



Victimology

Exploring the Experience of Victimization

John Sutcliff's entire adult life has been devoted to the sexual seduction of teenage boys. At the age of 33, he was arrested and sentenced to prison for sexually assaulting a 13-year-old boy who was a member of his "Big Brother's Club." By his own admission he had been sexually active with more than 200 "members" of his club. John's favorite activity with these boys was giving and receiving enemas, a paraphilia known as klismaphilia. John became involved with the fetish while enrolled in a residential boy's school where many of the boys were subjected to enemas administered in front of the entire dormitory.

After his release from prison, John became much more "scientific" in his efforts to procure victims. A "theoretical" paper he wrote indicated that father-absent boys were "ripe" for seduction, and he would entice them with his friendly ways and with a houseful of electronic equipment he would teach the boys to repair and operate. He weeded out boys with a father in the home and would spend at least six weeks grooming each victim. He used systematic desensitization techniques, starting with simply getting the boys to agree to type in answers to innocuous questions, and escalating to have them view pornographic homosexual pictures, giving them "pretend" enemas, actual enemas, and enemas accompanied by homosexual activity. With each successive approximation toward John's goal the boys were reinforced by material and non-material rewards (friendship, attention, praise) that made the final events seem almost natural.

John's activities came to light when U.S. postal inspectors found a package containing pictures, letters, and tapes John exchanged with like-minded individuals. On the basis of this evidence, the police raided John's home and found neatly catalogued files detailing 475 boys that he had seduced. His methods were so successful that his actions were never reported to the authorities (indeed, some of the boys were recruited for him by earlier victims). Some of his earlier victims still kept in touch with him and were victimizing boys themselves. Only one victim agreed to testify, but John was allowed to plead to one count of lewd and lascivious conduct. He received a sentence of one year and was paroled after serving 10 months, and thus served 15.7 hours for each of his 475 known victims. This case illustrates how victims (totally innocent as children) can be turned into victimizers (totally responsible as adults) and how the distinction between victim and perpetrator can sometimes be blurred.

The Emergence of Victimology

Except for minor public order crimes, for every criminal act there is necessarily at least one victim. Criminologists have spent decades trying to determine the factors that contribute to making a person a criminal, but it wasn't until the German criminologist Hans von Hentig's (1941) work that they began seriously thinking about the role of the victim. It turned out that although victimization can be an unfortunate random event where the victim is simply in the wrong place at the wrong time, in many, perhaps even in most cases of victimization, there is a systematic pattern if one looks closely enough.

Victimology is a subfield of criminology that specializes in studying the victims of crime and the process of victimization. Criminologists interested in perpetrators of crime ask what are the risk factors for becoming involved in crime; criminologists interested in victims of crime ask pretty much the same questions: Why are some individuals, households, groups, and other entities targeted and others are not? (Doerner & Lab, 2002). The labels "offender" and "victim" are sometimes blurred distinctions that hide the details of the interactions of the offender/victim dyad. Burglars often prey on their own kind, robbers prey on drug dealers, and homicides are frequently the outcome of minor arguments in which the victim was the instigator. As victimologist Andrew Karmen (2005) put it,

Predators prey on each other as well as upon innocent members of the public. . . . When youth gangs feud with each other by carrying out "drive-by" shootings, the young members who get gunned down are casualties of their own brand of retaliatory street justice. (p. 14)

Of course, we should not think of all victims, or even most victims, this way. There are millions of innocent victims who in no way contribute to their victimization, and even lawbreakers can be genuine victims deserving of protection and redress in the criminal courts.

Who Gets Victimized?

Victimization is, therefore, not a random process. Becoming a victim is a process encompassing a host of systematic environmental, demographic, and personal characteristics. According to the 2015 NCVS study (Truman & Morgan, 2016), the individual most likely to be victimized is a young black unmarried male living in poverty in an urban environment, which is exactly the profile of the person most likely to victimize others. Victimization studies, like criminal behavior studies, show that victimization drops precipitously from 25 years of age onwards, that it also drops with increasing household income, and that being married is a protective factor against victimization, as it is against crime.

Victim characteristics also differ according to the type of crime. Females were 4.3 times more likely than males to be victimized by rape/sexual assault, but males were 1.6 times more likely to be victimized by aggravated assault. Females are more likely to be victimized by someone they know and males by strangers. Blacks were 1.7 times more likely than "other races" (Asian, American Indian/Alaskan Native) to be victims of aggravated assault, but slightly less likely than whites to be victims of simple assault. Individuals 65 or older were 20 times less likely than individuals 20 to 24 to be victimized by any type of violent crime, but slightly more likely to be victimized by a personal theft. Table 3.1 shows the number of reported violent victimizations in 2015 compared with 2014 from the 2015 NCVS survey. Figure 3.1 shows changes in victimization reported to the police from 2014 to 2015 according to UCR data.

The Stephen Watts, Melissa Tetzlaff-Bemiller, and James McCutcheon article (Reading 6) supports the contention by Karmen that the risk factors for offending and for being victimized are much the same thing. They introduce a novel variable into the picture—a gene x environment interaction (GxE). A GxE is a situation in which genes only have an effect in certain environments, and environments only have an effect in the presence of certain genes. They examine involvement in drug markets and the monoamine oxidase A (MAOA) gene as significant risk factors for

criminal victimization (both are also identified as correlating with risky and antisocial behavior. They show that drug selling increases violent victimization among males, but not females. They also show that the effect of drug selling on violent victimization among males is greater among the carriers of MAOA alleles called 2 and 3 repeats (2R/3R alleles), providing evidence of GxE.

Table 3.1 • Rate of Violent Victimization by Victim Demographic Characteristics, 2014–2015

Victim demographic characteristic	Violent crime ^a		Serious violent crime ^b	
	2014*	2015	2014*	2015
Total	20.1	18.6	7.7	6.8
Sex				
Male	21.1	15.9 [†]	8.3	5.4 [†]
Female	19.1	21.1	7.0	8.1
Race/Hispanic origin				
White ^c	20.3	17.4	7.0	6.0
Black ^c	22.5	22.6	10.1	8.4
Hispanic	16.2	16.8	8.3	7.1
Other ^{c,d}	23.0	25.7	7.7	10.4
Age				
12–17	30.1	31.3	8.8	7.8
18–24	26.8	25.1	13.6	10.7
25–34	28.5	21.8 [‡]	8.6	9.3
35–49	21.6	22.6	8.9	7.8
50–64	17.9	14.2	7.0	5.7
65 or older	3.1	5.2 [*]	1.3	1.5
Marital status				
Never married	27.9	26.2	10.7	9.4
Married	12.4	9.9	4.0	3.5
Widowed	8.7	8.5	2.9	2.9
Divorced	30.3	35.3	14.2	13.0
Separated	52.8	39.5	27.7	20.6

(Continued)

Table 3.1 • (Continued)

Victim demographic characteristic	Violent crime ^a		Serious violent crime ^b	
	2014*	2015	2014*	2015
Household Income^a				
\$9,999 or less	39.7	39.2	18.7	17.7
\$10,000–\$14,999	36.0	27.7	16.8	12.0
\$15,00–\$24,999	25.3	25.9	8.4	
\$25,000–\$34,999	19.7	16.3	8.3	5.5
\$35,000–\$49,999	19.0	20.5	8.1	7.1
\$50,000–\$74,999	16.4	16.3	5.4	5.9
\$75,000 or more	15.1	12.8	4.7	4.5

SOURCE: Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), 2014 and 2015.

NOTE: Victimization rates are per 1,000 persons age 12 or older.

*Comparison year.

[†]Significant difference from comparison year at the 95% confidence level.

[‡]Significant difference from comparison year at the 90% confidence level.

[§]Includes rape or sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault. Excludes homicide because the NCVS is based on interviews with victims and therefore cannot measure murder.

^{||}In the NCVS, serious violent crime includes rape or sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault.

[¶]Excludes persons of Hispanic or Latino origin.

