

# **Raids, Rescues, and Rehabilitation: Rethinking Anti-Trafficking Interventions**

**Dana Bruxvoort**

**M.A. Candidate**

**Josef Korbel School of International Studies**

## **Introduction**

As human trafficking develops into a crime inciting international concern, rights advocates and law enforcement agents continue to debate the most effective methods of identifying trafficked persons and prosecuting offenders. For sex trafficking in particular, the “raid and rescue” model emerged as the primary means of intervention – both within the U.S. and abroad. The raid model, however, reveals several flaws, among which are various rights violations, a lack of distinction between trafficked persons and sex workers, and limited access to service provision post-raid. This paper will begin by addressing the definitional issues regarding sex trafficking and then discuss the rhetorical and legislative conditions that favor raids over other anti-trafficking approaches. Specific criticisms of raids will be analyzed, as well as recommendations for victim-centered and rights-based anti-trafficking interventions.

## **Definitions**

One of the primary issues surrounding human trafficking is the disagreement on a standard definition of what constitutes the crime. The TVPA identifies “severe forms of trafficking” 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 an act has 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.<sup>1</sup>

In the TVPA, “coercion” is understood to mean:

- (A) threats of serious harm to or physical restraint against any person;
- (B) any scheme, plan, or pattern intended to cause a person to believe that failure to perform an act would result in serious harm to or physical restraint against any person; or
- (C) the abuse or threatened abuse of the legal process.<sup>2</sup>

The term “commercial sex act” is meant as “any sex act on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person.”<sup>3</sup> “Sex trafficking” is defined as the “recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act.”<sup>4</sup>

The U.N. Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons (the Palermo Protocol) defines “trafficking in persons” similarly:

The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.<sup>5</sup>

Although the Palermo Protocol defines prostitution as a type of sex trafficking, the relationship between prostitution, sex work, and sex trafficking proves divisive. Many sex workers do not fit into the Palermo Protocol’s definition of being trafficked – perhaps they were not coerced into sex work or perhaps they did not suffer abduction, force, or

---

<sup>1</sup> Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000. H.R. 3244. 106th Congress. (2000), section 103.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> United Nations, “United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and the Protocols Thereto,” (2004), Accessed October 21, 2013. <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/treaties/CTOC/>, 42.

deception.<sup>6</sup> Admittedly, not all sex workers necessarily preferred to enter sex work but did so voluntarily, as it presented the best economic option for their lives.<sup>7</sup> In a study of sex workers in Thailand, many demanded a distinction be made between sex work and trafficking and they opposed the use of the word “prostitution” in the Palermo Protocol’s definition.<sup>8</sup>

Sex workers and the service providers who work with them contest the wording of the U.N. Convention to Suppress Trafficking in Persons which states: “prostitution and the accompanying evil of the traffic in persons for the purpose of prostitution are incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person.”<sup>9</sup> As the language of the convention suggests, there is a general integration of prostitution and sex trafficking within legislation. There is little official consensus in this regard, however, and to date, there are no consistent definitions of sex work and whether or how it differs from sex trafficking.<sup>10</sup> The lack of international uniformity in defining these terms results in legislative discrepancies that often criminalize all prostitution or assume all sex work is sex trafficking.<sup>11</sup> These definitional disagreements become problematic within anti-trafficking interventions, as many sex workers who do not identify as trafficked refuse or resist rescue efforts.<sup>12</sup>

For the purposes of this paper, “sex work” and “sex trafficking” will refer to separate entities. “Sex worker” will refer to a consenting individual eighteen years or older who has not been forced or coerced, who is not subject to regular threats of serious harm, and who is fairly compensated for her work (whether this choice was made due to involuntary factors – such as poverty or lack of other economic choices – is beyond the scope of this paper.)<sup>13</sup> “Prostitution” will refer to the exchange of sex for material benefit and exists on a spectrum of exploitation. On one end of the spectrum are sex workers

---

<sup>6</sup> Joanna Busza, “Sex Work and Migration: The Dangers of Oversimplification—A Case Study of Vietnamese Women in Cambodia,” *Health and Human Rights* 2 (2004): 244.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 244-245.

<sup>8</sup> Empower Foundation, “Hit & Run,” 23.

<sup>9</sup> United Nations, “Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others,” December 3, 1948: 1-6, accessed October 26, 2013, <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/trafficpersons.pdf>, 1.

<sup>10</sup> United Nations Development Programme, “Sex workers and the law,” 2012, accessed October 19, 2013, <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/hiv-aids/sex-work-and-the-law-in-asia-and-the-pacific/>, ix.

<sup>11</sup> Galusca, “Slave hunters,” 4; UNDP, “Sex Workers,” 15.

<sup>12</sup> Empower Foundation, “Hit & Run,” 57.

<sup>13</sup> UNDP, “Sex workers and the law,” ix.

who have chosen commercial sex work and on the other end are those who have been trafficked. For this paper, “sex trafficking” will be defined as in the TVPA: “. . .in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age.”<sup>14</sup> To be considered sex trafficking, coercion, or “threats of serious harm to or physical restraint against any person,” must exist.<sup>15</sup>

### **Anti-Trafficking in the United States**

Trafficking cases are difficult to investigate due to their multifaceted, complex, and resource-intensive nature. Trafficked persons are often hidden and thus difficult to identify and they do not necessarily consider themselves trafficked or even understand what constitutes trafficking.<sup>16</sup> In some cases, trafficked persons are perceived as criminals or accessories to crimes and as such, they may be subject to incarceration or deportation.<sup>17</sup> According to the U.S. Justice Department, as many as 17,500 people are trafficked into the U.S. every year.<sup>18</sup> Yet, the number of reported trafficking cases and prosecutions is far from that mark. In its most recent 2007 report on trafficking, the Government Accountability Office (GAO) noted only 139 trafficking prosecutions since the passage of the TVPA, although there had been hundreds of investigations.<sup>19</sup> The discrepancy between numbers raises questions of whether the resources for trafficked persons are adequate and whether the \$20 million Congress appropriated for services is being correctly allocated.<sup>20</sup>

Individuals identified by U.S. law enforcement as trafficked (often by means of raids, although not necessarily) have two options for continued stay in the U.S.<sup>21</sup> The first is Continued Presence (CP). CP is an interim status that can only be conferred by

---

<sup>14</sup> TVPA, section 103.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Melissa Ditmore, “The Use of Raids to Fight Trafficking in Persons,” 2009, Sex Workers Project, accessed September 24, 2013, <http://sexworkersproject.org/downloads/swp-2009-raids-and-trafficking-report.pdf>, 57.

