigation outcome (1=charges filed, 2=charges not filed, 3=referred to other PD, 4=still open, 5=other, 6=unknown, 7=suspect deceased while in custody)

Case identified through...

Tip from community/victim services (1)

Tip from neighbor/family/friend (2)

Survivor self-report (3)

Tip from CJ system actor (4)

Tip from national human trafficking hotline (5)

PD sting operation/set-up (6)

Patrol (7)

Tip from ongoing investigation (8)

Online/Facebook/Backpage/other website (9)

Other (10)

Tip from NCMEC (11)

Tip from hotel worker (12)

Tip from Uber driver (13)

Other (please specify):

Case involved...

Case involved a victim (0 or 1)

Type of trafficking (1=sex trafficking only, 2=labor trafficking only, 3=both)

Type of victim(s) (1=adult only, 2=child only, 3=both adult and child victims)

Primary location of incident (select from list below)

- Unknown (0)
- Street/outdoor solicitation (1)
- Hotel/hospitality services (2)
- Internet/online personals (3)
- Escort services/modeling agency (4)
- Massage parlor (5)
- Strip club/cantina (6)
- Construction (7)
- Restaurant/bar (8)
- Custodial work (9)
- Nail/hair salon (10)
- Landscaping (11)
- Commercial agriculture (12)
- Residence (domestic servitude) (13)
- Residence (sex trafficking) (14)
- Retail (15)
- Factory work (16)
- Other (17)
- Convenience store (18)
- Vehicle (19)
- Truck stop/parking lot (20)
- Drug dealing (21)
- Traveling sales crew (22)
- Other (list):

Secondary location of incident (select from list below)

Agencies involved in the investigation...

Investigative agency/unit

- Other agencies involved? (0 or 1)
- If yes, list agencies

Information about victim 1

V1_unique ID

- Citizenship status (1=Citizen, 2=Non-Citizen)
- Country of origin
- Victim speaks English (0 or 1)
- Race (1=White, 2=Black, 3=Asian, 4=Native American, 5=Other)
- Ethnicity (1=Hispanic, 2=Non-Hispanic)
- Gender (1=Male, 2=Female, 3=Transgender)
- Age at date of incident/investigation
- Victim originally identified as suspect? (0 or 1)
- Prior criminal activity related to trafficking/prostitution (0 or 1)
- Victim interviewed? (0 or 1)
- If yes, interview date
- Victim housed in shelter/secure location (other than jail)? (0 or 1)
- Victim detained in jail/detention? (0 or 1)
- Homelessness (0 or 1)

Foster care involvement (0 or 1)
Runaway youth (0 or 1)
Was the victim willing to provide evidence and testimony in court? (0 or 1)

Information about victim 2

V2_unique ID

Citizenship status (1=Citizen, 2=Non-Citizen)
Country of origin
Victim speaks English (0 or 1)
Race (1=White, 2=Black, 3=Asian, 4=Native American, 5=Other)
Ethnicity (1=Hispanic, 2=Non-Hispanic)
Gender (1=Male, 2=Female, 3=Transgender)
Age at date of incident/investigation
Relationship to other suspects, victims, other
Victim originally identified as suspect? (0 or 1)
Prior criminal activity related to trafficking/prostitution (0 or 1)
Victim interviewed? (0 or 1)
If yes, interview date
Victim housed in shelter/secure location (other than jail)? (0 or 1)
Victim detained in jail/detention? (0 or 1)
Homelessness (0 or 1)
Foster care involvement (0 or 1)
Runaway youth (0 or 1)
Was the victim willing to provide evidence and testimony in court? (0 or 1)

Information about suspect 1

S1_unique ID

Citizenship status (1=Citizen, 2=Non-Citizen)
Country of origin
Race (1=White, 2=Black, 3=Asian, 4=Native American, 5=Other)
Ethnicity (1=Hispanic, 2=Non-Hispanic)
Gender (1=Male, 2=Female, 3=Transgender)
Age at date of offense
Relationship to other suspects, victims, other
Suspect originally identified as victim? (0 or 1)
Prior criminal activity related to trafficking (0 or 1)

Case information for suspect 1

English language (0 or 1)
Interviewed (0 or 1)
Date of interview
Cooperative (0 or 1)
Booked into jail (0 or 1)
Bail (0 or 1)
Suspect arrested? (0 or 1)
If yes, arrest date
If yes, arrest offense code

If yes, arrest charge (1=felony, 2=misdemeanor)

Suspect indicted? (0/1)

Date of indictment

Testimony (0 or 1)

Sentence type (1=prison, 2=probation, 3=fine only)

Term imposed (months)

Fine imposed (\$)

Date of sentencing

Offense/Charge 1

Offense date

State or federal

Penal code violation

Disposition (1=nol pros, 2=not guilty, 3=guilty-plea, 4=guilty-trial, 5=awaiting trial, 6=warrant issued/still outstanding)

Disposition date

Offense/Charge 2

Offense date

State or federal

Penal code violation

Disposition (1=nol pros, 2=not guilty, 3=guilty-plea, 4=guilty-trial, 5=awaiting trial, 6=warrant issued/still outstanding)

