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The Communication Constitution of Law Enforcement in North Carolina's Efforts Against Human Trafficking

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The Communication Constitution of Law Enforcement in North Carolina's Efforts Against
Human Trafficking

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my loving family, friends, and committee. I want to thank Peter, Wallace, Carlisle, the Jeter family, and the Zellmer family for your love, support, and devotion. I want to thank Dr. Ambar Basu for your guidance and hard work as my advisor. Finally, I want to thank Dr. Donna Bickford, Dr. Arthur Bochner, and Dr. Eric Eisenberg for your advice and assistance as my committee members. This project would not have been possible without you.

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Abstract

Over the past 20 years, human trafficking has gained international attention and resulted in the creation of anti-trafficking laws in the United States. Politicians, scholars, and organizations have called for more professional efforts against human trafficking and advocated for better education and awareness to identify victims and prosecute traffickers. Local law enforcement is recognized for its ideal position in communities to combat this crime. In 2011, North Carolina implemented a statewide human trafficking training program for law enforcement. This research study examines the communication constitution of law enforcement and the use of power through this training program and as officers work trafficking cases. I position this research study within the literature of interorganizational collaboration (ICO), high-reliability organizations (HROs), and the Four Flows Model – a communication constitution of organizations (CCO) theory. I then provide a comprehensive methodical review of this research, which includes organizational documents and ethnographic data collected over a two-year period. The research results are divided into two discussions of law enforcement's organizational constitution. First, I discuss law enforcement's communication constitution through its human trafficking opposition and traffickers' power to control victims. Second, I discuss law enforcement's communication constitution through roles and partnerships in anti-trafficking efforts and power through government sanctioned authority. Finally, I conclude with a review of the research, contributions to the field, and recommendations.

Chapter 1:
Introduction

Slavery has been fruitful in giving itself names...It has been called by a great many names, and it will call itself by yet another name; and you and I and all of us had better wait and see what new form this old monster will assume, in what new skin this old snake will come forth. – Frederick Douglass, 1865¹

It ought to concern every person, because it is a debasement of our common humanity. It ought to concern every community, because it tears at our social fabric. It ought to concern every business, because it distorts markets. It ought to concern every nation, because it endangers public health and fuels violence and organized crime. I'm talking about the injustice, the outrage, of *human trafficking*, which must be called by its *true name – modern slavery*. – Barack Obama, 2012²

Over the past 20 years, human trafficking has gained international attention through human rights organizations, researchers, governments, and the media (Farrell, McDevitt, & Fahy, 2010). In 2000, the United Nations responded by adopting the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, more commonly known as the Palermo Protocol. The protocol established the foundation for the “3P” paradigm

¹ Douglass, Foner, & Taylor, 1999, p. 579

² Office of the Press Secretary, 2012, ¶ 6, emphasis added

of prevention, protection, and prosecution (United Nations, 2000; U.S. Department of State, 2013a), which models anti-trafficking legislation and the relationship of governments and organizations to human trafficking victims worldwide. The U.N.'s actions led to more than 140 countries criminalizing human trafficking (U.S. Department of State, 2013a), including the United States adopting the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA). The TVPA has been reauthorized four times since 2000 (U.S. Department of State, 2013b), and this has resulted in agency support and funding from the federal government for federal, state, and local initiatives, including \$771 million U.S. dollars³ between 2001-2010 for anti-trafficking programs (Siskin & Wyler, 2013, p. 57). These federal efforts are reinforced by the passing of anti-trafficking legislation in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia (Table 1.1), including 63% with comprehensive legal frameworks, 65% providing victim social services and protection, 59% offering victim access to civil damages, 39% organizing task force coalitions, and 43% providing Safe Harbor⁴ protections for minors (Polaris Project, 2013).

Aligning the U.S. with the “3P” paradigm of prevention, protection, and prosecution, the primary function of this federal and state legislation was to create a framework for identifying and helping trafficking victims and prosecuting traffickers. The “3P” paradigm resurrected the crime of slavery within a modern context and broadly defined trafficking to encompass possible labor exploitation within diverse industries, populations, geographies, and criminal networks. This attempt to embrace complexity and multiple variables within trafficking situations is evident in the TVPA's (2000) definition of human trafficking, which defines the crime as,

³ Amount excludes funding for Trafficking in Persons operations and law enforcement investigations.

⁴ Safe Harbor legislation varies among the states including any or all combinations of the following elements: immunity from prosecution, diverting minors from juvenile delinquency proceedings, and/or providing child social services (see Polaris Project, 2013).

- 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...a victim need not be physically transported from one location to another in order for the crime to fall within these definitions. (p. 1470)

Table 1.1

State Level Human Trafficking Legislation

Type of Legislation	Percentage of States ⁵
Basic	100%
Comprehensive Legal Framework	63%
Victim Social Services and Protection	65%
Victim Access to Civil Damages	59%
Task Force Coalitions	39%
Safe Harbor: Protecting Minors	43%

Force, fraud, and coercion play a central role in this definition. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2012) expanded on this definition by defining force, fraud, and coercion. It notes:

Force can involve the use of physical restraint or serious physical harm...Fraud involves false promises regarding employment, wages, working conditions, or other

⁵ Percentages include all 50 states and the District of Columbia and are rounded to the nearest whole number.

matters...[and] Coercion can involve threats of serious harm to or physical restraint against any person; 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 the abuse or threatened abuse of the legal process. (p. 1)

From an economic perspective, scholars have attributed the rise of human trafficking to governments and economies failing to adapt to increased technology-based productivity, large population growth, and mass migration of impoverished populations in the latter half of the twentieth century (Bales, 1999; Bales & Soodalter, 2009). This economic environment of high supply of labor and low wages incentivizes the treatment of workers as a commodity, rendering laborers disposable in the global economy (Bales, 1999). Consequently, economic insecurity is reported as the leading cause of human trafficking (Crane, 2013; Quirk, 2006) with vulnerable populations having fewer resources, employment opportunities, and life choices (Cloud, 2012; U.S. Department of State, 2013a; International Labour Office, 2005). Workers may also face additional barriers – such as language, education, generational poverty, criminal records, legal status, disability, gender, age, and social isolation – that leave them vulnerable to force, fraud, and/or coercion in various forms of employment (e.g. short-term, long-term, part-time, and full-time, among others). The U.S. Department of State (2013a) estimates that worldwide there are 26 million adults and children working under human trafficking conditions, but less than 1% were identified last year. These exploited laborers generate approximately 150 billion U.S. dollars in yearly profits, with \$46.9 billion generated in developed economies – such as the EU and United States – and \$51.8 billion in Asia-Pacific region (International Labour Office, 2014, p. 13).

In the U.S., the exact number of trafficking victims is unknown, but there are estimates that provide insight into the scope of the problem based on large populations of people vulnerable to trafficking. An estimated “11.2 million unauthorized immigrants” live and work in the U.S., which is approximately “3.5% of the nation’s population” and “5.1% of the U.S. labor force” (Krogstad & Passel, 2014, p. 1). Poverty rates also reveal large populations that are vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. Working in conjunction with the U.S. Census Bureau, DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, and Smith (2013) found that approximately 46.5 million people in the U.S. are living in poverty⁶ (Table 1.2) – including 10.9 million African Americans, 13.6 million Hispanics, 1.9 million Asians, 16.1 million children, and 4.3 million people with disabilities.

In addition, Shaeffer and Edin (2012) found that the number of American households living in extreme poverty⁷ has risen 130 % from 636,000 households in 1996 to 1.46 million households in 2011, and this includes 2.8 million children. Americans in poverty are also experiencing historically high unemployment rates, making it difficult to change their economic circumstances through socio-economic mobility (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012; Monea & Sawhill, 2011; Monea & Sawhill, 2009), all of which points to an increased risk of these people being trafficked. While not all people in poverty experience this crime, it is important to provide accessible legal protections and targeted support as part of a comprehensive trafficking prevention plan, which is a key factor in the federal “3P” paradigm.

Table 1.2

⁶ Poverty is calculated based on the Office of Management and Budget’s (OMB) Statistical Policy Directive 14, which is standard for the U.S. Census Bureau’s 2012 matrix of poverty thresholds determined by family size and the number of related children less than 18 years of age.

⁷ Extreme poverty, a subset of people in poverty, is defined by the World Bank’s indicator for global poverty as, a household living on “\$2 dollars or less per person, per day in total household income in a given month (approximated as \$60 per person, per month in 2011 [U.S.] dollars.” (Shaeffer & Edin, 2012, p. 2)

U.S. Populations in Poverty

Population Type	Poverty	Extreme Poverty
Total	46.5 million	
African Americans	10.9 million	
Hispanics	13.6 million	
Asians	1.9 million	
Children	16.1 million	2.8 million
People with Disabilities	4.3 million	

The U.S. Department of State (2011) estimates that approximately 14,500 to 17,500 people are trafficked across the U.S. border each year, making the U.S. a major destination for international victims (Bales & Soodalter, 2009; Zhang, 2007). It is estimated that an additional 100,000 to 150,000 people are trafficked within the U.S. each year (Schauer & Wheaton, 2006; Siskin & Wyler, 2013). Even these best estimates, however, are debated and critiqued for inflating trafficking numbers and using inadequate methods to estimate trafficking (Farrell, McDevitt, & Fahy, 2010; U.S. Department of Justice, 2013). These debates often cite discrepancies between the high estimates of possible victims with the low number of cases identified and prosecuted each year (Jayson, 2013; Wheaton, Schauer, & Galli, 2009). For example, the U.S. Department of Justice (2013) found that, between 2001 and 2011, only 3,181 trafficking victims received federal social service benefits from the Department of Health and Human Services. In the same report, the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement was found to have investigated 3,018 trafficking cases between 2006-2011, only 899 of which led to convictions. Many politicians, scholars, and organizations call human trafficking a hidden crime in response to these discrepancies, and advocate better education and awareness to identify

victims and prosecute traffickers (Farrell, McDevitt, & Fahy, 2010; Farrell, McDevitt, & Fahy, 2008; Hepburn & Simon, 2010).

Over the years, law enforcement has been recognized for its ideal position to evaluate local criminal networks for connections to human trafficking; to look past routine situations and other crimes to see trafficking cases; and to aid in, if not lead, case investigation and prosecution (U.S. Department of Justice, 2013; U.S. Department of Justice, 2004). Further, law enforcement training programs were identified as essential to increasing case identification (Farrell, McDevitt, & Fahy, 2008; Moossy, 2009; Gallagher & Holmes, 2008; Gozdzia, 2008; Newton, Mulcahy, & Martin, 2008; U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2007). Farrell, McDevitt, and Fahy (2008) conducted extensive survey research to support this claim. They found that law enforcement officers who receive training are more likely to identify cases, which in turn leads to more criminal prosecutions and reliable data on trafficking. What is missing in this literature is an examination of a training program; specifically, a study of the process of conducting law enforcement training in relation to the experiences of officers applying the training towards case identification, investigation, and case outcomes.

My dissertation addresses this need for research on law enforcement's human trafficking training by examining North Carolina's statewide training program. My dissertation also aims to explain how law enforcement officers use their training to identify, investigate, and help prosecute trafficking cases. North Carolina provides an excellent location for examining law enforcement's training and training outcomes for four reasons: (1) the state's established anti-trafficking infrastructure and efforts, (2) the estimated amount of human trafficking activity

within the state, (3) the recent implementation of a statewide training program, and (4) the need for research within the state to inform future anti-trafficking efforts.

North Carolina is among the ten states in the U.S. known for high human trafficking activity, according to the National Human Trafficking Resource Center's (2013) hotline data. Geographically, North Carolina is central on the eastern seaboard, midway between Miami and New York, with major interstates and highways that allow for the practical coordination of criminal activity and movement of victims to deter detection. This is a crucial attribute for organized crime and smaller criminal operations as human trafficking rivals other major profit generators, along with trafficking guns and drugs, for criminals (Wylar & Siskin, 2011). The state also boasts diverse industries such as agriculture, service, manufacturing, construction, and military installations that are susceptible to trafficking (Sullivan, 2010). Further, according to Gable and Hall (2013), economic insecurity is growing among North Carolina's population due to high unemployment rates of "9.2 percent in the fourth quarter of 2012...compared with a national average of 7.8 percent" (p. 1) and rates as high as 17.3 % for minority populations (p. 2), which results in 1.7 million North Carolinians living in poverty. The state has the twelfth highest poverty rate in the county, and 25 % of those in poverty are children (Nichol, 2013, January 26).

North Carolina supports a growing infrastructure that provides laws, organizational coalitions, awareness campaigns, and social services to combat trafficking. This infrastructure includes a broad legal framework for combating human trafficking that is matched in scope by only nine other states (Polaris Project, 2013). The North Carolina Coalition Against Human Trafficking (2011), the state's official task force, has successfully coordinated law enforcement

and social service efforts to identify trafficking cases since 2004. Internal reviews of caseworker files from two major social service provider organizations revealed that approximately 48 human trafficking cases were identified in North Carolina between 2005 and 2011, and this led to services for 55 victims (Jeter, 2014; Long & Adams, 2012; World Relief, 2013). In addition, Jayson (2013) reviewed the N.C. Administrative Office of the Courts database for cases and found that, between 2008 and 2012, “86 charges related to state statutes covering human trafficking were processed; an average of 21.5 charges for each of the four years” (p. 10). Out of 100 counties in North Carolina, charges and/or convictions were spread across twenty-one counties and resulted in convictions in six counties (Jayson, 2013). This small number of trafficking cases likely demonstrates the need for more victim identification and trafficker prosecution. North Carolina implemented a statewide, training program for law enforcement in 2011 that was designed by the North Carolina Justice Academy – a division of the North Carolina Department of Justice that is operated by law enforcement personnel – in collaboration with the North Carolina Coalition Against Human Trafficking (North Carolina Coalition Against Human Trafficking, 2011).

Based on fieldwork conducted in 2011 and 2013, my dissertation will focus on the processes and outcomes of meaning and knowledge creation within North Carolina’s anti-trafficking training program for law enforcement. A communication constitution of organization (CCO) framework will lend the theoretical grounding for my analysis of training materials, training session interactions, and interviews with officers working human trafficking cases. I plan to: (1) to examine the communicative constitution of law enforcement in relation to human trafficking and anti-trafficking partnerships, (2) examine how power is used in trafficking and

anti-trafficking efforts to influence outcomes and behavior, and (3) provide recommendations for improving future anti-trafficking efforts for law enforcement and in its collaborations with external organizational partners. This dissertation is presented in five additional chapters: a review of literature that establishes a theoretical framework for research design and data analysis; a discussion of methods, research design, and data analysis; presentation of research findings; and a final chapter discussing the research's implications and possibilities.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

Introduction

The organizational efforts against human trafficking are a complex combination of professional and community action. For law enforcement, this process is one of collaboration that takes many forms – from outreach programs for vulnerable populations, to working with professionals and victims, to building cases for prosecution. As mentioned in the last chapter, training law enforcement is an important step in increasing the number of trafficking cases identified and brought into the justice system. It can be difficult for officers to learn and incorporate new organizational knowledge into their daily lives because it often means adapting new standardized policies and rules on the regional and local levels where departments are enabled and limited in their efforts to incorporate changes into environments with variations in leadership support, agency culture, and available resources. To research North Carolina’s anti-trafficking training program for law enforcement, I reviewed literature on: (1) interorganizational collaboration (ICO), (2) high-reliability organizations (HROs), and (3) the Four Flows Model of communication. The Four Flows Model is an organizational communication theory promoted by McPhee and colleagues (see Browning, Greene, Sitkin, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2009; McPhee & Canary, 2013; McPhee & Iverson, 2009, 2013; McPhee & Zaug, 2000/2009) and is one of three major theories within emerging theories of the communication constitution of organizations

(CCO) (Schoeneborn, Blaschke, Cooren, McPhee, Seidl, & Taylor, 2014). The next section of this chapter begins by reviewing interorganizational collaboration literature, which is a growing interest within the field of organizational communication and is influential in understanding the communication flows of institutional positioning and activity coordination.

Interorganizational Collaboration (ICO)

Across the United States, interorganizational collaboration (ICO) is essential to combating human trafficking with task forces and coalitions coordinating efforts across multiple professions and geographic areas. Interorganizational collaboration is defined as

...a process through which autonomous stakeholders can constructively explore mutual benefits, interdependence, reciprocity, concerted action, and joint production. Research has shown that the collaborative process gathers professionals from organizations that differentiate responsibilities and their orientations toward the problem...[and] brings forth goals, values, and priorities that articulate the overall purpose of the alliance.

(O’Hair, Kelley, and Williams, 2011, p. 228)

The North Carolina Coalition Against Human Trafficking (NCCAHT), the official statewide task force, was established in 2004. It is comprised of 40 organizational members, varying in commitment and responsibility to the alliance. The alliance supports a state level coalition for long-term planning, relationship building, activity coordination as well as six regional, emergency, rapid response teams that organize services for victims when trafficking cases are identified (Jeter, 2014). NCCAHT’s member organizations include federal agencies, local law enforcement, government and nonprofit legal service providers, government social service providers, and a variety of nonprofit organizations from the medical, social service,

academic, community organizing, and religious sectors (North Carolina Coalition Against Human Trafficking, 2014). Among allied organizational partners, coordinated action takes many forms, ranging from low stake “referrals” to higher stake “joint projects, and coalitions” that contextualize the process of formation, continuance, and outcomes of collaborative efforts (Cooper & Shumate, 2012, p. 626).

Interorganizational collaboration is a dominant organizational form for addressing complex, public policy implementation (Klijn, 2008; also see Lutz & Lindell, 2008; Putnam, 1996). As Eisenberg and Eschenfelder (2007) explain, “governments depend now more than ever on the nonprofit sector to assist in meeting human needs” (p. 362), especially as social concerns reach across established organizational boundaries and jurisdictions (Norton, 2009). This move across organizational lines is called boundary spanning. It is defined by O’Hair et al. (2011) as, “the coordination of experiences, values, context information, expert insight, and the actions of two or more independent organizations” (p. 229), which in turn “require[s] sensitivity to and an understanding of the dynamics of power” (p. 230) to maximize benefits of and efficiency in coordinated action. The benefits of interorganizational collaboration – such as the sharing of organizational resources and knowledge and gaining social capital and reliable networks for both short-term and long-term endeavors – are strengthened and weakened by stakeholder relationships, especially in long-term coordination involving multiple phases and evolving requirements and needs of participating organizations.

Considering the high stakes of public policy implementation-based collaboration, such as human trafficking, it is important to identify the various participating stakeholders, including those individuals and/or groups that “can affect the achievement of an organization’s objectives

or who is affected by the achievement of an organization's objectives'' (Freeman & Heed, 1983, p. 91). The U.S. Department of State (2013a) advocates for a client-based approach to anti-trafficking collaboration that not only acknowledges human trafficking victims as stakeholders, but places victims at the center of all organizational action. In its ideal form, this victim-centered approach centralizes the welfare, rights, and safety of victims at every level of anti-trafficking work, especially for law enforcement and social service providers, who have direct and often prolonged contact with victims. By placing victims at the center of coordinated action, the government hopes to remain sensitive to the trauma that victims experience in trafficking and to prevent systemic re-victimization, as well as to maximize prosecutions (U.S. Department of State, 2013a).

Dempsey (2010) states that in addition to the identification of stakeholders, partnering organizations should remain critical and reflexive in the evaluation of stakeholder relationships because the "politics associated with defining and representing" (p. 360) individuals and groups can incite conflict and result in unexpected and unintended outcomes in interorganizational collaborations. Along with defining and representing others, relational politics emerge across and within organizational lines through interorganizational collaboration and can affect all stakeholders (Norton, 2009). Eisenberg and Eschenfelder (2007) identify three challenges facing organizations. These include choosing and maintaining partnerships, clarifying mission and identity, and fostering and managing employee involvement and identification with both the collaborating and the home organization. These challenges stem from the tension of competitive and mutualistic tendencies that arise in interorganizational collaboration (Monge et al., 2011). Ziegler (2007) also warns that once rules and resources are historically entrenched into the

structure and culture of partnering organizations, it can be difficult to change as problems arise, especially in terms of negotiating legitimacy and power within change initiatives. While the process of interorganizational collaboration is challenging and complex, the benefits gained from collaborative processes and successful outcomes are great and offer opportunities to combat society's most daunting troubles from a multifocal perspective. Like in the case of the NCCAHT coalition, anti-trafficking-related organizational partners experience these challenges and rewards of coordinated action from the unique context of partnering with high-reliability organizations (HROs) in law enforcement. These partnerships are essential to tackling both short-term emergency situations involving case identification and long-term coordination of case investigation and prosecution. Insight can be gained from literature on HROs to manage and evaluate short-term and long-term interorganizational collaborations with law enforcement.

High-Reliability Organizations (HROs)

In the simplest terms, high-reliability organizations (HROs) are those organizations “where people’s lives are on the line” (Eisenberg et al., 2005, p. 398). As Myers (2011) further explains,

[High reliability organizations] operate in conditions of high danger...focus[ing] on uniformity and reliability to keep members and publics safe...[and implying] consistent awareness to system anomalies...reliability is, therefore, an input which helps to produce reliability as an output. (p. 294)

Researchers have studied a variety of HROs fitting this description, including law enforcement (Kenney, 2007; King, 2009), firefighters (Myers, 2005; Putnam, 1996; Scott et al., 2013; Weick, 1993), crisis management organizations such as Homeland Security (Haynes,

2004; Lutz & Lindell, 2008; Moynihan, 2008), and medical institutions (Eisenberg et al., 2005; Pronovost et al., 2006) among others. Due to the high stakes nature and great responsibility of high-reliability work, leaders and employees of HROs often encounter intense institutional and societal pressure to be, what LaPorte and Consolini (1991) call, “failure-free” (p. 20), since failure can mean catastrophic results. The expectations on HROs can be difficult to manage because “[organizational members] often face the challenge of making sense of environments that are dangerous, highly ambiguous, and rapidly changing” (Baran and Scott, 2010, p. S42). Thus leadership often face the dilemma of “how to achieve control over people in a distributed [work] context where they [employees] are working in a dangerous occupation that requires individual judgments in emergency situations” to protect themselves and others from harm (Ziegler, 2007, p. 417; also see Hannah, Campbell, & Matthews, 2010). A common management method is to support cohesiveness among rules, norms, and routines that include “demonstrating team commitment, a dedication to hard work, an ability to cope with difficult emotional situations in the line of duty, and decision-making that serve the collective” (Myers, 2011, p. 295). In a study of “near-misses” in firefighter HROs, Baran and Scott (2010) found that leaders, specifically, could help all organizational members with cohesiveness by focusing on “direction setting, knowledge, talk, role acting, role modeling, trust, situational awareness, and agility” (p. S42). Myers (2011) further contributes to this argument by stating, “cohesiveness helps to ensure safety for the entire team...enable[ing] members to effectively draw upon each other’s knowledge and to coordinate their performances.” (p. 295).

With this emphasis on rules, norms, and routines, it is not surprising that assimilation of new organizational members is an important task for HROs. Training and socialization of new

members is essential to prepare individuals for the demands of HROs because it gives them opportunities to learn and demonstrate “trustworthiness by displaying acceptable values, motives, and abilities” (Myers, 2005, p. 353). Often, the learning curve is quick and steep for acquiring the technical and cultural knowledge that instills confidence that someone can be trusted in high-stake environments with dangerous and/or vulnerable populations, especially with co-workers (Myers, 2005; Myers & McPhee, 2006; Van Maanen, 1973). Three primary forms of training and knowledge sharing are critical in this regard: (1) formal training – such as training manuals, training programs, and reference documents for procedural and technical information (Miller & Horsley, 2009; Ziegler, 2007), (2) formal and informal social interactions with experienced organizational members – such as mentoring programs and building friendships (Kenney, 2007; Myers & McPhee, 2006; Ziegler, 2007), and (3) organizational member engaging in work practices, usually referred to tacit knowledge (Murphy & Eisenberg, 2011; Myers, 2005; Myers, 2011). Multiple forms and types of knowledge sharing are important “because of the difficulty, even inability, to train for the multitude of potential situations they [new employees] may encounter” (Myers, 2011, p. 296).

In general, HROs are considered learning organizations, where “lessons learned” – reflections on responses and outcomes – create evaluation, revision, and implementation of best practices to minimize risk and improve reliability (Novak & Sellnow, 2009; Roberts & Bea, 2001; Scott et al., 2013). Karl Weick, an early researcher of HROs, advocates sensemaking processes, or retrospective evaluation, of HRO performance to establish lessons learned (Eisenberg, 2009; see for examples Weick, 1969; 1993; Weick & Sutcliffe, 2001). Thus socialization of new members is only a first step in maintaining cohesion between systems,

member actions, and outcomes for HROs. There is continuous tension between learning and cohesion, which can be especially problematic when HROs face change initiatives that call for adapting to new meanings and practices when “vestiges of old meanings” are historically entrenched (Ziegler, 2007). But, this process of maintaining standards for organizational knowledge, evaluation, and implementation are not objective or value-free continuous processes, especially as HROs take on change initiatives. Subjectivity is inherent in communication, since there is always ambiguity and uncertainty in even the most contextualized interpretation of meaning, and this is heightened by the fundamental uncertainty in HROs. Related to employee identity formation, affiliation, and assimilation, Scott and Trethewey (2008) call this subjective organizational knowledge, “interpretive repertoires”, through which HROs’ members discursively negotiate their identity in relation to rules, norms, and routines. As Eisenberg et al. (2005) observe, this organizational knowledge is often evaluated in everyday interactions, where “good” stories are valued for how they align with organizational norms and expectations in regard to organizational member and client behavior in possible scenarios. These evaluations have the potential for serious consequences in HROs because information is “the life-blood of organizational learning [and] must flow” to mitigate risk (Kenney, 2007, p. 182). This can be especially chaotic in HROs with complex organizational structures and diverse stakeholders. Drawing from a historical analysis of discourse and action, Ziegler (2007) argues that subjectivity and uncertainty can be managed in HROs by coupling technical knowledge in the form of lists with cultural knowledge in the form of stories or narratives. This allows for insight into retrospective evaluation as well as informing real time employee decision-making under pressure. This juxtaposition of organizational knowledge as list-story can also help account for

incidences of misconduct or rule breaking in HROs, which are often HRO failures attributed to individual characteristics or environment rather than taking the more complex, systemic approach that examines behavior and culture embedded within systems of meaning (King, 2009).

The issues discussed above are salient for North Carolina's anti-trafficking efforts and the purpose of this dissertation research. With calls from federal agencies, policy makers, and funders for law enforcement training, the North Carolina Coalition Against Human Trafficking had a major success implementing one of the first statewide law enforcement, human trafficking training programs. Drawing on experiences of anti-trafficking efforts at the federal, state, and local levels, NCCAHT members contributed to the content and design of the training, making the training materials – such as manuals, handouts, videos, and lecture slides – reflect and represent multiple stakeholders in anti-trafficking efforts, including trafficking victims. The North Carolina Justice Academy – the education branch of law enforcement – representatives, of course, had a major influence on the training material content and design to meet law enforcement's educational requirements and its needs as a high-reliability organization. The training is a change initiative, resulting from interorganizational collaboration, with the goal of adapting law enforcement's practices and culture to human trafficking laws and interorganizational collaboration in trafficking case identification, investigation, and prosecutions. As mentioned above, challenges may arise as the training is disseminated and implemented, especially as the transition between the diverse perspectives from the NCCAHT coalition are negotiated from law enforcement's hierarchical, institutional perspective (see Bigley & Roberts, 2001; Moynihan, 2008). Studying North Carolina's anti-trafficking training program and outcomes requires a theoretical framework that can accommodate the complex

relationships and communication patterns embedded in the change initiative. The communication constitution of organizations, CCO, specifically the Four Flows Model, offers a level of content flexibility and structural stability capable of accounting for diverse stakeholders and complex organizational circumstance for studying North Carolina's anti-trafficking program contents and outcomes. The following section of the literature review examines the CCO tradition and the Four Flows Model.

Communication Constitution of Organizations (CCO)

Contrasting different perspectives on the nature of communication, Nicotera (2009) explains that a constitutive view focuses on communication as “a meaning-making process” versus a transmissive view that focuses on communication “as a process by which something is transmitted or exchanged” (p. 179). The constitutive view of a meaning-making process highlights the instability of meaning within communication over a stagnated, object-based view of language (Hernes & Maitlis, 2010). From this constitutive perspective and in line with the discussion of materiality in the last section of this dissertation, Ashcraft, Kuhn, and Cooren (2009) define communication as,

...the ongoing, situated, and embodied process whereby human... agencies interpenetrate ideation and materiality toward meanings that are tangible and axial to organizational existence and organizing phenomena. Put simply, communication means grappling with the dual presence of material and symbolic elements. Communicative explanations are thus not another form of idealism; they account for the dynamic interweaving of material and ideational worlds. (p. 34-35)⁸

⁸ The reference to non-human agencies was omitted from this definition for two reasons: (1) the authors' argument for incorporating materiality into CCO theorizing remains strong and valid despite the inclusion

This view of communication constituting organizations (CCO) emerged in organizational communication studies along with the growing popularity of discourse-based research. Fairhurst and Putnam (2004) differentiate organizational discourse research by identifying three frames for understanding the nature of organizations, including organization as object, process, and action. CCO theories take a step towards understanding organizations as grounded in action and discursive forms, balancing action and structure as “mutually constitutive” (Fairhurst and Putnam, 2004, p. 16), or as Weick (1969) asserts, “organizations continue to exist only to the degree that they are able to maintain a balance between flexibility and stability.” (p. 39). Fairhurst and Putnam (2004) describe the grounded-in-action approach as unique compared to other traditions in organizational communication studies because it demonstrates “how structure is found in action, how the historical is situated in the present, and how the global is firmly anchored in the local” (p. 16). In the process, this line of theorizing affirms Kuhn’s (2008) claim that “communication is the essence of organizing and this, in turn, argues that organizations are fundamentally *communicative* constructions” (p. 1231, emphasis original). However, it is important to note that, “communication and organization are not equivalent concepts per se, but they are mutually constitutive.” (Putnam, Nicotera, & McPhee, 2009, p. 9). Ultimately, as Ashcraft, Kuhn, and Cooren (2009) argue, by placing communication at the center of theory development, CCO theorizing is important because it can produce “a unique fusion of humanistic and social scientific approaches to organizing” (p. 6) that is “vital to the [communication] field’s identity and contribution” (p. 7) across academic disciplines.

or exclusion of their discussion of non-human agency, and (2) McPhee and colleagues are clear in their design of the Four Flows model that agency is only attributed to humans (see Cooren, 2010; McPhee & Iverson, 2009; McPhee & Poole, 2009; Poole & McPhee, 2005; Robichaud & Cooren, 2013).

In considering the focus on stability and change in CCO theories, McPhee and Zaugg (2000/2009) argue that the “central question [becomes] how large-scale, purposefully-controlled organizations are constituted” (p. 22; see Putnam & McPhee, 2009) because these organizations offer observable histories and importance within society and provide “a significant point of entry for the critical analysis of power, voice, and participation” in organizations (Eisenberg & Eschenfelder, 2007, p. 355; see Mumby & Stohl, 1996). Further explaining this assertion that CCO theories are an entry point for critical theoretical examination, McPhee & Zaugg (2000/2009) state, “...communication is understood to be ideological because it produces and reproduces particular power structures to the exclusion of alternate power configurations” (p. 26), especially through the context of social interaction within specific, unique organizations. Central to communicatively constructed power configurations are organizational members who represent and reference relationships between multiple stakeholders, having implications for power relations among and consequences for people within and outside the organization (Putnam & McPhee, 2009). Ashcraft, Kuhn, and Cooren (2009) recommend examining objects, sites, and bodies as materially important in the communication constitution of organizations. Combining CCO theories with a focus on materiality makes incorporating objects, sites, and bodies “empirically accessible” (Ashcraft, Kuhn, & Cooren, 2009, p. 42), while demonstrating shared organizational interests among scholars across disciplines. The Four Flows Model offers an inclusive framework for analyzing the communication constitution of organizations while taking into account the part played by materiality and power in that constitution.