<sup>17</sup> Government Accountability Office, “Human Trafficking: A Strategic Framework Could Help Enhance the Interagency Collaboration Needed to Effectively Combat Trafficking Crimes,” July 2007. accessed October 21, 2013, <http://www.gao.gov/assets/270/264645.pdf>, 2.

<sup>18</sup> Liana Sun Wyler and Allison Siskin, “Trafficking in Persons: U.S. Policy and Issues for Congress,” Congressional Research Center, February 19, 2013, accessed October 21, 2013, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34317.pdf>, 15.

<sup>19</sup> GAO, “Human Trafficking,” 13.

<sup>20</sup> Sun Wyler and Siskin, “Trafficking in Persons,” 38.

<sup>21</sup> Ditmore, “The Use of Raids,” 6.

Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE).<sup>22</sup> CP allows people who may have been trafficked to remain in the U.S. pending the prosecution of their traffickers.<sup>23</sup> The second option is a T-visa, a four-year temporary visa that grants work authorization and certification for benefits. Individuals with T-visas are eligible to apply for permanent residency status after three years.<sup>24</sup> In the TVPA, the U.S. government established an allotment of 5,000 T-visas that can be awarded annually.<sup>25</sup> Between FY 2002 and FY 2012, there were 5,202 applications for T-1 status and 3,269 were approved.<sup>26</sup> A report published by SWP suggests that the discrepancy between the number of available T-visas and the number actually awarded can be partially attributed to the fact that the U.S. has primarily used raids and other law enforcement approaches in anti-trafficking efforts and these approaches prove ineffective in identifying large numbers of trafficked persons.<sup>27</sup> The SWP report also suggests the discrepancy is due in part to raids' motivations to regulate immigration and investigate prostitution and sex trafficking versus more pervasive forms of labor trafficking.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, this focus on prostitution and sex work inflicts unintended consequences on anti-trafficking interventions globally.

### **The Anti-Prostitution Pledge and Ideology**

The 2003 TVPRA contained an amendment that prohibited NGOs from receiving federal funding if they “promote, support, or advocate for the legalization or practice of prostitution.”<sup>29</sup> Advocates and lawmakers worried this policy would “exacerbate stigma and discrimination against already marginalized groups” and that it would drive sex work underground, thus increasing the difficulty for service providers to access at-risk populations.<sup>30</sup> The amendment, commonly known as the “anti-prostitution pledge,” and the ideology accompanying it have had clear effects on the methods of intervention used to identify trafficked persons.

---

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Sun Wyler and Siskin, “Trafficking in Persons,” 21.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Melissa Ditmore, “The Use of Raids,” 7.

<sup>29</sup> Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2003, H.R. 2620, 108th Congress (2003), accessed October 26, 2013, <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/laws/61130.htm>, section 107.

<sup>30</sup> Kathleen Kim and Grace Chang, “Reconceptualizing Approaches to Human Trafficking: New Directions and Perspectives from the Field(s),” *Stanford Journal of Civil Rights & Civil Liberties*, (2007): 4.

Joanna Busza calls the amendment the “Global Gag Rule” and cites the amendment’s harmful effects on organizations “caught in the US ideological crossfire.”<sup>31</sup> For example, the Sonagachi project in India and the Lotus Club Project in Svay Pak, Cambodia both provide valuable health and HIV services to sex workers but since they do not ascribe to the “anti-prostitution pledge,” they are unable to receive USAID funding.<sup>32</sup> If these types of organizations are unable to receive funding, the services they are able to provide will be compromised, thus having adverse effects on the populations they are serving.<sup>33</sup>

Busza says the anti-prostitution pledge is an “inability to understand the sex industry as deeply contextualized, complex and heterogeneous.”<sup>34</sup> It does not recognize that many women actively choose prostitution as the best economic option for their lives.<sup>35</sup> The pledge’s conflation of sex work with sex trafficking limits service providers’ ability to work with both trafficked and non-trafficked communities.<sup>36</sup> Additionally, it decreases the contribution sex workers themselves can make to combat trafficking, as they are often in the best position to identify trafficked persons.<sup>37</sup> This anti-prostitution paradigm does not allow for such nuances in intervention efforts; rather, its funding policy favors practices such as raids, which demonstrate an obvious stance against prostitution and sex trafficking.<sup>38</sup>

### **The Rhetoric of Raids**

The rhetorical and journalistic tendencies surrounding sex trafficking have contributed to the ubiquity of raids in anti-trafficking efforts. Trafficked persons are often assigned the role of “damsels in distress,” while those who intervene on their behalfs are allowed to act as “saviors.”<sup>39</sup> Operating in this mindset, those who have been trafficked are imagined as “passive and voiceless sufferers who must be saved.”<sup>40</sup> This

---

<sup>31</sup> Busza, “Having the rug,” 331.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 329.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 330.

<sup>35</sup> Busza, “Sex workers,” 241.

<sup>36</sup> Ditmore, “I never want,” 2.

<sup>37</sup> Kamala Kempadoo, *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered*, (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2005), 152.

<sup>38</sup> Ditmore, “I never want,” 1.