^{¶¶}Includes American Indian and Alaska Natives; Asian, Native Hawaiian, and Other Pacific Islanders; and persons of two or more races.

Figure 3.1 • Changes in Crime Victimization Rates 2014-2015 According to the UCR

Victimization in the Workplace and School

Two important demographic variables not included in the 2016 NCVS report are victimization at work and at school. It is important to consider these variables because most of us spend the majority of our waking hours either on the job or at school.

Highlights of the United States Department of Justice (Harrell, 2011) report on workplace violence are shown in Box 3.1. This report, which has not been subsequently updated, found that the rate of workplace violence declined by 62% from 1993 to 2009. Males were 62.9% of the victims; 77.9% of all victims were White; and most victims were between the ages of 35 to 49. The three occupations most at risk were police officers (a rate of 30.2 per 1,000 workers); corrections officers (33.0); and security guards (66.0). Homicides were 21% of all occupational fatalities for women, with relatives or domestic partners committing 39% of female occupational homicide. Only 9% of male workplace fatalities were homicides, which were most likely to be perpetrated by robbers. The most dangerous jobs are those where workers must deal with the public in a protective (police officers) or supervisory (probation/parole and correctional officers) capacity; or those where workers work alone and are relatively isolated from others; work at night; and work with money (cab drivers, convenience store clerks). We are happy to report that the safest job category is university professor.

Public perceptions of victimization in the nation's schools are fueled by isolated, but horrendous events like Adam Lanza's fatal shooting of 20 children and six adults at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Connecticut in 2012. The truth is that our schools are some of the safest places to be.

A National Center for Educational Statistics nationwide study of school crime and safety (Lessne, Gidade, Gerke, Roland, & Sinclair, 2016) found that less than 1% of all juvenile homicides and suicides occurred at school during the period studied. From July 1, 2012 through June 30, 2013, there were only 53 school-associated violent deaths in all schools in the United States: 41 homicides, 11 suicides, and 1 "legal intervention death," which probably meant by police involvement. There was no information about how many of these deaths were students opposed to school staff.

Box 3.1 • Highlights of 2011 Report on Workplace Violence

- From 2002 to 2009, the rate of nonfatal workplace violence declined by 35%, following a 62% decline in the rate from 1993 to 2002.
- The average annual rate of workplace violence between 2005 and 2009 (5 violent crimes per 1,000 employed persons age 16 or older) was about one-third the rate of nonworkplace violence (16 violent crimes per 1,000 employed persons age 16 or older) and violence against persons not employed (17 violent crimes per 1,000 persons age 16 or older).
- Between 2005 and 2009, law enforcement officers, security guards, and bartenders had the highest rates of nonfatal workplace violence.
- Strangers committed the greatest proportion of nonfatal workplace violence against males (53%) and females (41%) between 2005 and 2009.
- Among workplace homicides that occurred between 2005 and 2009, about 28% involved victims in sales and related occupations and about 17% involved victims in protective service occupations.
- About 70% of workplace homicides were committed by robbers and other assailants while about 21% were committed by work associates between 2005 and 2009.
- Between 2005 and 2009, while firearms were used in 5% of nonfatal workplace violence, shootings accounted for 80% of workplace homicides.

SOURCE: Harrell (2011).

Table 3.2 • Reported Criminal Victimization in United States Schools, 2012–2013

Reported criminal victimization	Percent of students
None	96.9
Any	3.1
Theft	1.9
Violent	1.2
Simple assault	1.0
Serious violent	0.21
Rape and sexual assault	#
Robbery	‡
Aggravated assault	0.1!

#: Rounds to zero

‡: Reporting Standards not met. The standard error for this estimate is equal to 50 percent or more of the estimate's value.

!: Interpret data with caution. The standard error for this estimate is from 30 to 50 percent of the estimate's value.

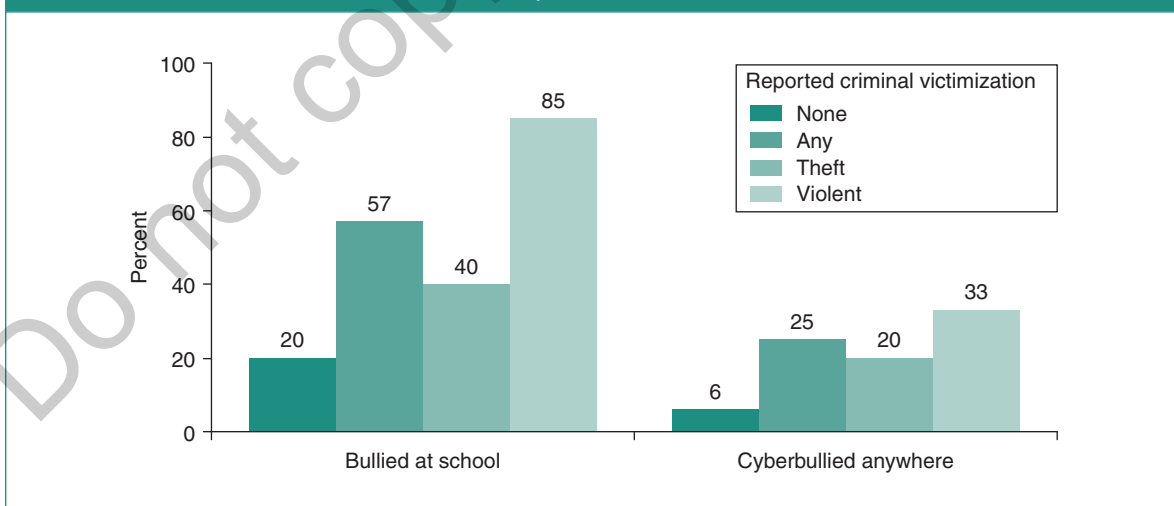
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, School Crime Supplement (SCS) to the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), 2013.

Note that only 3.1% reported being victimized, and serious violent offenses all rounded out to zero. Bullying, which also gets a lot of press, does not seem all that prevalent (26.5% reported being bullied in some manner in 2008–2009). Figure 3.2 shows the percentage of students from sixth to 12th grade who reported being bullied during the 2008–2009 school year, derived from self-reported surveys of crime victimization. For instance, 92% of students who said they had been victims of a violent crime reported that they had also been bullied, versus 27% of those who reported no type of victimization. Note that “traditional” bullying means everything from insults and name calling to assault and destruction of victim’s property. “Electronic bullying” means anything designed to hurt that is sent by electronic means (e-mail, Facebook, text messages).

Child Sexual Assault: Who Gets Victimized?

Child molestation is perhaps the most prevalent crime against the person in the United States, with approximately two-thirds of incarcerated sex offenders having offended against children (Talbot,

Figure 3.2 • Percentage of Students Aged 12–18 Reporting Being Bullied by Traditional Means at School or Electronic Means Anywhere: School Year 2012–2013



Gilligan, Carter, & Matson, 2002). It is more problematic to accurately gauge the prevalence of child molesting because rates depend on how broadly or how narrowly molesting is defined. A “best guess,” arrived at from a variety of sources, is that the percentage of children in the United States experiencing sexual abuse sometime during their childhood is 25% for girls and 10% for boys (Knudsen, 1991). Girls are more likely to be abused within the family (stepfathers and stepsiblings primarily), and boys are more likely to be victimized by acquaintances outside the family and by strangers (Walsh, 1994).

Children are at greater risk for maltreatment when not raised by both biological parents. The vast majority of stepparents do not abuse their stepchildren, but the risk is greatly elevated in stepfamilies. A nationwide study found that stepchildren were 9.2 times more likely to witness family violence, 4.6 times more likely to be maltreated, and 4.3 times more likely to be sexually assaulted than children living with two biological parents (Turner, Finkelhor, & Ormrod, 2006). Another study found that stepchildren were nine to 25 times more likely (depending on age: the younger the child, the greater the risk) to be abused than children residing with both biological parents (Daly & Wilson, 1985). A child living with a stepfather or mother’s live-in boyfriend is approximately 65 times more likely to be fatally abused than a child living with both biological parents (Daly & Wilson, 1996). The strongest predictor of sexual abuse for boys is growing up in a father-absent home (Walsh, 1988). There are many other factors predictive of child sexual abuse, and the more that are present, the more likely abuse is to occur.