Four flows model. As one of two major CCO models, the Four Flows Model provides a framework adaptable to various types of complex organizations while expanding CCO theorizing

from a foundation of structuration theory. McPhee & Iverson (2009) explain how “communication constitutes organizations in four distinct but interdependent ways, called ‘flows’ as a shorthand for ‘circulating systems or fields’ of evolving discourse” (p. 62). Using Giddens (1984), the design of this original model is based on the relationship between practice, system, and structure as it is conceptualized in structuration theory (Figure 2.1). According to this theory, practice, system, and structure are three nested concepts, with everyday practices inside systems, which are in turn embedded within structures that endure across time and space, influencing practices at a distance.

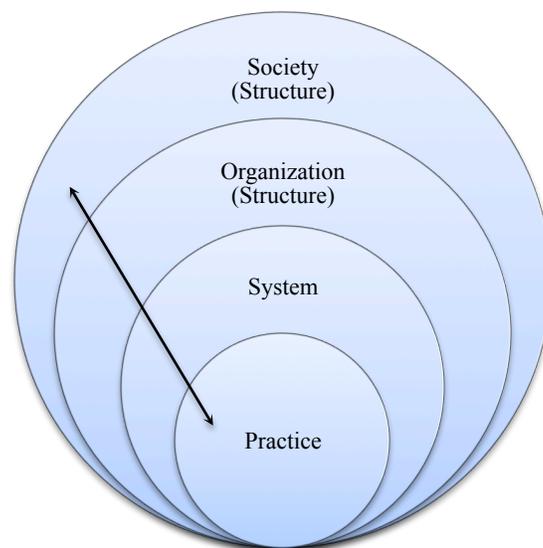


Figure 2.1. The duality of structure.

Duality of structure. The following section explains the concepts of agency and power in relation to Giddens’s (1984) duality of structure theory. The smallest conceptual unit among practice, system, and structure is practice, which is defined by McPhee and Poole (2009) as, ...a chunk, or related range of knowledgeable and skilled behaviors, based in shared routines that connect agents to a background of skills and knowledge, to one another, and

to useful and various constraining factors. Individuals are described as carriers of practices. (p. 938)

Because of the importance of skill, knowledge, and routine within this definition, organizational members, as “carriers of practice”, become a primary focus of observable activity, while reflecting the influence of enduring organizational norms. These enduring norms are the foundation of system, which is defined as, “a set of normal interchange patterns connecting people, behaviors, messages, relationships, and things, including both human and nonhuman elements” (McPhee & Poole, 2009, p. 936). System provides a more complex and contextual perspective that connects practices between agents and nonhuman resources, enabling and limiting activity. These human and nonhuman elements are differentiated and incorporated into more lasting relational arrangements through the concept of structure, which Poole and McPhee (2005) describe as,

...the rules and resources drawn on by actors taking part in system practices...[where] a *rule* is any principle or routine that guides people’s actions...[and] a *resource* is anything people are able to use in action, whether material (money, tools) or nonmaterial (knowledge, skill). (p. 174, emphasis original)

Thus there is a nesting of concepts with structure representing the organization as a whole, which is comprised of systems of practice as the parts that constitute the whole. The structure of the organization provides stability over time, giving agents the ability to reference and represent the organization as an object, as a seemingly stable entity masking the dynamic instability of everyday interactions. In other words, the organization is the enduring system of rules and resources in practice that we call structure. This structure allows one to identify an

organization through referential speech or claims to represent the organization as an identity (Poole & McPhee, 2005; see Scott, Corman, & Cheney, 1998). Structure is variable and multifaceted because practices and systems are unique to an organizational structure. These unique organizations are not random, but rather develop in relation to each other and in relation to societal structures, or “social institutions such as the economy, religion, and government” (Poole & McPhee, 2005, p. 173). Structure is “a spatiotemporally-distributed, materially effective reality” (McPhee & Iverson, 2009, p. 61) created on the organizational and societal levels, the environment drawn on for understanding and interpreting complex systems of meaning and action. Scholars working within this theoretical tradition should then recognize and account for the complexity and context required for an organization to be constituted. Thus, structure is a powerful concept that accounts not only for local interaction, but also large-scale trends such as globalization (McPhee & Poole, 2009; see Giddens, 2000). Structure, including organizational structure, is not a stagnating object or the creation of an all-powerful super-structure, or mega-agent (McPhee & Iverson, 2009). Rather, Giddens (1984) subverts the micro-macro debate through *the duality of structure*, which “reframes the micro-macro divide as concerns for bottom-up and top-down approaches to theory building” (Putnam & McPhee, 2009, p. 189). Describing the relationship between practices (micro) and structure (macro) in the duality of structure, Canary (2011) states, “ongoing action is influenced by structure while at the same time such action produces, reproduces, and transforms structure over time” (p. 252), essentializing the presence of stability and change within the process (McPhee & Iverson, 2009; Putnam & McPhee, 2009). McPhee and Poole (2009) explain,

It [structuration theory] supplants both the view that macroforces (such as cultures or discourses) can directly explain or ground interaction, and the view of social constructionism that interaction on its own creates order and meaning. ST allows for constraints by language, society, and material reality while recognizing that their effects are conducted through practice and that these enable action and transformation as well. (p. 936)

Communication is key to the duality of structure as the means through which we engage every aspect of production, reproduction, and transformation (Eisenberg, 2009), including the connection between past and present experiences with the ability to imagine and direct the future. Summarizing McPhee and Poole (2009), the production, reproduction, and transformation of structure can be compared to a “shading off” between communicative events, creating continuity as the researcher observes social interaction that moves to “higher-level time-space trajectories...to even larger domains connected by system integration” (p. 937). McPhee & Iverson (2009) add to the theorizing of “shading off” by emphasizing it as, “an interpretive process, rooted not in deduction from rules but in judgment” (p. 58). Thus, the production, reproduction, and transformation over time are a matter of communication interpretations between agents, leading to communication grounded in action and causing a level of constant instability in systems and structures (see Fairhurst & Putnam, 2004). The ability to produce, reproduce, and transform through individual or collective action also draws attention to human agency, reflexivity, and power, which together affect the ability of individuals to enact change in systems and structures (McPhee & Iverson, 2009).

Agency. For Giddens (1984), agency is the ability of an individual to act and act differently in the context of any event or sequence of events. Agency is a matter of choice in action that makes a difference in a social reality by producing, reproducing, or transforming systems and structures through practice. Context is thus determined by the combination of “the duality of structuration, structural (including material) resources, time-space, and unintended consequences” (McPhee & Poole, 2009, p. 938) working together, which enables or constrains individual agency. In other words, individuals and groups can be empowered and/or limited in their choices or options for action depending on the systems and structures in which actions occur. Reflexive monitoring, or reflexivity, becomes an important concept for understanding how agency functions because reflexive monitoring is the process of observing and evaluating the actual or perceived consequences of one’s past, present, and future actions. Reflexivity also functions as individuals and groups examine systems and structures to identify and direct change. This discussion of reflexivity in directing or planning action explicitly implies a rational understanding of action and consequences in relation to systems and structure, often seen in examples of action transforming rules and resources; but, reflexive monitoring can be taken for granted or ignored because individuals and groups become embedded in societal norms where agency in action is used to produce the systems and structures that already exist – in statements such as, “that is the way it has always been done, so why change?” or “I don’t have a choice?” – which speaks of the influence of power in relation to agency and reflexivity.

Power. Embodied in claims to authority, legitimacy, and knowledge, power plays the biggest role in enabling and constraining agency because, despite one’s ability to reflexively identify different actions or directions for change, rules and resources can be used to both

prevent and punish actions, limiting one's ability to act. As Poole and McPhee (2005) explain, organizations are power containers that,

[A]s agents engage in practices, they draw on structures grounded in the institutional realm and produce and reproduce them in the structuring of meaning, norms, and power. This contextualizes the structures to a particular practice and has the potential to change the institution, if particular modes of action that change the structure become widely established in the society. (p. 179)

This consideration and acceptance by others is central to taking action in relation to power, highlighting the importance of the individual agent and the relationships among organizational members to sanction behavior (Ashcraft, Kuhn, and Cooren, 2009; see). When agents are empowered by structural rules and resources to choose actions and enact change, three conditions are often met, including maintaining comprehensive organizational knowledge, gaining a legitimate position with or within the organization, and the ability to use that organizational position to access “organizational action contexts – of work, of decision-making, of information dissemination” (McPhee & Iverson, 2009, p. 61). This empowerment is often realized through coordinated action of multiple agents; although, depending on the circumstances, power distribution can vary, causing recognition of some agents over others. What I have explained thus far is the duality of structure within structuration theory and attendant concepts such as agency and power. This combination of concepts and theory provide a viable foundation for McPhee and colleagues to add to the Four Flows Model through the CCO theoretical perspective.

Extending the Four Flows

As stated earlier, describing the nature of the Four Flows Model, McPhee & Iverson (2009) state, “communication constitutes organizations in four analytically distinct but interdependent ways, called ‘flows’ as a shorthand for ‘circulating systems or fields’ of evolving discourse” (p. 62). These four communication flows include: (1) member negotiation, (2) reflexive self-structuring, (3) activity coordination, and (4) institutional positioning (McPhee & Zaug, 2000/2009). Thus, the organization, or structure, is constituted by four flows, or systems of discourse, that are distinct, yet related, comprised of organization-related practices. For Browning et al. (2009), each flow corresponds to types of questioning that position discourse as a system that constitutes the organization, including “who are we?” through membership negotiation, “what rules do we operate by?” through organizational self-structuring, “what work are we doing together?” through activity coordination, and “what external forces provide legitimacy, and what kinds of communication are necessary to please them?” through institutional positioning. (p. 92). But, the mere *presence* of discourse in all four flows is not enough to constitute an organization because, as McPhee & Zaug (2000/2009) state, “the four flows (Figure 2.2) would need to be more interrelated, more mutually influential” (p. 42) because “the four flows/crosscurrents...inform, enable, and constrain one another” (p. 43).

Organizational complexity arises from the interrelated flows. This organizational complexity, especially arising between reflexive self-structuring and other flows, distinguishes organizations from other forms of collective activity – such as mobs and neighborhoods (Putnam, Nicotera, & McPhee, 2009; see debate between Bisel, 2010; Putnam & Nicotera, 2010; Reed, 2010). This claim does not diminish the importance of other collective activities, despite

their categorical exclusion, but instead stresses that these types of organizing efforts can become more complex over time, leading to classification as an organization (McPhee and Iverson, 2013). Critiquing other trends in CCO theorizing, MCPhee & Zaug (2000/2009) argue, “organizations are complex and have varied defining facets, so that no one grammatical or communicative form is sufficient to constitute them” (p. 30). This is not to say that grammatical or communicative forms are insignificant, rather these play important functions within each and across the flows (McPhee & Iverson, 2013). Thus, viewing structuration as a meta-theoretical perspective, the Four Flows Model recognizes that structures are multilayered and historically contextual, which “addresses the meso- and macro-status of larger-scale organizations and the processes of materiality that characterize politically powerful organizations evident in a global society.” (Putnam, Nicotera, & MCPhee, 2009, p. 12; see MCPhee & Zaug, 2000/2009). MCPhee and colleagues further describe the Four Flows Model by breaking down each flow and connecting the flows to structuration and the duality of structure.

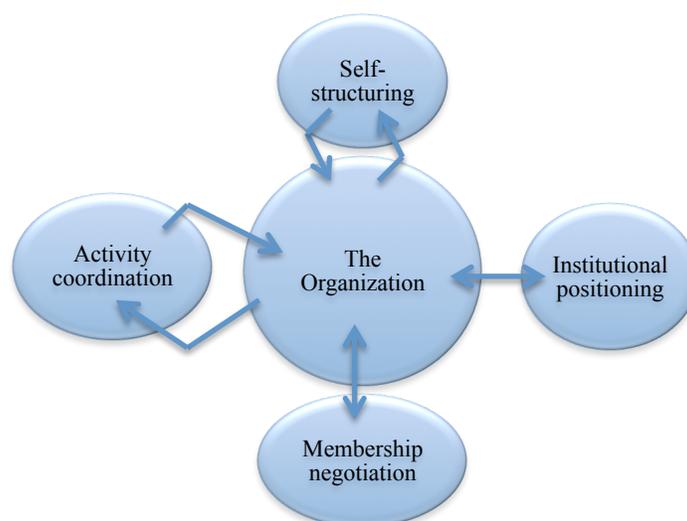


Figure 2.2. CCO Four Flows Model
(McPhee & Zaug, 2000/2009, p. 33)

Membership negotiation. The fundamental relationship between organizations and their members is essential because “organizations must have members...[but] membership is not simply yes-or-no or once-and-for-all” (McPhee & Iverson, 2009, p. 63). Depending on the structure of the organization, membership can have different requirements that change over time since “membership in any one organization is not a natural property of people, and is instead constituted by/in the flow of communication” (McPhee & Zaug, 2000/2009, p. 34). The membership negotiation flow provides a frame for observing how members within organizations create, reify, resist, transform, and dissolve the boundaries for individuals and groups within the organization (McPhee & Iverson, 2009). These boundaries serve an important function within social interactions as well as in structuring the organization through communication “because these boundaries imply and impart practical import to the organization’s existence” (McPhee & Iverson, 2009, p. 64). The practices of organizational members involve a range of resources from documents to communication channels, which ground collective activities despite the perceived distance from organizational structure.

This flow contains complex communication processes, many of which can align with existing organizational theories and research as well as reveal the potential for future CCO theorizing. To this point, MCPhee and colleagues emphasize that individual identification should not be mistaken for simple cognitive explanations of identity affiliation or interpretation of experience. MCPhee and Iverson (2009) note, “membership is collectively enacted and socially interpreted” (p. 64), and this requires the negotiation of meanings that are embedded in collective systems. This focus on complex practices offers, “a deeper sense of how the negotiation of membership can go beyond reference and labeling of the member and the organization” (McPhee

& Iverson, 2009, p. 67) because negotiations function on multiple levels of relationships and interactions through various mediated forms of communication, including the expansion of technology usages and requirements for shared resources.

This membership flow draws attention to ideas related to both new and established members of an organization, including “socialization, as well as identification and self-positioning” (McPhee & Zaug, 2001, p. 587). Socialization is singled out as the clearest example of this flow because, whether formal or informal processes are involved, someone becomes a member of the organization through explicit and implicit explanations of rules and resources that are often taken-for-granted by established organizational members. For example, Myers and Sadaghiani (2010) discuss the advantages and challenges companies face when hiring and socializing employees from the Millennial generation. They attempt to break stereotypes perpetuated about Millennials by popular press while reconciling work/life balance and other potential conflicts between new “Millennial” employees and established “Baby-Boomers” in management. McPhee & Iverson (2009) also stress the importance of researching membership negotiation beyond the obvious examples of socialization because,

The negotiation of more established membership is much more varied, involving members of variable power and status and often affecting their status. While their knowledgeability is well beyond that of typical newcomers, negotiation of new duties, or rights, or placement in the organization, often brings changes in knowledge, legitimacy of actions, and access. (p. 65)

Scott and Myers (2010) support this claim by expanding the conception of socialization as a continuous process of membership negotiation and organizational knowledge, demonstrating

the usefulness of the flow as a theoretical tool for both new and established organizational members (also see Myers, 2011). As evident from the above examples, communication within the membership negotiation flow focuses on the relationship between the individual and the organization as well as individuals to each other within the organization. This negotiation provides models for behavior that influence roles and status of members and produce, reproduce, and transform structures of power. These structure-based rules and resources are the grounds for making individual and group-based power-claims and exerting authority (McPhee & Zaug, 2000/2009), while highlighting complex issues of power and authority that can result from constructive and destructive activities – such as in Lutgen-Sandvik and McDermott's (2008) study of employee-abuse organizations.

Based on Giddens's (1984) duality of structure, Putnam, Nicotera, and MCPhee (2009) describe human agency as central to constituting organizations within the membership negotiation flow because, while organizations provide behavioral models from structural rules and resources, members can conform, resist, and transform these models; although, as mentioned above, the ability of members to resist and transform these rules and resources is often dependent on power, status as well as effective claims of legitimacy and authority. Agency is essential to membership negotiation because “organizations, like all social forms, exist only as a result of human agency” (McPhee & Zaug, 2000/2009, p. 35). This conception of human agency distinguishes the Four Flow Model from the Montréal School's discussions on human and nonhuman agency (McPhee & Iverson, 2013; see Cooren, 2010). For MCPhee and Iverson (2009), the utility of this flow comes from the uncertain nature of membership because “the future of the membership relation is unclear; negotiation helps to fill in, however tentatively, the

murky terrain” (p. 67) that moves organizational members from reflections on the past and present to future possible action.

Organizational (reflexive) self-structuring. McPhee and Zaug (2000/2009) describe organizations as,

[O]bjects not merely of reflexive attention but of reflexive control and design – of self-structuring...[that] does not directly concern work, but rather the internal relations, norms, and social entities that are the skeleton for connecting, flexing, and shaping of work processes. (p. 35-36)

Self-structuring leads to knowledge consolidation, development, and affirmation (McPhee & Iverson, 2009, p. 69), which becomes possible through the reflexive monitoring of rules and resources including “communication related to the organization’s form, boundaries, goals, policies, procedures, and any other process related to its identity” (Nicotera, 2009, p. 179). Organizational self-structuring is the communication flow that is “most directly related to constituting the organization as a whole” (Putnam and McPhee, 2009, p. 188), even if the current self-structuring activities only address specific parts of the organization. Self-structuring can also involve both organizational members and external stakeholders (McPhee & Iverson, 2009). It is also essential because it creates, recreates, and transforms the formal, complex structure of an organization, “[forming] boundaries and loci that constitute the organizational identity that agents refer to” (Putnam, Nicotera, & McPhee, 2009, p. 10). As mentioned in above sections, the structuring of an organization, despite references to it as an object, does not mean an “organization [is] an agent, in the structural sense; it is sufficient to analyze it as a complex

resource with important implications for individual agency” (McPhee & Iverson, 2009, p. 74) as individuals represent the organization in their actions.

Contributing to the importance of self-structuring in organizational constitution, McPhee & Iverson (2009) argue that self-structuring “is involved in the physical manipulation of even the most material organizational resources.” (p. 70), addressing both the symbolic and material dimensions of communication. The self-structuring can also reflect short-term and long-term problem solving, providing individuals the flexibility to address current issues and lasting procedures. The guidance of the organization through self-structuring gives individuals and groups, usually leaders or managers, the opportunity to direct the production, reproduction, and transformation of organizational systems, including “subsystems, hierarchical relationships, and structural information” (p. 36), that influence the behavior and evaluation of others and outcomes. As different measures build overtime, the reflexive nature of self-structuring helps organizations “avoid problems of over-adaptation, incoherence, and confusion” (McPhee & Zaug, 2000/2009, p. 37). However, avoiding these problems is not absolute because, as McPhee and Zaug (2000/2009) state,

Self-structuring communication is subject to discrepancy, dispersal, and ambiguity, with varying consequences for the system, subsystems, individuals, and outside interests...[which helps] avoid the illusion that [organizational self-structuring] is unidirectional, internally coherent, or successful by definition. (p. 37-38)

McPhee and Iverson (2009) identify two ways organizational self-structuring functions. First is the top-down function, where designated designer/s, often leaders, reflect on the organization and make future plans, which involves processes, like “drawing up an organization

chart, or a new set of policies, or a set of orders, then getting them approved by necessary decision-making bodies, and finally disseminating them to part or all of the organizational membership” (p. 69). Connecting this type of sanctioned self-structuring to power and agency, McPhee & Iverson (2009) argue, “[S]ome people will be atypically powerful by having legitimate access to self- structuring interactions...[including] the collection and use of information, especially about work operations and performance through surveillance.” (p. 74).

The second is the bottom-up function, where everyday practices of members participate in reflexively self-structuring the organization. McPhee and Iverson (2009) explain that individuals “lay claim” to resources (p. 69), which are embodied “in any process that leads to practical organizational possession and processing of a resource” (p. 79). Thus, this activity-based view of self-structuring questions how individual/s build and/or lay claim to authority and legitimacy through the guidance and handling of resources. This has important implications for asserting individual agency. This bottom-up perspective on self-structuring can be equally important, even if it does not occur as often in complex organizations as the top-down perspective, due to the nature of structural control within the organizations. The bottom-up self-structuring also occurs as a result of reflexive monitoring, directing the organization down a specific path possession and use of specific resources. This two-form perspective becomes possible as power and legitimacy are ascribed through rules and resources and enacted in actors’ claims and actions. Depending on the organization’s structure, either top-down or bottom-up self-structuring may be more likely to occur in any given circumstance. This highlights the importance of context and hindsight in the evaluation of power demonstrated through the effective use of resources. Regardless of the top-down or bottom-up approach, communication

is at the heart of constitution; it produces, reproduces, or transforms the governing structures of an organization through discourse and action, no matter whether discourse and action are “implementing, serving, subverting, or resisting” the governing structure (McPhee & Zaug, 2000/2009, p. 38). Thus, the practices enacted within self-structuring are “political, strategic acts” (McPhee & Iverson, 2009, p. 70).

Activity coordination. MCPhee and Iverson (2009) note, “activity coordination is the realm of emergence, of unintended consequences, of the slow sedimentation of organizational culture/knowledge” (p. 78) and is grounded in organizational practice. Activity coordination is simply everyday work practices in which organizational members engage with internal organizational members and/or with external stakeholders. Coordinating activities contributes to the constitution of the organization by “align[ing] or adjust[ing] local work activities” (McPhee & Zaug, 2001, p. 587), leading to the “integration of work processes...[that] endure and adapt” (McPhee & Iverson, 2009, p. 79) overtime to the organizational, and even societal, environment where activities occur. As Nicotera (2009) specifies, these activities include “all interaction related to connecting and shaping work processes and joint actions...both cooperative and conflicted interaction” (p. 179) – such as successful problem solving and innovation, as well as “waste, conflict, or disaster” related interaction (Putnam, Nicotera, & MCPhee, 2009, p. 11). While activity coordination means being active towards a common purpose in relation to an organization, this is a broad concept in large, complex organizations because, within that common purpose, members can both work individually and collectively towards various types of tasks, including providing physical, mental, and emotional support (McPhee & Iverson, 2009; MCPhee & Zaug, 2000/2009). This variety is essential to activity coordination because it speaks

to a duality for workers, which recognizes that there are “multiple processes and attitudes toward the organizations...[but also] a common social unit with an existence that goes beyond the work interdependence itself” (McPhee & Zaug, 2000/2009, p. 39).

Activity coordination is also an extension of self-structuring because, as McPhee and Zaug (2000/2009) state,

[S]tructural directions can never be complete or completely relevant, are never completely understood, and are frequently amended in an informal patchwork of adjustments...[requiring a] process of adjusting the work process and solving immediate practical problems. (p. 38)

Thus activity coordination responds, with variation, to the ambiguity existing in structural rules and resources, in turn creating possibilities for uncertain results, especially in times of change, although, as mentioned above, practices normalize over time, leading to “mainly routine reproduction in application” (McPhee & Iverson, 2009, p. 79). Ambiguity also focuses attention on agency within activity coordination because activity coordination is the “process where ordinary members express themselves as productive agents” (McPhee & Iverson, 2009, p. 79), leaving opportunities to produce, reproduce, and transform rules and resources that in turn structure the organization and exemplify the duality of structure. McPhee and Iverson (2009) argue that this adaptive and structuring nature of activity coordination suggests, “where the flows are carried out conjointly” (p. 78), but temper this conclusion by reinforcing that “often and even characteristically, distantiated, managerial, retained structuring is separated from adaptive, local occasional worker coordination” (p. 79). This concern for managerial and worker distance leads McPhee and Iverson (2009) to emphasize that:

Coordinated activity, by definition, pursues a single task goal or at least a consistent, even parallel set of goals; almost always, the goals are not chosen in this flow but are results of outside or distantiated self-structuring. Coordination does not imply equality of power...[and] activity and voluntary coordination can occur in, and reinforce, situations of definite power imbalance. (p. 80)

Fay and Kline (2011) examine everyday communication practices in the flows of membership negotiation and activity coordination. They focus on high-intensity telecommuting worker relationships and job satisfaction, measuring “their organizational commitment and job satisfaction” as well as “the moderating role of coworker liking these relationships” (p. 156). Their findings reinforce the utility of the Four Flows Model. They state that power shifts can be uncomfortable for and resisted by managers in a position to transform rules and resources (Fay & Kline, 2011). Reinforcing Fay and Kline’s arguments, Heide and Simonsson (2011) call for an expansion of strategic communication research that focuses on coworkers and their actions, rather than the traditional focus on leadership. They position the employee in relation to managers, colleagues, and employer, arguing that the study of activity and relationships from the employee perspective will help us understand how power functions within different organizational contexts. They argue for an expansion of research into coordinated action, while drawing attention to challenges communication professionals face in studying organizations from the bottom-up perspective of employees. Finally, arguing for the benefits of researching power from the activity coordination of employees and management, Lutgen-Sandvik and McDermott (2008) warn that power imbalances need to be both reflexively monitored and regulated from the

top-down and bottom-up perspectives because unchecked power can become abuse, leading to long-term problems and possibly, collapse of the organization.

Institutional positioning. In describing institutional positioning, Putnam, Nicotera, and McPhee (2009) state,

The fourth flow, institutional positioning, focuses on organizations and their societal interactions at the macro level with suppliers, customers, competitors, government regulators, and partners. Developing and maintaining a place in a larger social system is a type of identity negotiation. (p. 11)

Within the current context of globalization and the nation-state, our country and society exists within an interorganizational system that allows organizations to harness several advantages, including the sharing of resources and the building of reputation and legitimacy through organizational relationships as well as internal organizational structures that sustain organizations across time and space (McPhee & Zaug, 2001). McPhee & Zaug (2000/2009) prefer the terminology of “positioning” rather than “identity” because they argue that identity theories often refer to identity as self-concept within organizational communication literature, while positioning goes beyond these limitations to include the multiple relationships organizations cultivate within the larger organizational and government ecosystem within which they function (p. 40). Organizations interact with other organizations to structure and regulate varying levels of rules and resources – from the local to the global that include institutions such as legal frameworks. McPhee & Zaug (2000/2009) call this the “institutional backdrop” of society (p. 41) that creates stability and/or instability within organizational structure and constitutive practices; this varies based on levels of cooperation, competition, and conflict among

other factors (Eisenberg & Eschenfelder, 2007). McPhee and Zaug (2000/2009) continue this argument by emphasizing that “without an institutional backdrop, anything but the most primitive human organization is unthinkable; certainly today’s complex organizations depend on political, cultural, economic, social, and communicative institutions for their constitution.” (p. 41).

On the interorganizational level of relationships, despite formal communication through documentation or interpersonal exchanges, organizations are represented and referenced on the social interaction level. McPhee & Zaug (2000/2009) describe these interactions as, “individuals on boundary-spanning roles who negotiate terms of recognition of the organization’s existence and place at the same time as they negotiate their own relationships.” (p. 39). This focus on social interaction can lead to theoretical connections across the social sciences – such as theoretical traditions focusing on social presentation, positioning, status, and consequences (see Goffman, 2009; Goffman, 1959) – because “every self-presentational or negotiating move is constrained by and reinterprets” an organization’s perceived character (McPhee & Iverson, 2009, p. 82). McPhee & Iverson (2009) contribute further to this argument by highlighting diversity and control among organizational representatives, stating, “representation is carried out by varied organization members, to varied audiences or their representatives, but organizational leaders typically try to coordinate and control the self-representations” (p. 81). Hence, once again they highlight the importance of relationship-based power in establishing systems of norms and constituting the organization. But, power can also be built through relationships with external organizational partners, monopolizing on the advantages of interorganizational collaboration (Browning et al., 2009, p. 100). One potential organizational problem to arise from external,

relational power building centers on agency because, as McPhee & Iverson (2009) note, “the freedom and pressure this status provides to consider one’s own interests as distinct from the organization’s is immense and well documented. So boundary-spanning legitimacy and access are dangerous, but necessary, for organizations.” (p. 83).

One way of fostering quality interorganizational partnerships is to use “active and passive information gathering strategies...to reduce or otherwise manage uncertainty about the environment” (McPhee & Iverson, 2009, p. 82). As evident from the descriptions above, this process of extending the organization through interorganizational relationships, dealing with advantages and disadvantages of these efforts, “consumes a large proportion of the organization’s resources, since the system is differentiated to deal with different constituencies.” (McPhee & Iverson, 2009, p. 83). Expanding on the flow of institutional positioning, Shumate and O'Connor (2010a) propose the Symbiotic Sustainability Model (SSM), which is “a macrolevel explanation of non-governmental organization (NGO)-corporate alliances” (p. 577). Within SSM, Shumate and O'Connor (2010b) frame the Four Flows Model as a multi-channel communication process that constitutes the “existence” and “character” of organizations through stakeholder co-construction of alliances, forms and mobilization of capital, patterns of past behavior, perceived value of alliances over time, and questions of legitimacy and vulnerability. Shumate and O'Connor (2010b) focus on the institutional positioning flow to examine corporations’ website discourses on alliances with NGOs, discussing the nature and representation of the alliances. Their work suggests future research addressing activity coordination efforts between NGO and corporate stakeholders as well as research on government-NGO or government-corporate alliances. One drawback of the model is that it

reinforces the macro-micro split by focusing on macro-level communication at the expense of micro-level data and analysis.

Synergetic (overlapping) flows. Synergetic, overlapping flows have been the most significant theoretical contribution to the Four Flows Model. McPhee & Zaug (2000/2009) inspired this contribution by stating that “a constituted organization is not just a set of flows, but a *complex relationship of them*” (p. 42, emphasis added). Based on this concept of complexity between the flows, researchers have found four general characteristics of overlapping flows. First, Nicotera (2009) states, “Any message or episode of interaction can contribute to multiple flows, and processes identified with a specific flow can overlap with those identified with one or more other flows.” (p. 178). Second, Browning et al. (2009) argue that “constitutive complexity emerges when two or more of these flows overlap” (p. 89). Third, as Nicotera (2009) observes, “Flows are multidirectional and topically variable...[and] the flows can control or condition one another.” (p. 179). Finally, the fourth characteristic is that “new power relationships can emerge between different organizational elements...as the constitutive effects of the blending of communication flows” (Browning et al., 2009, p. 111). These general characteristics emerge from organizational knowledge as a structural resource, which “manifests relations among the four flows...[especially] between reflexive self-structuring and the other flows [because] knowledge is explicitly recognized and acted on” (McPhee and Zaug, 2001, p. 588). In addition, Ashcraft, Kuhn, and Cooren (2009) emphasize the role of technology as a medium connecting organizational knowledge through the four flows; although, this is an area in need of further study. These general characteristics of synergetic flows are supported by three major publications: (1) the Browning et al. (2009) study on “how the overlapping communication flows

result in a change in culture for Air Force repair methods” (p. 93); (2) the McPhee and Iverson (2009) study of a political and legal battle for Comunidad de Cucurpe’s land rights; and, (3) Lutgen-Sandvik and McDermott’s (2008) study on how an employee-abuse organization, EAO, was produced, reproduced, and transformed over time, resulting in radical structural changes in the organization that ended the employee abuse.

The Browning et al. (2009) study is unique because it focused on the organizational complexity involved with activity coordination overlapping with interorganizational positioning and membership negotiation (Figure 2.3.), resulting in organizational change, or transformation, of rules and resources through persuasive, “engaged communication action” (p. 96). Emerging from the overlapping flows were “new power relationships...between different organizational elements” (p. 111), affecting status and control dynamics by empowering a new worker entrepreneur identity through activity coordination and membership negotiation at the expense of regulations from the intersections of activity coordination and interorganizational positioning.