<sup>39</sup> Yvonne Zimmerman, *Other Dreams of Freedom: Religion, Sex and Human Trafficking*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 8.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.; Kim and Chang, “Reconceptualizing Approaches,” 17.

notion engenders an image of the trafficked person as helpless, pitiful, and lacking any agency.<sup>41</sup> This makes it easy to imagine trafficked women and sex workers as both desiring of and requiring rescue.<sup>42</sup>

Journalist accounts of trafficking also invoke “melodramatic and moralistic” stories about exploited female bodies and “injured and maimed third world women.”<sup>43</sup> An amplified public sentimentality emerges in response to the emotionally charged sex trafficking rhetoric of prison-like brothels, coerced woman victims, and heroic rescuers.<sup>44</sup> Media coverage turns sex trafficking into an “emotional trigger.”<sup>45</sup>

New York Times columnist Nicholas Kristof has, in part, perpetuated the typology of victimized third world women, giving speeches and writing columns replete with stories of rape and violations of women’s rights.<sup>46</sup> While visiting Cambodia, he bought the freedom of two young women working in a brothel, a practice not uncommon in anti-trafficking efforts.<sup>47</sup> Kristof describes in detail how he talked to the girls about their freedom and when they agreed to his pleas for their redemptions, he paid the brothel owner \$150 and \$203 for them, respectively.<sup>48</sup> A year later, however, he revisits Cambodia and finds one of the girls back in sex work, which he attributes to her drug addiction.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, this scenario brings up the question of whether buying freedom (as a part of or separate from raids) is effective, economical, or even ethical. There are sharp divisions of opinion, with critics claiming redemptions exacerbate human trafficking.<sup>50</sup> Regardless, while redemptions and buy-backs may serve as immediate solutions, it is clear they do not address the root causes of trafficking.<sup>51</sup>

Similarly to Kristof, investigative journalist Aaron Cohen was once introduced as, “a hero who puts his life on the line to save prostituted women and girls throughout the

---

<sup>41</sup> Zimmerman, *Other Dreams*, 8.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Galusca, “Slave Hunters,” 6.

<sup>44</sup> Gretchen Soderlund, “Running from the rescuers: New U.S. crusades against sex trafficking and the rhetoric of abolition,” *NWSA Journal* 17:3 (2005): 77.

<sup>45</sup> Galusca, “Slave Hunters,” 7.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>47</sup> Nicholas Kristof, “Bargaining for Freedom,” *New York Times*, January 21, 2004, accessed October 25, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/01/21/opinion/bargaining-for-freedom.html>.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Nicholas Kristof, “Back to the Brothel,” *New York Times*, January 22, 2005, accessed October 25, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/01/22/opinion/22kristof.html>.

<sup>50</sup> Kwame Appiah and Martin Bunzl, *Buying Freedom: The Ethics and Economics of Slave Redemptions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 9.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

world.”<sup>52</sup> Cohen’s book *Slave Hunter* details his rescue endeavors around the world. He writes of brothel raids in Cambodia, slave redemptions in the Sudan, and going undercover as a sex tourist for investigations in Ecuador. The central narrative he weaves is one of helpless women in need of saving, a role he is more than willing to assume.<sup>53</sup> In a CNN special he said, “...someone has to go in and serve as a beacon of hope.”<sup>54</sup> When discussing a brothel raid in which he buys the freedom of nearly thirty girls, Cohen said “that’s something we can feel good about, no matter what comes next.”<sup>55</sup>

This rhetorical emphasis on helpless third world women in need of rescue contributes to the preference of raids over other anti-trafficking interventions.<sup>56</sup> Law-and-order solutions are both highly visible and appear to be the “noblest response” to sex trafficking.<sup>57</sup> These methods which at face value may appear successful can skirt the underlying economic and social problems that both perpetuate the commercial sex industry and make rehabilitation difficult for those being rescued.<sup>58</sup>

International Justice Mission (IJM) is an organization oft criticized for its use of raids.<sup>59</sup> A faith-based organization ascribing to the TVPRA’s anti-prostitution pledge, IJM received increased funding that allowed it to carry out more anti-trafficking interventions.<sup>60</sup> Yet, IJM’s success in raids remains ambiguous at best and the raids sometimes incur troubling results.<sup>61</sup> In March 2003, IJM and *Dateline* staged a highly publicized raid in Svay Pak, Cambodia. IJM counted 37 girls among the rescued and the subsequent court case led to six convictions. The “darker” side of the raid – the twelve women who ran away or who went back to prostitution, or the actual increase in minors in prostitution post-raid – went untold by the media.<sup>62</sup>

## The Reality of Raids

---

<sup>52</sup> Galusca, “Slave hunters,” 2.

<sup>53</sup> Aaron Cohen, *Slave Hunter* (New York: Simon Spotlight Entertainment, 2009).

<sup>54</sup> CNN. “Innocence for Sale,” *World’s Untold Stories*, CNN video, 23:23, January 27, 2010, <http://www.cnn.com/video/?/video/international/2010/01/27/wus.innocence.for.sale.cnn&iref=videosearch>.

<sup>55</sup> Cohen, *Slave Hunter*, 43.

<sup>56</sup> Galusca, “Slave hunters,” 3.