Finkelhor (1984) developed a risk factor checklist for the likelihood of girls’ victimization containing the following predictors:

1. Living with a stepfather.
2. Living without biological mother.
3. Not close to mother.
4. Mother never finished high school.
5. Sex-punitive mother.
6. No physical affection from (biological) father.
7. Family income under \$10,000 (in 1980 dollars; \$27,863 in 2012 dollars).
8. Two friends or fewer in childhood.

Finkelhor found that the probability of victimization was virtually zero among girls with none of the predictors in their background and rose steadily to 66% among girls with five predictors. Given the large number of divorces, out-of-wedlock births, and reconstituted families we are seeing in the United States, an increasing number of children will experience these risk factors for sexual abuse.

Human Trafficking

Arguably, the most horrible form of victimization is slavery, although we have another name for it today: human trafficking. **Human trafficking** is the “illegal trade in human beings through abduction, the use or threat of force, deception, fraud or sale for the purposes of sexual exploitation or forced labor” (Bernat & Zhilina, 2010). It is quite bizarre to think that 200 years after the British fought costly wars to end the transatlantic slave trade, it is still happening. According to a U.S. Department of State (2012) report on human trafficking: “It is estimated that as many as 27 million men, women, and children around the world are victims of what is often described with the umbrella term ‘human trafficking’” (p. 7).

Julia Davidson (2010) argues that this modern form of slavery is often worse than the old, legal slavery in the United States and elsewhere because slaves were given some degree of autonomy then. Modern slavery is illegal and thus must be hidden. Because of the illegality of, and often severe criminal penalties attached to trafficking in first-world countries, the people who control modern-day slaves use a variety of methods. According to the U.S. Department of State (2012), these include confiscating all identifying documents; isolating victims; constantly accompanying them; restricting access to food, clothing, medical care, and sleep; requiring long work days; and otherwise abusing and intimidating their victims into becoming totally physically and psychologically dependent on their captors.

The source of human trafficking victims is almost invariably third-world poor countries with corrupt law enforcement that lack employment opportunities, and the destination countries are usually, but not always, rich countries. Trafficked humans may be used in their own countries in brothels and sweat shops. Women and children are typically used as prostitutes; most males are used as forced labor. It is obviously a highly profitable enterprise for the traffickers, and it is no surprise that organized crime groups participate in smuggling humans, just as they are involved in smuggling drugs. It is estimated that human trafficking is second only to the illegal drug market in terms of profitability, netting the traffickers between \$5 and \$9 billion a year according to a United Nations (2004) report.

Figure 3.3 offers a thumbnail sketch of human trafficking from the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) department, which is mandated to control all kinds of smuggling into the United States.

The article by Logan, Walker, and Hunt (Reading 5) explores the topic of modern-day human trafficking in an attempt to reveal the nature and scope of human trafficking in the United States. It describes and synthesizes nine reports that assess the U.S. service organizations' legal representative knowledge of, and experience with, human trafficking cases, as well as information from actual cases and media reports. The article defines human trafficking, describes factors identified as contributing to vulnerability to being trafficked, how human trafficking differs from other kinds of crimes in the United States, explores how human trafficking victims are identified, and provides recommendations to better address the problem.

Victimization Theories

Victimization can occur at any time or place without warning. Who could have predicted someone gassing up her car at a filling station would be gunned down by the Washington, D.C., snipers in 2002, or a typist at his desk in the World Trade Center would be obliterated by a passenger jet on September 11, 2001? There is no systematic way to evaluate events like these from a victimology perspective. But, as previously noted, most victimizing events are not random or unpredictable. Criminologists no longer view victims as simply passive players in crime who were unfortunate enough to be in the wrong place at the wrong time (as, of course, were the victims of 9/11 and the D.C. snipers). In the majority of cases, victims are now seen as individuals who in some way, knowingly or unknowingly, passively or actively, influenced their victimization. Obviously, the role of the victim, however provocative it may be, is never a necessary and sufficient cause of his or her victimization and therefore cannot fully explain the actions of the person committing the criminal act.

Victim Precipitation Theory

Victim precipitation theory was first promulgated by von Hentig (1941) and applies only to violent victimization. Its basic premise is that by acting in certain provocative ways, some individuals initiate a chain of events that lead to their victimization. Most murders of spouses and boyfriends by women, for example, are victim precipitated in that the “perpetrator” is defending herself from the “victim” (Mann, 1990). Likewise, serious delinquent and criminal behavior and serious victimization are inextricably linked. A study using data from the longitudinal Pittsburgh and Denver studies of delinquency risk factors (e.g., low SES, single-parent household, hyperactivity, impulsiveness, drug usage) showed

Figure 3.3 • Thumbnail Sketch of Human Trafficking From ICE



Common Trafficking Indicators

- Victim does not have ID or travel documents.
- Victim has been coached in talking to law enforcement and immigration officials.
- Victim is in forced labor situation or sex trade.
- Victim's salary is garnished to pay off smuggling fees.
- Victim is denied freedom of movement.
- Victim or family is threatened with harm if escape is attempted.
- Victim is threatened with deportation or arrest.
- Victim has been harmed or denied food, water, sleep or medical care.
- Victim is denied contact with friends or family.
- Victim is not allowed to socialize or attend religious services.

Trafficking vs. Smuggling

Human Trafficking is defined as:

- sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act is younger than 18; or
- 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.

Human Smuggling is defined as:

- the importation of people into the United States involving deliberate evasion of immigration laws. This offense includes bringing illegal aliens into the country, as well as the unlawful transportation and harboring of aliens already in the United States.

SOURCE: United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement. (2013). Human trafficking. <http://www.ice.gov/human-trafficking/>.

that the same factors predicted victimization as well (Loeber, Kalb, & Huizinga, 2001). Overall, 50% of seriously violent delinquents were themselves violently victimized compared with 10% of nondelinquents from the same neighborhoods.

Victim precipitation theory has been most contentious when it is applied to rape ever since Menachem Amir's (1971) study of police records found that 19% of forcible rapes were victim precipitated, which was defined by Amir as the victim agreeing to sexual relations and then renegeing. A number of surveys of high school and college students have shown that a majority of males and a significant minority of females believe that it is justifiable for a

man to use some degree of force to obtain sex if the victim has somehow “led him on” (Herman, 1990). This attitude appears to indicate that some people believe that there could be an act labeled “justifiable rape,” in the same sense as the label “justifiable homicide.” These same surveys also indicate that many people continue to believe that rape victims are often at least partially responsible for their rape because of such factors as provocative dress and lifestyle (frequenting bars and drinking too much) and because of the belief that “nice girls don’t get raped” (Bartol, 2002, p. 295). It is for this reason that many criminologists disparage victim precipitation theory as victim blaming, although it was never meant to be that. Hopefully, the attitudes revealed in these 1980s surveys have diminished with the greater awareness in evidence today of the horrible nature of this crime.

Figure 3.4 provides four scenarios illustrating various levels of victim/offender responsibility from this perspective. In the first scenario, the woman who stabbed her husband after suffering years of abuse is judged blameless, although some lacking a little in empathy and understanding of the psychology of domestic abuse may argue that she must take some responsibility for remaining in the relationship. In the second scenario, both the offender and the victim were engaging in a minor vice crime and both are judged equally responsible for the crime (morally he should not have been there and was careless with his wallet). In the third scenario, the victim facilitated the crime by carelessly leaving his keys in the car. In the last scenario, the child is totally innocent of any responsibility for what happened to her. We want to strongly emphasize that whatever the degree of responsibility, “responsibility” does not equate to “guilt.”