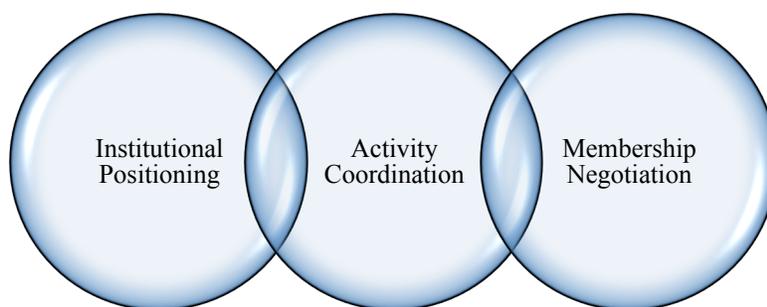


Figure 2.3. Browning et al.’s synergetic flows

Browning et al. (2009) observed that stability and change in the organizational structure could be managed by “...assess[ing] how communicative flows produce commitment and organizational integrity” (Browning et al., 2009, p. 102).

Browning et al. (2009) state that *integrative complexity* was essential to the change management process. They define *integrative complexity* as,

[T]he degree to which thinking and reasoning involve the recognition and integration of multiple perspectives and possibilities and their interrelated contingencies [including the two features of differentiation and integration, and]... focuses on the extent to which individuals make differentiations in their thinking and integrate them into coherent systems and solutions. (p. 103)

The participants in their study used innovation from examinations of organizational knowledge to integrate new procedures. Browning et al. (2009) state that the flexibility offered by the Four Flows Model helped to demonstrate employees as “change agent[s]”, which is “made visible” when flows overlap (p. 109; also see Gomez, 2009; Pilny & Shumate, 2012; Tracy, Myers, & Scott, 2006). While Browning et al. (2009) focused their analysis on overlapping flows as pairs, they argued that overlapping flows are possible between multiple flows, which opens the possibility for future models to incorporate interconnection between all four flows.

The case studies of McPhee and Iverson (2009) and Lutgen-Sandvik and McDermott (2008) focused on exemplifying the synergy between all four flows. McPhee and Iverson (2009) used the overlapping flows to discuss agency within the four-flow model. For example, McPhee and Iverson used the land struggle between the Comunidad de Cucurpe and the Mexican government to illustrate how organizational complexity arose at the intersection of all four flows. In a self-structuring effort, the leadership of the Comunidad de Cucurpe transformed membership boundaries to limit the number and types of people in the geographical region

deemed “comunidad” members, resulting in fewer people with “legitimate” claims to land resources. This action reproduced the power of the leadership to negotiate membership and strengthens the organization’s position in land negotiations with the government. As McPhee and Iverson (2009) further explained, “the resources secured have to be distributed throughout the organization (in a self-structuring operation), and this resource flow is one of the chief and primordial processes of system integration.” (p. 83). This suggests that reflexive self-structuring is essential to multiple flow integration and development organizational complexity. Providing a more detailed case study than McPhee and Iverson (2009), Lutgen-Sandvik & McDermott (2008) used the framework of the Four Flows Model to “create a new theory that explains how EAOs [employee-abuse organizations] develop and change” (p. 304). Using a nongovernmental organization (NGO) as their site, they charted over time how the organization transformed into an abusive organization, persisting through major negative outcomes, and then, through a change initiative, transformed back into a supportive, non-abusive organization. They emphasized that the abusive practices were more than just attitudes or climate because abuse was structured into all levels of the organization’s rules and resources. Through their analysis, Lutgen-Sandvik and McDermott (2008) are clear and detailed in demonstrating the production, reproduction, and transformation of the organization across time and contribute to our understanding of organizational complexity by arguing that all flows overlap across time and space.

Conclusion

Through CCO theories, communication scholars are exploring new communication centric research, which places communication as the foundation for constituting organizations. McPhee and colleagues proposed a Four Flows Model built on Gidden’s structuration theory,

which claims that enduring structures and everyday interaction influence each other. This claim subverts debates of macro and micro differentiation and draws connections between agency and power negotiation in everyday interactions. To this end, the duality of structure and agency proposed that everyday communication practices are embedded in systems that create, perpetuate, and transform organizational and societal structures. These structures have lasting impact beyond single social interactions and form what we identify as organizations and institutions through rules and resources. A tension of influence is sustained between structures and systems and everyday practices that account for the changing and enduring properties that connect structures, systems, and practices overtime. Action is described as the catalyst for production, reproduction, and transformation within the duality of structure and agency because action is limited and enabled by rules and resources that contextualize our social interactions. As Poole and McPhee (2005) described, “a *rule* is any principle or routine that guides people’s actions...[and] a *resource* is anything people are able to use in action, whether material (money, tools) or nonmaterial (knowledge, skill)” (p. 174, emphasis original). Action functions to produce, reproduce, and transform rules and resources through systems of practices within organizational and societal structures. The significance of action in the duality of structure also highlights the roles of agency, reflexivity, and power in social interactions. The reconceptualization of the Four Flows Model (Figure 1.3) offers researchers the opportunity to examine the communication and social interactions within these synergetic, overlapping flows that constitute the organization.

North Carolina’s ongoing law enforcement human trafficking training program adapts law enforcement’s practices for the purpose of enforcing state trafficking laws and/or assisting in

the enforcement of federal trafficking laws with the goal to increase human trafficking case identification, investigation, and prosecution. The training seeks to produce, reproduce, and transform the rules and resources that guide and influence officer behavior, but it is not a revolutionary change initiative. The training speaks to the existing systems and structures that constitute and incorporate the crime of human trafficking into the systems and structures using new rules and resources.

Interorganizational collaboration led to the creation and state approval of the training initiative; so it is important to not only understand how law enforcement's practices, systems, and structures are affected by this initiative, but how the training initiative affects law enforcement's position among and relationships with other organizations and government agencies in pursuit of law enforcement's goals. The Four Flows Model is a useful framework for examining the complex communication that constitute law enforcement through the human trafficking training and as officers work trafficking cases, especially as law enforcement negotiates its role in anti-trafficking efforts in relation to other organizations and stakeholders. The four flows also focus on the power that comes as officers use rules and resources within social interactions to lay claim to legitimacy of their actions and influence the behavior of others. The following research questions guided my research on how North Carolina's law enforcement anti-trafficking efforts are communicatively constituted in the officer training program and in how officers work trafficking cases:

Research Questions

RQ₁: How is law enforcement communicatively constituted as the organization adapts to human trafficking through the trafficking training initiative and officers' trafficking casework?

RQ₂: How is power enabled and limited by the rules and resources highlighted in the trafficking training and in officers' trafficking casework?

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

Introduction

Qualitative research is in a unique position between art and science. Lindlof and Taylor (2002) compare this unique position to craft, and they liken qualitative researchers, “to *bicoleurs* – workers who assemble useful and valuable forms from available, fragmentary resources to situational needs...[in a] process – as those of quilt makers and jazz musicians – [that] is as much creative, intuitive, and improvisational as it is systematic” (p. 19, emphasis original). My research study is in the interpretive tradition of qualitative research. Throughout the research and analysis process, my choices were guided by a desire for craftsmanship as I studied an organization in the midst of change. Law enforcement in North Carolina is adapting to new anti-trafficking laws through a training program, among other efforts. The training program asks officers to learn about human trafficking and enact the training to combat the crime. The human trafficking training program is a major interorganizational collaborative achievement, and it is a statewide effort that assumes that incorporating new knowledge through training is a primary step in changing officer behavior and bringing more trafficking cases through the justice system. At the center of this change initiative is the negotiation of knowledge and calls to action that are approved and disseminated from the top-down – from the North Carolina Department of Justice Academy and certified instructors, to officers – with change occurring from the bottom-up as

officers working cases. These efforts are directly associated with issues of representation and power to determine what knowledge is true and what actions, based on that knowledge, are legitimate (see Denzin, 2004; Hall, 1996).

To address this core assumption of enacting change through knowledge and action, I used a combination of social interactionist and Four Flows Model approach to study law enforcement's training program. I analyzed institutional documents, participant observations of officer training sessions, and interviews of officers working cases. Drawing from Lindlof & Taylor (2002), I wanted to design a study that focused on "how the self and the social environment shape each other through communication" (p. 41), and to observe and analyze social interactions – as law enforcement officers engage in the change initiative – to better understand how "people align their actions based on shared meanings...[and] perceived differences" and how individuals and groups "are capable of both conformity and innovation" (p. 42). The following chapter outlines the process I took in preparing for, designing, and collecting and analyzing data in my research study. The chapter includes background information on the training program; access and recruitment related to research participants and field sites; and the methods used to collect and analyze the data. The following background information provides context for the research design.

Background

In 2004, the North Carolina Attorney General's Office and other organizations interested in anti-human trafficking efforts founded the North Carolina Coalition Against Human Trafficking (NCCAHT), which was formerly known as RIPPLE. This volunteer coalition has approximately 40 member organizations statewide that – led by an Executive Council – sets an

influential agenda and organizes anti-trafficking efforts from the state to local levels. Initiatives and activities are divided among these organizations, but most of the trafficking casework is coordinated at the regional level through five Rapid Response Teams that act in emergencies to coordinate law enforcement and social service efforts when a possible trafficking situation or victim is identified. As a result, NCCAHT's primary goal is to "better confront trafficking in North Carolina, arrest and prosecute traffickers, and identify victims and connect them to appropriate services" (NC Stop Human Trafficking, 2011). Central to this goal is the ability of law enforcement agencies to successfully identify trafficking victims, investigate cases, assist in prosecution, and collaborate with diverse organizations and stakeholders.

The North Carolina Justice Academy (NCJA) is a division of the North Carolina Department of Justice with the mission "to improve the quality and effectiveness of criminal justice services to the citizens of North Carolina through research, education, training, and support for criminal justice and related personnel" (North Carolina Justice Academy, n.d.). In 2010, the NCJA – with the help of NCCAHT – developed and received government approval for a human trafficking training program, which was implemented in January 2011. The human trafficking program offers training in two formats: the Basic Law Enforcement Training (BLET) course for new officers and the In-Service Training for experienced officers. The training is similar in content, but was slightly modified to fit the preexisting training formats and needs for established officers maintaining certification and new officers gaining basic skills. According to the annual report released by the North Carolina Justice Academy (2011), the NCJA trained 99 certified instructors to teach the human trafficking courses (p. 63). Instructors are law enforcement officers who volunteer to undergo the NCJA trainer certification. When these

officers graduate from the NCJA instructor certification program, they conduct training in addition to their other law enforcement duties. In other words, instructors learn, teach, and use the training within their daily professional activities just as trainees are expected to do. Certified instructors trained in human trafficking teach the course in and/or around their local jurisdiction, which allows them to share their local knowledge and contacts in addition to the training materials. The core design, training materials, and resources are used in both types of training with additional investigation and prosecution information provided for experienced officers. The following outlines the similarities and differences between the In-service and BLET training.

The first type of training is the In-service training for experienced officers. This training is a 4-hour block and fulfills part of the annual required training hours. The human trafficking In-service training was offered only in 2011. NCJA has offered select human trafficking courses for experienced officers since 2011, but these are only scheduled once or twice a year in select locations statewide. The exact number of officers who received the human trafficking training statewide is unknown. NCJA trains approximately 19,746 officers annually with human trafficking being one of six options for departments to select among electives. The second type of training is a 2-hour block for new officers called the Basic Law Enforcement Training (BLET) course. This BLET course has been mandatory training for new officers since 2011. The BLET training requires 36 courses, totaling 620 hours of training that each new officer receives over a 16-week training period. The training concludes with a required comprehensive exam that evaluates all topics covered.

The NCJA training program – including the BLET and In-service training – attempts to systematically change law enforcement practices towards human trafficking from using top-

down, education. Gaining access to this training program was a long process that allowed me to observe North Carolina's anti-trafficking efforts statewide – including the negotiation of strategy by NCCAHT leaders, non-governmental organization (NGO) professionals' daily activities, and field sites across the state where law enforcement officers train for and work on trafficking cases. The following section discusses my process of gaining access to and recruiting research participants within the NCJA's human trafficking training program.

Gaining Access

I spent 18 months preparing for my fieldwork and gaining access to the organizations and research participants in this study. During this period, I met and worked with a series of key informants – “encultured informants who are consciously reflexive about their culture, and either enjoy sharing local knowledge or are in a status position where this is expected of them” (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 133) – and gatekeepers – “[who] are sponsors or individuals who smooth access to the group...[they] let us in, give us permission, or grant access” (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 133) – within the broader anti-trafficking community to help select and narrow a research topic and gain access to organizations and populations for my research study. The following section outlines the process that led to my research with law enforcement's anti-trafficking training program.

First phase. In fall 2009, Brent Jones⁹ introduced me to the topic of human trafficking and organizations conducting anti-trafficking work. Brent had participated in previous qualitative research I conducted on health, identity, and sexuality. We remained in contact after the research ended because we shared an interest in community work. Brent was a well-known

⁹ The names and identifying information have been changed for organizations and individuals contributing to and/or participating in this research.

community member working with many churches and religious-based NGOs in North Carolina. In December 2009, Brent arranged for me to have coffee with Bethany Smith. Bethany was the director of anti-trafficking division for International Aid Ministries (IAM), a local religious-based NGO. Her professional responsibilities included planning and running community awareness and outreach events; representing her organization on NCCAHT and the local RRT; applying for and coordinating her program's funding; coordinating and running case management for human trafficking victims; and training professional and community groups statewide. Bethany and I shared many interests and wanted to pursue a joint research project that could benefit my dissertation goals as well as her goal to evaluate and improve her organization's anti-trafficking programming.

From my first meeting with Bethany, I wrote detailed field notes of our meetings and communication with the goal of writing "frequently, regularly, and systematically, and to record, in calendar format, time spent where, when, and how, with as many details as possible" (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 70). I also started a professional journal, which I used to connect my observations from field notes with academic literature and anti-human trafficking resources I was exchanging with Bethany. This professional journal contained key literature and theories as well as "flashes of insight that come to you when you [are] not even consciously thinking of a research problem" (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 75; also see Whyte & Whyte, 1984). At this stage in the research process, both the field notes and professional journal functioned for personal use, only to direct my search for literature and inform my future research design, data collection, and analytic choices. I have no intention or approval to use this information in a public or published forum. I omitted or disguised any identifying information about the individuals or their

organizations. I informed individuals that I kept field notes and a professional journal to prepare for my research, and I asked permission to write about our meeting/s. If individuals objected, I did not include information about our shared experiences in these notes.

During spring 2010, Bethany and I shared research and other resources on human trafficking and anti-trafficking efforts with the goal of working together on a joint project. This initial phase of our collaboration ended with me volunteering for IAM and shadowing Bethany for six-weeks in the summer of 2010. This experience provided insight into the advantages and difficulties Bethany faced as she collaborated with her colleagues and external organizational partners. That summer's work demonstrated that Bethany Smith was a power associate within North Carolina's anti-trafficking community. She designed and ran IAM's anti-trafficking division, and led several regional and statewide anti-trafficking efforts. Our collaborations allowed me access to diverse organizations, experienced professionals, and victims across North Carolina. Bethany's knowledge and experience informed the development of anti-trafficking initiatives in North Carolina, and my summer experiences helped me understand the inner workings of North Carolina's anti-trafficking efforts and topics for potential research. Bethany allowed me to observe meetings between IAM and its organizational partners; to discuss how organizations design and evaluate programming and work with clients; and to speak with trafficking victims about their daily lives. By the end of the summer, the IAM leadership invited me to conduct my dissertation research with their anti-trafficking division. In the fall, I returned to Florida with the goal of gaining an in-depth knowledge on human trafficking and designing a research project that could benefit IAM's anti-trafficking work.

Second phase. Over the next 10 months, I focused my research efforts on narrowing my topic by studying literature on organizational communication, narrative, labor-based discrimination, and victims of trauma. Bethany trained with and remained in contact with anti-trafficking organizations in Florida, especially in the Tampa area. Bethany used her experiences in Florida, among other resources, to design the IAM anti-trafficking programming. I made a list of key informants – from Bethany’s contacts and within the University South Florida – in Florida and I set up meetings with them before entering the field in the summer of 2011. This list included two academics, two law enforcement officers, one social service provider, and officers in one community organization working on Florida’s anti-trafficking efforts. The goal of these meetings was to better understand the experiences and perspectives of these professionals and understand how these would translate to my understanding of North Carolina’s anti-trafficking efforts.

There was a need in North Carolina for more research on and with anti-trafficking efforts, whereas organizations in Florida expressed no need or desire to participate in research. These differences ruled out a comparative study between efforts in the two states; but since many of the professionals in Florida had worked with researchers and/or had advanced academic degrees in this field of study, these meetings helped identify key literature, assess the complex relationships between organizations, build rapport with diverse gatekeepers and/or participants, select appropriate settings, and evaluate the usefulness of different methods for potential research with anti-trafficking organizations and communities. My conversations with Florida law enforcement officers were particularly insightful for understanding the relationship between law enforcement organizations and researchers, including the importance of trust in law enforcement

communities. These conversations with law enforcement also came with a warning about research design because, as one high-ranking officer mentioned, safety should always be a priority in negotiating research methods and accessing different populations when studying law enforcement efforts against criminal organizations. I then finished my qualifying exams and returned to North Carolina to start my fieldwork.

In the summer 2011, I met with IAM leaders to discuss the final stages of designing the research study. The leadership was still excited to participate in research, but there were internal disagreements on the future of anti-trafficking programming because of a recent loss in funding. These meetings with IAM leaders raised concerns about the stability of the organization as a field site. I realized the extent of these problems when Bethany Smith resigned from the director position the following month. Within two more months, IAM's anti-trafficking divisions lost two additional staff members, which left only a part-time worker and a student intern to run the division's programming. These losses caused major disruptions for IAM and NCCAHT efforts against human trafficking. With minimal staff and funding, IAM could only support the community awareness and outreach program. IAM shifted the rest of its anti-trafficking programs – including victim case management, coalition leadership positions, and their training program – to other organizations. The IAM leadership projected that it would take at least a year to rebuild the organization's anti-trafficking division, and this did not fit with my fieldwork timetable.

Bethany continued to be an important gatekeeper and informant as I searched for a new research project and setting. She put me in contact with Officer Murphy, who also collaborated with NCCAHT. Officer Murphy worked for the North Carolina Justice Academy (NCJA),

researching, designing, and training law enforcement personnel, and working with the new human trafficking training program for law enforcement. I met Officer Murphy for lunch with the explicit purpose of discussing a research project with the NCJA's new law enforcement training program on human trafficking. From our earlier email correspondence, Officer Murphy knew my research interests, so he shared a variety of documents and knowledge about law enforcement's anti-trafficking efforts. After this meeting, I spend the next month negotiating access to field sites and research methods with NCJA leaders through email. I obtained approval from the Institutional Review Board for a study with NCJA that included the collection of training materials, participant observation during training sessions, and interviews with officers who participated in the training and worked trafficking cases. The following are the steps I took in recruiting a representative sample of officers for this study.

Recruitment and sampling. I communicated with law enforcement agencies and individuals across the state through emails and phone calls. This communication created challenges for building rapport with gatekeepers and research participants, so I sought help from Bethany and Officer Murphy to build rapport with departments and officers and remained transparent, attentive, and consistent with my conversations with participants. The importance of these efforts, to gain trust, cannot be underestimated, as O'Reilly (2009) states,

Access, recruitment, and building rapport are not separate from the research itself. We learn from our attempts to become insiders, to gain trust, to access people and ideas, about how people view things, what they want us to see and what they don't. (p. 177)

To gain access to field sites, I composed an email outlining the research purpose, methods, and my contact information. Officer Murphy distributed this recruitment information

to 8 instructors with upcoming training sessions. I was contacted by 5 instructors. Their invitation led to my participant observation during 4 training sessions – 2 in urban areas and 2 in rural areas – with a total of 114 participants – including 5 instructors and 109 trainees. Instructors were given an electronic recruitment letter to share with the trainees through email that – in addition to the previous letter – gave participants multiple methods for consenting or denying consent. Then, I used the same method of email to recruit officers for interviews. Interview participation was limited to officers who had taught and/or received the training and worked human trafficking case/s because I wanted interviewees to have the shared training knowledge combined with the experience of implementing the training in the field by working trafficking cases. This shared training knowledge and case experience allowed interviewees to reflect on their experience working cases in relation to the training they received. The email was sent to my contacts within the anti-trafficking community and participants from the observations. Potential participants were asked to contact me directly to discuss the research and/or schedule an interview. This combination of email recruitment through gatekeepers and past participants – a combination of snowball and on-going sampling – is beneficial for recruiting participants from small, dispersed and/or distant populations that value trust (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002; McCoyd & Kerson, 2006; O'Reilly, 2009). The recruiting efforts yielded four interviews with participants in my four field sites with an interviewee from each field site. The recruiting and interviewing process took a year, in part, because officers fitting the recruitment restrictions were a small, dispersed population.

The recruiting and setting choices for my field sites relied heavily on the structure of the training program, especially the predetermined schedule for training sessions and varying levels

of officer participation. The nature of the training program and my recruitment efforts resulted in a multi-site sample with a total of 114 participants – including participants from the observations and interviews – that ranged in age from their 20s to their 60s. The overall makeup of the participants were representative of law enforcement population demographics – roughly 88% male, 12% female, with 27% of the total comprising racial/ethnic minorities (Reaves, 2012; Reaves, 2015). The resulting research sample was also representative of the urban/rural divide between law enforcement agencies in North Carolina – with 50% of the field sites representing rural and 50% urban geographic areas.

Approach

Within the interpretivist tradition of qualitative research, I used symbolic interactionism and McPhee and Zaugg's (2000/2009) Four Flows Model – to approach my research design, fieldwork, and analysis. As O'Reilly states, interpretivist qualitative researchers focus “on understanding and interpreting the meanings humans attribute to actions” (p. 119), and this influences the researcher's choice to engage in fieldwork that observes and analyzes social interactions. While the descriptions below categorize my research approach, I am not a purist in that my interpretation of symbolic interactionism is heavily influenced by the Four Flows Model and emerging research within organizational communication. Methodological traditions are often based on generalizations with overlap existing between different qualitative traditions (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002; Miles & Huberman, 1994). The following paragraphs outline the connections between social interactionism and the Four Flows Model approach that guided my research method.

Symbolic interactionism. Symbolic interactionism (SI) as a research approach focuses the researcher's attention on contextualized negotiations of meaning within social interactions. In discussing the basic approach to contemporary interpretations of SI, Lindlof and Taylor (2002) state,

[Symbolic interactionism] emphasizes the role of symbolic expression in both affiliation and conflict. It explains relationships among actors' understandings, motives, and messages design practices. Most important, it opens up for scrutiny the *meanings* inherent in social phenomena, lest they be otherwise objectified as structures and functions. (p. 43)

This focus on social interaction within SI disrupts an oversimplification of interpreting actor behavior and meaning within phenomena and draws attention to actors and agency within data collection and analysis. But this is not to imply a laissez faire perspective on social interactions and negotiation of meaning. Rather SI strikes a balance or tension between structure and agency. As Denzin (2004) explains, "Every individual is a practical social agent, but human agents are constrained by structural rules, by material resources, and by the structural processes connected to class, gender, race, ethnicity, nation and community." (p. 82). Thus SI problematizes debates over the micro-macro divide with "structure and subjectivity [as] dialogical processes" (Denzin, 2004, p. 82). Thus the nature of relationships and action become important factors in understanding and interpreting meaning in the context of coordinated action or studying "the world...through acts of representation and interpretation" (Denzin, 2004, p. 86; also see Rorty, 1979). Symbolic interactionism has been used to study a variety of relationships, including processes of "socialization, role and identity management, and relational negotiation"

(Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 43; also see Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). Power, too, becomes an important factor as individuals and groups “struggle over power...to determine what is true and what is not true” (Denzin, 2004, p. 85; also see Hall, 1996). Schoeneborn et al. (2014) contributes to this concept of power by emphasizing the constitutive role of communication in negotiating meanings and legitimizing truth and knowledge by individuals and groups. These negotiations of meaning and power are important in studying the justice system and law enforcement – including the importance of qualitative methods that focus on social interactions – and have demonstrated the complex ways in which organizational members make high stake decisions (Fletcher, 1991, 1999; Mackinem & Higgins, 2007; Manning, 1988, 2003), how law enforcement officers are socialized (Conti, 2009), how law enforcement reacts to human trafficking (Lindholm, Borjesson, & Cederborg, 2014), and how criminal organizations function (Gambetta, 2009). The narrative turn within symbolic interactionism is cited as particularly effective in capturing the complexity of meaning and action in social interactions as well as highlighting the reflexive nature of actors as they negotiate meaning, truth, and knowledge in local stories (Bochner, 2001).

As a result of emphasizing these factors, researchers using a SI approach often ask “how questions” to guide method choices and to focus attention within fieldwork (Denzin, 2004, p. 83). My research questions align with this type of inquiry. I ask how law enforcement is constituted – including how roles of the organizations and stakeholders are negotiated – as the organization adapts to human trafficking through the trafficking training initiative and work on trafficking cases as well as how power is enabled and limited by the rules and resources taught in the trafficking training and in working trafficking cases. In designing my research study, I

expand on SI by drawing from the Four Flows Model and connecting social interactions with the production, reproduction, and transformation of organizations.

Four flows model. Combining a SI approach with the Four Flows Model allows me to connect the negotiation and struggle over meaning and power within the unique setting of organizations. Pulling from structuration theory, McPhee and Zaug's (2000/2009) Four Flows Model epistemologically "posits [a] duality of production and reproduction...[where the] observer relies on (institutionalized) knowledge and its viability in practice" (Schoeneborn et al., 2014, p. 307). Like other CCO theories, the Four Flows Model "aim[s] at *comprehending the organization as a holistic processual entity*" (Schoeneborn, 2011, p. 683, emphasis original) and uses a "bottom-up perspective...that consists of starting from the details of interactions to explain social order" (Cooren & Fairhurst, 2009, p. 124-125). This perspective focuses the researcher's attention towards the relationship between research participants' communication and actions within and with the organization, as the organization is constituted through the four communication flows of reflexive self-structuring, membership negotiation, activity coordination, and institutional positioning (McPhee & Zaug, 2000/2009).

This approach to research attempts to "unpack...[the communication] processes that are not simply microinteractions between individuals but also corporate agents who act; become enacted in protocols, rules and procedures; and endure across time and space" (Putnam & Nicotera, 2010, p. 161). Thus – like SI – this approach disrupts the macro-micro divide by examining the influences of "non-local relations, resources, and practices" in relation to local interactions (Putnam & Nicotera, 2010, p. 162). This approach to production and reproduction – possibly even transformation – of organizations through the relationships between enduring, non-

local elements and local social interactions lends itself to my research that seeks to examine how law enforcement engages in change through human trafficking training and officer implementation of the training as well as the resulting power struggles over interpreting and using institutionalized organizational knowledge in practice.

Procedures

Research emphasizing McPhee and Zaug's (2000/2009) Four Flows Model is more likely, as McPhee recommends, to use "interpretive or critical methods (including both discourse-focused and ethnographic methods) [that] demonstrate structural processes" (Schoeneborn, Blaschke, Cooren, McPhee, Seidl, & Taylor, 2014, p. 302). This leads to several options in choosing and ordering diverse qualitative methods (Schoeneborn et al., 2004). I organized my research to observe, record, and analyze social interactions across four field sites that emphasize the four flows – including member negotiation, reflexive self-structuring, activity coordination, and institutional positioning (McPhee & Zaug, 2000/2009).

Browning et al. (2009) provided a model for using a four flows approach in researching organizations experiencing change. Their research study is especially useful when examining the "constitutive complexity [that] emerges when two or more of these flows overlap" (p. 89) and in examining "the dynamic relationships within organizations" (p. 90). My research design included three primary methods of data gathering. In sequence, they were: (1) the collection of training documents and materials, (2) participant observations of training session, and (3) interviews with officers working trafficking cases (Table 3.1). Data was collected in this specific order so that data collected in each phase could inform subsequent data collection and analysis processes. Time was a factor in the research design and application of methods. Data was

collected from four field sites with the amount of time spent observing or interviewing participants ranging from a 60-minute interview to a 270-minute training session. While the data was collected over an 18-month period, the collection of data occurred on only 10 days within that time period. Since the continuous time spent in each field site was limited, the amount of data collected was maximized by the use of recordings, in-depth field notes, and gathering all available documents and resources shared during the trainings. The following explains the detailed processes I engaged in to collect data in the form of organizational documents, participant observation, and interviews.

Table 3.1

Procedures

Method	Data Type	Participants
Collecting Training Materials	Videos PowerPoint Presentations Instruction Manuals Handouts Supplementary materials	
Participant Observations	Recordings Field Notes	Instructors and Trainees
Interviews	Recordings Field Notes	Instructors and Trainees

Organizational documents. After granting me access to their training program, the NCJA provided me copies of source materials used in the designing the training materials and the official training materials used within the training sessions. The sources materials included:

a book on trafficking – called a law enforcement resource guide, promotional materials from law enforcement awareness campaigns, and federal and state level informative reports. These source materials were reviewed, but were not included in the data set because I wanted to focus on official training documents disseminated to instructors and trainees for use during the training sessions. My data set includes official training materials provided by the NCJA and the supplementary materials instructors added to their presentations (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2

Organizational Documents

Data Type	In-Service	BLET	Total
Videos	3 videos	2 videos	15 pages
PowerPoint	44 slides	33 slides	77 slides
Manuals	38 pages	32 pages	70 pages
Handouts	4 pages	6 pages	10 pages
Supplementary Materials ¹⁰	6 pages 4 videos	4 pages	16 pages
Subtotal			111 pages 77 slides
Subtotal Minus Duplicate Information			83 pages 44 slides

¹⁰ Supplementary materials included additional handouts, slides, articles, and videos that instructors added to the training. Instructors described it as common practice to conduct additional research on training topics, which resulted in these additional materials to share with trainees.

The official training documents included: training videos produced at the federal and state level, PowerPoint slides, instructor and trainee training manuals, and handouts. I would also later collect a variety of supplementary training materials – totaling 16 pages, which were added to the training by the instructors. These supplementary materials were collected during the participant observation phase of the research and added to this category of data. The instructor and trainee training manuals were similar in structure and content such as questions to ask trainees and advice on relating the materials to officer experience. The instructor manuals included 9 additional pages in teaching recommendations. I collected and analyzed 83 pages of text and 44 PowerPoint slides.

I standardized the format of the data to assist in reviewing and analyzing it. First, I combined all the separate documents provided within the training sessions into one single document for data analysis. The PowerPoint slides were kept intact, rather than converting them into another format, so the textual content could be analyzed in relation to the visual data on each slide (see Schoeneborn, 2013). I did a close reading of all the documents as a first step in analysis (O'Reilly, 2009; Warren & Karner, 2010). This close reading of the data led to omitting duplicate pages and/or slides within the data set. Then, I used open coding – the “unrestricted coding of data...through the text (field-notes, transcriptions, documents) line by line and marked those chunks of text that suggested a category” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). I wrote memos – “the theorizing write-up of ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst while coding” (Glaser, 1978, p. 83) while coding the data to assist in the data analysis process. When entering field sites, it is impossible for a single researcher to gather all communication, so this analytical work helped to prepare for the data collection process during the participant

observations by informing my procedures and focusing my attention on potentially important interactions and communication content.