<sup>57</sup> Noy Thrupkaew, “The Crusade Against Sex Trafficking: Do Brothel Raids Help or Hurt the ‘Rescued’?” *The Nation* 289:10 (2009): 13.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

Despite legislative and rhetorical paradigms that elevate raids as the favored approach in anti-sex trafficking efforts, studies have shown the reality of raids is problematic. Raids have not effectively differentiated between sex work and sex trafficking and many workers swept up in raids do not desire or require rescue.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, raids do not always account for the immediate needs of sex workers and trafficked persons and they have been shown to violate numerous human rights.<sup>64</sup>

### **Problems with Raids**

#### *Treatment of Individuals Uncovered*

A report produced by the Empower Foundation in Thailand describes a raid that took place in Chiang Mai. During the raid, fifty uniformed and armed police officers raided a karaoke bar and apprehended eight women who worked there, all Burmese migrants.<sup>65</sup> The women tried to escape but were detained by the police in locked bathrooms. There were no translators available and the women were told to place their thumbprints on statements written in Thai, which they could not read.<sup>66</sup> The women's phones and personal belongings were confiscated and they were detained in a social welfare home for a total of 38 days.<sup>67</sup> They underwent compulsory medical testing to determine their ages, which included bone and dental testing, internal vaginal examinations, and blood tests.<sup>68</sup> None gave informed consent.<sup>69</sup> The women resisted their detention, arguing that they were older than eighteen and knew they would be working in a karaoke bar when they migrated to Thailand.<sup>70</sup> Due to the detention and subsequent trials, the women lost six weeks of earnings and were fined 200 baht for prostitution and further fines for immigration offenses.<sup>71</sup>

In a SWP study, service providers claimed law enforcement often used harsh interrogation techniques during raids that did not prioritize the needs of trafficked

---

<sup>63</sup> Empower Foundation, "Hit & Run," 66.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>65</sup> Empower Foundation, "Hit & Run," 75.

<sup>66</sup> Ditmore, "The Use of Raids," 76.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>68</sup> Empower Foundation, "Hit & Run," 92.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

persons.<sup>72</sup> Women picked up in raids were often handcuffed, fingerprinted, and not informed of their rights in a way they could comprehend.<sup>73</sup> Many women cited violence and police brutality during raids, and one woman said she was pistol whipped by an officer.<sup>74</sup>

Raids are sometimes conducted as more of publicity stunts than out of concern for trafficked persons. During raids, photos are often taken and used by the media without consent of the women present.<sup>75</sup> The UNDP found that two raids in Timor Leste had been filmed and aired on local TV news broadcasts without consent of those uncovered in the raids.<sup>76</sup> The same report described a raid in Andhra Pradesh, India, in which 300 sex workers were brought into the streets and dealt with inhumanely in full public view.<sup>77</sup>

### *Distrust*

A concern within law enforcement operations such as raids is that the “rescuers” harbor significant distrust – and even fear – of law enforcement authorities.<sup>78</sup> In many countries, government and police corruption is widespread and includes bribes, extortion, and even sexual coercion from the police.<sup>79</sup> Sex workers and trafficked persons have very different understandings of the police than do most people, as police officers often solicit sexual services or perpetuate violence against sex workers.<sup>80</sup>

In a report from the Philippines, a police officer noted that numerous men in his unit received 10,000 pesos per month (US \$230) to protect brothels and notify their owners of impending raids.<sup>81</sup> This can be a significant amount of money for officers whose starting salaries are 9,500 pesos.<sup>82</sup> In the same study, a police officer was caught having intercourse with a trafficked person during a sting, which is not uncommon.<sup>83</sup> Similarly, in some Southeast Asian countries, entrapment is a common practice.

---

<sup>72</sup> Ditmore, “The Use of Raids,” 9.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 10, 24.

<sup>75</sup> Empower Foundation, “Hit & Run,” x.

<sup>76</sup> UNDP, “Sex Workers,” 165.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>78</sup> Ditmore, “The Use of Raids,” 9.

<sup>79</sup> Noy Thrupkaew, “Beyond Rescue,” *The Nation* 289:13 (2009): 22, and Busza, “Sex work,” 243.

<sup>80</sup> IRIN Asia, “Analysis: Sex Workers bear brunt of war on trafficking,” September 2, 2013, accessed September 24, 2013, <http://www.irinnews.org/report/98689/analysis-sex-workers-bear-brunt-of-war-on-trafficking>.

<sup>81</sup> Thrupkaew, “Beyond Rescue” 22.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

Entrapment occurs when a plainclothes police officer poses as a customer and specifically asks to buy services from a girl under eighteen in an effort to uncover trafficked minors.<sup>84</sup> These requests can result in a minor girl feeling coerced to sell sex for the first time – something she otherwise would not have considered. After entrapment, she is falsely identified as trafficked and can be detained and/or deported by the policeman who solicited the request.<sup>85</sup>

In general, the ability of a trafficked person to trust is not quickly regained after another person has controlled her life or after witnessing authority figures perpetuate abuses.<sup>86</sup> Yet, the nature of raids asks sex workers and trafficked persons to immediately trust individuals they have been trained to distrust.<sup>87</sup>

### *Sex Workers Versus Sex Trafficked*

Raids do not distinguish well between sex work and sex trafficking and they are often driven more by efforts to curb prostitution than to stop trafficking or care for the needs of trafficked persons.<sup>88</sup> Brothel raids fail to recognize and respect women's right to choose sex work as an occupation and the raids can disrupt these workers' incomes and threaten their financial security.<sup>89</sup> Most sex workers end up back in brothels after raids, but have since incurred legal fines and accumulated more debt to the brothel owner.<sup>90</sup> Similarly, when there are police crackdowns in brothel areas, the heavy presence of law enforcement can scare off clients and deprive the women of work and income.<sup>91</sup>

In a study in Thailand, the majority of migrant women picked up in a raid said they came independently to work in the country and were voluntarily working in the sex trade.<sup>92</sup> In the same study, one woman said she had many other jobs prior to sex work but that “sex work gives me the most independence, freedom, and the best conditions. We are grateful for your concern, but please don't rescue me.”<sup>93</sup> Advocates for sex workers'

---

<sup>84</sup> Empower Foundation, “Hit & Run,” 88.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, vii.

<sup>86</sup> Denise Brennan, “Competing Claims of Victimhood? Foreign and Domestic Victims of Trafficking in the United States,” *Sexuality Research & Social Policy* 4 (2008): 55.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> Ditmore, “The Use of Raids,” 7.

<sup>89</sup> Surtees, “Brothel raids,” 6.