Routine Activities/Lifestyle Theory

Routine activities theory and lifestyle theory are separate entities, but in victimology they are similar enough to warrant being merged into one (Doerner & Labb, 2002). Routine activities theory was originally formulated to explain criminal behavior (it is further explained in Section IV), but it can be fruitfully applied to victims also. The theory stresses that criminal behavior takes place via the interaction of three variables that reflect individuals’ everyday routine activities: (1) the presence of motivated offenders, (2) the availability of suitable targets, and (3) the absence of capable guardians. The basic idea of lifestyle theory is that there are certain lifestyles (routine activities) that disproportionately expose some people to a high risk of victimization. “Lifestyles” are the routine patterned activities that people engage in on a daily basis, both obligatory (e.g., work-related) and optional (e.g., recreational). A high-risk lifestyle may be getting involved with deviant peer groups or drugs, just “hanging out,” or frequenting bars until late into the night and drinking

Figure 3.4 • Four Scenarios Illustrating the Degree of Victim/Offender Responsibility According to Victim Precipitation Theory

<i>Degree of Criminal Intent of the Perpetrator</i>			
None →	Some →	More →	Much →
Victim Provocation A woman who has suffered years of abuse stabs and kills her husband in self-defense as he is beating her again.	Equal Responsibility Victim using the services of a prostitute leaves his wallet on the nightstand. She decides to keep the money in his wallet.	Victim Facilitation Victim leaves keys in his car while he runs into a store. A teenager impulsively steals the car and wrecks it.	Victim Innocent A sex offender kidnaps a screaming young girl from a playground and molests her.
← Much	← More	← Some	← None
<i>Degree of Victim Facilitation or Provocation/Precipitation</i>			

heavily. **Routine activities/lifestyle theory** explains some of the data relating to demographic profiles and risk presented by Loeber et al. (2001), discussed earlier. Males, the young, the unmarried, and the poor are more at risk for victimization than females, older people, married people, and more affluent people because they have riskier lifestyles. On average, the lifestyles of the former are more active and action-oriented than the latter.

These lifestyles sometimes lead to repeat victimization. Prior victimization has been called “arguably the best readily available predictor of future victimization” and it “appears a robust finding across crime types and data sources” (Tseloni & Pease, 2003, p. 196). Lisa Bostaph (2004) reviews the literature on what she calls “career victims,” and among the various interesting research findings on this phenomenon she lists the following attributable to lifestyle patterns:

- A British crime survey that found that 20.2% of the respondents were victims of 81.2% of all offenses.
- A study that found 24% of rape victims had been raped before.
- A study of assault victims in the Netherlands that found 11.3% of victims accounted for 25.3% of hospital admissions for assault over 25 years.
- A study reporting that 67% of sexual assault victims had experienced prior sexual assaults.

Most of the research in routine activities/lifestyle theory has been done on rape victimization. Fisher, Cullen, and Turner’s (2001) national sample of college women found that 2.8% had been raped, although 46.5% of that group said that they did not experience the event as rape (p. 15). Fisher and colleagues report that four lifestyle factors are consistently found to increase the risk of sexual assault: (1) frequently drinking enough to get drunk, (2) being unmarried, (3) having previously been a victim of sexual assault, and (4) living on campus.

Is Victimology “Blaming the Victim”?

Some victim advocates reject victimology theories as “victim blaming.” However, no victimologists “blame” victims; they simply explore the process of victimization with the goal of understanding it and *preventing* it. Although victimology research is used to develop crime-prevention strategies, not to berate victims, some victim advocates even reject “as ideologically tainted” crime-prevention tips endorsed by victimologists (Karmen, 2005, p. 129).

Crime-prevention tips and strategies are ignored at our peril. We all agree that we *should* be able to leave our cars unlocked, sleep with the windows open in summer, leave our doors unlocked, frequent any bar we choose, or walk down any alley in any neighborhood at any time we please, but we cannot. Common sense demands that we take what steps we can to safeguard ourselves and our property in this imperfect world. Crime-prevention tips are



Provided by Cecil Greek

▲ **Photo 3.1** Gary Ridgway became known as the Green River Killer for his habit of depositing victims’ bodies along this waterway. Serial killers frequently victimize marginalized groups like prostitutes. Some of his victims’ bodies were only discovered years after their untimely deaths, by searchers like these who were revisiting his kill sites.

really no different from tips we get all the time about staying healthy: eat right, exercise, and quit smoking if you want to avoid health problems. Similarly, avoid certain places, dress sensibly, don't provoke, take reasonable precautionary measures, and don't drink too much if you want to avoid victimization.

Victims deserve our sympathy even if they somehow provoked or facilitated their own victimization. Victimologists do not "blame"; they simply remind us that complete innocence and full responsibility lie on a continuum.

The Consequences of Victimization

Some crime victims suffer lifelong physical pain from wounds and some suffer permanent disability, but for the majority of victims, the worst consequences are psychological. We all like to think that we live in a safe, predictable, and lawful world where people treat one another decently. When we are victimized, this comfortable "just world" view is shattered. With victimization comes stressful feelings of shock, personal vulnerability, anger, fear of further victimization, and suspicion of others.

Victimization also produces feelings of depression, guilt, self-blame, lowered self-esteem, and self-efficacy. Rape, in particular, has these consequences for its victims ("Did I contribute to it?" "Could I have done more to prevent it?"). The shock, anger, and depression that typically afflicts a rape victim is known as **rape trauma syndrome**, which is similar to posttraumatic stress syndrome (re-experiencing the event via "flashbacks," avoiding anything at all associated with the event, and a general numbness of affect) often suffered by those who have experienced the horrors

of war (van Berlo & Ensink, 2000). Victimization "also changes one's perceptions of and beliefs about others in society. It does so by indicating others as sources of threat and harm rather than sources of support" (Macmillan, 2001, p. 12).

Victims of property crimes, particularly burglary, also have the foundations of their world shaken. The home is supposed to be a personal sanctuary of safety and security, and when it is "touched" by an intruder, some victims describe it as the "rape" of their home (Bartol, 2002, p. 336). A British study of burglary victims found that 65% reacted with anger, 30% with fear of revictimization, and 29% suffered insomnia as a consequence. The type and severity of these reactions were structured by the victims' place in the social structure, where those most likely to be affected were women, older and poorer individuals, and residents of single-parent households (Mawby, 2001).



© iStockphoto.com/DaLi

▲ **Photo 3.2** Efforts to better recognize victims and their rights have become more common over the past 20 years. This photo memorializes the victims of a terrorist attack in London in 2017.

Victimization and the Criminal Justice System

Until fairly recently, the victim was the forgotten party in the criminal justice system. In the United States, crime is considered to be an act against the state rather than against the individual who was actually victimized. In 2004, the Senate passed a crime victims' bill of rights (see Box 3.2) that shows considerable progress toward recognizing the previously discounted victims.

Box 3.2 • Crime Victims' Bill of Rights

1. The right to be reasonably protected from the accused
2. The right to reasonable, accurate, and timely notice of any public proceeding involving the crime or of any release or escape of the accused
3. The right not to be excluded from any such public proceeding
4. The right to be reasonably heard at any public proceeding involving release, plea, or sentencing
5. The right to confer with the attorney for the Government in the case
6. The right to full and timely restitution as provided in law
7. The right to proceedings free from unreasonable delay
8. The right to be treated with fairness and with respect for the victim's dignity and privacy

SOURCE: Senate Bill S2329, April 21, 2004.

Although the rights listed above apply only to victims of federal crimes, all 50 states have implemented constitutional amendments or promulgated bills guaranteeing similar rights.

All states have also mandated that victim concerns be addressed in presentence investigation reports (PSIs) sent to the courts before perpetrators are sentenced. These reports contain a “victim impact statement” (addressing the effect the crime had on victims) and the desires of the victim regarding sentencing.