Participant observations. Participant observations are, in the most basic sense, the researcher's "professional craft of experiencing and recording events in social settings" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 134) and are "a direct and powerful way of learning about people's behavior and the context in which this occurs" (Maxwell, 2005, p. 94). Lindlof and Taylor (2002) discuss how "the validity of participants' organizations derive from researchers' *having been there*" (p. 135, emphasis original). Participant observations are a recommended method used by CCO-based researchers to observe organizational members' use and interpretation of the organization's documents (Browning et al, 2009; McPhee & Iverson, 2009; Varey, 2006). Participant observations, especially in organization-based studies, often occur in one field site over a long period of time, so researchers become immersed in the culture and are afforded enough time to reach data saturation or "more complete data" about the population (Maxwell, 2005, p. 110). What is deemed an appropriate amount of time, however, varies depending on the circumstances of the study and the ability of the researcher to collect rich data (see Maxwell, 2005; O'Reilly, 2009). Due to the focus of my study on the training program and the implementation of training, I chose four field sites across the state, 2 urban and 2 rural. I conducted my participant observation with a total of 114 participants.

This multi-site design for the participant observations that "moves out from the single sites and local situations of conventional ethnographic research designs to examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects and identities in diffuse time-space" (Marcus, 1998: p. 79) is an approach for observing the use of specific organizational knowledge across different

field sites. My role during the observations was that of an observer-as-participant where “the agenda of observation is primary, but this does not rule out the possibility that researchers will casually and nondirectively interact with participants” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 149). This observation role was chosen due to the structure of the training sessions. There was time before, at breaks, and after the training to interact with participants. The lecture portions of the training allowed me opportunities to observe and take field notes without feeling socially awkward or out of place for writing field notes within the setting. I arrived at the observations 30 minutes prior to the start of the training session and always left the training with the last participants, usually with the instructor. This interaction time provided additional opportunities to observe and/or interact with participants, which provided further data for my field notes. I also recorded the lecture portions of the training using an audio recorder during three training sessions and a digital video recording for the fourth session. The resulting 12 hours and 15 minutes of recordings resulted in 167 pages of transcriptions (see Table 3.3).

I used thick description to guide writing my field notes (Geertz, 1973). Wolff (2004) describes thick description as, “necessary to unravel the multiple layers of local meanings, in order to arrive at a comprehensive and insightful picture of the social circumstances under investigation” because it is a method where the researcher writes a “wealth of detail” that describes “the conceptual system of what is being investigated” (p. 48). The researcher writes notes containing, as Wolff (2004) explains, a “portrayal of what happened as it appeared immediately to the observer” (p. 49) that goes “beyond the level of the obvious...[by collecting] a large number of quite different interpretive documents...[to] allow the particular phenomenon to become transparent from a series of different perspectives” (p. 50).

Table 3.3

Participant Observations

Field Site	Recordings	Transcriptions ¹¹	Field notes	Participants
A, urban	210 min., audio	48 pages	25 pages	16
B, urban	210 min, video	48 pages	10 pages	48
C, rural	210 min., audio	48 pages	30 pages	38
D, rural	105 min., audio	23 pages	25 pages	12
Total	12 hrs. 15 min.	167 pages	90 pages	114

This can provide both context and complexity to observations of meaning negotiations that are “simultaneously linked and contrasted with each other” (Wolff, 2004, p. 50). Consequently, I focused my field notes on descriptions about the setting, social interactions not recorded during the lectures, and comments on social interactions and content during the lectures. I wrote basic notes during the lectures. After each training session, I transferred and expanded on my handwritten notes to create a complete electronic document of my field experience. This resulted in 90 pages of electronic field notes (see Appendix A). I did a close reading of the data and used open coding and memos to run a broad analysis. From this broad review of the document and participant observations, I found a strong connection between the communication of stories – narratives spoken in monologue or dialogue and in text – in conjunction with lists that compared the new organizational knowledge with officers’ past experiences and a vision for possible ways

¹¹ The participant observation transcriptions do not include training video data. Training videos were transcribed separately from the participant observation recordings.

to use the information in the future. In my memos, I compared this information with scholarship on lists and stories (see Browning, 1992, 2009; Eisenberg et al., 2005; Ziegler, 2007). The next phase of my research led to interviewing officers who experienced the training and worked trafficking cases. The following were the procedures I used in my collection of interview data.

Individual interviews. At this point in my fieldwork, I had rich data on the training program, but there were few in depth examples of trafficking cases, especially local examples that demonstrated how the training applied to officers' daily experiences. Conducting interviews provided this type of detailed explanation of officer use of their training. O'Reilly (2009) describes the benefits of interviews by stating:

In-depth conversations (or interviews) give the ethnographer and respondent time to delve more deeply, to express their feelings, to reflect on events and beliefs, and to even expose their ambivalences. In-depth interviews also create space for the participants to focus on intimate details, to remember historical events, and to discuss things that would not be discussed in normal circumstances. (p. 125-126)

I collected contact information from participants throughout the research process. I used this contact information and help from key informants within law enforcement to recruit four officers for interviews – two instructors and two trainees (see Maxwell, 2005). These officers worked in the field sites I visited during the participant observations –one instructor and one trainee from urban agencies and one instructor and one trainee from rural agencies. The interviewees agreed to face-to-face interviews with data collected through audio recordings and field notes (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002; Warren & Karner, 2010). Due to officers' busy schedules, each interviewee picked a convenient day, time, and location for the interview. I recommended

locations that were private with minimal distractions and background noise. I conducted the interviews in personal offices and conference rooms. I selected a semi-structured interview style in that I used five predetermined questions to structure the interview (O'Reilly, 2009; see Table 3.4), but I engaged interviewees with a “loose, interaction, and open-ended” conversational style where predetermined questions were worked into the conversation to guide our dialogue with a purpose (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 171; also see Maxwell, 2005).

Table 3.4

Sample Questions

Instructor	Trainees
Can you describe your experience working human trafficking case/s?	Can you describe your experience working human trafficking case/s?
How have you adapted your previous training and/or experience to work human trafficking cases?	How have you adapted your previous training and/or experience to work human trafficking cases?
How does your experience working cases influence your teaching?	How did the training prepare you for working on trafficking cases?
What are your thoughts or concerns as officers move from learning the training materials to using the training on the job?	What are your thoughts or concerns as officers move from learning the training materials to using the training on the job?
How would you describe law enforcement's current efforts against trafficking? State or local?	How would you describe law enforcement's current efforts against trafficking? State or local?
Can you describe any changes you would make to the current training?	Can you describe any changes you would make to the current training?

My goal was to elicit a series of narratives that spoke about the challenges the officers faced in implementing their training and working trafficking cases (Warren & Karner, 2010). Outside of the recorded interview, I engaged interviewees in conversation before and after the recording to build rapport, and content from these conversations, especially after the interview, was included in my field notes. The resulting data included 60 pages of interview transcriptions and 42 pages of fieldnotes (see Table 3.5). As with the participant observations, the interviewees offered to answer questions or give their thoughts on the analysis process as it progressed, which was helpful in conducting the initial open coding and writing memos for the data. While the initial phases of data analysis was explained in this section, the following section reviews the complete data analysis procedure I used to address my research questions.

Table 3.5

Interviews

Interviewees	Total time with Participant	Audio Recording	Transcription	Field Notes
Officer E.	91 min.	71 min.	19 pages	12 pages
Officer F.	97 min.	72 min.	19 pages	15 pages
Officer G.	60 min.	45 min.	13 pages	6 pages
Officer H.	65 min.	31 min.	9 pages	9 pages
Total	5 hrs. 13 min.	3 hrs. 39 min.	60 pages	42 pages

Analysis

As mentioned in the last section, I analyzed the data using open coding throughout the research process to inform procedures and manage the large amount of data, but the analysis process, as a whole, involved a series of steps. As O'Reilly (2009) describes, the process is holistic and “involves exploring deeply to see what is there that might not be obvious; standing back to see what patterns emerge; thinking and theorizing to draw conclusions that can be generalized in some way or other, and writing.” (p. 13-14). To prepare the data for more detailed analysis, each type of data was color-coded so that the original phase of collection was evident – e.g. training documents were marked yellow, participant observations were green, and interviews were pink. This color-coding was used simply to indicate the original source of the data so that – in later stages of the analysis and writing process – if it was necessary to identify the original context and location of a piece of data, then the reference could be made quickly. Then, I conducted focused coding and wrote focused memos that emphasized the emerging themes within the data (Miles & Huberman, 1994; O'Reilly, 2009; Reichertz, 2000). I went through three rounds of focused coding and memos with lists, stories, and dialogue emerging as the primary forms of communication within the data (see Browning, 1992, 2009; Eisenberg et al., 2005; Myers, 2011; Ziegler, 2007). With each round of focused coding, I continued to refine and combine related codes into categories, and then broader themes emerged (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002; Miles & Huberman, 1994). For example, the relationship between traffickers and victims was highlighted in many memos and was a major focus in the training materials. In the first round of coding, approximately 185 codes – such as hit with hand, hit with object, confiscate visa/passport, confiscate phone, manager watch, locked room, withhold wages, withhold food,

and trafficker move victims – were identified in relation to the trafficker/victim relationship. In the second round of coding, these codes were combined into more generalized categories – such as violent act, documents, personal communication, family relationship, and foreign-born. In the third round of coding, these were combined into 10 categories – such as physical violence/abuse, trafficking business operations, low-wage industry, and corruption. Two foundational types of relationships between organizations and organizational actors became apparent in constituting law enforcement as law enforcement organizations adapt to human trafficking laws and policies: (1) law enforcement’s relationship to traffickers as the criminals perpetrating the crime of human trafficking, and (2) law enforcement’s relationship with partners – including victims, federal agencies, and NGOs – to engage in anti-trafficking efforts and build cases against criminals. Corresponding subthemes developed under these two relationship-based categories within the coding process to answer my research questions of how law enforcement is constituted and how rules and resources affect power in action.

The writing process was important for reflecting on the analysis process because, as the sole researcher and writer, I wanted to be reflexive about the role I played in shaping the research design, data collection, analysis, and the writing process. Denzin (2004) says, “explanations [of the data] reflect the point of view of the author” (p. 85). My aim was to research and write an “account [that] represents a reality in which even members of the setting might recognize themselves and their world” (Warren & Karner, 2010, p. 60; also see Miles & Huberman, 1994; Van Maanen, 1988). I used my professional journal to reflect on my analysis and writing (O’Reilly, 2009). For example, I was heading another research study with an anti-trafficking NGO at the same time as my research with law enforcement. My professional journal included

comments about similarities and differences between the separate data sets. The journal made me cautious about how my past experience and other research affected my analysis in this study. But, at the same time, the professional journal allowed for CCO-based theorizing based on similarities and differences between the research projects. In the end, this reflection made my analysis for this research study stronger as I refocused on participants' quotes within the data and reflected on law enforcement's interorganizational partnerships. This reflection on my positionality within the research process helped to organize my thoughts in relation to my field experience and readings within organizational communication literature. I then weighed different writing styles for presenting the findings that would best fit the research (Goodall, 2000). I chose a social scientific approach that incorporated the participants' words along with quotations from the training materials as much as possible to emphasize the importance of participants' voices and expressed experiences found within the data (see Basu & Dutta, 2012; Van Maanen, 1988). These data samples used within the writing not only exemplify the summary of research findings, but also provides space for diverse representations of qualitative data within the findings and shows how participants communicate their experiences.

Conclusion

Relationships built within the North Carolina's anti-trafficking community – including professionals and community members – allowed me access and recruiting opportunities to design a multi-site, interpretive qualitative research study that focused on the state's law enforcement human trafficking training programs. To address my research questions, I framed my research design and fieldwork on the Symbolic Interactionist and the Four Flows Model of communication. The three primary methods – document collection, participant observations, and

semi-structured interviews led to a rich data set as the state sanctioned training moved from training sessions to officers working cases. Themes and sub-themes emerged through the subsequent analysis of the data. These will be discussed in the next two chapters.

Chapter 4: Constituting Law Enforcement Through Opposition

Introduction

Law enforcement is a long-standing, government institution within North Carolina and is a hierarchical system under the Department of Justice that includes local police and sheriff departments across 100 counties. Efforts to train officers to work on human trafficking cases – from identification to prosecution – is a process of adapting practices and reallocating resources within this system to address new human trafficking laws statewide. My analysis – guided by the Four Flows Model – draws attention to how law enforcement is constituted through the communication flows of membership negotiation, activity coordination, and institutional positioning. Law enforcement is constituted through the lens of who law enforcement is in opposition to – criminals or people breaking laws – and what law enforcement is working for – the state. As law enforcement adapts to the crime of human trafficking, all actors – from individuals to organizations – are divided into criminals and those assisting criminals to commit crime, and law enforcement and those assisting law enforcement to combat crime. Chapters 4 and 5 mirror this division. In both Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, I attempt to address both the research questions I proposed in Chapter 3, namely, RQ₁: How is law enforcement communicatively constituted as the organization adapts to human trafficking through the trafficking training initiative and officers' trafficking casework? RQ₂: How is power enabled and

limited by the rules and resources highlighted in the trafficking training and in officers' trafficking casework? This chapter 4 addresses how law enforcement is constituted in discursive opposition to criminals and criminal organizations in human trafficking, and how power is enabled and limited, in this constitution, by rules and resources. Chapter 5 addresses how law enforcement is constituted in its interaction with anti-trafficking coalition partners, and concurrently, how in such a constitution, power is enabled and limited by rules and resources.

The first section of this chapter 4 discusses how law enforcement is constituted in discursive opposition to criminals and criminal organizations in human trafficking. I will present three main themes on this issue. They are: defining traffickers and victims; describing an organizational environment where laborers are a reusable resource and industries are vulnerable; and how traffickers organize their businesses to exploit trafficking victims. The second half of the chapter will discuss eight resource-based methods used by traffickers to gain and maintain power and control over, and to exploit victims. These eight resources include physical abuse, money, movement, communication, cultural knowledge, close relationships, government institutions, and corruption.

Constituting Human Trafficking

Three main themes emerged from my analysis of how law enforcement is constituted through its meaning making on human trafficking organizations. First, law enforcement defined who traffickers and victims are, which identifies the targets within case identification and evidence collection. This data was found within the membership negotiation communication flow where traffickers are the employers and victims are exploited employees of the trafficking organizations and the organizations' leader/s. Second, law enforcement described an

organizational environment where exploited laborers are a reusable resource and industries are vulnerable to trafficking abuse. This allows criminals to build and sustain their criminal business organizations. This information assists law enforcement in analyzing their local industries for possible case identification and building cases against traffickers. Third, law enforcement described how traffickers organize their businesses to exploit trafficking victims' labor. This information is important for officers identifying, building, and assisting in the prosecution of trafficking cases. The following section discusses how law enforcement defined traffickers and victims through in the context of North Carolina's trafficking laws.

Defining traffickers and victims. Trafficking is defined as an economic human rights issue that addresses individuals' rights to control and freely accept the terms and conditions of their labor without severe exploitation. As one top federal official stated in an official training video, "This crime is about the constitutional right to freedom. It's a human rights issue." This quote emphasizes how the U.S. government is approaching and providing recommendations for domestic and international efforts against trafficking. Economic gain is central to the crime with traffickers making profits from victims' exploited labor. The training manuals and slides defined this exploitation of victims by traffickers within federal and state trafficking laws. More specifically, the training manuals and corresponding instructional slides defined human trafficking as,

- a) 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 involuntary servitude, peonage (working to pay off a debt owed), debt bondage, or slavery. This occurs in situations of forced labor such as domestic servitude, factory, or agricultural

work; or b) Sex trafficking, meaning the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act is under 18 years old.

Three important details emerged from this definition. First, people can be charged with trafficking by contributing to different stages of the labor and sex trafficking process – including the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person. Second, the legal elements of force, fraud, and/or coercion are required for identifying and building a case of human trafficking. Third, the proof of force, fraud, and/or coercion are not required in sex trafficking cases where a victim is under 18 and a third party benefits financially from the sale of the minor's sexual services, which makes identification of trafficking easier for cases where a minor is being trafficked for sex.

Traffickers have the power to manipulate and control victims' labor through force, fraud, and coercion, and it is essential for law enforcement to learn traffickers' methods of fraud, force, and coercion to combat trafficking. The economic conditions and incentives that contribute to trafficking were highlighted in the training materials, in class discussions, and in interviews with officers working cases to explain why trafficking exists and how to combat it. As instructional slides and training manuals on the economics of trafficking detail, "Billions of dollars! That is the amount of profit each year generated by human trafficking. Human trafficking is fueled by global economics and increased mobility." All the instructors described trafficking as "big business" and traffickers' profit-based motivations to commit the crime, which drew comparisons to the profits made in illegal sales of drugs and guns/weapons. The training

materials cited human trafficking as the third highest profitable global crime behind drugs and guns/weapons. This financial incentive led to traffickers being described, in training materials and class discussions, as opportunistic, entrepreneurial, and ruthless, which makes trafficking difficult for law enforcement to combat. As a police chief from a major U.S. city explained in an official training video, “Human traffickers are making millions upon millions upon millions of dollars, every single year. And it’s occurring right under our noses. We just don’t know what to look for.” He noted that training offers the tools for law enforcement to overcome the gap in knowledge of and actions against trafficking. The training materials also focused on the scope of trafficking as a motivating factor for law enforcement to combat trafficking with the training manuals and slides citing the International Labor Organization to provide the scope and gendered nature of international trafficking. The training materials read:

[T]here are at least 12.3 million adults and children in forced labor, bonded labor, and commercial sexual servitude at any given time...of these numbers, 1.39 million are victims of commercial sexual servitude...[and] 56% of all forced labor victims are women and girls.

To connect these international statistics with the draw of the U.S. in the trafficking trade, a top federal attorney in the official training video stated:

The data on human trafficking is extremely high. Hundreds and thousands of people are being trafficked internationally every year, tens of thousands within the United States of America. I’m positive that that number will continue to increase because we have just begun to evaluate the severity of this problem.

During training session discussions, trainers and trainees described the United States as a “land of opportunity” where immigrant and domestic workers believed in their ability to work hard for economic advancement. As one instructor explained, “we are a rich and powerful country, which attracts people from all over the world...everyone wants to come to the United States.” This was a comment reflecting a sentiment of U.S. exceptionalism that was reinforced within the training materials and class discussion, including a slide showing a map of the U.S. with red arrows pointing to the U.S. with all the originating countries for trafficking victims identified nationwide. The power of economic motivation and use of economic-based principles and organizational systems in law enforcement’s constitution of human trafficking begins with the idea that, throughout history and despite the legality or illegality of the actions, exploitation of others for economic gain has been consistent. As an instructor explained in a training session, trafficking exists because “it is simple economics” and that exploitation occurs because the supply of vulnerable laborers meets the demand for cheap labor. This type of discussion about the inevitability of labor exploitation occurred across the data and drew attention to the broader economic environment in which trafficking thrives and a law enforcement response is needed.

Exploited labor in vulnerable industries. The training materials and in-class discussions described human trafficking as very profitable and valuable for traffickers because, unlike the one time sale of other products such as drugs and guns, workers’ labor is a reusable resource in our economy and there are many vulnerable industries that depend on cheap labor that is easy to exploit. Key to capitalizing on this reusable human resource is to find vulnerable populations and industries susceptible to force, fraud, or coercion. The economic environment contributes to victim exploitation. As the training materials explained, laborers’ value is low and

the supply of laborers is high; this results in a low cost for traffickers in buying and selling humans as a labor resource – such as buying a person’s labor from traffickers, buying out a victim’s debt contract owed to other traffickers, and buying a person outright from someone controlling the victim. As one trafficking survivor, named Maria, describes in a training video, “[H]e told me that he had bought me for 200 dollars, that I was his slave, and I was not going anywhere.” Traffickers were described as recouping this low cost and maximizing profits through high labor productivity and low overhead, which results – as the training materials describe – in overworked victims living in minimal or harsh conditions under the constant control of traffickers. As one instructor explained, “victims are a reusable resource...[creating] big money” for traffickers because “you can only sell a drug once, but a person you can sell again and again.” Another instructor conducted local research on criminal profits that compared drugs, prostitution, and trafficking in his past cases. The instructor taught his research methods to trainees, what he called “following the money,” to estimate trafficking profits in his jurisdiction. The instructor estimated that traffickers make \$35,000 dollars a month in profits from sex trafficking involving 2-3 victims. This estimate was close to the findings of Officer Mendoza, who I interviewed. Officer Mendoza received the trafficking training and was working on trafficking cases in another jurisdiction and found a sex trafficking brothel transferring \$10,000 to \$25,000 per month to Mexico based on the brothel’s financial records.

Such profits were made possible by working the reusable labor of trafficking victims for long hours. As a federal prosecutor said in an official training video, “The overwhelming image you get is of just being worked to the bone. Once the trafficker has this victim dominated, they

exploit and exploit and exploit the victim.” The duration of the exploitation varied with some trafficking events lasting from a few weeks or months to years.

The training materials connected the supply of vulnerable workers with vulnerable “supply chains,” which were described as mechanisms for bringing “tainted goods” to the U.S. market. As a special agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation stated in a training video, “[Human trafficking is] in the coffee you drink, it’s in the clothes that you wear, it’s in the tomatoes on your hamburgers.” To demonstrate how officers can combat trafficking in their local jurisdictions, the training materials cite five categories of industries within the United States where the demand for low skill labor is high and the labor conditions and regulations make industries susceptible to human trafficking. These categories of industries include “prostitution (46.4%),” “domestic servitude (27.2%),” “agriculture (10.4%),” “factory work (4.8%),” “mail order brides (10.8%),” and “10.8% miscellaneous.” The miscellaneous category was described as service-based industries including “food service industry, sexual exploitation of children, [and] entertainment” among others. Instructors also connected these services-based industries in the miscellaneous category with beauty or nail salons, selling or carrying drugs, and work on docks in officers’ local communities. Within these categories there are many types of possible labor activities and companies involved that can be unique to different geographic areas of North Carolina. The training materials suggested examining local businesses doing “agricultural/farm work, cleaning services, construction, domestic servitude, factory/manufacturing, restaurant work, [or] beauty salons/nail salons” as potential sites for proactive work – such as community outreach programs – against trafficking. Every instructor described jobs in these six industries as those that “most Americans don’t want to do.”

Training materials directed instructors and trainees to “[d]iscuss various possibilities of the different types of human trafficking that could be happening in North Carolina,” which sparked discussions in every training session about local legal and illegal industries where exploitation could occur. This and other discussions in the training sessions led instructors and trainees to reevaluate past professional and personal experiences to identify suspicious situations and scenarios that could have been trafficking – including discussion about traffic stops, restaurant worker arguments, brothel busts, gang busts, and domestic violence calls that showed signs of trafficking. One instructor called this reevaluation the “aha” process where you can see the “light bulb going off” within trainees’ reactions and comments during training discussions that lead the instructor to conclude that trainees “understand and know trafficking is in their community.” This reevaluation of local industries and opportunities for access in relation to past professional and/or personal experiences made some instructors and trainees express guilt and remorse for the potential trafficking crimes they missed. As one instructor said, “I didn’t know to look further. I didn’t know any better. Looking back on the things she told me. Now, I think it was human trafficking.” Another instructor told the trainees about a “famous” bust in their jurisdiction of the “Flower Spa” that was a brothel posing as a “massage parlor.” After confirming that many in the audience remembered the specific case, the trainer said, “We missed that opportunity. We dropped the ball,” which is why “every officer in North Carolina should get this training.”

Instructors and trainees discussed and analyzed examples of officers identifying cases and collecting evidence to demonstrate how traffickers’ use of force, fraud, or coercion functioned in labor situations, which showed officers how to gain access to job sites in

vulnerable industries. Gaining knowledge of illegal activities on specific job sites was discussed as probable cause for getting a warrant to investigate potential trafficking cases, but it was accepted that it is difficult to gain information for probable causes. The sex industry was singled out within the training materials and class discussions because prostitution and child pornography are areas where it is easier gaining access to business activities. Officers were instructed to be aware when encountering suspicious circumstances such as “pimping situations” and “Internet advertisements” for sex solicitation. It is much more difficult to gain access through warrants to investigate suspicious activity surrounding businesses that are conducting “legitimate” business, even if those businesses are only “fronts” for illegal activity. Trainees expressed concern about harassing business owners in their community. As one instructor stated, “We go after sex trafficking because prostitution is illegal. I can’t go into a business and start asking for I-9s [Federal form for identifying and authorizing employment for an employee].” As a result, instructors and trainees discussed opportunities to stop suspicious situations or vehicles in public spaces— such as during routine traffic stops, organized checkpoints, or workers leaving from suspicious businesses – as offering “legitimate” opportunity to gain access to businesses and investigate possible trafficking. The training manuals addressed this point by stating,

It is critical to note that any individual can be trafficked; victims of trafficking are not always undocumented immigrants. They may be immigrants here legally, on work or student visas, or they may be U.S. citizens. In situations of possible human trafficking, victim identification can be one of the most challenging tasks for law enforcement. As a

law enforcement officer, you may have to rely on your instincts to pick up on 'red flags' indicating that someone might be a victim or perpetrator of trafficking.

In situations where labor exploitation is a possibility, trainees were directed to “dig deeper” into possible “red flags” rather than assuming that only the most obvious criminal activity could be occurring because the training materials described trafficking as a “hidden crime.” The training manuals and presentation slides provide a list of example crimes that can mask human trafficking, including “(1) Racketeering, (2) Extortion, (3) Kidnapping, (4) Zoning violations, (5) Money laundering, (6) Domestic violence, [and] (7) Sexual assault.” Instructors added to this list with crimes such as theft, physical assault, child neglect, immigration violations, and murder – which are crimes that can be charged in addition to human trafficking. To be proactive towards anti-trafficking, instructors and officers working cases mentioned that they incorporate the training into their everyday routine – such as staying alert during agricultural seasons, patrolling major highways, and answering calls for domestic or workplace disputes – to overcome the barriers of gaining access to possible trafficking in their local community. Identifying and investigating trafficking using authorized, lawful methods were emphasized because evidence found in illegal searches can lead to case dismissals and justice not being served. Beyond identification of possible trafficking cases, the training emphasized how human trafficking businesses are organized and function so that law enforcement can collect the correct quality and quantity of evidence to build a strong case against traffickers. These organizational practices demonstrate to law enforcement how traffickers structure their businesses to exert force, fraud, coercion, and/or violence to control victims.

The business of human trafficking. The training emphasized trafficking as a business to draw attention to the exploitation of victims' labor as well as the organizational-based evidence – including business activities, structures, tactics, and resources used by traffickers – that constitute force, fraud, and/or coercion as officers' identify, investigate, and build trafficking cases. By teaching and working trafficking cases, law enforcement is communicatively constituted in opposition to traffickers and their businesses, and that law enforcement must understand that “traffickers are businessmen looking out for their investments” to effectively combat the crime. In the training materials and training sessions, traffickers are depicted as ruthless in their business transactions and willing to use or pay others to adopt legal and illegal measures – from exploiting lax government rules and policies to terror and violence – to control victims, make profits, and evade detection. Victims are key for traffickers' ability to maximize profits because victims' labor and mis/treatment are the primary method for cutting costs. Esperanza, a human trafficking survivor, explained in a training video: “We had our security guard who was watching us 24 hours a day. I had to work 17 hours a day and I had 10 minutes to eat a meal: beans and rice.” The following section examines law enforcement's discussions that explained how trafficking businesses are organized, balance internal operation with the need for external partners, and innovate to avoid detection. Learning every detail of the trafficking businesses allows law enforcement to identify trafficking; collect evidence to demonstrate force, fraud, and coercion; and provide case evidence strong enough to file criminal charges and assist in prosecution.

Trafficking businesses can come in many forms and vary in individual or group participation in acts of force, fraud, and/or coercion within the trafficking process. The training

materials, training sessions, and officer working cases described techniques and methods for identifying and building cases to understand how trafficking businesses are organized and function to maintain profits and avoid detection. As the training manual explained,

[Trafficking operations] can operate on a small, local scale with one trafficker and one victim where there is little or no connection with other traffickers to a large-scale international business with many different players involved in the trafficking. Larger operations may be a part of a loosely associated trafficking network, or they may be part of organized crime.

Despite the size of the operation, trafficking businesses were often described as hierarchical with owners or managers who run the daily operations, such as monitoring workers' productivity, handling money transactions, coordinating transportation, tending to victims' basic needs, managing paperwork, controlling interactions with external partners, and evading or deceiving others to avoid detection. If larger organizational structures exist – such as connections to organized crime, then middle managers or lower-level employees – referred to in the training as “foremen,” “supervisors,” or “guards,” among other titles – report to bosses or partnering organizations. Instructors and officers working cases lamented how rarely they catch the “big fish” in operations because criminal bosses protect themselves through layers of “grunts.” As one officer working cases explained in an interview, “We don’t catch the smart criminals. We catch the dumb ones.” Traffickers were portrayed as keen observers and knowledgeable about economic, government, and social systems, even conducting research and/or surveillance, to exploit policies, maximize resource use, and evade detection. This knowledge included knowing that security at ports and borders is underfunded, accountability for companies hiring

independent contractors is limited, and what institutions and people are corruptible. The training materials and officers spoke about traffickers as clever, manipulative, adaptable, and brutal in organizing their businesses to maintain profits and avoid detection.

Law enforcement discussed how these smart criminals organize trafficking businesses to maximize profits, avoid detection, and protect assets. Trafficking businesses are each unique and develop organizational procedures, policies, and resources based on complex factors such as the type of trafficking involved, economic characteristics, organizational partners, bureaucratic environment, and law enforcement pressure. Officers studied and analyzed examples of trafficking operations to evaluate evidence to understand trafficking businesses. One instructor explained:

You start out with a bunch of puzzle pieces, and then you may notice that there is one picture on a puzzle piece that doesn't look quite right. Then, you might add a few more puzzle pieces together to where the picture may start to look like a crime until you get the whole big picture. The hope is that you find all the pieces you need in the very end.

Officers are taught to deconstruct the potential crime scenes they encounter for evidence of trafficking business because officers can't label a business as an illegal trafficking business without the evidence to show the legal elements of force, fraud, and/or coercion. For example, in an interview, an officer working cases provided two examples of traffickers' business practices in an urban area of North Carolina. The first case involved a tip from a community member about a brothel operating in a local neighborhood. The officer and his partner looked for "red flags" and "codes" that indicated a brothel on the premises from the moment they approached the property – such as a stuffed animal in the mailbox or a specific statue on the lawn that were local

symbols for brothels. The officers approached the suspicious house to conduct a “knock and talk” where officers question individuals from a doorway and use this conversation as an opportunity to observe possible criminal activity from outside the premises. In this case, the caretaker/manager answered the door. Officers notice evidence of an illegal brothel at the door, including the doorman’s table with money envelopes and playing cards for receipts and a couch for customers. Officers asked to enter the house based on the suspicious items and the doorman let them enter. The doorman was a manager, who admitted to receiving free room and board in addition to a salary to handle money transactions, care for the house and employees’ basic needs, and to keep the employees from leaving the house. The officers collected physical evidence from the house, including beds, nightstands, condoms, paper towels, hand sanitizer, and diaries and notebooks kept by women, which showed the house was an illegal brothel. Normally, everyone in the house would have been charged with crimes such as solicitation and keeping a place for prostitution, but interviews with the manager and female employees revealed that the women were imprisoned and forced to work in the brothel. The officers also found a security system that detected and recorded all the rooms of the house. This lent more evidence to the women’s claims that they were monitored at all times and held against their will. This was thus, an example of how an officer was putting his training into action by looking deeper into the evidence to determine the women were trafficking victims and how the traffickers organized their business to exploit the women.