<sup>90</sup> Thrupkaew, “The Crusade Against,” 14.

<sup>91</sup> Busza, “Sex work,” 243.

<sup>92</sup> Empower Foundation, “Hit & Run,” vii.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

rights argue that for some women, especially those who must support their families, working in brothels is the best economic choice and these workers should be protected rather than criminalized.<sup>94</sup> Additionally, the violence of raids causes workers to change venues frequently, which can disrupt networks that have formed to improve working conditions, human rights, and workers' health.<sup>95</sup>

During raids, law enforcement is tasked with identifying whether a person has been trafficked, which has consequences for subsequent action – whether an individual is detained, deported, or given trafficking-specific services.<sup>96</sup> Many trafficked persons, however, do not immediately identify themselves as trafficked and if they do not self-identify to law enforcement as such, they are most often deported.<sup>97</sup>

### *Detention and Deportation*

Very rarely is the public offered information about what happens to trafficked persons in the aftermath of raids.<sup>98</sup> In actuality, the story behind the “redemptive” ending portrayed by the media is often much darker – as many women and girls (both trafficked and sex workers) resist post-raid detention or placement in shelters and some of those “rescued” later reappear in prostitution.<sup>99</sup> After a brothel raid by IJM in Thailand, many women complained about being held in a government rehabilitation home against their will.<sup>100</sup> After a 2003 IJM raid in Cambodia, several of those rescued ran away from the shelter they had been placed in.<sup>101</sup>

After raids, many women are either forcibly detained or at risk of deportation.<sup>102</sup> Operation Gilded Cage was one of the largest sex trafficking cases in the U.S.<sup>103</sup> It “rescued” more than 120 women from sexual exploitation in San Francisco but the women were then detained at a military base. Service providers did not arrive until 24

---

<sup>94</sup> Maggie Jones, “Thailand’s Brothel Busters,” *Mother Jones*, Nov/Dec 2003, accessed October 12, 2013, <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2003/11/thailands-brothel-busters>.

<sup>95</sup> UNDP, “Sex Workers,” 98.

<sup>96</sup> GAATW, “Collateral Damage,” 22.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 94, 22.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 224; Jones, “Thailand’s Brothel Busters.”

<sup>99</sup> Thrupkaew, “The Crusade Against,” 18.

<sup>100</sup> Jones, “Thailand’s Brothel Busters.”

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> Ditmore, “The Use of Raids,” 41.

<sup>103</sup> Kim and Chang, “Reconceptualizing Approaches,” 11.

hours later, by which point federal authorities had decided most of the women had not been trafficked and placed them in immigration detention.<sup>104</sup>

Indeed, many individuals who do not fit the traditional perception of trafficking may face deportation,<sup>105</sup> which treats trafficked persons as criminals rather than as targets of a crime.<sup>106</sup> In one case, a trafficked woman was freed from a brothel in the U.K. but was then deported back to her home country in Eastern Europe.<sup>107</sup> Once home, the same gang of traffickers recaptured her and brought her back to the U.K. This time she escaped on her own but was charged with being in the U.K. on a false passport.<sup>108</sup> Cases like these show the favor of punishing immigration offenses over protecting trafficked persons,<sup>109</sup> as many individuals are immediately deported or forcibly repatriated without due determination of whether they have been trafficked.<sup>110</sup> Given the fact that deportation is so common, many trafficked persons do not self-report for fear of being removed from the country.<sup>111</sup>

Individuals identified as trafficked are sometimes held in arbitrary detention for up to a year.<sup>112</sup> Many of those detained after raids in Thailand – both trafficked persons and sex workers – complained of being kept against their will and forced to undergo compulsory therapy and occupational training.<sup>113</sup> They stated a desire for understanding of their wishes *not* to be rescued:

For those who do not accept our work or misunderstand the modern context of sex work in Thailand they may believe that anything is better than where we were when they found us. Some on the outside...may think sitting around in a shelter sewing, getting free food and board is much better than working every night in a brothel. Maybe they think we have nothing better to do with our time. So somehow we need to show them that in a brothel we had our freedom, we were earning good money for our families, we were not a burden on Thailand, we even had fun. We

---

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> GAATW, “Collateral Damage,” 163.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 215.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 217.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 135.

<sup>111</sup> UNDP, “Sex Workers,” 104.

<sup>112</sup> Empower, “Hit & Run,” xiii.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 61.

need to show them that our time, families, freedom and independence is[sic] just as precious as theirs.<sup>114</sup>

During their time in shelters, many of the Thai women reported having no opportunity to communicate with their families and no option to leave the detention facility or shelter.<sup>115</sup> Within detention, many women underwent compulsory medical testing which they were given no opportunity to refuse.<sup>116</sup> Others complained of abuse within shelters.<sup>117</sup> For some individuals picked up in raids, post-rescue shelter care proved to be an unsuitable model of rehabilitation, as they had family or economic obligations to which they needed to return.<sup>118</sup> GAATW reported that trafficked persons often had little involvement in deciding the course of their rehabilitation and there were rarely follow-up efforts to determine if the rehabilitation courses were effective.<sup>119</sup>

If individuals are not deported or detained for months or years, raids can still result in arrests and short-term detainments. In the U.S., some trafficked persons said they had been arrested and temporarily jailed up to seven times.<sup>120</sup> One cited being arrested five times before being identified as trafficked.<sup>121</sup>

### *Ripple Effects and Access to Service Provision*

Raids have been criticized for the ripple effect they create beyond the point of “rescue.” Even if a trafficked person is successfully rescued, raids have further-reaching negative effects that may outweigh the initial “good” accomplished in the rescue. In the case of a Jakarta-based NGO, one woman pleaded with the organization to rescue her. In response, the NGO contacted the government and police who mobilized a raid, rescued the woman, and returned her to her family.<sup>122</sup> On the exterior, this operation would be deemed a success: the woman was rescued. But the raid had underlying effects that imperiled the lives of many other women who were untouched physically by the raid.<sup>123</sup>

---

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 66.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., xiii.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., xi.