Crime victims are eligible for partial compensation from the state to cover medical and living expenses incurred as a result of their victimization. All 50 states and all United States protectorates have established programs that typically cover what private insurance does not, assuming the state has sufficient funds. According to the National Association of Crime Victim Compensation Board (<http://www.nacvcb.org>), under the Victims of Crime Act (VOCA) “close to \$500 million annually is paid to and on behalf of more than 200,000 people suffering criminal injury, including victims of spousal and child abuse, rape, assault, and drunk driving, as well as families of murder victims.” Most of this distribution (60%) goes to cover uninsured medical bills.

Policy and Prevention

Preventing victimization is, by definition, preventing illegal activity. As the theories in this section stress, some of the prevention strategies rest on the shoulders of potential victims themselves since there are always motivated offenders ready to victimize others. In other words, people should avoid the kinds of behavior and situations that might provoke others to victimize them. However, all victims certainly do not have the opportunity to make choices to avoid victimization, especially children and women trapped in abusive relationships. They are victims targeted by someone who is supposed to be their “capable guardian.” Then there are victims of human trafficking who are kidnapped or duped into their bondage, and thus bear no responsibility for their victimization. Combating such cross-national and large-scale enterprises as human trafficking require major efforts on the part of all governments of the countries involved. Unfortunately, government corruption, especially in those countries from which victims originate, precludes much effective international cooperation, thus the onus falls on the host countries for these unfortunate human beings. Because a very large portion of trafficked humans are sold into prostitution, one way for host nations to deal with the problem is to arrest, punish, and publicize all men using the services of a prostitute. When the courts take harmful acts seriously and increase the probability of punishment, those acts decrease, but when

nothing is done, the more offenders downgrade punishment probabilities and continue their actions. Take drunk driving as an example. In 1982 there were 9.1 alcohol-related fatalities per 100,000 people, and in 2008 there were 3.9 per 100,000; which is an impressive 57% decrease (National Highway Traffic Safety Commission [NHTSC], 2009). The NHTSC attribute this welcome reduction in fatalities to drastically increased penalties for drunk driving, increased police emphasis on enforcing DUI laws, and campaigns to inform the public that society is no longer treating drunk driving lightly, but rather as a rather serious crime that could lead to someone's death.

The Minneapolis Domestic Violence Experiment (Buzawa & Buzawa, 2003) is another application of perceptual deterrence theory. In this study, police officers were randomly assigned to respond to domestic violence calls in one of three ways: (1) separate the parties and order one of them to leave, (2) inform both parties of alternatives to violence, such as attending dispute resolution centers or counseling, or (3) arrest the abuser. It was shown that 24% of those ordered to leave, 19% of those were advised of alternatives, and 10% of those arrested continued to engage in further domestic violence. Apparently, arrests were perceived as "cracking down," and thus had more of a deterrent effect than the other two less intrusive alternatives. Victimization can be prevented, but the lessons of victimology are that everyone has to play his or her part in preventing one's own victimization to the extent possible.

SUMMARY

- Victimology is the study of the risk factors for and consequences of victimization, and criminal justice approaches dealing with victims and victimization. The risk factors for victimization are basically the same as the risk factors for victimizing in terms of gender, race, age, SES, personal characteristics, and neighborhood.
- Theories of victimization, such as victim precipitation theory and routine activities/lifestyle theory, examine the victim's role in facilitating or precipitating his or her victimization. This is not "victim blaming," but rather an effort to understand and prevent victimization. Victimologists apportion responsibility within the victim/offender dyad on a continuum, from complete victim innocence to victim precipitation.
- The consequences of victimization can be devastating, both physically and psychologically. Although the severity of the psychological consequences of the same sort of victimization can vary widely according to the characteristics of the victim, consequences can range from short-lived anger to posttraumatic stress syndrome, especially for victims of rape.
- Until fairly recently, victims were the forgotten party in a criminal justice system that tended to think of them only as "evidence" or witnesses. Things have changed over the last 25 years with the passage of victims' rights bills by the federal government and all 50 states. There are also various victim-centered programs designed to ease the pain of victimization like victim compensation.

KEY TERMS

Human trafficking 81

Routine activities/lifestyle theory 85

Victim precipitation theory 82

Rape trauma syndrome 86

Victimology 76

EXERCISES AND DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Interview a willing classmate or friend who has been victimized by a serious crime and ask about his or her feelings shortly after victimization and now. Did it change his or her attitudes about crime and punishment?
2. Is it a surprise to you that perpetrators of crimes are more likely to also be victims of crime than people in general? Why or why not?
3. Go to your state's official website and find out funding levels and what services are available to crime victims.



Visit the Student Study Site at www.sagepub.com/walsh4e for additional study tools including eFlashcards, web quizzes, video resources, audio clips, web resources, and SAGE journal articles.

READING /// 5

In this article, Logan, Walker, and Hunt explore the topic of modern-day slavery or human trafficking in an attempt to reveal the nature and scope of human trafficking in the United States. It describes and synthesizes nine reports that assess the U.S. service organizations' legal representative knowledge of, and experience with, human trafficking cases, as well as information from actual cases and media reports. This article defines human trafficking; describes factors identified as contributing to vulnerability to being trafficked and kept entrapped; examines how the crime of human trafficking differs from other kinds of crimes in the United States; explores how human trafficking victims are identified; and provides recommendations to better address human trafficking.

Understanding Human Trafficking in the United States

T. K. Logan, Robert Walker, and Gretchen Hunt

SAMIRAH AND ENUNG were recruited from their home in Indonesia by a wealthy family to work in America. Both women signed a contract stating they would be paid US\$100 to US\$200 a month to work in a home taking care of a family. But, when they arrived, their passports and travel documents were confiscated and they were made to work close to 21 hours a day; to sleep on small mats in the kitchen of the large home; and were given very little to eat. They were threatened, physically assaulted, and rarely allowed out of the house. They were also subjected to torture for such transgressions as stealing food because they were often hungry. For example, throughout their time with the family they were forced to run up and down stairs until exhausted, beaten with broom handles and rolling pins, cut with knives, and forced to stand while being scalded with boiling hot water. And for all this, they were not directly paid although some money was sent back to their families in their home country. Even though the two women, both aged close to 50 years, had been in America for 5 years working for this family, they only knew a few English words. Further, on at least one occasion a witness saw Samirah crawling up the

basement stairs bleeding from the forehead and Samirah and Enung both told the witness that Samirah had been beaten by the home owner. On another occasion, a landscaper at the home was confronted by Enung who was raggedly dressed and very hungry pleading with him for his doughnuts. Even so, it wasn't until one of the women ran away to get help that their situation was discovered by authorities (Warner, 2007).

This account of human trafficking is one of many that are becoming more frequently reported in the media in the United States and represents an antithesis of fundamental human dignity and basic citizen and human rights. This article addresses human trafficking in the United States and has five main goals: (a) to define what human trafficking is, and is not; (b) to describe factors identified as contributing to vulnerability to being trafficked and keeping a person entrapped in the situation; (c) to examine how the crime of human trafficking differs from other kinds of crimes in the United States; (d) to explore how human trafficking victims are identified; and (e) to provide recommendations to better address human trafficking in the United States.

SOURCE: "Understanding Human Trafficking in the United States," by T. K. Logan, Robert Walker, and Gretchen Hunt. *Trauma, Violence & Abuse*, 10(1), 3–30. © 2009 SAGE Publications.

Human trafficking is defined by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 as (a) the recruitment, harboring, transporting, supplying, or obtaining a person for labor or services through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of involuntary servitude or slavery; or (b) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform sex acts is under 18 years of age. The use of coercion can be direct and physically violent, or it can be through psychological means. Although most news accounts of human trafficking focus on the violence endured by the victims of human trafficking, the powerful effects of psychological coercion play a key role in entrapment and continued enslavement (Kim, 2007).