Technology was positioned as both the means through which human trafficking becomes possible and an obstacle for law enforcement investigations. The training materials and participants discuss the deficit in quality and quantity of technology resources available to law

enforcement in comparison to the perception of traffickers who can fund advanced technologies from their profits. Examples of traffickers' use of technology varied, but were present at all levels and stages of the business operations. For example, this technology included smart phones to communicate between traffickers; debit/credit card readers to process money transactions; laptop computers to keep operations mobile; computer software to organize and maintain business records; security software to encrypt communications and documents; Internet websites – like Backpage.com – to market services and coordinate with potential clients; audio/visual security systems to monitor property and assets; and global positioning system (GPS) devices to direct and record business travel, among others. As a result of this technological resource deficit, officers discussed – in the training sessions and in interviews with officers working cases – a feeling of “always being a step behind” and “playing catch-up” in comparison to traffickers. All the instructors also commented on the uncertainty surrounding the constitutional and legal uses of technology resources by law enforcement to gather evidence because cases on the issues are currently working through the courts. Four of the five instructors and all the officers interviewed for this research recommended that officers statewide receive training on the uses of diverse technologies in preventing crimes. Here we note how law enforcement constitutes itself in opposition to and as deficient to trafficking. These deficiencies and uncertainties facing law enforcement stood in contrast to traffickers who were described as innovating on their use of technology to coordinate activities and improve efficiency and productivity within their businesses. Through a narrative of abundant resources and use of advanced technology, law enforcement is looking for not only technology-based evidence to show criminal activity, but also establishing traffickers as wealthy, tech-savvy, and well-organized and trafficking

businesses as complex, well-functioning organizations with access to an abundance of resources. In other words, law enforcement is made the underdog despite having the power to legally use deadly force, charge crimes, incarcerate individuals, and draw on state and federal funds.

The training materials also described traffickers as legitimizing the illicit nature of their business activities through “scripts” or “cover stories” for use when traffickers and victims interact with outsiders. Scripts provide a cohesive story about the organization by incorporating the trafficking business operations into a logical explanation of what the organization does and why trafficking victims are “normal” employees. When illegal activity is part of the trafficking script, admission of these activities is often attributed to misdemeanor crimes that mask human trafficking – such as solicitation, driving without a license, practicing massage without a license, or too many occupants in a dwelling. “Following the money” or “the paper trail” of the trafficking business is a primary method advocated by law enforcement to collect evidence that reveals the inner workings of the operations and unraveling scripts, including the investigation and analysis of business records in various forms. Examples of these business records include purchase receipts, payroll, maps with travel logs, fake contracts for workers, legal bank accounts, money transfers, and bills of victims’ debt, among others. Traffickers were described as preferring cash for illegal transactions, although other payment forms may be arranged – such as bank or pre-paid cards, especially if a front company is being used to disguise criminal activity. The law enforcement training materials and classes focused on how these businesses’ transactions were similar to those used in drug trafficking, gang operations, fraud-based scams, and prostitution cases.

Instructors stressed that all trafficking businesses, whatever the size, needed the assistance of professional and social networks to function. These external connections – from clients and suppliers to other criminal operations – are needed throughout the trafficking process to fulfill the needs of trafficking businesses. External partners may or may not know that trafficking is occurring, but these are individuals or groups that interact with the trafficking operation in a manner that develops and maintains the business. These external connections make trafficking businesses vulnerable to detection from law enforcement, so traffickers are described as balancing their needs to internalize some functions of the trafficking business with their dependence on outsiders.

Trafficking businesses were spoken about as those that coordinate complex operations that functioned to internalize services needed by their leaders, employees, and victims so that the trafficking businesses could protect assets, maintain profit-making activities, and avoid detection. These services mimic those performed by banks, marketing firms, labor recruiters, transportation services, security systems, lawyers, and caseworkers, among others and are often performed illegally. For example, the training materials described past cases where traffickers promised to secure victims' wages and savings, and then stole these funds; traffickers promised specific jobs and/or work conditions to recruit workers, and then changed those terms once victims were under traffickers' control; traffickers drafted illegal employment contracts to trap victims in peonage or debt bondage; and traffickers used a company store or charges for basic needs to withhold victims' wages. The internalizing of these services can also function to convince victims that they are not being exploited. As the training materials stated, "[often] victims do not see themselves as homeless, or in need of shelter, or assistance," due to traffickers

providing “a place to live, food to eat, medical care, and what they [victims] think is a paying job.” In some cases highlighted during the trafficking, victims’ perception of their traffickers and exploitation was influenced by the trafficking situation being better than victims’ experiences and quality of life before being trafficked, even if trafficking involves violence, such as beatings or rape. Traffickers also convinced victims that negative trafficking conditions were temporary and a better future could be earned by continuing their work. This was framed in the training as a narrative of hope used to deceive victims. One instructor explained: “Think like a businessman...they give victims ‘the carrot’ of just enough hope to keep the workers working despite the oppression of control...[and] workers get paid just enough to keep them quiet and keep them working.”

External partners are chosen with care and satisfy needs that trafficking businesses cannot internalize including interactions with clients, landlords, hotels, retail or grocery stores, and healthcare providers, among others. Connections with external partners make the trafficking business vulnerable to detection by authorities and/or vulnerable to competition with or extortion by other criminal organizations. As a result, gaining traffickers’ trust to infiltrate trafficking businesses is difficult for law enforcement. This difficulty provides the motivation for law enforcement to enter into and work with professional and community partners to gain access to, identify, and build trafficking cases against trafficking businesses. The instructors and officers working cases commented on traffickers’ use of unique codes or coded messaging to communicate with criminal and client communities to avoid detection. Instructors and officers working cases described the use of coded language in advertisements for services between trafficker and client. For example, one instructor shared his personal experience of investigating

Internet, or “under-net,” crimes involving sex trafficking of minors. The instructor described how traffickers and clients used slang terms to make business transactions, what the instructor called “pervertese,” that included descriptions of victims as “trained” or “fighting” and traffickers referring to themselves as “dads.” An officer I interviewed also shared sample advertisements using symbols in combination with a phone number to show how a local trafficking brothel was connecting with potential clients. The officer explained how he wore plain clothes and entered a local grocery store where criminals were known to solicit potential clients for a Hispanic brothel. The officer spoke Spanish with the employee at the cash register. As the officer exited the store, a man gave the officer a business card containing a phone number and a picture of a computer. The man with the business cards explained how the officer should call the phone number to coordinate sex services. The brothel moves locations, so clients have to call to learn the current location. The man also explained that the business card was disguised so clients can keep the card in their wallets without raising suspicion.

Trafficking businesses use diverse organizational operations to maximize profits. These sophisticated operations develop based on the type of trafficking and local economy. Key to maximizing profits is the control of victims to maximize productivity. Traffickers use different methods to control victims to achieve these goals. Law enforcement discussed specific methods of control employed by traffickers that constitute force, fraud, and coercion. Without evidence to demonstrate control, officers noted that they could not determine a situation was indeed a case of trafficking. The following section discusses the most common methods of control traffickers use against victims.

The Power of Control

Law enforcement attributes traffickers' central power with their ability to control victims' actions – to enslave victims. Traffickers' power of control becomes essential to the determination that the crime of human trafficking has occurred, specifically, through the control tactics that constitute the legal elements of force, fraud, and/or coercion. Officers identify, investigate, and build trafficking cases based on these control tactics. As one instructor stated: “Professional criminals know the tricks. They depend on our laziness, so keep your eyes open.” The training manual emphasizes knowing and identifying traffickers' control tactics to combat the myths that “the victim knew what they were getting into” and “the victim committed unlawful acts [willingly]” as well as giving law enforcement the knowledge to make sense of how slavery functions and is possible in our current society. Maria – a trafficking survivor – explained: “A lot of people probably wonder why don't you escape, why don't you ditch, why don't you run?” Extreme fear through physical and psychological control was the primary reason given within the training materials, in training sessions, and by officers working cases to explain how traffickers' power functions and why victims are enslaved in trafficking situations. As a leader from U.S. Department of Justice explained in a training video,

Forced, fraud, and coercion are real. It's a psychological web that traffickers weave around their victims to overbear their will, to make them think they have no reasonable alternative but to continue to service.

Trafficker control over victims is described as complete in that victims believe they have no other options than work for the traffickers. Traffickers' complete control leaves few opportunities for victims to choose actions or outcomes; this often results in victims having little

to no agency during the trafficking experience. This view was often expressed – across the data. An instructor explained: “[Traffickers say,] ‘Do this or we will throw you [victim] back on the street.’ You are free to go, but where is there really choice in those options, there is no real meaningful choice.”

Or, as Esperanza – a trafficking survivor – explained in a training video, My trafficker said, ‘If you call the police, no one can believe you... She [the trafficker] said that in this country dogs have more rights than you have, and I believed everything she said. The coercion they use – ‘I will tell your family,’ ‘I will tell your children,’ ‘your mother.’ Who, who cannot be afraid?

The data analysis showed eight types of methods used by traffickers to control victims, which correspond with identifiable vulnerabilities that make individuals and groups susceptible to trafficking. These control methods can be used alone or in combination to create the “psychological web” around victims that deny them “real” or “meaningful” choice, and evidence of these control methods is required to identify and build trafficking cases. These eight control methods include physical abuse, money, movement, communication, cultural knowledge, close relationships, and corruption. The following section expands on each method to show how these control tactics are communicated about within law enforcement training and how officers observed them while working trafficking cases.

Physical abuse. Three forms of abuse characterized control over victims through physical abuse, including violence, fatigue or neglect, and drug or alcohol use, and these result in physical harm and loss of victims’ control over their bodies. Physical violence was the most evident control method and directly spoke to the legal element of force in identifying and

building cases of human trafficking, especially if a victim reported traffickers using weapons to force victims' actions. Physical violence took on many forms within the training materials, training discussions, and in interviews with officers working cases with beatings and rape the most frequent examples used. A special agent from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) explained in a training video,

That'll be like taking you or me and putting us over in Moscow, and we don't speak the language, we don't know the geography, and then somebody says, oh no, this is what you are going to be doing instead of what you thought you were going to be doing. And I know where your family is. And they'll beat you; rape you, and what choice do you feel you have? How are you going to escape?

The amount of physical violence varied in amount and severity depending on the example or description shared within the data – from a few incidents to continual use. Violence was often described as more effective when contributing to the psychological web controlling victims. As one victim explained in a training video, “She [the trafficker] started yelling at me and pulled the Windex away from me and sprayed it on my face. And so anything she had on her hand she would use it at me. I was just hoping that one day it would stop.” In this situation, the victim hopes for freedom, but stays because she is overwhelmed by the violence and abuse she receives.

Physical fatigue and neglect were also used against victims. Traffickers were described as limiting food, neglecting health care, and forcing long work hours to keep victims physically weak as well as emotionally and mentally unstable. This fatigue and neglect technique was described as causing hopelessness and powerlessness in victims, which lessened victims'

resistance to traffickers and deterred victims from escape. A sheriff's deputy said, "Imagine being 15 and forced to work in a brothel from 2 pm to 2 am and then I'll take you to another one till 5 in the morning every single day and you're a 15-year-old girl. Imagine that, if you can." Physical fatigue and neglect were also described within the training materials as contributing to victims feeling powerless, weak, and depressed. Traffickers were also described as using drugs and alcohol to physically abuse victims. Drugs and alcohol were described as effective because these substances were addictive. Drug and/or alcohol dependence can deepen victims' dependency on traffickers to supply the products. Especially in the sex trade, drugs and alcohol were described by one officer working cases as contributing to a welcoming atmosphere for clients. Once again, the physical toll of fatigue, neglect, drugs, and alcohol on the body were said to contribute to deteriorating health, to deter escape, and loss of control over one's body.

While victim deaths from physical abuse were reported in training materials, more often, traffickers were portrayed as practical in the use of physical abuse as a means of protecting their investment in victims. Physical abuse was discussed as used to establish trafficker dominance, but was balanced by traffickers' need to maintain victims' ability to work and to avoid detection. As one instructor explained, "If medical care is needed or police are called, then the traffickers are exposed." The training outlined seven other control methods.

Money. Many groups were discussed as vulnerable to trafficking because of the economic insecurity that comes with living in poverty, being unemployed, and/or being unable to meet the basic needs of one's self and/or family. Traffickers were described across the data as preying on economically-insecure populations with false promises of quality labor opportunities and labor conditions. Money was described in the training materials as a versatile resource that

allowed traffickers to control victims' action. The primary money-based strategy mentioned across the data was the "cycle of debt" or "being stuck in the red." This strategy involves traffickers limiting and/or denying victims' access to wages while being the only source for victims' basic needs – such as food, shelter, and clothing. This debt strategy can be reinforced with false contracts, debt receipts, or other seeming legal documents from the traffickers that attempt to legitimize their claims to and deception of victims.

Victim debt can begin before employment begins with traffickers covering victims' initial costs – such as transportation, housing, medical care, purchasing prior debt, paying for labor recruiters, drugs, and/or false documents – such as forged visas, birth certificates, or I-9 forms – for victims – with the agreement that future work will repay the debt. Once work begins, traffickers may advance money, or extend a line of credit, so victims can pay for expenses. This credit results in the victims' increased debt to traffickers without diminishing the previous debt owed. As a result, traffickers then withhold wages to pay the debt or, as the training manual stated, traffickers claim to "hold their [victims'] money for safekeeping." As one federal agent stated in a training video, "They're told, well, you keep working, you'll be able to pay off your debt. Unfortunately, their debt keeps continuing. It's a never-ending cycle for them." This type of encouragement-based deception provides victims with hope of paying off debt and eventual freedom, but is fraudulent. Even if victims lose hope and want to reject the debt owed, traffickers' still control victims' access to their earning, which leaves no meaningful options for escape or paying for basic needs outside the trafficking situation. The training materials described victims as fearful of escape without financial resources because a lack of money would leave victims susceptible to further exploitation by other criminals. Instructors

discussed how the cycle of debt strategy appears within the training manuals and slides as a means of combating the myth that a labor situation is not trafficking if “the victim was paid for services.” Training materials and instructors stressed that officers should look beyond what might appear like a salary to ask victims a series of questions to determine force, fraud, and/or coercion including “are you getting paid to do your job...how were financial transactions handled...do you actually receive payment or is your money being held for you...do you owe your employer money...[and] are there records or receipts of what is owed to your employer/recruiter?”

One instructor likened this control tactic to the practices used by milling, mining, or factory companies in their region of North Carolina. The instructor called these “mill towns” or “factory towns,” which were owned by a company. The company – usually run by one or two families called the “the company man” – owned and operated everything in the town that encompassed workers’ lives – including homes, stores, schools, recreation areas, and government, among others. As a result, workers were dependent on the company for generations, which the instructor called the “redneck” story for many of the working class and poor people in their community, including most of the officers in the room. The instructor added, “We didn’t call it human trafficking, but the employer owned the stores, houses, everything...it is oppressive and people only take so much.” This method of comparing the experience of trafficking victims to the working class or poverty experiences of officers in the room was effective in that it spurred training session dialogue and encouraged trainee sympathy with trafficking victims.

Movement. The training materials began the discussion of traffickers controlling victims through movement by differentiating between human trafficking and the crime of human smuggling because law enforcement agencies can confuse or conflate the crimes. As the training materials explained,

There are significant differences between the crimes of human trafficking and smuggling: (1) Trafficking is not voluntary. (2) It entails exploitation of a person for labor or services. (3) And does not necessarily involve movement of a person. (4) It can occur with U.S. citizens domestically or abroad. (5) Smuggling, however, is voluntary. (6) And ends after the border crossing. (7) Fees are usually paid in advance or upon arrival. (8) And it is always international in nature.

While smugglers were cited within the training materials as part of the criminal economy connected to vulnerable populations susceptible to trafficking, officers learned this distinction between trafficking and smuggling to avoid misidentifications and/or misunderstandings when filing criminal charges against individuals. The training materials provided officers with question routines to identify trafficking and assess traffickers' control over victims' movement. For example:

Were there instances of physical restriction through locks, chains, etc....Where are the locks used and who has the keys to them...How was the purchase of private goods and services handled (e.g., medicines, prescriptions)...How was movement in public places handled (e.g., car, van, bus, subway)...What were the conditions under which you were left unattended...Who are you afraid of...Why are you afraid of them?

As alluded to within this line of questioning, two primary methods of controlling victims' movement emerged across the data. Depending on the type and needs of the trafficking operation, traffickers were cited as controlling victims' labor by creating barriers to movement and disorienting victims through movement. For example, the training materials cited the use of physical restraints – such as locked rooms, cages, handcuffs, and barbed wire fences, which restricted victims' movement to a specific location. In a training video, a sheriff said:

If you never see them [victims] outside but you know they're there, that's an indicator that you might have something...controlled movement. They [traffickers and victims] never separate. They're always staying together. Look at the security: if the barbed wire is pointing in, that means it's meant to keep people in, not to let them out.

Physical barriers could also include monitoring systems that utilize human and/or technology-based surveillance that functioned to control when and where victims could move within a predetermined space or time – such as within a house or when in transit between work locations and areas for sleeping. One officer I interviewed explained how a brothel house he busted was covered with an extensive security system that included cameras in every room. The security feeds patched into the house next door with televisions and couches. There was a guard inside the brothel with the victims who explained they were being watched at all time, even in the most intimate activities, including when victims showered and while they performed sex acts with clients. The victims described intense fear and shame from surveillance that forced them to continue working and prevented them from escape. The monitoring house next door was empty when officers discovered the security system, so they could not confirm people were monitoring the women at all times, but the fear of constant surveillance from the guard and cameras was

enough to control the victims' movement. This sophisticated security system exemplifies Foucault's (1979) discussion of omnipresent control found in the panopticon prison. In general, these kinds of physical barriers created victims' social and physical isolation that forced labor, deterred escape, and avoided discovery by authorities.

The second primary method for controlling victims was through movement between different – often unfamiliar or unknown – locations that disoriented victims. As an officer explained in a training video, “They don't know where they are, and they have no clue as to how to communicate or how to move forward or, if they were to escape, where to go.” Examples discussed in the training materials and in training session dialogue varied in the amount of distance used to disorient victims – such as moving between different work sites in an unknown town and movement within and across states. North Carolina was singled out in the training as an ideal state for implementing a movement disorientation strategy against victims. Key was North Carolina's location midway between New York and Miami as well as an abundance of highways, interstates, seaports, and public transportation options to facilitate the transportation of victims. North Carolina also offers metropolitan and rural areas for trafficking businesses to operate within and hide among as trafficking operations adapt to make profits.

Traffickers were described in the training materials and by instructors as utilizing “safe house and travel days” when moving and/or trading victims. One instructor shared a local example where traffickers were conducting “reverse surveillance” on local law enforcement. Traffickers were recording law enforcements' shift changes to know when fewer officers were on duty, so they could reduce the chance of detection while in transit with victims. Traffickers identified Sunday morning as the best time to move victims without raising suspicion and

avoiding detection. The traffickers used nearby interstate highways to blend in with heavy traffic. Speaking of this reverse surveillance by traffickers, the instructor stated,

Methods of control...moving victims from one location to another, where a victim may not know the time or state they are in and are less likely to locate assistance. Like I said, this guy was moving girls out every single week.

Traffickers' two primary movement control strategies of creating physical barriers to movement and disorienting victims through movement functioned to physically and socially isolate victims, force work, deter escape, and avoid detection. The next method of controlling victims' communication with others further isolates victims and facilitates force, fraud, and coercion.

Communication. Controlling victims' communication with people inside and outside of the trafficking operation was described across the data as creating social isolation, deterring escape, and making victims think there are no other options but to obey traffickers. Traffickers were described as controlling victims' communication using three primary methods, including limiting victims' access to communication technology, obstructing victims' in-person communication, and indoctrinating victims to scripts. Traffickers were described as limiting victims' access to a wide range of communication technology that could be used to contact assistance – such as family, friends, nonprofit organizations, or law enforcement. These communication technologies included access to phones, the Internet, computers, email, media/news, and cameras. This limited access for victims was contrasted in the training materials by discussions of traffickers' use of communication technologies to operate trafficking businesses. Limiting access to the media, news, and other information sources was also

connected to traffickers' use of movement control to keep victims' unfamiliar with and disoriented within their surroundings.

The training manuals and videos also described traffickers controlling victims by obstructing their in-person conversations with others. Examples described traffickers speaking for the victims or limiting victims' conversations through intimidation. In a training video, a trafficking survivor explained how her trafficker physically intimidated her during conversations with police. She said:

The police came to the house a few times, to ask me if I was ok and I said yeah. And the man was next to the door, close to me. The police just left. The times that they came, that's what they did, they just looked and left.

The training manuals and videos went on to discuss traffickers as a barrier by speaking for victims and preventing them from speaking with others. Instructors recommended that officers dig deep into this type of situation because it could be trafficking or other crimes. Trainees were also instructed to be suspicious of workplace situations where the potential trafficker – usually a manager – is speaking for others, especially if the manager is the only person who speaks English. As one trafficking survivor begged in a training video, “Please, please, please, for the officers, do not allow the employer to be a translator for this person” because traffickers manipulate this type of interaction. For unsuspecting officers, the obstruction of victims' communication was effective, especially when traffickers used language as a barrier. Every instructor recommended that officers call in translators if they encounter language barriers in suspicious situations. One instructor explained:

I've stopped a vanload of Mexicans immigrants. No one but the driver spoke English...[t]his was many years ago. I stopped them for a traffic violation. I didn't know anything about trafficking then. Looking back, I know it was a human trafficking case because he had all their identification. All of them kept their heads down. No one spoke English. When you see something like that – encounter it – you need to call an interpreter out there. Separate the driver from the rest. You may have a trafficking case on your hands.

The third type of communication control method was indoctrinating victims to scripts to hide trafficking from outsiders. The training materials, instructors, and officers working cases all warned that the “truth” of trafficking events can be difficult to decipher even when officers have opportunities to question potential or confirmed victims separated from traffickers. Throughout the data, examples were shared of potential and confirmed victims “not coming off their story,” but officers were encouraged to interview those individuals again or call in assistance from another officer or NGO worker who is skilled at building rapport with victims and/or shares identity characteristics with the victim – such as gender, race, ethnicity, age, and religious beliefs. As one federal agent stated in a training video,

If there's a gut feeling that somebody's controlling this person or scripting their answers, it's worth following up on. Some of our biggest success stories have involved police officers on the front line saying something's wrong with this picture.

In training sessions, when instructors and trainees discussed “truth” in relation to victim scripting, the groups used the term truth to describe situations where physical evidence suggests human trafficking and officers determine that trafficking is most likely occurring, but victims'

stories – or testimony – do not corroborate the physical evidence suggesting force, fraud, and/or coercion. As a result, instructors described trafficking as the type of trauma that “sticks with a person” and “warps victims’ minds,” which results in victims’ sharing scripts – or “cover story” – that traffickers coach them to tell authorities. This interpretation of victim behavior by instructors and trainees speaks to the perceived controlling power that traffickers have over victims even after victims are rescued from traffickers. For example, one instructor shared a story of 12-14 immigrant laborers living in a duplex. Law enforcement was called on a community complaint of too many people living in a dwelling. The “manager” held the identification documents for everyone in the group and the living condition in the duplex was substandard, but the laborers did not provide any further information to support human trafficking. As a result, laborers were referred to federal authorities and cited for immigration violations. The instructor described this as a missed opportunity to uncovering trafficking in their community.

Cultural knowledge. Traffickers were depicted as using cultural knowledge – such as norms, values, and beliefs – to control victims. The training manual begins this discussion of control through cultural knowledge by addressing the “popular myths” that “trafficker’s actions are culturally appropriate,” “the victim knew what they were getting into,” or “the victim committed unlawful acts.” The training manuals and instructors described the abuse of cultural knowledge as nuanced and psychological because the control method requires a complex understanding of victims’ social norms, values, and beliefs, which in turn requires law enforcement to gain the necessary knowledge to interpret the use of cultural-based control as

force, fraud, and/or coercion. The use of culture primarily focused on two control methods, including the fraudulent promise of prosperity and cultural-based shame.

The fraudulent promise of prosperity was used to control victims to join the trafficking operation and to keep them working once enslaved. The training manual and training session discussions also connected the promise of prosperity to the American Dream. The United States was discussed in the training sessions as a country where talent and hard work are rewarded, which allows industrious individuals prosperity and social mobility. In a training video, a federal agent explained:

We see it all across the country, people are promised better lives. They're told that they'll come here to the land of opportunity, you can make your money, you can feed your family and when they get here they're placed into a role they can't get out of.

Foreign-born people from impoverished countries were described as especially vulnerable to this promise of prosperity. As one instructor explained, "We are a rich and powerful country, which attracts people from all over the world...everyone wants to come to the U.S." These comments spoke to a PowerPoint slide showing the countries of origin for foreign-born victims discovered in the United States. The training manual described how trafficking operations worked with or employed recruiters within and across U.S. borders to use the promise of prosperity to lure victims. Traffickers were often described as sharing culture, nationality, ethnicity, and/or language with victims, which provided traffickers with access to vulnerable populations and the cultural knowledge to control them. As a federal agent described in a training video,

Often you'll have a recruiter or two or three recruiters in the home country from that family who are pitching this dream of a better life to the victims. Other people facilitate their illegal entry, and then you'll get the people who are making the money off of them by abusing them...

This tactic was called the "bait and switch" for the manner in which traffickers ensnare victims with promises of prosperity and then change the circumstances and/or labor agreement to trap victims into servitude once they arrive. One instructor explained that victims are "sold a bill of goods that is not worth the story," and traffickers used the knowledge of victims' background and culture to sell that story. As one trafficking survivor described in a training video,

I grew up in Cameroon. I was 14 years old. When I came to the States, I was told that I was going to go to school when I came here, but unfortunately when I get here it didn't happen that way. I was taking care of kids, cooking, doing laundry.

Culture-based shame was also described as a powerful tool for controlling victims, especially in relation to shame and gender. The training manual stated,

The victim may feel a deep sense of shame, rejection for criminal activity or abuse...feel shame about the type of work they were made to do...feel ashamed to admit victimization...[and] the victim may be afraid their families and communities will reject or punish them if they find out.

Training session discussions explained shame as a control method, including discussions of gendered shame and the honorable victim. Shame and gender was connected with women described as particularly susceptible to shame when victimized in the sex industry and/or by rape and with men victimized in manual labor and/or by beatings. These discussions equated

controlling shame most often with women shamed by sex and men shamed by physical weakness.

Training session discussions also framed victims searching for a better life as honorable people forced into criminal behavior when faced with obligations to pay debts. As one instructor explained, “traffickers manipulate victim’s moral and ethical codes...[because] victims are honorable people,” or as another instructor stated, “they [victims] want to pay their debt, they don’t want to be criminals.” This portrayal of victims as honorable reinforced the training manual’s message that people are victims rather than criminals.

Close relationships. Close relationships – such as familial, friendship, and romantic – made people vulnerable to traffickers willing to exploit these relationships to control victims. According to law enforcement training materials, traffickers use close relationships to control victims using two primary methods: exploiting their close relationship with victims and/or exploiting victims with threats to victims’ family and friends. These threats against victims’ close relationships are directed towards the physical safety of victims’ loved ones and/or to negatively impact victims’ relationships with loved ones. As a trafficking survivor explained in a training video, “They had threatened me, that if I tell anyone what’s going on that he will kill my family. My family is very important. That’s all what I have, my family.” Examples in the training manual and supplementary materials brought into the training by instructors described traffickers threatening family members or friends of victims in home countries, but also examples where traffickers held victims’ family members hostage.

Traffickers also used close relationship with victims to exert control. These close relationships between traffickers and victims were described in two forms with relationships

developing during the trafficking experience or before the trafficking began. The close relationships that developed during the trafficking experience were described in the training manual as “Stockholm” syndrome, or as one instructor explained, “feeling loyalty, gratitude, or dependence upon an individual related to the trafficking operation...[and the victim] actually begins to identify with the traffickers.” The training manual described these feelings becoming strong as laborers spend time with traffickers and rely on traffickers for essential resources, which can be interpreted by victims as supportive actions that traffickers can then manipulate. The training manual described victims interpreting these types of close relationships with the traffickers as friendship, family, and/or romantic in nature. The training manual also describes the loyalty victims can develop for traffickers as a “survival mechanism” and/or part of a “brainwashing” process by traffickers.

Traffickers were also described in training materials and by officers working cases as having or developing close relationships prior to the trafficking as a method of coercing victims into trafficking. In the training manual, these relationships were often described as ones similar to dating or marriage relationships, or parent-child relationships, which dispels the myth that “it can't be trafficking when the trafficker and victim are related or married.” The training manual described close relationship control-based cases as difficult to access because they often occur in private homes and away from public attention. The training manual also explained how marriage relationships could be exploited in a similar fashion with abuse in domestic labor and sexual exploitation. It states:

While the practice of arranging to marry someone from another country is not necessarily trafficking, some traffickers hide their operations by posing as marriage brokerage

services. The determining factors for trafficking are the circumstances the 'bride' faces once in place; is she being held in a condition of servitude through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purposes of forced labor or commercial sexual exploitation? Situations of servile marriage create inherent vulnerabilities.

Three officers working cases identified “boyfriend pimps” cases where victims were described as young women – some under 18 years old – from broken homes and/or living in poverty. These “boyfriends” used “wine and dine” tactics that included gifts, meals, and/or shelter to make a victim dependent on the trafficker. In the officers’ stories, these boyfriends eventually pay for everything, and then force the young woman to participate in sex trafficking as a way to pay back or contribute financially to the relationship. Officers described young women shamed into thinking they have no other skills or job opportunities that could contribute the money needed to support the couple’s lifestyle. Sometimes the sex trafficking was described as temporary, but then turned into a long-term situation from which the victims felt there was no escape. The officers also described the use of drugs, alcohol, and physical abuse by boyfriend pimps to further strengthen their control over victims.

The training materials also discussed parents trafficking their children, usually due to poverty and debt. The manuals and videos did not contain many examples of this type of trafficking, so instructors used supplementary instruction materials, primarily videos and news articles to exemplify this type of close-relationship control. Three of the four training sessions highlighted the Shaniya Davis case, a famous trafficking case from 2009 in Fayetteville, North Carolina. The case involved the “rape and murder” of 5 year-old Shaniya Davis, who was traded by her mother to Mario McNeill for sex to pay back a “\$200 debt.” The news footage viewed

during the training sessions included images of the young girl being carried by her killer into a hotel elevator, which was key evidence in the case. News outlets followed this case across the state throughout the investigation and trial; so many trainees were familiar with the case and encouraged group discussion on this type of trafficker control.

Corruption. Corruption functioned as a control method in two forms, including the corruption – or manipulation – of government documents, policies, and institutions as well as the use of money to corrupt government officers to facilitate trafficking operation and control victims.

The first method is the corruption – or manipulation – of government documents, policies, and institutions to control victims. This often occurred in relation to the bait and switch tactics discussed above, including the use of illegal and/or legal documents – such as employment contracts, identification, visas, financial records, and health records among others. Fake contracts were described as designed to mimic or appear legal through the misrepresentation and/or deceitful use of government laws, rules, and regulations, so victims are forced to work under the threat of legal action. The training materials described victims as fearful of legal repercussions based on these fake documents, which may require a range of requirements and conditions – including a cycle of never-ending debt, set duration of employment, and/or different labor tasks or conditions than originally promised. Traffickers also confiscated any legal documents from victims – such as passports, driver’s licenses/identification cards, paychecks, banking information, and medical records, among others – that could identify victims and facilitate their escape. Victims were described as fearing they would receive no assistance or sympathy from authorities if they had no identifying documentation to legitimize

their claims of who they were and how they were exploited. For example, a training video described a Taiwanese girl brought to California at age 7 by a wealthy Taiwanese family. The young girl's family was promised she would receive an education thanks to her "adoptive" parents, and the girl was given false documents stating she was a member of the wealthy family. When she arrived in California, the girl was forced to clean and provide childcare for the family. At age 19, the girl escaped with the help of a neighbor she met at the park. The girl told authorities she believed she was being an obedient daughter, but years of abuse and broken promises prompted her escape.

Traffickers also used imprisonment and/or deportation as threats against victims to maintain control. In the training materials, victims described believing the lies and manipulation because traffickers had, or at least appeared to have, superior knowledge of the U.S. government's institutions and systems. This appeared to legitimize and strengthen traffickers' threats. As the training manual explained,

They [victims] fear possible deportation and often feel their situation is their own fault. They may have been intentionally misinformed of their rights by the perpetrator and unaware of available assistance.