<sup>117</sup> UNDP, “Sex Workers,” 61.

<sup>118</sup> Rebecca Surtees, “After Trafficking: Experiences and Challenges in the (Re)integration of Trafficked Persons in the Greater Mekong Sub-region,” NEXUS Institute, October 2013, accessed October 19, 2013, 62 and 74.

<sup>119</sup> GAATW, “Collateral Damage,” 163.

<sup>120</sup> Ditmore, “The Use of Raids,” 7.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>122</sup> Surtees, “Brothel Raids,” 6.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

Raids have been shown to drive sex work further underground and into less safe workplaces.<sup>124</sup> They can displace workers and thus lower their control regarding where and under what conditions they can sell sexual services. This increased vulnerability can lead to greater exploitation and can increase workers' HIV risk, as they often leave established red light areas and move outside the range of health and support services.<sup>125</sup> The dispersion of workers leads to social disintegration of networks and a loss of cohesion among sex workers.<sup>126</sup>

Raids also increase tension in brothels and contribute to mistrust between sex workers, brothel communities, police, and NGOs.<sup>127</sup> This tension can translate into violence against workers and restrictions on their movement.<sup>128</sup> The tension can also lead to brothel owners limiting workers' access to service provision, as they suspect it was contact with these "outsiders" that caused the raids.<sup>129</sup> Outreach and service provision require the trust of both brothel owners and sex workers, which takes time and commitment to build. Raids disrupt this trust-building process and are setbacks to some of the gains made in service provisions and health efforts.<sup>130</sup>

A WHO report cites that in countries where sex work is illegal or has an ambiguous status, sex workers are easy targets for violence and harassment and police often use anti-prostitution laws to harass, arrest, and even sexually coerce sex workers.<sup>131</sup> Raids can exacerbate this violence and compromise the safety of sex workers and their access to health services such as HIV risk reduction.<sup>132</sup> The report noted the success of an organization in South Africa that developed resources to inform sex workers of their legal rights during raids, while also educating them on how to prevent violence.<sup>133</sup>

### *Do Not Address Trafficking Causes*

---

<sup>124</sup> Ditmore, "The use of raids," 39; UNDP, "Sex Workers," 139; GAATW, "Collateral Damage," 53.

<sup>125</sup> UNDP, "Sex Workers," 16; GAATW, "Collateral Damage," 123.

<sup>126</sup> UNDP, "Sex Workers," 16.

<sup>127</sup> GAATW, "Collateral Damage," 123.

<sup>128</sup> Surtees, "Brothel Raids," 6.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> UNDP, "Sex Workers," 24; Kempadoo, *Trafficking and Prostitution*, 153.

<sup>131</sup> World Health Organization, "Violence Against Women and HIV/AIDS: Critical Intersections," January 2006, accessed October 18, 2013, <http://www.who.int/gender/documents/sexworkers.pdf>, 1-2.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 3.

A final criticism of the raid model is that it does little to combat the circumstances that facilitate sex trafficking and sex work such as gender disparities, poverty, and lack of local economic development.<sup>134</sup> If one woman is rescued, another will likely fill her place.<sup>135</sup> Only by addressing these circumstantial issues will provide long-term solutions to sex trafficking and ensure that sex work is not the economic choice women are forced to make.<sup>136</sup> Furthermore, raids are not regularly followed by actions that would deter trafficking such as prosecuting the traffickers or imposing sanctions against complicit authorities.<sup>137</sup>

### **Perspectives of Law Enforcement, Trafficked Persons, and Service Providers**

SWP conducted interviews with migrant women who had experienced sex trafficking raids as well as with service providers and law enforcement agents. The sample included fifteen immigrant women – twelve were sex workers, and of those twelve, nine self-identified as trafficked, and the U.S. government recognized eleven as trafficked.<sup>138</sup> Many described raids and their subsequent arrests and detentions as “terrible,” “frightening,” and “upsetting.”<sup>139</sup>

The raids reported in the study often occurred in early mornings and were sometimes conducted by undercover officers or special units not in regular police uniforms. Both factors led to confusion regarding who was entering.<sup>140</sup> Most of the raids were driven by efforts to curb prostitution or other sex work<sup>141</sup> and resulted in abuses or arbitrary detentions of those uncovered.<sup>142</sup> The execution of the raids was reported to be faulty and the preparation, poor.<sup>143</sup>

Five of the interviewees were law enforcement officials, two of whom were very critical of the raids and questioned their efficacy.<sup>144</sup> The officials said raids were useful

---

<sup>134</sup> Busza, “Sex work,” 247.

<sup>135</sup> Jones, “Brothel Busters.”

<sup>136</sup> Busza, “Sex work,” 247.

<sup>137</sup> Surtees, “Brothel Raids,” 7.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 20-21.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

for locating and identifying witnesses for prosecution efforts, but that it was difficult to gain the trust of those same witnesses who may have been victimized during a raid or detained afterward.<sup>145</sup> Officers recognized the need for more preparation and planning for unexpected circumstances, such as children present or violence involved.<sup>146</sup>

Service providers, including social workers and attorneys, were extremely critical of raids. They emphasized their chaotic nature and cited trauma, detention, and deportation as common consequences. Service providers noted struggles to ensure law enforcement agencies provided them with notice of raids and granted them immediate access to those taken into custody. This would allow them to follow up with necessary services and prevent deportations by informing women of their options for continued stay in the U.S.<sup>147</sup> The SWP report concluded that a law enforcement approach is “inherently not victim-centered.”<sup>148</sup>

### **Recommendations for Anti-Trafficking Interventions**

If raids are not the most effective anti-trafficking intervention, then what is? Is there a way to conduct raids in a more victim-centered, rights-based manner? The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) guidelines on human rights and human trafficking create a framework for approaching anti-trafficking efforts. Some general principles follow:

The human rights of trafficked persons shall be at the centre of all efforts to prevent and combat trafficking and to protect, assist and provide redress to victims. . . . Anti-trafficking measures shall not adversely affect the human rights and dignity of persons, in particular the rights of those who have been trafficked, and of migrants, internally displaced persons, refugees and asylum-seekers.<sup>149</sup>

The OHCHR guidelines specify that trafficked persons “shall not be detained, charged or prosecuted for the illegality of their entry into or residence in countries of

---

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>149</sup> Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, “Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking,” 2002, accessed October 26, 2013, <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/Traffickingen.pdf>, 1.

transit and destination”<sup>150</sup> and instructs states to ensure trafficked persons are “protected from further exploitation and harm and have access to adequate physical and psychological care.”<sup>151</sup> This care should not be contingent upon their willingness to cooperate in legal proceedings.<sup>152</sup>

The OHCHR guidelines also state that trafficked persons ought not be held in immigration detention or other forms of custody and that law enforcement should be sensitized to ensure the safety and well-being of trafficked persons within investigations and prosecutions.<sup>153</sup> Furthermore, it recommends:

...implementing measures to ensure that ‘rescue’ operations do not further harm the rights and dignity of trafficked persons. Such operations should only take place once appropriate and adequate procedures for responding to the needs of trafficked persons...have been put in place.<sup>154</sup>

According to these guidelines, practices such as arbitrary post-raid detentions must be stopped and the needs of trafficked persons must be at the forefront of any intervention. The protection of human rights must lie at the foundation of all anti-trafficking efforts.<sup>155</sup> A victim-centered mindset should be emphasized over concerns about stopping irregular immigration and the needs of trafficked persons must supersede efforts to police prostitution and sex work.<sup>156</sup> As the OHCHR suggests, anti-trafficking operations should only take place once adequate measures are in place to address the needs of trafficked persons.<sup>157</sup>

SWP recommends preventive approaches that address the circumstances that facilitate trafficking over law enforcement responses.<sup>158</sup> Within the raid approach, however, SWP emphasizes the importance of facilitating access to legal and social services in the immediate aftermath of the intervention.<sup>159</sup> This ensures that the

---

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>155</sup> Surtees, “Brothel raids,” 7.

<sup>156</sup> GAATW, “Collateral Damage,” 15.

<sup>157</sup> OHCHR, “Recommended Principles and Guidelines,” 7.

<sup>158</sup> Ditmore, “The Use of Raids,” 6.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 41.

individuals uncovered will be aware of their legal rights and options for continued stay in the country.<sup>160</sup>

Furthermore, the sheer size of the sex trade as compared to the limited resources allocated to combat it means that interventions must be more strategic than individualized rescues or other *ad hoc* approaches such as redemptions or poorly planned raids.<sup>161</sup> Every operation must be preceded by careful investigation and planning.<sup>162</sup> In-depth investigations prove more successful at identifying trafficked persons than raids that indiscriminately target sex work venues.<sup>163</sup>

SWP found that when women left trafficking situations on their own (as opposed to forceful removal during a raid), they operated from a greater position of strength and exercised the self-determination that is the goal for all trafficked persons.<sup>164</sup> This also allowed the women to avoid the trauma of a raid and resulted in increased willingness to cooperate in their traffickers' prosecutions.<sup>165</sup> Anti-trafficking interventions should foster this sense of empowerment rather than creating a sense of repression.

Within anti-trafficking interventions, better distinctions must be made between sex trafficking and sex work and efforts to end sex trafficking should not be conducted at the expense of the rights of sex workers.<sup>166</sup> Increased training for law enforcement officers regarding identification of trafficked persons could accomplish this goal.<sup>167</sup> Within interventions, sex workers should be allowed the agency to decide whether or not to leave their situations<sup>168</sup> and if they stay, they should be informed of the service provisions available to them.<sup>169</sup>

Sex workers should also be used as resources in combating sex trafficking. For example, the Sonagachi Project in India is an organization comprised of sex workers that works to prevent trafficking and the entry of minors into the sex trade.<sup>170</sup> They interview and counsel every new entrant into the sex trade and help all unwilling individuals out of

---

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 41, 57.

<sup>161</sup> Ditmore, "The Use of Raids," 11.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>166</sup> Surtees, "Brothel raids," 7.

<sup>167</sup> GAO, "Human Trafficking," 13.

<sup>168</sup> Surtees, "Brothel raids," 7.

<sup>169</sup> Ditmore, "The Use of Raids," 11.

<sup>170</sup> Kempadoo, *Trafficking and Prostitution*, 152.

the industry.<sup>171</sup> These workers are perhaps in the best position to identify trafficked women and as such, they should be protected rather than criminalized.<sup>172</sup>

There are clear alternatives to raid interventions and governments and NGOs should consider whether there are approaches that could accomplish the same goals while inflicting fewer damages and rights violations. The relationship between the intent of anti-trafficking laws and their actual impact should be constantly monitored and evaluated.<sup>173</sup> Anti-trafficking interventions must respect the complex and nuanced nature of sex trafficking and should consider the long-term effects of the interventions being staged. All anti-trafficking efforts must be preceded by thorough investigative work and carried out in a manner that protects the human rights of those involved and minimizes present and future damage to the larger community of trafficked persons and sex workers.

## Bibliography

Appiah, Kwame Anthony, and Martin Bunzl. *Buying Freedom: The Ethics and Economics of Slave Redemption*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Brennan, Denise. "Competing Claims of Victimhood? Foreign and Domestic Victims of Trafficking in the United States." *Sexuality Research & Social Policy* 4 (2008): 45-61.

Busza, Joanna. "Having the rug pulled from under your feet: One project's experience of the US policy reversal on sex work." *Health Policy and Planning* 4 (2006): 339-332.