Labor exploitation includes forced labor and debt bondage; sexual exploitation includes compulsory sex in the sex industry. Although often termed “sex trafficking,” sexual exploitation in private homes by individuals who often demand sex and work is categorized by the law as labor exploitation. One misconception about human trafficking is that people must be transported to meet the definitional threshold of the human trafficking law. However, the current legislation does not require that a person be physically transported across locations in order for the crime to meet the definition of human trafficking. Another confusing aspect of human trafficking is that individuals are always brought into the country, legally or illegally, as part of the trafficking situation. However, people can be trafficked within their own country, and human trafficking is different from human smuggling (The Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center, 2005). Human smuggling is typically done with the consent of the smuggled individual who intends to enter the U.S. by any means. The relationship between the transporter and the smuggled individual usually ends once the destination is reached, but in human trafficking, the transportation of an individual is just the first phase of the crime; the transportation is but a means to the end of obtaining labor. The better organized human trafficking operations include both components, and will use the fee charged for transporting the individual into the United States as a form of debt bondage to entrap people into the trafficking situation.

Human trafficking is not a new phenomenon. In imperial Rome, 30% to 40% of the population was made up of slaves trafficked in from across Europe and wars were often fought merely to procure more slave labor (Goldsworthy, 2006). There is a rich history of slavery in America

beginning in 1619 with both White and African slaves being imported to Virginia and culminating in a civil war to end it. Race-based slavery no longer exists in the United States, but more insidious forms of slavery developed and have flourished even in recent times. For example, Douglas Blackmon (2008) detailed how, for decades after the official abolition of American slavery, thousands of African Americans were sold or forced into labor to pay debts that were incurred due to trumped up criminal charges.

Similar to the Blackmon analysis of slavery before and after the official abolition, Bales (2000) argues that the old slavery system was one in which slaves were expensive and thought of as valuable property, and there was a strong incentive to keep slaves alive and relatively healthy to ensure the slaveholder’s investment. However, today’s slaves have very low value, they are cheap, and are only worth what they bring in terms of immediate profit rather than being valuable as property. This kind of exploitation is particularly attractive to organized crime rings, and human trafficking may be the third largest profitable trafficking activity after drug and gun trafficking (Hyland, 2001).

Trafficking in humans is profitable for several reasons. First, traffickers gain from fees charged to the trafficked victim as well as from the profits from the victims’ labor. Costs are low because the labor is free, and victims are housed in unsanitary and crowded conditions and are made to work long hours (Neville & Martinez, 2004). Victims basically become disposable when they no longer produce anything of value. Bales (1999) notes:

On more than ten occasions I woke early in the morning to find the corpse of a young girl floating in the water by the barge. Nobody bothered to bury the girls. They just threw their bodies in the river to be eaten by the fish. (p. 4)

In another report (Family Violence Prevention Fund, 2005), one victim was quoted as saying: “I was sick so many times. And when you’re sick, you know what they tell you? They go, ‘You can die if you want to.’ They tell you that straight up. They just let you stay there and be sick and suffer (p. 19).”

The lack of identification and punishment of perpetrators make this kind of crime particularly profitable and low risk. Until recently there has been limited prosecution or attention paid to in human trafficking, and

penalties for those engaged in it were trivial. Also, murder investigations are less pursuable when the victims are unknown, lack identity, lack concerned relatives, and lack witnesses to their lives, let alone the crimes that lead to their deaths.

Although human trafficking is receiving increased attention in the United States, estimates and details about human trafficking in this country remain elusive. Even globally the estimates of bodies used as slaves are unknown. A recent Trafficking in Persons Report (U.S. Department of State, 2007) indicated the following:

The International Labor Organization...estimates there are 12.3 million people in forced labor, bonded labor, forced child labor, and sexual servitude at any given time; other estimates range from 4 million to 27 million.... Annually, according to U.S. Government-sponsored research completed in 2006, approximately 800,000 people are trafficked across national borders, which does not include millions trafficked within their own countries. (p. 8)

These numbers are general estimates, which means the true scope and nature of human trafficking, both globally and in the United States, remain unknown. There are several problems that contribute to the difficulty of accurately estimating the nature and scope of human trafficking.

Many victims are forced to commit criminal acts (e.g., prostitution), are involved in illegal activities, such as drug use or using false documents, or are undocumented and afraid to come forward because of their status in the United States. Their own criminal activities make it difficult to bring their situations to light. Trafficking victims are part of a covert society that is hidden to anyone except those who use trafficked persons. In the strict legal sense, they do not exist and since their activities are often illegal, they dare not become visible. Bales (1999) quoted a researcher in Brazil as saying that once a person's documents are confiscated, "the worker is dead as a citizen, and born as a slave" (p. 128).

When the trafficked person is involved in illegal activities, such as prostitution or is an undocumented immigrant, it may be difficult to define them as victims rather than criminals. Thus, in essence then, both the

victims and the traffickers collude to keep the crime hidden, and law enforcement do not always look past the criminal activity to see the more complex crime of human trafficking.

Methods

This study seeks to determine the prevalence and scope of human trafficking, and relies on reports available up to 2008. Three main criteria had to be met for inclusion: (a) The study or report focused on an assessment of social service, health, or legal needs of victims and/or it focused on the scope and extent of human trafficking in the United States; (b) The report included a systematic research method, such as a telephone or mail survey of professionals, case studies, or interviews with victims to obtain information; and (c) The report focused on multiple sectors of forced labor rather than just one sector. The main goal of this research was to obtain empirical data rather than policy papers or essays about the problem.

Results

Human Trafficking Victims in the United States: Where Are They?

Reading Table 5.1 shows the various sectors of human trafficking in the United States based on information from people who have worked cases, or from the media reports of forced labor. The major types of trafficking sectors mentioned in these reports include the following: sex work (prostitution, commercial sex, 23%–66%), other sex work–related activities (exotic dancing, pornography, entertainment, 3%–30%), domestic labor (7%–45%), personal service (domestic or sexual servitude, servile marriage, 1%–37%), factory labor/sweatshop (5%–33%), restaurant labor (9%–33%), and agricultural or other labor (10%–46%). Other mentioned sectors included begging/trinket selling and the food industry.

The reports underscore some gaps in the current state of knowledge on human trafficking. First, the category termed *personal service* or *servile marriage* is relatively large and is mentioned in 6 of 8 studies. However, it does seem to meet the legal definition under the U.S. law. Specifically, human trafficking is defined as "the

Reading Table 5.1 • Human Trafficking Victims in the United States: Where Are They?

Type of Trafficking ^a	CACTSTF (2007) N = 58	Clawson, Small, Go, and Myles (2003) N = 98	Clawson, Dutch, and Cummings (2006) N = 82	Florida State University (2003) N = 4	Family Violence Prevention Fund (2004) N = 21	Free the Slaves (2004) N = 131	Logan (2007) N = 64	Seitz Steinberg (2004) N = 15
Sex work (specific mention of prostitution or sex work)	46%	66%	60%	X	X	46.4%	23.2%	40%
Sex laboring (nonprostitution sectors of sex industry like stripping)	—	—	28%	—	—	—	—	12%
Pornography	—	27%	—	—	—	—	—	—
Entertainment (sex tourism/entertainment)	—	30%	8%	—	—	3.1%	—	—
Personal service (domestic or sexual servitude with one person, servile marriage)	—	37%	10%	—	X	0.8%	23.2%	28%
Domestic labor	31%	45%	31%	X	X	27.2%	7.3%	33%
Agricultural or other labor (general, construction, coal mining)	11%	46%	25%	X	—	10.4%	14.5%	12%
Factory/sweatshop labor	5%	19%	—	—	X	4.8%	—	33%
Restaurant/bar labor	—	25%	—	—	X	—	8.7%	33%
Begging/trinket selling	—	4%	—	—	—	—	—	6%
Food service industry	—	5%	—	—	—	3.8%	—	—
Unspecified	7%	—	33%	—	—	—	23.2%	—

NOTE: N = Number of participants; X = mentioned in the report, but percentages were not provided.