Or, as a former victim explained in a training video:

She [trafficker] was telling me that if the police catch you on the road they're going to lock you up and then have you sent back home. I can't do anything, because I don't have nobody here, I'm here alone.

The second form of corruption comprised bribing of government officials. Even if traffickers were lying about the nature and scope of their influence, victims were described as

believing traffickers' claims out of a distrust of government institutions and authorities; although, across the data, the primary focus was on corruption in foreign countries rather than domestic corruption of U.S. officials. As one trafficking survivor explained in a training video, "First, you [victim] have no documents. Second, you don't speak English, and you don't have money...and I'm sorry to say in my country only people who have money have justice." Further, the training materials stated, "[Victims] mistrust law enforcement because officers in their home country may be corrupt and even directly involved in the trafficking trade," or as a sheriff in a training video explained, "In many different countries law enforcement and governments are corrupt."

Training session discussions were uncomfortable and tense when officers discussed the possibility of domestic corruption, especially within their own region or jurisdiction. One instructor started a conversation on domestic corruption by stating, "Where there is money, there is corruption," but trainees did not engage in a dialogue. Instead, training session conversations further reinforced the dichotomy between corrupt foreign countries and the United States. One training session, in particular, had a lively conversation between the instructor and trainees where officers shared stories of immigrants who feared law enforcement because of corruption in their home country. The first was a story about a "Hispanic family" that was given to the Sheriff's office as part of a community drive to "adopt a family for Christmas." The instructor and trainees discussed how they collected toys, money, food, and clothing for the family; but when the deputies arrived to deliver the gifts, the family ran out of the home and into the woods because they feared being deported. One trainee stated, "Y'all remember that! We were taking them Christmas," a statement met with laughter by the group. Three other officers told the story

of the “Lithuanian DWI arrest.” They explained how they calmed down a “Lithuanian drunk” because he was terrified the local officers were going to beat him. The Lithuanian man told the officers how he was mistreated in a Lithuanian jail. They described how it took them “forever to convince the drunken man that law enforcement is not corrupt in the United States.”

Officers were more comfortable mentioning local corruption in private conversations with me during my interviews with officers working cases and during training session breaks. An officer working cases commented in an interview: “We are all susceptible to corruption...America is just not that great to not have corruption...[because] money is the root of all evil.” Similarly, a senior officer approached me during a training session break to share a local story of corruption that he was uncomfortable sharing with the class. The officer spoke of an incident in the 1990s; local officers were protecting a Hispanic brothel in exchange for bribes and sex. The officer said, “Thinking about this training, it was trafficking. There was force and coercion going on. We did not know about human trafficking back then. We thought it was just a brothel.” At the end of our conversation, the officer added, “There was a group of them [corrupt officers]. It wasn’t just one bad apple.”

Conclusion

This first chapter of “findings” addresses the two research questions that guide this study: RQ₁: How is law enforcement communicatively constituted as the organization adapts to human trafficking through the trafficking training initiative and officers’ trafficking casework? RQ₂: How is power enabled and limited by the rules and resources taught in the trafficking training and in officers’ trafficking casework? First, I explained how law enforcement was communicatively constituted – RQ₁ -- through an oppositional discourse on traffickers and

trafficking organizations and the strategies such organizations adopt to operate their businesses. From the analysis of data, I argued that law enforcement communicatively constituted its oppositions in three ways: in the way it defined traffickers (as criminals) and those trafficked (as victims), in the ways it made sense of how vulnerable victims were exploited by profit-making trafficking organizations, and in the ways trafficking organizations were constituted as businesses employing complex modes of operation to counter law enforcement's anti-trafficking efforts and make profits. These three ways functioned to assist law enforcement with case identification, evidence collection, and filing charges. Trafficking cases require officers to prove that traffickers – as employers – used force, fraud, and/or coercion to exploit trafficking victims – as employees. Key to proving force, fraud, and/or coercion are the methods traffickers use to control victims. As explained in the second half of this chapter, these methods point to (RQ2) how law enforcement trains its officers to understand the play of power and control in trafficking contexts. Law enforcement training posits that traffickers manipulate and exploit seven resources to exercise power and maintain control in trafficking situations. These resources are: 1) physical abuse, 2) money, 3) movement, 4) communication, 5) cultural knowledge, 6) close relationships, and 7) corruption. These resources can be used in isolation or in combination to control victims, but the effectiveness of trafficker power can vary.

Understanding how law enforcement constitutes its opposition and how traffickers use resources to control victims provides a framework to combat trafficking. Expanding on this understanding of trafficking from the training and casework, officers can define their role in anti-trafficking efforts, allocate resources to address trafficking, take proactive and reactive actions

against trafficking, organize and maintain useful partnerships, and use available rules and resources to achieve their goals. These will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Chapter 5:

Constituting Law Enforcement Through Roles and Partnerships

Introduction

The research questions I am attempting to address in this dissertation project, specifically in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, are: RQ₁: How is law enforcement communicatively constituted as the organization adapts to human trafficking through the trafficking training initiative and officers' work on trafficking cases? RQ₂: How is power enabled and limited by the rules and resources highlighted in the trafficking training and in officers' trafficking casework? In Chapter 4, I tried to explain how criminals and criminal organizations in human trafficking are constituted by law enforcement and how power is enabled and limited in the rules and resources used by traffickers and trafficking organizations to maintain control over victims. This chapter addresses how law enforcement is organizationally constituted in terms of its coalition partners, and concurrently, how in such a constitution, power is enabled and limited by rules and resources within these organizational relationships.

The first section of this chapter will discuss the constitution of law enforcement in anti-trafficking efforts. I will present three main relationships on this issue, which emerged from my data analysis. They are: constituting law enforcement's role in combating trafficking through the victim-centered approach and relationship with victims; constituting law enforcement through its partnership with federal agencies; and constituting law enforcement through its partnership with

nonprofit organizations. The second half of the chapter will discuss how resources and rules are combined to reinforce the organizational constitution of law enforcement through its power of authority. Law enforcement's power of authority comes from the government and is built into their hierarchical organizational structure. Law enforcement has the authority to enforce laws from the government. Law enforcement's determination of criminals and victims in possible trafficking situations leads to the incarceration and prosecution of criminals or access to social services for victims. This power creates a tension for organizational partnerships and coalition efforts. Law enforcement uses the authority to determine criminals and victims to achieve criminal prosecution because law enforcement is constituted by what it is working for – the state. As an extension of government authority to combat crime, law enforcement's organizational structure gives leaders the power to set priorities in crime prevention by allocating resources for casework. Leadership uses resources to assist in or limit law enforcement's participation in trafficking cases and coalition efforts based on the return of resource investment. I begin this chapter with an examination of the constitution of law enforcement through organizational partnerships in their anti-trafficking efforts.

Constituting Law Enforcement

Law enforcement is constituted by the communication of their role in anti-trafficking efforts and by their relationships with external partners – specifically federal agencies and nonprofit organizations (NPOs). These relationships are at the heart of North Carolina's interorganizational efforts against trafficking because resource sharing is essential to combating the complex crime of trafficking. These external relationships are, however, not easy to negotiate, as one officer stated in a training video, "We're going to have to learn how to trust,

how to be open, how to share.” The North Carolina Coalition Against Human Trafficking (NCCAHT) – the statewide coalition – and the North Carolina Justice Academy – law enforcement’s division of education – encourage interorganizational collaboration by creating law enforcement’s human trafficking training program that defines roles for the coalition’s member organizations, providing goals for measuring coalition success, and assisting officers working trafficking cases. Success of the coalition is measured by the ability of member organizations to fulfill their coalition role to meet the goals of prevention, protection, and prosecution. More specifically, these coalition goals include the prevention of human trafficking, protection of victims, and prosecution of traffickers. Law enforcement plays a central role in these goals by protecting victims, investigating trafficking cases, and charging traffickers with crimes. However, law enforcement must also navigate the unique rules, resources, and cultures of their external organizational partners. It is in the training of enforcement personnel and while working cases that power is also negotiated in the relationships between law enforcement and external partners as each uses rules and resources to influence situational outcomes and the behavior of others. The following section addresses the communication constitution of law enforcement by examining, first, its victim-centered approach, and then, its partnerships with federal law enforcement agencies and nonprofit organizations.

Law enforcement’s victim-centered approach. The victim-centered approach is the guiding principle for actions taken by professionals working in North Carolina’s anti-trafficking efforts. This approach places victims’ needs and outcomes as the primary concern with the approach designed, as the training materials state, for the “empowerment of victims so they may

advocate for themselves” in their interactions with anti-trafficking professionals and the “liberation of victims so the healing process can begin.” Local law enforcement plays a unique role in coalition efforts against human trafficking and fulfilling the victim-centered approach. In a training video, a federal agent describes this role as,

Local law enforcement are the eyes and ears that are on the ground. They protect and serve, and they run into much more people than we do on a daily basis, so they also in turn receive much more information.

As law enforcement’s role is constituted through the training and in working cases, the victim-centered approach means that officers have to work towards being caring and rigorous in their work to achieve justice for victims. This leads to cases being time consuming and requiring a large amount of resources. As a federal agent in the training video stated, “These cases take a lot of man hours; it takes a lot of sweat and tears. The end result is worth the sweat.” This construction of officer behavior results in specific reasons and recommendations for officers to observe certain protocols in treating victims and working cases within a victim-centered approach. I will first discuss the constitution of the caring officer, and then address the rigor and diligence required to work trafficking cases.

Officers were taught and they discussed the importance of being caring towards victims to fulfill the victim-centered approach and to meet the goal of building strong cases that lead to criminal prosecution. A sheriff in a training video explained, “If you care about the victims, it will show. If you’re just doing the job, that’ll show, too.” The care law enforcement officers demonstrate is in reaction to the control and trauma victims face during trafficking and in their relationships with traffickers. The training materials and officers working cases stressed the

need for specific officer behavior to overcome victim trauma to secure cooperation. The motivation for officers caring for victims was explained in the training. An attorney in a training video stated, “This is a crime like no other. This is a crime that your evidence is a human being. So by taking care of the victim’s needs, you’re really taking care of your investigation.” Trauma can manifest in different obstructionist behavior by victims and this behavior can send contradictory messages to professionals. As the training materials stated, “Trauma will be expressed differently by each person ranging from intense expressions of feelings such as anger or fear to a lack of emotion or flat affect.” This trauma can also make, as the training materials suggest, victims “adopt self-protective reactions as part of their efforts to cope with the trauma,” which means “victims may not tell the truth, at first, out of fear of the traffickers, law enforcement, or legal ramifications...their stories may be fragmented, inconsistent, or contradictory because of their varying levels of experiences with each entity.” For example, a trafficking victim explained: “We [trafficking victims] always look down. We never look at the people in their face. We are always afraid of other people to know our situation. We avoid questions.” Since victims experienced such trauma, officers were taught to first focus on safety. The training materials provide a process of steps for officers to work with victims. As the training materials stated, “Officers must assess the safety of the victim at the time of discovery, addressing issues such as health, physical, and mental needs. Officers must assess the lethality of the individual situation and provide for safety planning.”

The evaluation process to establish the safety plan begins with the first suspicion that a situation could be one of trafficking, as an officer in a training video stated: “Each of those individuals must be approached as a possible potential trafficking victim, every one of

them...[because] we want victims to feel that they can come to us and that they won't be violated twice." Officers are taught and discuss building "rapport" – or strong working relationships – with victims to achieve the best results in case building and criminal prosecution. As the training materials explained, victims of trafficking are often brainwashed to distrust law enforcement and the government. Further,

They may have been intentionally misinformed of their rights by the perpetrator and unaware of available assistance. Many victims do not self-identify as victims and do not see themselves as in need of assistance. Establishing rapport will provide continual reassurance to the victim with helping them throughout this process of rebuilding their lives.

To build rapport, officers were described as needing to be gentle and supportive when interacting with victims. This approach was said to set a tone and environment where victims feel safe; so verbal and nonverbal communication was outlined to demonstrate care, including specific phrases to use throughout officer/victim interactions that reinforce the trusting and mutually beneficial nature of the relationship (Table 5.1). The focus on caring and patience brought up discussions of negative perceptions of local law enforcement in different disadvantaged communities, especially racial minority, impoverished, and immigrant communities.

From training materials and in training discussions, law enforcement officers expressed concern over challenges they face connecting and working with diverse populations. For example, sharing his personal experiences, one instructor said, "They [African American children] are scared of us, and children can keep this fear into adulthood." This prompted a

discussion about multigenerational distrust of law enforcement in some communities, which can hinder casework. The training materials proposed different methods for taking less aggressive approaches to policing to prevent a situation in which, as the training materials warned, “If the police show up too aggressively, they’ll [victims] withdraw and never tell their story”. This can disrupt a trafficking case investigation and prevent prosecution.

Table 5.1

Trust Building Phrases

Sample Phrases

You are safe now.

No one here will hurt you.

Under the law, victims of trafficking can apply for special visas or could receive other forms of immigration relief.

Coming to us/working with us will help you.

You are a victim, not a criminal.

What happened to you was wrong, and the person who did this to you should be in jail.

You have a right to live without being abused.

You deserve the chance to become self-sufficient and independent.

By helping us, you are helping yourself.

We can help get you what you need.

You can trust us.

We want to make sure what happened to you doesn't happen to anyone else.

You have rights.

You are entitled to assistance. We can help you get assistance

If you are a victim of trafficking, you can receive help to rebuild your life safely.

In addition to being caring, local law enforcement’s victim-centered approach included being rigorous in their trafficking casework through dedication to victim justice and adapting their skills to the unique characteristics of human trafficking. This rigor and dedication was

epitomized by the concept of “digging deeper” into suspicious situations to uncover the “hidden” crime of human trafficking. This, in a way, is an extension of caring for victims by caring enough to dedicate resources to the intense work against trafficking. The process of identifying and investigating trafficking cases begins with gathering information that supports the elements of the crime – including, as the training manual explained, “1) act (recruit, obtain, transport)...2) means (force, fraud, coercion, need to prove at least one unless victim under 18)...[and] 3) end (sex act, labor, servitude).” This process begins with proactive and reactive efforts against trafficking.

Proactive efforts require support from law enforcement leadership to allocate extra resources. According to the training manual, proactive efforts include the ability to “identify possible situations or businesses you suspect of human trafficking,” “investigate the situation or business covertly,” “if you find indicators or evidence, continue the covert investigation,” “notify the appropriate authorities immediately,” and “contact local service providers as soon as possible.” In contrast, as the training manual explained, reactive efforts include “uncover[ing] trafficking while addressing other crimes or calls for assistance.” More specifically, reactive efforts require officers to complete any or all of the following: 1) “handle the immediate crime and/or victim's need,” 2) “arrest for underlying crimes, if possible, such as: fraud, kidnapping, physical or sexual assault, or any other underlying crime,” 3) “notify the appropriate authorities immediately,” 4) “contact local service providers as soon as possible,” and/or begin 5) “evidence collection.”

Reactive efforts are more common for law enforcement because proactive efforts require more resources, while reactive efforts require knowledge to identify trafficking in their everyday

work. As one instructor stated, “There are many examples of officers coming across [trafficking] situations by happenstance. Something as simple as stopping a car can lead you to something like this.” But reactive efforts are not easy to initiate because officers have to recognize evidence that raises suspicion of trafficking, and then gather enough information to identify trafficking and initiate an investigation. Another instructor explained,

It is harder to get under [officers’] skin to get them to dig, dig, and dig. Even if you get to a dead end, at least you have gone far enough to know that nothing was there. But, there is that time when you dig it may open up a whole big case. That is the hardest part because you don’t have to believe what you see necessarily, but put a little water on it and wipe it away to see what you find.

The reactive efforts require officers to “dig, dig, and dig” because officers are more familiar with other crimes that can mask trafficking and distract officers from identification. This newness and masking by other crimes are why trafficking was referred to as a hidden crime during the training and by officers working cases. Despite not fully understanding trafficking, officers were encouraged to be rigorous in their investigation skills to gather enough evidence from the beginning to identify trafficking after the fact. This is explained by a sheriff in a training video. He stated, “You may not realize what you have. You may not completely understand what you have. But document it and start looking for help.” It is in this evidence collection process that technology can be an invaluable resource for identifying and investigating trafficking. An officer working cases noted that “technology is becoming another member of the team.” It does not matter if one shoots still photographs or videos, as a deputy in a training video recommended, “Every patrolman should have a camera. Take pictures. Take pictures of people.

Take pictures of scenes. Take pictures of vehicles. Be as detailed as possible with your pen and with your camera.” Along with pictures, recording, and officer notes, a variety of physical evidence is required to build a human trafficking case. The training manual provided a long list of suggestions for collecting physical evidence. For example, when faced with a brothel situation that could be trafficking, the training manual recommended officers collect,

Physical evidence from related crimes such as: condoms, condom wrappers, lubricants, paper towels, soiled, sheets, etc. Other items to look for include brothel ledgers, photographs of the victims, tally sheets, telephone numbers, bank records, victim diaries, provocative clothing, sex paraphernalia, and digital evidence such as cell phones, text messages, iPods, and laptops. Operations of establishments including signage.

This type of physical evidence is, first, used to show the organization is an illegal brothel, and then, second, to connect these illegal business transitions with concepts of force, fraud, and/or coercion needed to distinguish between traffickers and victims. One clear method for accomplishing this goal of identifying trafficking businesses and distinguishing between traffickers and victims is to conduct interviews and collect official statements from everyone involved in the potential crime. Key to this process is differentiating between traffickers and victims. The training materials stated that “It is important to remember, even though individuals may have been forced to engage in criminal activity, they should be regarded as potential victims; appropriate screening is needed to make this determination.” During the training and for officers working cases, a distinction was made between interrogating traffickers and interviewing victims. An officer working cases said, “I treat them as victims first. The evidence determines who is and who is not a victim from there.” This strategy demonstrates how officers

combined the caring for victims with the rigor of investigation. While interrogating is aggressive and intimidating in nature, interviewing was explained as a gentler process of supporting victims. A leader in the Department of Justice stated in a training video, “[victims] have to be approached with respect, with dignity, and really try to get to the bottom of what it was that happened to them. The number one rule about interviewing a trafficking victim is to put them at ease.” Once a potential victim was at ease, the training provided specific question routines to determine if someone was a criminal or victim (Table 5.2). Officers were encouraged to include external organizational partners at different points within local law enforcement’s anti-trafficking efforts. The timing and nature of these external collaborations depended on the situations local law enforcement faced. The next two sections of this chapter discuss the inclusion of external partners by first addressing the need for collaboration with federal agencies, and then nonprofit organizations.

The victim-centered approach is a guiding principle introduced in the training materials that places the victim’s needs and outcomes as a central concerns in law enforcement’s anti-trafficking efforts. The victim-centered approach focuses on victim empowerment, healing, and advocacy as a result of victims engaging with anti-trafficking professional and entering government systems. Law enforcement is in a unique position to work with victims in a victim-centered approach as the professional in coalition efforts that protect, serve, and gather information in the criminal justice system. During the training and for officers working cases, a victim-centered approach meant being caring towards victims and rigorous in case investigation to succeeding in achieving justice for victims through the criminal prosecution of trafficker.

Casework that includes caring for victims and rigorous investigation requires many resources, especially manpower, to be successful in prosecuting traffickers.

Table 5.2

Training Questions for Determining Victimization

Type of Question	Sample Questions
Physical Abuse	Were you ever threatened with harm if you tried to leave? Did you ever witness any threats against other people if they tried to leave? Has your family been threatened?
Fraud/Financial Coercion	Did you come to this country for a specific job that you were promised? Who promised you this job? Were you forced to do different work?
Freedom of Movement	Do you live and work in the same place? What were the conditions under which you were left unattended? Were there instances of physical restriction through locks, chains, etc.?
Psychological Coercion	Who are you afraid of? Why are you afraid of them? What would you like to see happen to the people who hurt you (e.g., jail, deportation)? How do you feel about the police and why?
Environmental Indicators	Do you live and work in the same place? Where do you live/eat/sleep? Where do the alleged perpetrators live/eat/sleep? Are the living conditions between the two excessively disparate?

Officers must build cases with traumatized victims by building rapport – or strong and productive working relationships – and overcome the hidden nature of trafficking by digging deeper and identifying evidence that demonstrates force, fraud, and/or coercion. Officers discussed how this victim-centered approach and working trafficking cases was not simple – like traffic stops, but required intense and stressful work similar to other sensitive, high-level felony crimes that involve traumatized victims – such a child pornography or some domestic violence cases. Officers were taught to adapt their case identification and investigations skills to meet the new crime of human trafficking – including working with victims and collecting specific types of evidence, which were adapted skills used by officers in trafficking casework. Law enforcement as an organization was communicatively constituted by a training initiative and casework that reinforces law enforcement’s position to protect and service the community through crime identification, investigation, prosecution, and incarceration, but expands this government role by adapting law enforcement to address the unique characteristics of human trafficking.

Law enforcement cannot combat human trafficking alone, especially with the diverse needs of victims and resources needed to work trafficking cases. External partnerships are needed to provide further resources to help victims and expand investigations. Partnering with federal agencies assists local law enforcement by providing resources for case identification and investigation.

Collaborating with federal agencies. Federal agencies fulfilled two major roles in providing resources to assist local law enforcement with trafficking cases. The two primary federal agencies assisting local law enforcement were the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Homeland Security Investigation (HSI) within the U.S. Immigration and Customs

Enforcement (ICE). This combination of agencies brings different resources to interorganizational collaboration against trafficking.

Local law enforcement is constituted through the communication of and between their relationships with these federal agencies. During the training and for officers working cases, relationships between local law enforcement and federal agencies were discussed as comfortable or a natural fit because, as different types of law enforcement agencies, local police or sheriff departments and federal field offices shared similar cultures and procedures as well as an understanding of the threats and responsibilities officers face. This sense of camaraderie reinforced the shared goals of victim identification and criminal prosecution and facilitated cooperation. Speaking to these shared goals and methods in a training video, an Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) supervisor explained,

Our main goal is to attack these [trafficking] organizations. We can't effectively attack these organizations with just, you know, a handful of authorities. But we can get them with combined authorities.

In addition, a senior member of the U.S. Department of Justice stated in a training video, "I'd urge everybody to call their federal partners very early in the process...we can actually be a force multiplier for what you're finding on the ground." As a force multiplier, federal agencies offered a variety of resources, including additional manpower to work cases, advanced technology for surveilling trafficking operations and analyzing evidence, expanded jurisdiction to connect local trafficking operations to broader criminal networks across large geographic areas, and a larger variety of incentives to secure victim collaboration. For example, in a training video, a police sergeant shared this experience of federal agencies being a force multiplier:

My partner and I got a call of an assault situation at a restaurant. We soon discovered that there were ten to a dozen Chinese immigrants who were being forced to work at this restaurant. That's when we called in INS [Immigration and Naturalization Services, now ICE]. Once INS was on board, it just opened up the case, you know, tenfold. We started discovering all these apartments where they were housing people, and we were able to figure out who our suspect was.

The ability to use federal agencies to connect local cases to larger networks of organized crime was discussed in the training sessions and by officers working cases as a major asset federal agencies bring to collaborations. As one officer working cases stated,

We [local police] don't catch the smart criminals. We catch the dumb ones. We would like to catch the 'big fish,' but they are protected by layers of 'grunts' that go to prison instead. We need evidence from the whole criminal network to get the guys at the top [of the trafficking organizations], but we don't have that capability [resources] in our department.

But access to federal resources was not enough to build strong cases against large trafficking organizations and networks. Local law enforcement and federal agents had to overcome barriers and build relationships to be successful. The training manual referred to this as the difference between the "importance of surveillance versus a need for an immediate raid." This means that federal agents conduct surveillance over long periods of time to collect sufficient evidence to prove force, fraud, and/or coercion that allow criminal activity to progress before a bust is made, while local law enforcement tend to conduct busts of criminal organizations once initial identification of a crime occurs. The training manual suggested building, long-term trusting

relationships between local officers and federal agents to overcome differences. One method discussed in the training materials is the use of shared space and joint meetings to overcome collaboration barriers. A training video modeled the desired collaborative behavior with a U.S. Attorney stating, “There has to be a mutual respect for this local mission and the state mission, the federal mission, at every level. That’s why we have a Clover County Sheriff’s deputy assigned to the FBI right now working in FBI space.” The video then showed federal and local agents in workplace conversation collaborating on a case with an agent and officer stating, “Hey Bob, when you get a chance, can you come over here? Sure, what you got?” One officer working cases utilized this method with his local HSI agent to collaborate on cases by having the HSI agent attend meetings at the local sheriff department on a regular basis. To facilitate this type of collaboration, the training manual included a federal reference sheet to connect officers with federal resources (Table 5.3).

Federal agents are also helpful for local law enforcement by offering assistance in completing federal visa and social services to secure collaboration from trafficking victims in cases against traffickers – as an officer working cases described, “building relationships with ICE [U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement] helps get your paperwork in order, so the NGOs can take care of the victim.” The federal visa paperwork includes a victim certification letter – or the official title of form I-914B – that verifies victims are cooperating in criminal justice proceeding against traffickers by local law enforcement. The victim certification letter is required for the T visa application, which – if successful – provides social services and a work permit for up to four years with future immigration assistance available. The authority to incentivize victim cooperation from the federal government expands local law enforcement’s

role in anti-trafficking efforts and motivates nonprofit organizations to collaborate with local law enforcement on human trafficking cases. The next section of this chapter will discuss the constitution of law enforcement through relationships with nonprofits.

Table 5.3

Federal Agency Reference Information

Agency	Basic Information
Federal Bureau of Investigation Victim-Witness Coordinator	Each field office has a victim-witness coordinator who specializes in victim assistance. They can be reached through headquarters victim witness staff at XXX-XXX-XXXX or by contacting your local field office.
U.S. Attorney Law Enforcement Community Coordinator (LECC)	This individual can address the particular needs of your department and find the appropriate agents, offices, and resources within the federal government. The liaison can be accessed through your local U.S. Attorney's Office.
U.S. Attorney Victim-Witness Coordinator	The victim-witness coordinator is responsible for organizing victim and witness services with federal and local law enforcement officials. They can obtain victim services in multiple jurisdictions and can be helpful in providing services in rural or remote areas. The coordinator is accessible through the local U.S. Attorney's Office.
U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) Victim-Witness Coordinator	There are over 300 ICE victim-witness coordinators throughout the U.S. who assist with victim needs and services. They are trained on the crime of human trafficking. For a referral to your local victim-witness coordinator call the ICE toll free number XXX-XXX-XXXX.

Collaborating with nonprofit organizations. In anti-trafficking efforts, nonprofit organizations (NPOs) are often charitable or service provider organizations that vary in mission and participation in the coalition's collective actions and partnerships. Due to the nature of their work, NPOs have close ties with diverse communities and organizations, including important knowledge about and relationships with disadvantaged and vulnerable populations. Community connections and available services are invaluable resources that lead to trafficking case identification and the stabilization of victims. As an officer working trafficking cases mentioned in an interview, NPOs were responsible for all his case identifications with cases resulting from "6 hotline tips, 2 notified by other agencies, and 1 from a community tip to the Rapid Response Team (RRT)." Nonprofits play a key role as case managers and social service providers for trafficking victims. Law enforcement requires close collaborative relationships with NPOs to accomplish their goals of trafficking case identification, victim cooperation, and trafficker prosecution. As a police captain explained in a training video,

There's a whole host of social service needs that law enforcement cannot provide. Part of our culture is hey, stand to the side ma'am, we can handle this, we can go at it alone. We know that we will not be effective if we have that kind of attitude. We're going to have to learn to bring in community partners that are really experts in this [human trafficking] work.

Officers, however, worried about collaborations with NPOs during in-training discussion. Trainees and instructors focused on the potential for case interference because officers were under pressure from law enforcement leadership to meet standards and goals for completing cases, but these worries were tempered by the difficulties of working with traumatized victims.

Persuading officers that collaboration with nonprofit organizations is beneficial, a director of a NPO stated in a training video,

What we do to help law enforcement is to create a stable environment for victims, to help them get to a place mentally and emotionally, psychologically, spiritually, where they are a good witness... Victims almost always come to us with nothing but their clothes on their back. They need food and shelter; they need a lot of medical attention. We're not here to disrupt the investigation. We really want the same thing, and that is to put the trafficker behind bars and to help this victim lead a normal life again.

Some NPOs act as case managers to organize social services through short-term and long-term plans to stabilize victims. Law enforcement officers working cases will remain in contact with these NPOs to know and work within these plans. Short-term plans – often managed by nonprofits within NCCAHT's RRTs – include the emergency services related to healthcare, shelter, clothes, food, and potentially a language interpreter – after a victim is identified. Long-term plans are taken over by NPOs handling case management and include services that help rebuild victims' lives – such as medical and mental health treatment, school or job training, housing, transportation, and legal services. The training materials and instructors encouraged officers to build professional networks of NPOs to work trafficking cases. The general contact information and websites for a variety of NPOs were provided within the training to assist officers in researching the topic of trafficking further and in building a professional network (Table 5.4). However, this information did not provide specific information about individual employees or small groups within the NPOs that directly assist law enforcement.

In an interview, an officer spoke to the reliability of teamwork between law enforcement and local, trusted NPOs. He said:

We [law enforcement] are not the ones who can provide food, shelter, school, clothes, and religious services. It is not our mission. We are lucky to have a Rapid Response Team that is well organized, so I can pick up my phone and have every service known to man like that [snaps fingers].

In-training discussions and interviews with officers working cases revealed that trust and reliability were law enforcement officers' main concern when building their personal network of NPO contacts and working partnerships. The instructors, including detectives, were all experienced officers who had worked cases from low-level misdemeanors to high-level felonies. In addition to the contact information listed in the training materials, some instructors provided contact and available service information for reliable, local or regional NPOs. Instructors also provided their personal contact information so trainees could ask questions or advice when they observed suspicious situations in future casework. Officers expressed concerns in the training and in interviews that organizational differences between law enforcement and NPOs were difficult barriers to overcome. As one instructor who had also worked trafficking cases warned trainees:

The hardest part about being involved on that team [Rapid Response Team] is working with the non-cops. If you're not a cop, then you don't understand cop mentality. For me to say, 'I can't tell somebody,' and then for them to go berserk because I can't reveal an investigative lead or anything. But, I know I need them. I have had to learn the hard way to work with some people who may not think the same way we do. They do have the...

Table 5.4

Social Service Reference Information

Agency	Basic Information
National Human Trafficking Resource Center (NHTRC)	The NHTRC is a Department of Health and Human Services (HHS)-funded program operated and implemented by Polaris Project for the purpose of providing a national, 24-hour, toll-free hotline number for the human trafficking field in the United States. The NHTRC works to help improve the national response to protect victims of human trafficking in the United States by providing callers with a range of comprehensive services. Available services include, crisis intervention, urgent and non-urgent referrals, tip reporting, comprehensive anti-trafficking resources, technical assistance for the anti-trafficking field, and those who wish to get involved, such as law enforcement officers, community members, medical professionals, researchers, policy makers, and potential victims of human trafficking. Toll free X-XXX-XXX-XXXX
Polaris Project	Based in Washington, D.C., Polaris offers victim support services such as shelter, legal advocacy, case management, and interpretation. Call XXX-XXX-XXXX
Trafficking in Persons and Worker Exploitation Task Force Complaint Line	This line can provide immediate translation services in over 150 languages. Law enforcement officers can also call this number for assistance in determining if a case may be trafficking. By providing information gathered through victim interviews, the call taker will complete an assessment or intake and connect you with federal law enforcement partners. The hotline is: XXX-XXX-XXXX or visit [website address].
National Trafficking Information and Referral Hotline	Operated by the National Human Trafficking Resource Center, this hotline can help you determine whether you may have a case of human trafficking and can identify local resources to assist victims. A dispatcher will be available 24/7 to answer your call. Call: X-XXX-XXX-XXXX or visit [website address].
The Freedom Network	This member-based organization links groups providing services in every region of the U.S. to trafficking victims. To contact, email [address] or visit [website address].
Legal Aid of North Carolina	Battered immigrants need legal assistance in order to navigate the complex maze of immigration laws that change on a regular basis. The Battered Immigrant Project (BIP) provides comprehensive and culturally appropriate legal services to battered immigrants, including victims of human trafficking, across the state of North Carolina, such as legal assistance with: Domestic violence protective orders, Family law issues, Public benefits, and Immigration issues Toll-free intake line: XXX-XXX-XXXX (bilingual English and Spanish)
Local Resources to Contact	Department of Social Services Domestic violence and sexual assault services Local religious organizations Other non-profit organizations Health Department Healthcare professionals (e.g., EMS, doctor's office, emergency room nurses, home healthcare) School workers (e.g., teachers, coaches, bus drivers) Attorneys (e.g., divorce, employment, immigration)

...best interest at heart of the person [NPO worker], but sometimes their thinking is a little exceeding the box...if you know what I mean. So therefore, they want to go over and past just mere helping [victims]. Me standing there talking and building a relationship and rapport with them [NPO worker]. I can understand where they are coming from and anything, but I cannot tell them some things. We all want the same end result to put the trafficker in jail.