"Sex Work and Migration: The Dangers of Oversimplification—A Case Study of Vietnamese Women in Cambodia." *Health and Human Rights* 2 (2004): 231-249.

CNN. "Innocence for Sale." *World's Untold Stories*. CNN video, 23:23. January 27, 2010.  
<http://www.cnn.com/video/?/video/international/2010/01/27/wus.innocence.for.sale.cnn&ieref=videosearch>.

---

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 152-153.

<sup>173</sup> GAATW, "Collateral Damage," 6.

- Cohen, Aaron. *Slave Hunter*. New York: Simon Spotlight Entertainment, 2009.
- Ditmore, Melissa. "I never want to be rescued again." *New Internationalist Magazine*., September 1, 2007. Accessed September 24, 2013. <http://newint.org/features/2007/09/01/sex-work-vs-trafficking2/>.
- "The Use of Raids to Fight Trafficking in Persons." Sex Workers Project. 2009. Accessed September 24, 2013. <http://sexworkersproject.org/downloads/swp-2009-raids-and-trafficking-report.pdf>.
- Empower Foundation. "Hit & Run: Sex Worker's Research on Anti-Trafficking in Thailand." 2012. Accessed October 18, 2013. [http://www.empowerfoundation.org/index\\_en.html](http://www.empowerfoundation.org/index_en.html).
- Federal Bureau of Investigation. "Innocence Lost Sting: Sixteen-City Sweep Marks Fifth Anniversary." June 25, 2008. Accessed October 19, 2013. [http://www.fbi.gov/news/stories/2008/june/innocencelost\\_062508](http://www.fbi.gov/news/stories/2008/june/innocencelost_062508).
- Galusca, Roxana. "Slave hunters, brothel busters, and feminist interventions: Investigative journalists as anti-sex-trafficking humanitarians." *Feminist Formations* 24:2 (2012): 1-24.
- Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women. "Collateral Damage: The Impact of Anti-Trafficking Measures on Human Rights around the World." 2007. Accessed October 19, 2013. [http://www.gaatw.org/CollateralDamage\\_Final/singlefile\\_CollateralDamagefinal.pdf](http://www.gaatw.org/CollateralDamage_Final/singlefile_CollateralDamagefinal.pdf).
- Government Accountability Office. "Human Trafficking: A Strategic Framework Could Help Enhance the Interagency Collaboration Needed to Effectively Combat Trafficking Crimes." July 2007. Accessed October 21, 2013. <http://www.gao.gov/assets/270/264645.pdf>.
- IRIN Asia. "Analysis: Sex workers bear brunt of war on trafficking." September 3, 2013. Accessed September 24, 2013. <http://www.irinnews.org/report/98689/analysis-sex-workers-bear-brunt-of-war-on-trafficking>.
- Jones, Maggie. "Thailand's Brothel Busters." *Mother Jones* Nov/Dec 2003. Accessed October 12, 2013. <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2003/11/thailands-brothel-busters>.
- Kempadoo, Kamala. *Trafficking and Prostitution Reconsidered*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2005.

- Kim, Kathleen, and Grace Chang. "Reconceptualizing Approaches to Human Trafficking: New Directions and Perspectives from the Field(s)." *Stanford Journal of Civil Rights & Civil Liberties*, (2007): 1-28.
- Kristof, Nicholas. "Back to the Brothel." *New York Times*, January 22, 2005. Accessed October 25, 2013). <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/01/22/opinion/22kristof.html>.
- "Bargaining for Freedom." *New York Times*, January 21, 2004. Accessed October 25, 2013. <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/01/21/opinion/bargaining-for-freedom.html>.
- "Girls for Sale." *New York Times*, January 17, 2004. Accessed October 25, 2013. <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/01/17/opinion/girls-for-sale.html>.
- Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. "Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking." 1-14. 2002. Accessed October 26, 2013. <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/Traffickingen.pdf>.
- Sun Wyler, Liana, and Allison Siskin. "Trafficking in Persons: U.S. Policy and Issues for Congress." Congressional Research Center. February 19, 2013. Accessed October 21, 2013. <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34317.pdf>.
- Soderlund, Gretchen. "Running from the rescuers: New U.S. crusades against sex trafficking and the rhetoric of abolition." *NWSA Journal*. 17:3 (2005): 64-87.
- Surtees, Rebecca. "Brothel raids in Indonesia – Ideal solution or further violation?" *Research for Sex Work* 6 (2003): 5-7.
- "After Trafficking: Experiences and Challenges in the (Re)integration of Trafficked Persons in the Greater Mekong Sub-region." NEXUS Institute 2013. Accessed October 19, 2013. <http://www.nexusinstitute.net/publications>.
- Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2003. H.R. 2620. 108th Congress. (2003) Accessed October 26, 2013. <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/laws/61130.htm>.
- Thrupkaew, Noy. "Beyond Rescue." *The Nation* 289:13 (2009): 21-25.
- "The Crusade Against Sex Trafficking: Do Brothel Raids Help or Hurt the 'Rescued'?" *The Nation* 289:10 (2009): 11-20.
- United Nations. "Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others." December 3, 1948: 1-6. Accessed October 26, 2013. <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/trafficpersons.pdf>.

United Nations. "United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and the Protocols Thereto." (2004): 41-51. Accessed October 21, 2013. <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/treaties/CTOC/>.

United Nations Development Programme. "Sex workers and the law." 2012. Accessed October 19, 2013. <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/hiv-aids/sex-work-and-the-law-in-asia-and-the-pacific/>.

Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000. H.R. 3244. 106th Congress. (2000) Accessed October 26, 2013. <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/laws/>.

World Health Organization, "Violence Against Women and HIV/AIDS: Critical Intersections." January 2006. Accessed October 18, 2013. <http://www.who.int/gender/documents/sexworkers.pdf>.

Zimmerman, Yvonne. *Other Dreams of Freedom: Religion, Sex and Human Trafficking*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.