^a Those included are respondents who worked with victims, cases mentioned, or actual cases. One report did not discuss labor sectors.

recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision or obtaining of a person for labor or *services* [italics added] through the use of force, fraud, or coercion. . . ." This is where there is a common link between domestic violence and human trafficking, or where the line between the two can become blurred. For example, see the cases below as reported by respondents who had experience with human trafficking cases in the Logan (2007) report.

One victim, who was smuggled into U.S., was sold to an immigrant man by the people who loaned her money to come into the U.S. This man basically used her as a sexual slave.

A woman was in the U.S. legally with a temporary visa. She was working for a man and ended up getting involved in a romantic relationship with him. She was working 18-hour days and he was not paying her. He wouldn't let her leave the house except for work. He was also using sexual and domestic violence as a way to keep her intimidated. (p. 45)

A second problem is that the categories where humans are trafficked in the United States are incomplete and based on limited research. For example, some cases that have surfaced in the media, but were not mentioned in the reports, include hotel workers, nail salon workers, landscape and gardening laborers, casino servers, an African children's choir, and Chinese acrobats. Furthermore, it is possible that there are other sectors where persons are trafficked, but who have not yet been identified for a variety of reasons. For example, a *New York Times* article (Urbina, 2007) described the magazine crew industry which included many elements that seemed to meet the threshold of the federal human trafficking legislation. This article described how both teenagers looking to leave home and travel as well as homeless teenagers were recruited to work on a magazine crew and were forced to work 10 to 14 hr a day, 6 days a week. The article goes on to describe the work conditions, such as how in some cases the lowest seller of the day was required to sleep on the floor and that some days they had less than US\$10 a day for food. Some of the workers who were interviewed described severe beatings by managers for missing their sales quota or for wanting to quit the crew.

The third issue to note is there has been a focus on sex trafficking for a number of years and some reports on

human trafficking suggest it is the largest category of human trafficking and other studies find other types of labor are larger sectors (Webber & Shirk, 2005). The 2008 Trafficking in Persons report suggested that when trafficking estimates include both those trafficked within a country's borders and across the country's borders, labor trafficking may be larger than sex trafficking (U.S. Department of State, 2008).

Although it may be true that more prosecutions have focused on sex-related cases of human trafficking due to greater attention and resources, the intense focus may also be due to more practical reasons. First, sex work requires individuals to interact with the public, thus making them more visible than a group of individuals forced to work and live in a closed factory. Even if the larger public doesn't realize that human trafficking is taking place, they may realize and dislike the fact that prostitution is occurring in their neighborhood, which prompts them to make complaints to law enforcement. Second, sex work is in a way more public than, say, domestic service and thus it is easier for law enforcement to investigate and charge—especially because the women selling sex are considered engaging in illegal activities. Third, there has been a lot more media attention focused on sex work in general, and specifically young women being trafficked into sex work. In summary, what this means is that it is not clear whether or not human trafficking is more likely to occur within the sex work-related or the non-sex work-related areas of forced labor, and more research is needed to properly document forms of human trafficking in the United States and worldwide (Webber & Shirk, 2005).

Fourth, it is critical to understand that even independent of being in the sex trade, women, and girls (and sometimes men and boys) are vulnerable to sexual exploitation through forced sexual acts. Women in domestic labor, personal service, restaurant, hotel, agricultural, and other segments of the work force have been sexually assaulted as part of the trafficking experiences (Batstone, 2007). One of the respondents in the Logan (2007) report described a girl who was exploited for labor inside and outside of the home as well as sexually exploited: "A young girl was raped and beaten by a man; she lived with the man and his wife and was used for domestic chores inside their home and forced to work cleaning in a hotel as well" (p. 46).

What Makes People Vulnerable to Being Enslaved?

Extreme poverty remains the single most important factor in becoming a target of human trafficking. In fact, all nine reports included in this analysis linked human trafficking with immigrants, and several of them associated human trafficking with undocumented immigrants. However, Bales (2005) argued that it is more complex than poverty alone, in part, because not all impoverished people become trafficking victims. He argues that vulnerability to trafficking must be viewed within a local cultural context, and that vulnerability involves a mix of poverty, level of civil unrest and violence, cultural acceptance of trafficking, and corruption in local governments. Bales especially focuses on the importance of local government corruption in areas where human trafficking flourishes. He argues that corruption in the local governments facilitates not only recruitment of people into human trafficking, but also accounts for the lack of punishment or accountability of the traffickers. In other words, human trafficking is a low-risk, high-profit endeavor in those areas where local governments permit or even protect traffickers.

People typically are trafficked in three main ways (Bales, 1999): (a) born into slavery; (b) kidnapped, sold, or physically forced; or (c) tricked. In some countries, families may be indentured servants because they were born into it. Families may have been slaves or in debt bondage literally for generations, and in some circumstances, children and even adults are kidnapped or physically forced into slavery. And in some countries children are sold into slavery by parents or other caregivers. Respondents in the Logan (2007) report emphasized the selling of children into trafficking situations because of the economic situations of the families, "They live in desperate economic conditions and the victim's family sells them for money or they sell themselves to make money and pay off a debt" (p. 26). Another respondent described the situation as follows:

A trafficker will go to a family and deceive them about what will happen if they take a family member, like a child, to the U.S. They will be told the child will receive an education or that they'll be able to send money back home or that they

will have a better future, etc. When the person gets over here they cut off contact so the person is essentially stuck in the situation. (p. 26)

The family thus gains financially and may feel this is an opportunity for their children to have a better life than they would have at home.

Being kidnapped, forced, or sold into trafficking has been noted in the U.S. also. For example, a September 2007 report by CBS highlighted a case of an American high school girl who was kidnapped by a friend's father and forced into the sex industry (Kennedy, 2007). This report also suggests that runaways are vulnerable to being lured or even sold into trafficking situations as well.

A third route to slavery is being tricked. Even in the face of grueling poverty and destitution there can be hope. It is this hope that can make a person vulnerable by inducing victims to take extreme risks to achieve a better life. Logan (2007) found that the majority of survey respondents (96%) believed that poverty was an important vulnerability factor, but responses also reflect some of the complexity that Bales described, as noted in the following quotes:

They want to come to America for a better life. Then people use their dreams against them and put them into trafficking.

They are desperate and willing to accept a dangerous opportunity. They just want to better their life so they take chances.

Young Americans who are in desperate situations are looking for ways out and can get manipulated into trafficking situations. (p. 24)

Victims often believe they are taking legitimate jobs such as waitressing, childcare, domestic work, or landscaping, but find out when they arrive that they were tricked. Some victims even are induced to sign bogus contracts making the whole experience seem even more legitimate, and sometimes psychologically binding them even more to the trafficker. A large part of being misled has to do with characteristics of traffickers in terms of what they promise people and that people often trust what traffickers say for a variety of reasons (probably including the willingness to take risks for a better life). The following quotes from Logan (2007) exemplified these contexts:

People are defrauded by traffickers; they are offered a job and then the situation changes when they get to the U.S. They are then put in a position that they feel they cannot get out of like being sexually assaulted or involved in illegal activities. This sometimes happens through fraud in mail order bride situations.

They are approached by people in their community who become their friends and who invite them to come along to the U.S. [but who misled them into trafficking situations]. (p. 25)

Logan's (2007) respondents also mentioned two other factors that increase vulnerability to human trafficking: personal characteristics and isolation. Personal characteristics, such as lack of education or lack of knowledge about legal rights or how to get help as well as cultural factors that facilitate trafficking conditions or even acceptance of human trafficking as part of the culture, were mentioned by half of the respondents in the Logan report. Also, being female and/or being young, healthy, and strong were mentioned in several of the

reports as vulnerability factors. Several participants from the Logan report mentioned that either being substance users or making poor choices increased vulnerability to being trafficked.