The instructor suggested that barriers between law enforcement and NPOs are both cultural and institutional procedures with officers and NPO workers needing to overcome differences in organizational culture's influence over employees – “cop mentality” – and following policies unique to each organization. The advice reinforces the need to collaborate and overcome barriers by restating the shared goal of jailing traffickers. The instructor speaks directly to policies that regulate what information can be shared with external partners and how to negotiate the relationship building or maintenance at the same time. This type of advice and the training materials try to prepare officers for interorganizational conflict, but these sources do not provide clear methods for overcoming these interpersonal and organizational challenges. These conflict resolution skills are left to the officers and can result in a breakdown of law enforcement/NPO partnerships. This partnership building and potential relationship breakdowns reflect the processes law enforcement undertakes in finding reliable NPO partnerships. For example, one instructor addressed the difficulty of finding quality language translation services among local NPOs. The sheriff's department was working with immigrant communities where many members did not speak English. The instructor spoke to the trainees about their conflict with a local NPO:

In my experience, some of these local people [NPO workers]...they are good women, don't get me wrong, [name of organization] they have a tendency to inject their own ideas, thoughts, and/or comments. When you're doing an investigation, you don't want any of those comments or injections. You want what I'm saying and what she [possible victim] is saying, and that is it. Don't add or take away anything.

This type of mistrust with external partners can be overcome with strong working relationships, but these can be difficult to build and maintain. Officers cited a lack of resources – including time and opportunities to interact with NPO workers in meaningful ways – as barriers to building trusting relationships and maintaining reliable collaborations with NPOs. For example, as one instructor, who worked trafficking cases, stated,

Barriers are always caused by money because we [law enforcement] have none...[and] I'm not a one-stop shop. I cannot be a one-man super network of all the organizations I need for [trafficking] cases. Trafficking cases aren't the only cases I handle, and specialization is not really realistic.

The officer continued to explain that he relied primarily on one NPO worker when working trafficking cases because building close and reliable partnerships is time consuming. As he stated,

The person I had trust with...we did a lot of things together. We did a lot of trainings together. I had a rapport with her, and of course I had to determine I could trust her, and she had to do the same thing with me. We went out of state together for some training...we became very good friends. I knew I could tell her things, like this is an unsafe location and you do not need to start showing up by yourself. Or she could say

this is a house of prostitution. Don't ask me how I know. Just know that I know...Of course, there has to be a two-way relationship.

As a result, officers acknowledged the need for NPOs in the process, but had a range of opinions on the preferred types of relationships and coordinated activities with NPOs. The choices for NPO inclusion depended on officers' past experiences and needs to complete a case. This variation on the local level became most apparent during training discussions and in interviews as officers shared examples from past cases involving human trafficking and other crimes – such as domestic violence or child abuse – where NPOs and social services were required to stabilize victims. One officer working trafficking cases discussed differences in confidentiality policies as the primary reason for minimizing NPOs' role in his trafficking cases. The officer likened NPO involvement in casework to a trafficking victim “lawyering up,” which – in his opinion – limited the amount and type of information the victim was willing to directly share with the officer during the investigation and placed too many rules for officers accessing the victim. The officer also compared interorganizational collaboration with NPOs as a case of “having too many hands in a cookie jar” without having all of those hands “to testify in court.” The number of NPO workers involved in trafficking cases can vary, but usually include 1-2 case managers – who are the primary contacts for the victim and organize social services based on a short- and long-term service plans – and 2-4 social service providers – such as therapists, doctors, Department of Health and Human Services contacts, and teachers, among others. These workers can gain a lot of sensitive information from victims, which the victim may not share with law enforcement. This type of sensitive information is often protected by confidentiality agreements, so victims usually have to give written permission for sharing information outside

the provider/victim relationship. The officer believed the evidence collection process is hindered by NPO workers' protected knowledge that will not be shared in court, and he can gain more information from victims without NPO assistance. In contrast, another officer working cases accepted NPO workers' control of information as a limitation to manage. To overcome this barrier, the officer built stronger relationships with NPO workers and conducted further evidence-based investigation on the limited information provided; but this method required more resources. As the officer stated,

I look at it differently than some other law enforcement. Typically, law enforcement is like, 'This is our case, this is how it is going to go, and we are not going to let outsiders in.' If I catch more flies with honey, then why not. I allow that person [NPO worker] to go in to talk to that female by themselves. I would stand outside and wait. She would either tell me the person wants to talk with me or she doesn't. Then, I would ask are there any indicators you can tell me? She would say yes or no. Are there any other things that I need to look at independently? She may say you want to check 123 Smith St. independently. Then, I would set up surveillance and independent evidence besides the victim.

The officer also attributed this friendship with making the pair more patient in interactions when conflict over policies and priorities occurred. This type of relationship cannot overcome all conflict, but it can better prepare officers for managing collaboration and conflicts with external partners. As in the above example, close reliable partnership can be built through a combination of coordinated action on trafficking cases and professional, social events – such as meals, training sessions, and community outreach, among others.

Law enforcement and NPO partnerships are important for providing emergency and long-term services for victims, so victims are safe, stable, and prepared to participate in law enforcement investigations and prosecutions of traffickers. During the training and casework, law enforcement was communicatively constituted as distinct culturally and institutionally from. This is a clear differentiation between law enforcement and NPOs, which establishes the similarities and differences among these organizations by the roles, rules, and procedures they negotiate to collaborate. These differences can lead to conflicts between the organizations, but successful collaboration can be achieved by building reliable relationships between officers and NPO employees. Roles in anti-trafficking efforts and partnerships communicatively constitute law enforcement as their departments combat trafficking. These anti-trafficking efforts result in law enforcement's authority – internally and externally – also being used in new ways. Law enforcement's power of authority will be discussed in the next section of the chapter.

Power of Authority

This section will discuss how power was enabled and limited by a combination of authorities bestowed on law enforcement by the state and federal governments. These authorities include: 1) the power to distinguish between victims and criminals and file criminal charges against individuals, and 2) the combined power of federal authority to certify victims for federal assistance with the authority to detain immigrants for deportation. First, the authority to distinguish between victims and criminals and file criminal charges reveals how law enforcement's leaders incentivize officers to close cases with the highest possible charges attached. This can result in potential trafficking victims charged in crimes. Second, the combined authority to certify trafficking victims and detain immigrants for deportation is used as

leverage to secure victim participation in trafficking case investigation and prosecution. The power to use these policies and resources reinforces the position law enforcement holds in our government system to identify, investigate, file charges, and incarcerate individuals for crimes as well as reinforces the hierarchical power structure of law enforcement and creates tension within law enforcement and NPO relationships.

Determining victims and criminals. Local law enforcement is given power by the government to determine victims and criminals in our society. This determination in human trafficking cases has major material consequences for individuals – from access to social services to visa assistance. The training materials portray this determination process as clear – an objective decision based on evidence to show force, fraud, or coercion in exploited labor. As an attorney and advocate in a training video stated, “The issue of choice is critical here. Can you make a choice to be a slave? You cannot make a choice to be a slave.” This process, he added, is subjective and open to abuse to achieve law enforcement’s goal of criminal prosecution. This contradiction is embedded in two of the caring phrases officers are taught to put potential victims at ease: “you are a victim, not a criminal,” and “by helping us, you are helping yourself.” Hidden in these communications is law enforcement’s ability to constitute itself as an agency that is able to distinguish between victims and criminals. It can press charges against criminals through the state and it can certify victims through the Health and Human Services 1-914B form. This process is complicated by the additional authority local law enforcement was accorded through the 287(g) program, which allows local officers to function as federal immigration officials by detaining immigrants for deportation. The power of this combined authority over victims and criminals as well as the potential for abuse of such authority is explained below.

The training materials stated, “It is important to remember, even though individuals may have been forced to engage in criminal activity, they should be regarded as potential victims; appropriate screening is needed to make this determination.” In an investigation, the evidence of force, fraud, or coercion is not always clear-cut. Similar criminal investigations can yield charges of human trafficking, but also charges of sex solicitation, immigration violation, check fraud, drug trafficking, or other serious crimes. Officers are under pressure from leadership to close cases and press criminal charges with the highest prison penalties the evidence can prove. In practice, this combination of rules and resources creates a fine line between criminals and victims. As one instructor explained to trainees during a description of a case study in sex trafficking, “The girl, the minor is a trafficking victim. She was forced to work in the brothel against her will. The old woman here [pointing to a picture of the two women] was charged. She had worked [as a prostitute] before in New York.” The instructor’s explanation of the case provides no physical evidence that differentiates between the labor experiences of the two women in the trafficking case study. There is one noted difference between the two women. One woman was a minor. In cases involving a minor, officers are not required to have proof of force, fraud, or coercion when filing charges against traffickers. The other woman was older and had worked as a sex worker in the past. This woman’s age and past experience were used as justification for charging her with crimes. In this case study, the minor is identified as a trafficking victim, while the older woman is charged as a criminal. It is trafficking cases such as this that led one officer in an interview to say,

Ten years ago, it was bad. NGOs [another names for nonprofit organizations] wouldn’t bring trafficking victims to us [law enforcement detectives]. They feared victims would

be charged with crimes and it happened. Training and working together [in law enforcement and NPO partnerships] has built trust, so they come to us now. Things have gotten much better.

But the growing trust between law enforcement and NPOs is tested by federal authority extended to local law enforcement in partnership with federal agencies.

The Health and Human Service 1-914B form – more commonly referred to as ‘victim certification’ – requires local law enforcement officers to certify that trafficking victims are cooperating with an investigation to receive visa assistance and federal social services. Victim certification requires officers to determine that victims are sufficiently cooperating with investigations, and then work with Homeland Security Investigation officers and NPO caseworkers to complete the paperwork. As the training manual stated,

Law enforcement officers must work with the appropriate federal law enforcement agency handling the case to apply for ‘continued presence’ of trafficking victims to ensure their presence for assistance in prosecution or investigation. This is a temporary immigration relief that allows victims to remain in the U.S. and have an opportunity for legal employment and refugee-type benefits. This does not provide the victim long-term status or lead to permanent residency.

If an officer is not satisfied with a potential victims’ participation in a case, then individuals are not certified as victims and NPO caseworkers must either drop the client or find funding from other sources to provide social services. Training instructors and officers working cases discussed how the certification process is a source of tension between local law enforcement and NPOs. Local law enforcement’s authority to detain immigrants for deportation

through the 287(g) program also complicates this victim certification process. A separate task force that includes local law enforcement and HSI manages the 287(g) program. The training manual and instructional slides address the program. It stated:

These task forces [287(g)] have been designed to address illegal immigration but it is important to remember that some human trafficking victims are being forced to work without proper governmental documentation and this must be taken into account when providing them with the appropriate assistance needed.

The threat of deportation is present in officers' work with trafficking victims. As one instructor with experience working trafficking cases explained to trainees,

The key feature is this. If they [victims] do not cooperate with us and do not testify in cases, then, by law, we can't give them assistance. They will have to be deported. You help us. We help you. You don't help us. You leave. We do force their hand a little bit, but you do what you got to do. That is why we work the law.

Training instructors called the threat of using the 287(g) program to secure victim cooperation as "leverage" in trafficking cases. This use of leverage was justified by the common goal of prosecuting traffickers, which was discussed as the best outcome for, and in the interest of, victims. In other words, some law enforcement officers placed a higher priority on trafficker prosecution than providing victims with visa and social service assistance, which served law enforcement's goals of closing cases and achieving prosecution for the most severe crime. As a result, officers contributed to a cycle where they expressed a desire to work against human trafficking, but would send potential trafficking cases through the criminal justice system under

different, easier to prove crimes – such as drug trafficking, running a facility for prostitution, fraud, and immigration violations.

Rate of return. As a hierarchical organization, law enforcement's leadership plays the important roles of resource allocation, assignment delegation, and performance evaluation for officers, and this directly affects the ways in which criminal cases are identified and investigated in North Carolina. Discussions during the training sessions and interviews with officers working cases indicated that human trafficking cases were at a disadvantage compared to other crimes because resources, such as supplies, manpower, time, education, research, and funding were limited by leaders as a response to trafficking cases' low rate of return on the resources put into the cases. Officers shared their experiences of budget cuts, pay freezes, and other limitations on funding due to the recent economic recession. This, they stated, shifted leaders' priorities towards types of crimes that were deemed worthy of the resources put into the cases. Human trafficking cases were described as being at a disadvantage because these cases required a lot of resources to complete, but were plagued by negative characteristics and outcomes that deemed trafficking cases as a "waste of time" compared to the large amount of resources that go into trafficking cases. Officers offered several reasons for their leaders' negative evaluation of trafficking cases and limiting resource allocation to these cases.

First, trafficking cases were deemed a "waste of time" because the resulting criminal charges and prison time for convicted criminals were small compared to the resources put into the cases. Human trafficking charges have the potential to result in either a Class F felony for servitude of an adult or Class C felony for servitude of a minor. Individuals convicted of human trafficking offences can face 10-41 months in jail for a Class F felony, 44-182 months in jail for

a Class C felony, or higher sentences for cases with aggravating circumstances – such as past felony convictions or violence used during the crime. As officers working cases described, the severity of human trafficking crimes gained leaders attention, but leaders were disappointed when trafficking investigations resulted in cases charged as different crimes, charges filed for lesser crimes and low prison time, or resulted in dropped charges. As one officer working cases stated:

There is a balance between chiefs of police that are not willing to fund [human trafficking] cases with your moral responsibilities to pursue a case. No one is gonna spend half a million for nothing. I had a [trafficking] case go from felonies to misdemeanors, and human trafficking cases aren't my only...I'm dealing with tons of robberies right now.

An officer described working with federal agents to connect a network of brothels to human trafficking cases. The investigation included surveillance and an undercover officer. The local police officers raided the house when a young woman working in the brothel appeared to be younger than 18 years old. This gave officers the exigent circumstance to enter the house. Despite physical evidence, the victim's inconsistent story led the FBI to drop the trafficking charges in favor of weapons and immigration violations charges. The case was a major disappointment for the officer and his superiors who gave permission for extra manpower and extended time on the case. Officers working cases cited increased incentives from the government as a method for changing this negative perception of trafficking cases. One instructor, who also worked trafficking cases, explained: "We notice at least 20 cases each year that have elements that might be human trafficking, but other crimes get more attention because

of higher prison time. We got to turn that around”. But this type of solution required changes in the human trafficking laws by state lawmakers. Discussions during the training and comments by officers working cases also suggested talking with District Attorneys to build strong trafficking cases that can increase the probability of conviction on trafficking charges. As one instructor stated during a training session, “You need to get their [District Attorney’s] opinion on the case, so you build a case they can use.” Officers were aware of leadership’s focus on results, which led them to take additional steps to build stronger trafficking cases or focus their efforts on crimes associated with higher prison time.

When speaking about felonies and serious crimes, drug crimes became a point of comparison for resource allocation and return on investment. Drug crimes were singled out, during training sessions and in interviews with officers, due to the financial incentives placed on those crimes by the federal government. One officer working trafficking cases noted, “Our department gets back 80% of the value of property seized in drug cases. If the feds are serious about human trafficking, then they need to increase the incentives.” Especially in an era of budget cuts and pay freezes, the money provided to local law enforcement from the federal government based on drug case property seizures can ease budget shortfalls. In other words, drug crimes are profitable for local law enforcement while other crimes are not. Law enforcement’s leadership has to make tough choices when allocating resources; the return for human trafficking cases is low, which results in trafficking cases labeled as a waste of time. This determination results in major resource barriers for officers desiring to or currently working trafficking cases. Consequently, the resources shared in interorganizational partnerships cannot overcome these resource deficits.

Conclusion

The research questions I address in this dissertation project, specifically in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, are: RQ₁: How is law enforcement communicatively constituted as the organization adapts to human trafficking through the trafficking training initiative and officers' trafficking casework? RQ₂: How is power enabled and limited by the rules and resources taught in the trafficking training and in officers' trafficking casework? This chapter addresses how law enforcement and its coalition partners are organizationally constituted, and concurrently, how in such a constitution, power is enabled and limited by rules and resources within these organizational relationships.

The first section of this chapter discussed the constitution of law enforcement in anti-trafficking efforts. I presented three main relationships on this issue. They were: constituting law enforcement's role in combating trafficking through the victim-centered approach and their relationship with victims; constituting law enforcement through their partnership with federal agencies; and constituting law enforcement through their partnership with nonprofit organizations.

The victim-centered approach is a guiding principle introduced in the training materials that places the victim's needs and outcomes as a central concern in law enforcement's anti-trafficking efforts. Law enforcement is in a unique position to work with victims in a victim-centered approach as the professional in coalition efforts that protect, serve, and gather information in the criminal justice system. During the training and for officers working cases, a victim-centered approach means being caring towards victims and rigorous in case investigation to succeed in achieving justice for victims through the criminal prosecution of traffickers.

Officers must build cases with traumatized victims by building rapport – or a strong and productive working relationship – and overcome the hidden nature of trafficking by digging deeper and identifying evidence that demonstrates force, fraud, and/or coercion. Law enforcement as an organization was communicatively constituted by a training initiative and casework that reinforces law enforcement’s position to protect and service the community through crime identification, investigation, prosecution, and incarceration, but expands this government role by adapting law enforcement to address the unique characteristics of human trafficking. Law enforcement’s anti-trafficking efforts require organizational partnerships with federal agencies and NPOs. Federal agency partnerships – specifically with the FBI and HSI – are a logical fit for local law enforcement, with federal agencies contributing expanded resources and jurisdiction to complement local police and sheriff casework. These federal resources offer local law enforcement opportunities to connect local crime to larger criminal organizations and networks, but federal agencies can also take trafficking cases into federal court and leave local law enforcement with no prosecutions to justify the contribution of local resources. NPOs can lead to more challenges when partnering with law enforcement, but their work with victims can provide the resources and stability needed to ensure victim cooperation in law enforcement casework. The training and officers working cases offer recommendations and methods for overcoming these challenges and building reliable relationships with NPO workers.

These findings support the communication constitution of law enforcement through the communication flows of membership negotiation, institutional positioning, and activity coordination. Local law enforcement draws similarities and differences between themselves and their organizational partners, but create clear differentiations between the organizations. “We”

are departments of local law enforcement, while “they” are external organizational partners. Organizational resources, roles, and policies position each organization within a broader interorganizational system – specifically coalitions – that collaborates against human trafficking. This institutional positioning further distinguishes each unique organization, but also opens organizations to influence from other organizations. From a broader perspective, organizations’ interactions establish a logical organizational environment through which anti-trafficking efforts can be effective in punishing traffickers, helping victims, and combating future crime. Evaluating success and failure result from each organization and the coalition, but these determinations can differ resulting in positive and negative interpretations of coordinated action between coalition partners. With this communication constitution of law enforcement, power is enabled and limited by rules and resources within law enforcement departments and these organizational relationships.

The power of authority within the organizational constitution of law enforcement is enabled and limited by resources and rules, which affect departments’ and officers’ participation in anti-trafficking efforts and help shape their external partnerships. Law enforcement’s power of authority function in two ways: 1) the power to determine criminals and victims, which is based on government sanctioned authority, and 2) the power of law enforcement leaders to allocate resources and set priorities in crime fighting. In potential trafficking cases, officers’ determination of traffickers and victims results in the material consequences of criminal charges and incarceration for criminals and social service assistance for victims. Officers discussed using this authority as leverage to gain victim cooperation in cases, but there is also the potential for abuse if potential victims are charged criminally for activities done in a trafficking situation

or deportation through the 287(g) program. This use of power through leverage, criminal charges, and possible deportation creates tension between law enforcement and NPOs and can create barriers to partnerships and coalition collaboration. Law enforcement leadership uses power to allocate resources and set priorities, which directly affects officers' participation in anti-trafficking efforts. Trafficking cases use diverse resources – from manpower to technology, but cases involving trafficking often lead to prosecution under different charges and rarely result in resource gains for departments, unlike drug crimes that result in an 80% financial return through civil forfeitures. As a result, trafficking cases and investigations are deemed a waste of time with no return on the investment of resources. Officers are dissuaded from using resources on trafficking cases, which affects the number of trafficking cases working through the judicial systems and law enforcement's willingness to participate in anti-trafficking efforts.

Chapter 6:

Conclusion

Introduction

This dissertation began with three goals: (1) to examine the communicative constitution of law enforcement in relation to human trafficking and anti-trafficking partnerships, (2) to examine how power is used in trafficking and anti-trafficking efforts to influence outcomes and behavior, and (3) to provide recommendations for improving future anti-trafficking efforts for law enforcement in their collaborations with external organizational partners. The first two goals create the foundation of this study through my research questions, while the third goal applies the research findings towards practical recommendations for future anti-trafficking efforts. My research questions are: One, how is law enforcement communicatively constituted as the organization adapts to human trafficking through the trafficking training initiative and officers' trafficking casework (RQ1), and two, how is power enabled and limited by the rules and resources highlighted in the trafficking training and in officers' trafficking casework (RQ2)? I adopted a communication constitution theoretical framework to address them. As Deetz (2010) explains, communication constitutive theories represent a paradigm shift by proposing that,

Perception originates from a standpoint or subject position; standpoints and subject positions are social and systemic rather than personal, psychological, or subjective...

Thus, the social and historical precedes the personal... Knowledge, facts, and social order

are outcomes of communicative processes rather than existing independently to be represented. As such things become institutionalized, they are experienced as presocial realities and the processes of production, and their politics, are overlooked or hidden...Language is not a device for representation but an essential part of the production of the 'objects' to be represented. Since power is ever present and relational construction is a historical process, politics is everywhere and intrinsic to our experiences, identities, knowledge, information, values, institutions, and so forth. A central issue for study is how to make these constitutive political processes visible and more democratic. (p. 40-41)

To make these constitutive political processes visible, I chose McPhee and Zaugg's (2000/2009) Four Flows Model. This model theorizes that communication constitutes organizations through four flows of communication: 1) organizational self-structuring, 2) membership negotiation, 3) institutional positioning, and 4) activity coordination. All four flows interact to constitute the organization through synergetic – or overlapping – flows in which “any message or episode of interaction can contribute to multiple flows” (Nicotera, 2009, p. 178); “constitutive complexity emerges when two or more of these flows overlap” (Browning et al., 2009, p. 89); and “new power relationships can emerge between different organizational elements...as the constitutive effects of the blending of communication flows” (Browning et al., 2009, p. 111). For Browning et al.'s (2009) research on military entrepreneurs, these synergetic flows created coupled flows that shared activity coordination as the consistent constitutive flow (Figure 6.1).

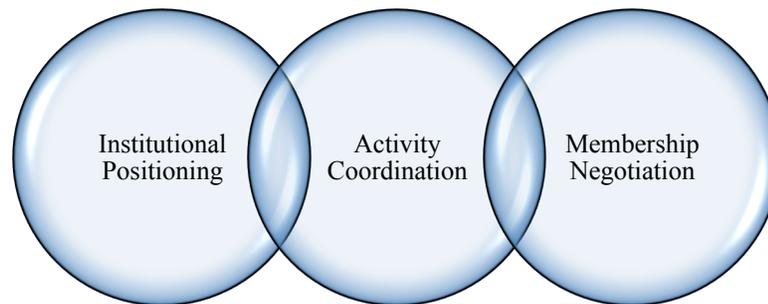


Figure 6.1. Browning et al.'s (2009) synergetic flows

Power is constituted in the Four Flows Model as individuals and groups lay claim to communicative meanings and actions that produce, reinforce, or transform organizational structures. Rules and resources play a central role in making power visible. Power has material outcomes and consequences for those communicating within the organization and those in partnership with and affected by the organization. The foundation of law enforcement's power rests in their societal role and legal mandate to maintain social order, investigate criminal activity, charge crimes, and incarcerate individuals. This research examined how law enforcement organizations adapt to the crime of human trafficking and learn to work with external partners and victims to meet their goal of combating crime through successful criminal prosecution. I collected training documents, observed training sessions, and interviewed officers working cases. Data analysis helped me argue that: (1) law enforcement was constituted through the crime of human trafficking and the criminal opposition law enforcement faces, and (2) law enforcement was constituted by adapting to trafficking and through external partnerships. The data appeared to conform with and inform the communication flows of institutional positioning, activity coordination, and membership negotiation. In the rest of this chapter, I provide a discussion of these research findings and their theoretical implications; then I offer

recommendations for improving law enforcement's anti-trafficking work and potential research directions.

Discussion

The section summarizes the research findings in relation to my research questions with a discussion of how law enforcement is constituted and how power is made visible in social interactions. I then discuss the contributions of this research to the field of communication.

Constituting law enforcement. The first research question that guided my data collection and analysis focused on the communication constitution of law enforcement as its organizations adapted to human trafficking through the trafficking training initiative and officers' work on trafficking cases. I explained that law enforcement was constituted through their opposition to human trafficking as a new crime, traffickers as criminals, and trafficking operations as businesses designed to exploit and control victims for profits. The data revealed how law enforcement defined and outlined who are traffickers and who are victims; what and why industries are vulnerable to labor exploitation; and how trafficking businesses are organized and operate to make profits from victims' labor. Knowing and communicating about their opposition, trafficking forces then place law enforcement in a position to adapt their practices and allocate resources to combat human trafficking. In constituting human trafficking and traffickers, I surmise that legal apparatus such as force, fraud, and coercion guide law enforcement's efforts such as evidence collection, case building, and assistance in prosecution.

Law enforcement was also constituted in its response to trafficking through anti-trafficking efforts and external, organizational partnerships. Law enforcement departments and officers internally adapted to trafficking through a victim-centered approach that focused on

building rapport with victims and getting justice through crime prevention and criminal prosecution. Law enforcement personnel discussed best practices for proactive and reactive responses to trafficking as well as developing and maintaining working partnerships with diverse, external organizational partners including federal agencies and nonprofit organizations. These relationships had their advantages and challenges with law enforcement singling out relationships with victims from vulnerable populations and nonprofit organizations as difficult, yet essential to build and maintain.

Making power visible. The second research question that guided my research focused on the enabling and limiting of power through rules and resources spoken about during the trafficking training and how these affected officers' trafficking casework. Power was constituted through the use of rules and resources to influence outcomes and behavior. The power of traffickers controlling victims for the purpose of exploiting victims' labor was essential in establishing the legal elements of force, fraud, and/or coercion. Traffickers were described as controlling victims through physical abuse, money, movement, communication, cultural knowledge, close relationships, and corruption. Officers discussed how these control methods were useful in identifying and building trafficking cases, but the focus on traffickers' overwhelming control over victims left little room for victim agency within characterizations of control and trauma. Demonstrations of victim resistance, intelligence, maturity, older age, and competence drew suspicion of true victimization. In the end, my data analysis demonstrated that officers have the power to determine victims and charge traffickers. If victims were found to be engaged in illegal activity under traffickers' control, victims of trafficking could be charged with crimes rather than receive assistance from officers and their organizational partners.

Officers had the ultimate power of federally certifying victims through the Department of Health and Human Services, which makes victims eligible for visa and extensive social service assistance. This assistance required officers to determine that victims were adequately participating in trafficking investigations and prosecution, which is problematic if victims fear and/or face threats or harm from trafficking organizations. Officers discussed using their authority to press charges against victims or – in cases involving foreign-born victims – use their authority to detain immigrants for deportation as leverage in securing victim cooperation. The authority to charge victims and detain them for deportation created tension between officers and workers of nonprofit organizations and victims. This could be an obstacle in building and maintaining strong working partnerships between law enforcement and nonprofit organizations and victims.

Law enforcement leadership also had the power to allocate resources and personnel for proactive and reactive trafficking casework and anti-trafficking efforts. This support and resources were often allocated based on the evaluation of cases as a good return on investment. Human trafficking cases require many resources, but these trafficking cases have a tendency of moving through the criminal justice system under different or lesser charges. Other felony crimes can be seen as competition for limited resources because some crimes result in profits for law enforcement departments. Drug cases, specifically, provide an 80% return on the confiscation of property from the federal government. As a result, leaders and officers were likely to label trafficking cases as a waste of time and not worthy of current or future resources, greatly limiting officers' ability to work trafficking cases.

Contribution to the field. This research study contributes to communication literature by: first, expanding organizational literature on interorganizational collaboration (ICO) and high-reliability organizations (HROs); second, highlighting the important combination of lists and stories as a fundamental form of sensemaking in law enforcement's communication; and third, expanding research using CCO theories, specifically McPhee and colleagues' research on the Four Flows Model.

First, this research study contributes to organizational communication literature in the areas of interorganizational collaboration (ICOs) and high-reliability organizations (HROs) in partnerships. As Eisenberg and Eschenfelder (2007) explain, there is a need for further research in interorganizational partnerships between government agencies and NPOs. Organizational communication researchers are in a unique position to study the difficult tasks of choosing and maintaining partnerships, clarifying mission and identity, and fostering and managing employee involvement and identification within interorganizational partnerships. Interorganizational collaboration (ICO) is essential to combating human trafficking for the North Carolina Coalition Against Human Trafficking (NCCAHT). The Coalition depends on 40 organizational members that vary in commitment and responsibilities in anti-trafficking work and local law enforcement playing a central role in identifying, investigating, and prosecuting trafficking cases. My research findings point to how federal agencies and NPOs help local law enforcement in case investigation and victim stabilization using diverse resources. The findings also speak to pressure on local law enforcement as HROs and the difficulties they face in building reliable and trusting partnership with other NCCAHT members, especially NPOs. Officers expressed the belief that NPO workers have an agenda on policy issues – such as immigration – and difficulty

understanding “cop mentality” that create barriers in partnership. These barriers can be overcome, but require resources that leaders in law enforcement and NPOs may not be able to or willing to allocate.

Due to the high stakes nature and great responsibility of high-reliability work, leaders and employees of HROs often encounter intense institutional and societal pressure to be, what LaPorte and Consolini (1991) call, “failure-free” (p. 20). The expectations on HROs can be difficult to manage because “[organizational members] often face the challenge of making sense of environments that are dangerous, highly ambiguous, and rapidly changing” (Baran and Scott, 2010, p. S42). Thus leadership often faces the dilemma of “how to achieve control over people in a distributed [work] context where they [employees] are working in a dangerous occupation that requires individual judgments in emergency situations” to protect themselves and others from harm (Ziegler, 2007, p. 417; also see Hannah, Campbell, & Matthews, 2010). Baran and Scott (2010) found that leaders, specifically, could help all organizational members with cohesiveness by focusing on “direction setting, knowledge, talk, role acting, role modeling, trust, situational awareness, and agility” (p. S42). Communication constitution of organizations (CCO) theories and, specifically, the Four Flows Model, provide insight into the communication needed in interorganizational collaboration to overcome barriers and achieve successful partnerships between HROs – like law enforcement – and other organizations. This research shows that focusing on the role communication plays in membership negotiation, institutional positioning, and activity coordination can provide a better understanding of law enforcement’s opposition in human trafficking and how law enforcement forges coalitions to combat trafficking.