Disposition date

Offense/Charge 3

Offense date

State or federal

Penal code violation

Disposition (1=nol pros, 2=not guilty, 3=guilty-plea, 4=guilty-trial, 5=awaiting trial, 6=warrant issued/still outstanding)

Disposition date

Offense/Charge 4

Offense date

State or federal

Penal code violation

Disposition (1=nol pros, 2=not guilty, 3=guilty-plea, 4=guilty-trial, 5=awaiting trial, 6=warrant issued/still outstanding)

Disposition date

Offense/Charge 5

Offense date

State or federal

Penal code violation

Disposition (1=nol pros, 2=not guilty, 3=guilty-plea, 4=guilty-trial, 5=awaiting trial, 6=warrant issued/still outstanding)

Disposition date

Information about suspect 2

S2_unique ID

Citizenship status (1=Citizen, 2=Non-Citizen)
Country of origin
Race (1=White, 2=Black, 3=Asian, 4=Native American, 5=Other)
Ethnicity (1=Hispanic, 2=Non-Hispanic)
Gender (1=Male, 2=Female, 3=Transgender)
Age at date of offense
Relationship to other suspects, victims, other
Suspect originally identified as victim? (0 or 1)
Prior criminal activity related to trafficking (0 or 1)

Case information for suspect 2

English language (0 or 1)
Interviewed (0 or 1)
Date of interview
Cooperative (0 or 1)
Booked into jail (0 or 1)
Bail (0 or 1)
Suspect arrested? (0 or 1)
If yes, arrest date
If yes, arrest offense code
If yes, arrest charge (1=felony, 2=misdemeanor)
Suspect indicted? (0 or 1)
Date of indictment
Testimony (0 or 1)
Sentence type (1=prison, 2=probation, 3=fine only)
Term imposed (months)
Fine imposed (\$)
Date of sentencing

Offense/Charge 1

Offense date
State or federal
Penal code violation
Disposition (1=nol pros, 2=not guilty, 3=guilty-plea, 4=guilty-trial, 5=awaiting trial, 6=warrant issued/still outstanding)
Disposition date

Offense/Charge 2

Offense date
State or federal
Penal code violation
Disposition (1=nol pros, 2=not guilty, 3=guilty-plea, 4=guilty-trial, 5=awaiting trial, 6=warrant issued/still outstanding)
Disposition date

Offense/Charge 3

Offense date

State or federal
Penal code violation
Disposition (1=nol pros, 2=not guilty, 3=guilty-plea, 4=guilty-trial, 5=awaiting trial, 6=warrant issued/still outstanding)
Disposition date

Offense/Charge 4

Offense date
State or federal
Penal code violation
Disposition (1=nol pros, 2=not guilty, 3=guilty-plea, 4=guilty-trial, 5=awaiting trial, 6=warrant issued/still outstanding)
Disposition date

Offense/Charge 5

Offense date
State or federal
Penal code violation
Disposition (1=nol pros, 2=not guilty, 3=guilty-plea, 4=guilty-trial, 5=awaiting trial, 6=warrant issued/still outstanding)
Disposition date

Information about suspect 3

S3_unique ID
Citizenship status (1=Citizen, 2=Non-Citizen)
Country of origin
Race (1=White, 2=Black, 3=Asian, 4=Native American, 5=Other)
Ethnicity (1=Hispanic, 2=non-Hispanic)
Gender (1=Male, 2=Female, 3=Transgender)
Age at date of offense
Relationship to other suspects, victims, other
Suspect originally identified as victim? (0 or 1)
Prior criminal activity related to trafficking (0 or 1)

Case information for suspect 3

English language (0 or 1)
Interviewed (0 or 1)
Date of interview
Cooperative (0 or 1)
Booked into jail (0 or 1)
Bail (0 or 1)
Suspect arrested? (0 or 1)
If yes, arrest date
If yes, arrest offense code
If yes, arrest charge (1=felony, 2=misdemeanor)
Suspect indicted? (0 or 1)
Date of indictment
Testimony (0 or 1)
Sentence type (1=prison, 2=probation, 3=fine only)

Term imposed (months)
Fine imposed (\$)
Date of sentencing
Offense/Charge 1
Offense date
State or federal
Penal code violation
Disposition (1=nol pros, 2=not guilty, 3=guilty-plea, 4=guilty-trial, 5=awaiting trial, 6=warrant issued/still outstanding)
Disposition date
Offense/Charge 2
Offense date
State or federal
Penal code violation
Disposition (1=nol pros, 2=not guilty, 3=guilty-plea, 4=guilty-trial, 5=awaiting trial, 6=warrant issued/still outstanding)
Disposition date
Offense/Charge 3
Offense date
State or federal
Penal code violation
Disposition (1=nol pros, 2=not guilty, 3=guilty-plea, 4=guilty-trial, 5=awaiting trial, 6=warrant issued/still outstanding)
Disposition date
Offense/Charge 4
Offense date
State or federal
Penal code violation
Disposition (1=nol pros, 2=not guilty, 3=guilty-plea, 4=guilty-trial, 5=awaiting trial, 6=warrant issued/still outstanding)
Disposition date
Offense/Charge 5
Offense date
State or federal
Penal code violation
Disposition (1=nol pros, 2=not guilty, 3=guilty-plea, 4=guilty-trial, 5=awaiting trial, 6=warrant issued/still outstanding)
Disposition date