Second, the combination of lists and stories emerged as a fundamental form of communication sensemaking for law enforcement. Here communication sensemaking means:

The process through which people work to understand issues or events that are novel, ambiguous, confusing, or in some other way violate expectations...[but] goes beyond interpretation and involves the active authoring of events and frameworks for understanding, as people play a role in constructing the very situations they attempt to comprehend. (Maitlis & Christianson, 2014, p. 57-58)

As officers engage in human trafficking training and casework, a combination of lists and stories are used to make officers understand what human trafficking is and how to combat it. It begins with the legal elements of force, fraud, and/or coercion built into human trafficking laws. All evidence – including physical evidence (lists) and testimony (stories) – must combine to prove the force, fraud, and/or coercion before officers can determine the crime of trafficking has been committed and criminal charges filed. Then, evidence and testimony are combined to build the case file against the trafficker to assist in prosecution. The research findings from chapter 4 and chapter 5 consisted of lists and stories that were found within the training materials, training discussions, and interviews with officers working cases. Officers discussed and requested more trafficking case studies, which consist of evidence and testimony, to understand a complete narrative of a case. The evaluation of these case studies allows officers to continue the sensemaking process by assessing law enforcement successes and failures in casework against trafficking. Observing the importance of communicative sensemaking through lists and stories in this research contributes to organizational communication literature on the transmission of organizational knowledge (Eisenberg et al., 2005; Myers, 2011), improving organizational

response to emergencies and crisis (Ziegler, 2007), and expanding organizational theory (Browning, 1992, 2009). But, this research also raises warnings about the subjective nature of officer determination between criminals and victims in relation to law enforcement's power to use criminal charges or deportation as leverage in interactions with victims. As Eisenberg et al. (2005) observed, organizational knowledge is often evaluated in everyday interactions, where "good" stories are valued for how they align with organizational norms and expectations in regard to organizational member and client behavior in possible scenarios. This research showed the potential material consequences of evaluating good and bad stories within law enforcement's anti-trafficking work with victims and partnerships as well as the nature of power within law enforcement and the potential for abuse.

Third, this research study contributes to organizational communication literature by using CCO theories, specifically McPhee and colleagues' Four Flows Model, in applied communication research. Fairhurst and Putnam (2004) describe CCO theories as a grounded-in-action approach that is unique compared to other traditions in organizational communication studies because it demonstrates "how structure is found in action, how the historical is situated in the present, and how the global is firmly anchored in the local" (p. 16). However, it is important to note that, "communication and organization are not equivalent concepts per se...they are mutually constitutive." (Putnam, Nicotera, & McPhee, 2009, p. 9). The Four Flows provides a framework adaptable to various types of organizations while expanding CCO theorizing from a foundation of structuration theory. McPhee & Iverson (2009) explain how "communication constitutes organizations in four distinct but interdependent ways, called 'flows' as a shorthand for 'circulating systems or fields' of evolving discourse" (p. 62). For Browning et al. (2009),

each flow corresponds to types of questioning that position discourse as a system that constitutes the organization, including “who are we?” through membership negotiation, “what rules do we operate by?” through organizational self-structuring, “what work are we doing together?” through activity coordination, and “what external forces provide legitimacy, and what kinds of communication are necessary to please them?” through institutional positioning. (p. 92). But, the mere *presence* of discourse in all four flows is not enough to constitute an organization because, as McPhee & Zaig (2000/2009) state, “the four flows would need to be more interrelated, more mutually influential” (p. 42) because “the four flows/crosscurrents...inform, enable, and constrain one another” (p. 43).

The research findings of this study emerged using the Four Flows Model as a guide to data analysis. The themes and relationships in these findings occurred within overlaps in the flows of activity coordination, membership negotiation, and institutional positioning. Browning et al.’s conception of synergetic communication flow is expanded as the data corresponded to combinations of these three flows. Unlike the flow couplings from Browning et al., communication appears to constitute law enforcement organizations through a combination of these three flows. Analysis showed narratives and dialogue shared from the data fell within multiple flows. The overlap between the communication flows was more complex than Browning et al. suggest with narratives and dialogue combining two to three communication flows in some cases. This means that as organizations increasingly collaborate within and across organizational boundaries, organizational members are simultaneously coordinating action, negotiating their membership in their organization, and positioning different organizations in relation to their own. A triadic combination best represents the interconnected nature of the

flows (Figure 6.2.), and represents the complex interorganizational collaborations found within law enforcement's human trafficking casework.

One example of the data found in the overlapping triad is the trafficking crime scene where officers investigated a sex trafficking case in a brothel using an advanced security system to control victims and monitor business operations. Communication constituted law enforcement's anti-trafficking casework through the internal and interorganizational collaboration that included a community tip leading to the brothel; coordination with social services to assist with victims; internal, law enforcement collaboration – involving patrol officers, detectives, and forensics – to secure the crime scene and catalogue the trafficking operation; the traffickers' business operations that included the doorman, security system operator/s, victims, and clients under the watch of leadership and possible larger trafficking operation through the advanced security system.

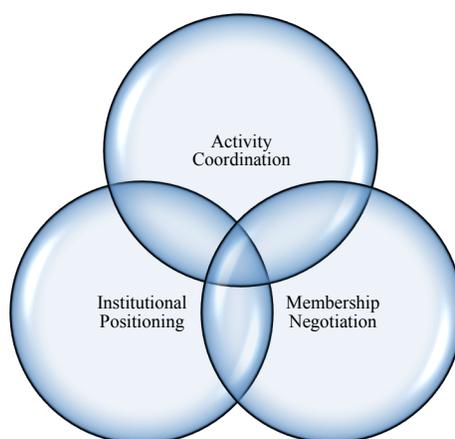


Figure 6.2. Triadic Synergetic Flows

The research findings emerged from these complex interactions between the communication flows. Theoretical implications from this research suggest the Four Flows Model is effective in

understanding how large, complex organizations – such as law enforcement departments – collaborate with external organizational partnerships to address criminal operations that span geographic locations and benefit from advanced technology to coordinate action like those found in human trafficking cases.

Recommendations

The research findings support four ways in which local law enforcement agencies and their anti-trafficking coalition partners can possibly improve future human trafficking training and collaborations. These include (1) increasing opportunities for collaboration to strengthen established interorganizational partnerships and create new professional relationships, (2) improving law enforcement relations with minority and/or vulnerable populations, (3) making available more North Carolina based trafficking case studies, and (4) offering more specialized human trafficking training for investigation methods.

Opportunities for collaboration. In the training sessions and interviews, officers had mixed experiences with external partners and small groups of professionals they trusted as reliable collaborators in assisting with case identification, investigation, and prosecution. The training scripts and officers noted the value of strategic partnerships with anti-trafficking stakeholders, especially in non-law enforcement organizations, but officers desired more opportunities beyond working trafficking cases to build and sustain these relationships. Officers expressed concerns in building and sustaining these important external partners only through casework because they said they needed more time and resources to gauge the reliability of these partnerships. Relying on casework alone meant that miscommunication, conflicts, or failures were more likely to occur with law enforcement leadership predisposed to considering these

partnerships and trafficking cases as a waste of time. The waste of resources made it more difficult to secure leadership support and resources for future anti-trafficking efforts. Officers, especially in interviews, called for activities outside of casework to assist in relationship building that could be implemented statewide, including joint training sessions to promote dialogue between diverse professionals, providing resources for joint community outreach and awareness events – such as presenting at health fairs, and joint meetings with leaders and community members from vulnerable populations and local industries/businesses. Officers discussed how these opportunities could benefit the community beyond trafficking cases because strong external partnerships can assist in solving a variety of crimes involving a multi-stakeholder response with traumatized victims, vulnerable populations, multiple crimes, and/or mobility across large geographic areas.

Community relations. Closely related to the recommendation for promoting more effective external partnerships, local law enforcement should aim to improve relationships with vulnerable populations in their community. The training session and interviews with officers working on cases revealed that nonprofit organizations are valuable in bridging the divide between law enforcement and vulnerable populations. Vulnerable populations were spoken about as having a history of distrust and fear of law enforcement. The lack of trust was attributed to a lack of victim cooperation with trafficking investigations. Community relations with vulnerable populations were a cause for frustration among instructors, trainees, and officers working cases, especially when well-intentioned efforts to build trust failed. These failures were often communicated as attempts by law enforcement to engage in community policing or charity work with vulnerable populations. This made officers pessimistic about such proactive efforts.

Officers described how they receive compliments and get positive outcomes, but this positive work with communities can be wiped away with one example of violence, abuse of power, or negative outcomes. In other words, officers' perception of public opinion is that negative experiences and examples far outweigh positive experiences and examples with a vulnerable community, so officers must work harder to connect and have positive experiences with diverse communities. Officers described how shared background, identity, and/or language with a vulnerable population could help build rapport with victims during casework, but that such a scenario was not guaranteed. As a result, officers expressed a desire for more concrete strategies and methods for improving community relations with vulnerable populations.

Availability of case studies. The training contained many examples of trafficking cases, but these were often quick summaries or highlights of cases from across the country. Officers requested detailed human trafficking case studies from North Carolina that chart cases from identification to prosecution. Officers suggested that case studies contain a complete narrative with specific information about case background and methods that provide a complex understanding of what officers might encounter and how to model their actions at different stages of case identification, investigation, and prosecution. As one instructor described,

You can see it click [for the trainee]...you [instructor] start seeing the head nods, those nonverbal cues that let you know the information is clicking. Then, trainees starts saying, 'Well, what about this?' That is when you start getting questions...There are also times when you get email from trainees asking about things they have seen and comparing it to thing I said in the training. They want to know if it is a situation they should look further into.

Detailed case studies were described as valuable scripts because officers would have concrete and tangible methods for making difficult decisions about cases, including determining victims, and trafficking, and collecting more comprehensive physical and narrative evidence to achieve law enforcement's goals of high level charges and strong cases for prosecution. These case studies also have the additional benefit of providing information that could be used in strategic proactive efforts against trafficking. Across the data, officers discussed the importance of sharing these case studies as a mix of "old war stories" – that impart the contextualized and holistic experiences of officers that build camaraderie – and a "how-to" description that deconstructs the case in thoughtful and practical details. Officers also described a need for the "authenticity" that comes from hearing about a case from the officer's perspective, noting that this would demonstrate the importance of stories in law enforcement's organizational culture. Instructors and trainees commented on the credibility that comes with this type of "authentic" story in persuading officers to emulate specific behavior to achieve certain outcomes, especially in crimes like trafficking where the criminal activity and evidence can vary – from sex trafficking to manufacturing to agricultural to domestic labor. The local story of human trafficking affirms that the crime is in their community. Officers understood that trafficking case studies would be rare because of the hidden nature and newness of the crime, but they expressed hope in seeing future case studies to improve law enforcement's human trafficking casework.

Even though few case studies were available, instructors spoke about the best examples of trafficking cases they could find from different media outlets – newspapers, websites, and local news stations, among others. Some examples did feature trafficking cases from North Carolina and surrounding states as supplemental materials. As an instructor explained,

To keep the slide-to-slide information from getting dry, you need to insert examples...you need to do your research beforehand. For example, may be there is someone in your or another department that you can email someone like me to get further information. I can send other instructors information, like try this story or that news article to add to your research.

The instructors used this research and stories from their experience working similar crimes to teach investigation techniques applicable to trafficking cases. Supplemental materials containing trafficking stories usually quoted trafficking victims, law enforcement officers, and/or NPO workers. The majority of these supplemental materials were videos. Instructors and trainees expressed a preference for videos because seeing and hearing a person share his or her trafficking knowledge and experience was considered “credible and authentic”. These videos were useful for starting discussions and invoking questions during training sessions.

Specialized training. Officers working cases expressed frustration with an inability to build strong cases that could support trafficking charges, noting that consequently, other charges were filed against suspected traffickers. As mentioned in the last chapter, one officer working cases commented, “We notice at least 20 cases each year that have elements that might be human trafficking, but other crimes get more attention because of higher prison time. We got to turn that around.” Complicating the situation further, trafficking charges tend to be dropped or converted to lesser charges as the cases move through the criminal justice system. This resulted in officers being frustrated and leadership claiming that trafficking cases were a waste of time. Officers described a general lack of trafficking training and knowledge among judicial system stakeholders as a “chicken and egg” type problem for accurately recording the severity of human

trafficking in North Carolina. Claims tend to fall into dualistic arguments with one side claiming there were only a small number of trafficking cases statewide, and hence trafficking was not a problem versus a discourse that through training and making trafficking a priority, more cases will come into the system. Training materials and officers working cases argued for the latter point that more awareness and education coupled with leadership support and allocation of resources will increase trafficking cases in the system and highlight the scope of the problem.

As mentioned in previous sections of this dissertation, trafficking cases are time consuming and require many resources to be successful. Law enforcement's leadership was described as limiting resources being made available in trafficking cases because cases were not leading to an acceptable rate of return on resource investment, which was frustrating to officers working trafficking cases. Officers' frustration and failures stemmed from what officers described as a need for more specialized skills and tools for building stronger trafficking cases to improve case outcomes. In each training session, instructors and trainees discussed how the training is an introduction to human trafficking and the crime is still new for many law enforcement departments. As a result, officers were directed to conduct further research and contact more experienced or knowledgeable officers or coalition partners as trafficking cases arise. Instructors and more experienced officers discussed possible interviewing and evidence collection techniques to supplement the recommendations in the training materials, but officers suggested that future training contain more specific methods and strategies for collecting and interpreting evidence, interrogating traffickers, and working with victims in trafficking cases. Training session discussions and interviews with officers working cases offered suggestions for a more advanced training program tailored for detectives that will provide specific and more in

depth investigation methods and case studies, especially information on the technology used by criminal organizations and ways law enforcement can use technology in case identification and investigation. Traffickers and their criminal organizations were described as ones utilizing advanced technology; hence, providing technology-based resources and knowledge was described as a method for overcoming the resource discrepancies between traffickers and law enforcement.

Future Research

These findings expand on previous theories and research that examine the ways communication constitutes organizations and, more specifically, how communication flows overlap in the constitution of law enforcement in North Carolina's anti-trafficking efforts. The research also underlined that power is enacted in relationships by trafficker control over victims and law enforcement using the authority granted by the government. These findings emphasize the importance of resource availability and accessibility in understanding how communication constituted the organization, as the training is a product of interorganizational collaboration. As part of the training and in working cases, officers encountered and discussed training ideals and best practices in comparison to past experiences. This retrospective examination of new organizational knowledge compared to the past knowledge exemplifies communication sensemaking processes that officers expressed as fundamental to their job and job performance. The local context means that each department adapts to work trafficking cases within the specific internal and external context and partnerships. Officers, leadership, and external partners were creative in navigating claims of power by utilizing different rules and resources to accomplish their goals. The shifting combinations of communication flows over time (see Figure 4.1 and

Figure 4.2) suggests that further research can extend our understanding of how time factors into organizational constitution and how organizations adapt to changing environmental needs through strategic change initiatives – such as change through policy as well as training and development programs. As McPhee and Zaig (2000/2009) state, “...each kind of ‘flow’ is actually a kind of interaction communication episode, usually amounting to multi-way conversation or text passage, typically involving reproduction of as well as resistance to the rule and resources of the organization” (p. 33). These moments of change within organizations offer interesting opportunities to observe different flows of communication engaged within a series of social interactions, which can further our understanding of how diverse forms of communication function within the flows as well as demonstrate how power and resistance coexist and clash in organizational contexts. Future theoretical research can expand on these communication processes – especially within training-based initiatives that combine case studies in unique and powerful ways to inspire, even force, change – and to examine the constitution of and relationship between power and resistance within and across organizations. Further applied research on the topic of law enforcement and human trafficking can continue to study North Carolina’s anti-trafficking training program for impact over time and to collect case studies for inclusion in the training materials. Finally, I hope the recommendation provided above will inform anti-trafficking efforts and training in North Carolina and other states.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Participant Observation Field Notes, Sample

Field site – X County, urban

Location – X (city), XX Community College

Date – XX/XX/XXX

Time – XX:XX am – XX:XX pm

Instructor – XX

Number of Participants – XX

XX:XX am – Beginning of the first break.

X:XX:XX – Time stopped on the recording.

The training video ends with a series of credits from the Federal agency that produced the video.

Instructor: We will take about a 15-minute break. I will be here if you have any questions.

I stop my recorder for the break and jot down a few logistical notes to coordinate the recording to the place in my field notes. I pick up my water bottle and purse from beside my chair. My purse is heavy – weighed down by my computer. I pause, and then place my purse on my chair, taking only my wallet and water bottle with me. Normally, I would never leave my purse unattended in public because my computer, phone, and wallet are essential for my daily life and contain personal information; but, a room full of law enforcement officers is probably one of the safest places I could leave my purse. It is strange being the only person in a room not carrying a loaded gun and/or other weapons on my body. As the room empties, I walk up to the front of the room. The instructor is speaking with one of the trainees – a man in his late 30s or early 40s dressed in a suit. They pause their conversation. The trainee reaches out to shake my hand.

Trainee: I am Detective XX.

Me: Hello, Elizabeth Jeter. (I turn to the instructor.) I wanted to remind you that I have a survey for the trainees at the end of class. It should only take about 10 minutes.

Instructor: Sure, hand it out after the course evaluation. I'll let everyone know. You said early you're working with human trafficking organizations. Can you answer a question?

Me: I can try.

Trainee: My church is interested in human trafficking. Our pastor wants to get more involved. We watched a documentary on sex trafficking and collected donations for a charity sheltering victims in Thailand and Cambodia. I had no idea that trafficking was a problem here.

Instructor: The numbers are shocking. (Referring to the numbers cited in the first section of the training.)

Trainee: Who should I contact? We have local people speak to our congregation a lot.

Instructor: I don't know much about the community side of this.

Me: Can you hand me your training manual? (The trainee hands me the binder. I flip to the back section with contact information for organizations across the state. I place stars beside the names of two organizations.) These organizations are close by and offer a combination of training and community outreach programs. You can check their websites for the contact information for their community outreach coordinator or volunteer coordinator. The contact information is going to be

different from case managers or employees working with professionals involved in anti-trafficking work – for safety.

Trainee: Thank you. Are these religious charities?

Me: Many of the NGOs working in anti-trafficking work are faith-based. Some work closely with churches to collect donations, but also for volunteers.

Trainee: Great, thank you.

Me: No problem. (To the trainee) I'll approach the front at the end, thank you. (To the instructor)

As I walk away, they continue to discuss their churches and the involvement of the community in anti-trafficking efforts. Outside the classroom, there is a common area with tables and chairs as well as built-in benches surrounded by five different classrooms. The law enforcement trainees are the only people in the common area. There is a water fountain across from vending machines, and many of the trainees are drinking, eating snacks, and/or talking with fellow trainees. Some trainees are by themselves, but most are in small groups that correspond to who they were sitting with in the classroom. I head to the bathroom. As I am washing my hands, I run into a female trainee drying her hands and checking her phone. She is in a patrolman's blue uniform with her hair pulled back in a tight bun. She is in her late 20s or early 30s. She rests one hand on her large belt as she clips in her phone. The belt looks heavy with handcuffs, a gun, and different sized snapped compartments that hold unknown objects.

Me: I don't even bother checking my phone until the end. I don't want to deal with answering messages. (We smile at each other.)

Trainee: I have to check-in. I am on duty.

Me: Are all the officers in uniform on duty? (She was sitting in the classroom with a group of four officers all dressed in their blue uniforms. We leave the bathroom and start walking down the hallway toward to the common area and classroom.)

Trainee: Yeah, there is group of us from X County (the country beside X County). We signed up for the training together. A few of us took an online version, but it is not the same as coming to a class.

Me: How is it different?

Trainee: The slides and videos are the same, but I like being in the classroom. We schedule trainings together (referring to the group she was sitting with in the training session). The class adds more information – the practical things you can use – because I pay more attention.

Me: It is helpful hearing people ask questions and tell stories. Have you heard about any local trafficking cases in your department?

Trainee: No. I've heard about human trafficking on the news. It comes up more lately, but I don't know of any cases in X (County) – no people I know. (She looks at my suit.) Do you work for the state?

Me: No, I'm just an academic. Like I said earlier (in my introduction and consent form signing time at the beginning of class), I have been working with NGOs from the anti-trafficking task force for a few years. Today's training session is part of my dissertation research. I'm observing training sessions across the state. (We arrive at the common area.)

Trainee: Oh, well, see you in there.

Me: Bye.

Trainee: Bye. (She joins the group of three uniformed officers she was sitting with in the classroom.)

I stop at the water fountain to fill my water bottle, and then I get a snack from the vending machine. As I walk into the common area, my high heels click and clack on the tile floors, which draws attention from some of the trainees. There are not many women in the training session, and I am the only one wearing high heels. For future observations, I should wear shoes that make less noise. I sit down on a built-in bench in the common area. The groups of officers are talking about different topics, mainly where they are going after leaving the training session and the upcoming holiday. Two male officers are talking about possible hunting trips for deer and birds. The instructor comes out of the classroom and tells us the training session will begin again in 5 minutes. I head back into the classroom. As I walk down the aisle to my seat at the back of the classroom, a man is standing by my chair waiting for me. The man is the oldest of the trainees – probably in his late 50s early 60s – with white hair.

Trainee: Hi, my name is XX. (He reaches out and we shake hands.)

Me: Hi, how are you?

Trainee: Good. How about you?

Me: Fine.

Trainee: Are you getting the data you need?

Me: Yes, there have been some good class discussions so far. How do you like the training? Are you learning useful information?

Trainee: Oh yeah, I find the topic really interesting.

Me: Are you a detective?

Trainee: I spend most of my 30 years in the X city police department as a detective. I'm retired now.

Me: Do you still need training credits?

Trainee: I maintain my credits, so I can mentor younger officers.

(The instructor calls one last warning for the trainees to settle into their seats.)

Me: Sorry, I need to prepare my recorder and notes.

Trainee: Of course, can I talk to you at the next break?

Me: Sure.

The trainee smiles, and then returns to his seat further down my row. I start my recorder and listen as the instructor continues the lecture.

XX:XX am – End of the first break.

Appendix B: IRB Letters of Approval



October 1, 2012

DIVISION OF RESEARCH INTEGRITY AND COMPLIANCE
 Institutional Review Boards, FWA No. 0000166
 12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd., MDC035 • Tampa, FL 33612-479
 (813) 974-5638 • FAX (813) 974-561

Elizabeth "Libby" Jeter Communication 4202 East Fowler Ave CIS 1040

Tampa, FL 33620

RE: **Expedited Approval** for Continuing Review IRB#: Pro00005614

Title: Human Trafficking –In-service Law Enforcement Training Study Approval Period:
 10/25/2012 to 10/25/2013 Dear Ms. Jeter:

On 9/29/2012 the Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed and **APPROVED** the above protocol **for the period indicated above**. It was the determination of the IRB that your study qualified for expedited review based on the federal expedited category number:

(5) Research involving materials (data, documents, records, or specimens) that have been collected, or will be collected solely for nonresearch purposes (such as medical treatment or diagnosis).

(6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Protocol Document(s):

[Research Protocol - North Carolina Justice Academy](#)

Consent Document(s):

[Consent forms for instructors.pdf](#) [Consent forms for trainees.pdf](#)

We are aware that you had used an unapproved version of the consent form to consent subjects. This was determined to be not serious, non-continuing non-compliance, with no further action needed. Please refer to USF HRPP policy #601 which addresses the need to only use valid, USF IRB watermarked consent forms.

Please note, if applicable, the **informed consent/assent documents are valid during the period indicated by the official, IRB-Approval stamp located on the form.** You are to use only the watermarked/stamped consent forms found under the “Attachment Tab” in the recruitment of participants. Make copies from the original.

Please reference the above IRB protocol number in all correspondence regarding this protocol with the IRB or the Division of Research Integrity and Compliance. It is your responsibility to conduct this study in accordance with IRB policies and procedures and as approved by the IRB.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-5638.

Sincerely,

John Schinka, PhD, Chairperson USF Institutional Review Board

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "John A. Schinka, Ph.D." The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'J' and 'S'.



October 15, 2012

DIVISION OF RESEARCH INTEGRITY AND COMPLIANCE
Institutional Review Boards, FWA No. 0000166
12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd., MDC035 • Tampa, FL 33612-475
(813) 974-5638 • FAX (813) 974-561

Elizabeth "Libby" Jeter Communication 4202 East Fowler Ave CIS 1040

Tampa, FL 33620

RE: **Approved** Amendment Request IRB#: MS2_Pro00005614 Title: Human Trafficking –In-service Law Enforcement Training

Dear Ms. Jeter:

On 10/15/2012 the Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed and approved your Amendment by expedited review procedures.

The submitted request has been approved **from date:** 10/15/2012 **to date:** 10/25/2013 for the following:

Protocol Document(s): Amended protocol - protocol version 2 10/11/12 (0.01)

Consent Document(s): Consent form for follow up interview.pdf(0.01)

1. New anticipated end date of 4/29/13 2. Change in procedures/instruments: (A) Addition of follow-up interviews: Outside of the training sessions, each instructor will be asked to participate in one 30-45 minute audiotaped interview if they participated in the training and have worked on at least one human trafficking case. Five additional participants, instructors and trainees, will be asked to participate in a follow up interview lasting 30-45 minutes. (B) New follow-up interview script and questions for trainers and trainees 3. New consent form for follow-up interviews 4. Revised protocol to reflect changes.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-5638.

Sincerely,

John Schinka, PhD, Chairperson USF Institutional Review Board

John A. Schunka, Ph.D.



10/26/2011

DIVISION OF RESEARCH INTEGRITY AND COMPLIANCE
 Institutional Review Boards, FWA No. 00001669
 12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd., MDC035 • Tampa, FL 33612-4799
 (813) 974-5638 • FAX (813) 974-5618

Elizabeth Jeter Communication 4202 East Fowler Ave CIS 1040

RE: **Expedited Approval** for Initial Review IRB#: Pro00005614

Title: Human Trafficking –In-service Law Enforcement Training Dear Ms. Jeter:

On 10/25/2011 the Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed and **APPROVED** the above referenced protocol. Please note that your approval for this study will expire on 10/25/2012.

Approved Items:

Protocol Document(s):

[Research Protocol - North Carolina Justice Academy](#)

0.02

Consent/Assent Documents: [Consent forms for instructors.pdf](#) [Consent forms for trainees.pdf](#) Please use only the watermarked/stamped consent form(s) found under the "Attachment Tab" in the recruitment of participants.

It was the determination of the IRB that your study qualified for expedited review which includes activities that (1) present no more than minimal risk to human subjects, and (2) involve only procedures listed in one or more of the categories outlined below. The IRB may review research through the expedited review procedure authorized by 45CFR46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110. The research proposed in this study is categorized under the following expedited review category:

- (5) Research involving materials (data, documents, records, or specimens) that have been collected, or will be collected solely for nonresearch purposes (such as medical treatment or diagnosis).
- (6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.
- (7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to,

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research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Please note, the informed consent/assent documents are valid during the period indicated by the official, IRB-Approval stamp located on the form. Valid consent must be documented on a copy of the most recently IRB-approved consent form.

As the principal investigator of this study, it is your responsibility to conduct this study in accordance with IRB policies and procedures and as approved by the IRB. Any changes to the approved research must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval by an amendment.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-5638.

Sincerely,

John A. Schinka, Ph.D., Chairperson USF Institutional Review Board

Cc: Christina Calandro USF IRB Professional Staff

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "John A. Schinka, Ph.D.".



October 1, 2012

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Protocol Document(s):

[Research Protocol - North Carolina Justice Academy](#)

Consent Document(s):

[Consent forms for instructors.pdf](#) [Consent forms for trainees.pdf](#)

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Please reference the above IRB protocol number in all correspondence regarding this protocol with the IRB or the Division of Research Integrity and Compliance. It is your responsibility to conduct this study in accordance with IRB policies and procedures and as approved by the IRB.

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Sincerely,

John Schinka, PhD, Chairperson USF Institutional Review Board

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "John A. Schinka, Ph.D." The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'J' and 'S'.



10/26/2011

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Approved Items:

Protocol Document(s):

[Research Protocol - North Carolina Justice Academy](#)

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Consent/Assent Documents: [Consent forms for instructors.pdf](#) [Consent forms for trainees.pdf](#) Please use only the watermarked/stamped consent form(s) found under the "Attachment Tab" in the recruitment of participants.

It was the determination of the IRB that your study qualified for expedited review which includes activities that (1) present no more than minimal risk to human subjects, and (2) involve only procedures listed in one or more of the categories outlined below. The IRB may review research through the expedited review procedure authorized by 45CFR46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110. The research proposed in this study is categorized under the following expedited review category:

- (5) Research involving materials (data, documents, records, or specimens) that have been collected, or will be collected solely for nonresearch purposes (such as medical treatment or diagnosis).
- (6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.
- (7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to,

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research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Please note, the informed consent/assent documents are valid during the period indicated by the official, IRB-Approval stamp located on the form. Valid consent must be documented on a copy of the most recently IRB-approved consent form.

As the principal investigator of this study, it is your responsibility to conduct this study in accordance with IRB policies and procedures and as approved by the IRB. Any changes to the approved research must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval by an amendment.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-5638.

Sincerely,

John A. Schinka, Ph.D., Chairperson USF Institutional Review Board

Cc: Christina Calandro USF IRB Professional Staff

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "John A. Schinka, Ph.D." The signature is written in black ink and is positioned below the typed name.



10/31/2013

RESEARCH INTEGRITY AND COMPLIANCE
Institutional Review Boards, FWA No. 00001669
12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd., MDC035 • Tampa, FL 33612-4799
(813) 974-5638 • FAX (813) 974-7091

Elizabeth "Libby" Jeter Communication 4202 East Fowler Ave CIS 1040

Tampa, FL 33620-7800

RE: **Acceptance of Application for Final Review** IRB#: CR2_Pro00005614 Title: Human Trafficking –In-service Law Enforcement Training

Dear Ms. Jeter:

On 10/31/2013, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed and **ACCEPTED** your Application for Final Review.

Please be advised that you are required to maintain complete research records including all IRB documentation, source documents, and informed consent/assent document(s) (if applicable) for all subjects who participated in this study for a minimum of five years after completion of the research (end of IRB-approval) or for the period designated by the study sponsor and/or oversight agency or HIPAA, whichever period is longer.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-5638.

Sincerely,

John Schinka, Ph.D., Chairperson USF Institutional Review Board

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "John A. Schinka, Ph.D." The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "J" and "S".

About the Author

Elizabeth H. Jeter received her B.A. in Political Science from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and her M.A. in Interpersonal & Health Communication from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Prior to returning to graduate school, she worked as a laboratory technician for Dr. Thomas Carter at North Carolina State University where she prepared and conducted experiments in genetic soybean research. She later lived in Buenos Aires, Argentina where she worked for El Instituto Social y Politico de la Mujer (ISPM) – a national women’s rights organizations – as a grant writer, event coordinator, and political activist. Her time abroad included extensive travels in South America and the Caribbean.

During her doctoral studies, she worked for the law firm of Peter D. Zellmer, PLLC as a communication specialist and paralegal, which has contributed to her research with the criminal justice system. Her awards include the John Andrew and Margaret E. Robinson Fellowship, the Wes Egan Award for design, and the Mial Williamson Scholarship. In 2012, she participated in the National Communication Association’s Doctoral Honors Seminar at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles. She is also active in community service, including serving on the board of the Women’s Fund of Winston-Salem. Her major areas of research include Organizational Communication, Intercultural Communication, and Applied Research Methods. In fall 2016, she will begin an Assistant Professor of Human Relations position in the Department of Human Relations, Sociology, and Nonprofit Studies at High Point University.