In summary, many people who are poor yet hopeful for a better life are sometimes misled into thinking they are going to work under certain conditions or for a certain amount of pay that does not become the reality. Many of the traffickers are well connected through large or small organized crime rings that include capacity for handling recruitment, transportation, and forced labor work as well as being able to obtain the cooperation of local governments (Bales, 2005). When immigrants are trafficked, legally or illegally, they are basically denied official status in the United States. If they have passports or visas, these articles are confiscated on arrival by the traffickers. Legal visas are allowed to expire and thus, the trafficked person becomes an undocumented worker and may be vulnerable to being deported by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE; Logan, 2007). The lack of legal status and lack of papers to even clarify identity play a large role in entrapment.

Reading Table 5.2 • What Keeps People Entrapped?

	<i>CACTSTF (2007)</i>	<i>Clawson, Small, Go, and Myles (2003)</i>	<i>Clawson, Dutch, and Cummings (2006)</i>	<i>Logan (2007)</i>
	<i>N = 68</i>	<i>N = 98</i>	<i>N = 121</i>	<i>N = 140</i>
Fear				
Fear of retaliation	91%	87%	46%	70%
Fear of deportation	97%	82%	66%	34.3%
Fear of jail/legal problems	—	—	33%	21.4%
Lack of trust in the system/fear of law enforcement	90%	70%	48%	8.6%
General fear	—	31%	—	—
Lack of knowledge about alternatives				
Lack of knowledge about available services/law enforcement role	88%	83%	31%	46.4%
Lack of knowledge about victim rights	85%	52%	14%	—

Not able to identify self as a victim	—	24%	—	9.3%
Don't have any other options	—	—	—	15%
Isolation				
Lack of social support/isolation	77%	78%	—	—
No transportation	—	9%	—	—
Language issues	85%	57%	15%	19.3%
Culturally inappropriate services	—	13%	—	—
Physical confinement				
Held in captivity	68%	16%	—	21.4%
Shame				
Feelings of shame	—	42%	10%	20%

NOTE: Reports included in this table gave proportions of respondents who indicated the issue. Reports not included in this table may have mentioned the issue, but did not provide percentages.

What Keeps People Entrapped?

Four main themes about what keeps people entrapped emerged from across the reports: (a) fear, (b) lack of knowledge about alternatives, (c) isolation, and (d) physical and psychological confinement (see Reading Table 5.2). Fear was the biggest factor mentioned. Threats to harm to the victim and family members, fear of deportation, fear of being jailed or having other legal problems, and fear of law enforcement or the U.S. government. As mentioned above, in many countries government officials, including police, are corrupt and sometimes in collusion with the traffickers.

A second set of reasons given for what keeps people entrapped was lack of knowledge about alternative options. Victims may not know about services available to help them, or that they do not believe they have any options other than to stay in the situation because they do not know their rights, where to go if they do, nor do they know that their victimization is a crime.

The next most frequently noted theme is isolation. Not only is isolation a vulnerability factor, but it is a tactic used by traffickers to control victims. Isolation from the public is accomplished by limiting contact with outsiders and monitoring any potential contact to ensure it is superficial in nature. Victims are also isolated from family

members and other member of their ethnic and religious community. By isolating victims, the controller is essentially reducing resistance attempts and increasing the dependence of the victim on the trafficker.

Also, physical, and psychological confinement keeps victims entrapped in the situation. Although physical confinement is an important factor in keeping victims entrapped, psychological confinement or coercion is a powerful tool as well (Kim, 2007). Psychological confinement is created through control of the victim's money, passports, visas, or other identifying documents. The use of debt bondage is also used to attain psychological bondage, as is the use of drugs or alcohol addiction to keep people entrapped (Zimmerman et al., 2006).

Another strategy of psychological confinement is related to psychological degradation and abuse. Threats about shaming victims by exposing their circumstances to their family or to the public may be especially powerful in binding the victim to the situation. For example, one respondent in the Logan (2007) study reported a case where a “women was raped by acquaintance, he used cultural and religious shame tactics and basically blackmailed her into becoming domestic servant and sexual slave” (p. 45).

It is important to note that, counter to many of the media reports of human trafficking cases, physical violence is only one of many tactics that are used. As indicated in the China Star Acrobat case described earlier, the victims were primarily controlled through psychological means rather than through chains or constant violence. It is much more efficient for the controllers to subordinate people psychologically rather than having to keep them continually chained up or continually using physical violence. Psychological means of entrapping people gains the trafficker the ultimate compliance: even if given a chance to escape the victim is unlikely to take the risk.

Adaptations to Slavery

When individuals are presented with an aversive situation the instinctive response is to change the situation (Gilbert, 2000). In human trafficking situations, the instincts of fight or flight must be stifled because they are impossible. Gilbert suggests this kind of entrapment is most harmful to physical and mental health. However, there are ways to potentially change the circumstances to be less threatening or aversive. This negotiational stance includes victims asking for more money, for better living circumstances, or trying to gain favor through other means with the trafficker. Sometimes asking for changes to the situation are successful as in one case in which women who were trafficked into commercial sex labor, asked for and received access to Spanish television, radio stations, and magazines. On the other hand, trying to directly change the situation may involve increased risks, as in the case of a woman who protested when told to speed up her sex acts and was locked in a closet for 15 days as punishment.

As noted above, fear plays a central role in keeping people entrapped in the situation, and it is central to the control tactics. Similar to the kinds of fears documented for prisoners of war or kidnap or torture victims, victims of human trafficking experience multiple sustained fears. The fears may include fear of intentionally inflicted pain; fear of deformity or permanent injury due to physical assault, neglect, or inadequate medical treatment; fear of violence against loved ones; or the fear of the inability to satisfy the demands of the trafficker as well as the fear that achieving critical goals are or will be blocked (e.g., sending money to starving family members).

Once behavioral submission is adopted, cognitions may become narrowed, distracted, or numbed. Narrowed cognitions can occur when individuals are focusing all of their energy on survival and/or threat vigilance. Other ways to cognitively accommodate threatening environments is through distraction like fantasizing to shifting attention away from the threat and reappraising the situation as one that is more easily accepted—a rationalizing process. This process could also include believing that one is performing his or her duty family, their contractual obligation or duty to their word, or even one's destiny as in the case of some young girls in Thailand who believe that although they were forced into prostitution they remain as a part of their karma or religious duty (Batstone, 2007).

Mental defeat (Ehlers, Maercker, & Boos, 2000) is defined as “the perceived loss of all autonomy, a state of giving up in one's mind all efforts to retain one's identity as a human being with a will of one's own” (p. 45). Ehlers et al. (2000) found that mental defeat was also associated with total subordination, such as feeling merely an object to the other, loss of self-identity, prepared to do whatever the other asked, and not caring if one lives or dies. The feeling of mental defeat was associated with more chronic posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression symptoms. It is also important to note that mental defeat was independent of exposure severity and perceived threat to life. These authors speculated that other aspects of traumatic situations, such as intentional harm by others, humiliating acts, frequency of uncontrollable maltreatment, and/or prolonged sleep deprivation may influence the probability of experiencing mental defeat. They also speculate that people who experienced mental defeat were those who interpreted the experience as revealing something negative about themselves (e.g., that they were inferior, not worthy, or unable to cope).

In summary, it is generally recognized that congruence between emotions and behaviors is desirable, and when they are found to be inconsistent, cognitive strategies generally try to lull them back into balance. The stresses of the trafficking situation are almost guaranteed to create dissonance between thoughts, feelings, and behavior that can greatly reduce flexible coping and rational decisions that could be expected of people in free conditions. Further, negative emotions and certain adaptation strategies may have significant consequences for health, mental health, and recovery.

How Is This Crime Different from Other Crimes?

Two of the reports specifically asked respondents to describe how human trafficking was different from other crimes. There were seven main themes that emerged from this question: (a) more difficult to identify, (b) prejudice toward the victims, (c) greater needs, (d) fewer resources and services, (e) greater fear and safety concerns, (f) more limited access to justice, and (g) complex criminal cases.

More difficult to identify. The first issue that was mentioned repeatedly was the difficulty in identifying victims. Victims may be more difficult to identify for several reasons discussed earlier, including the covert nature of the human trafficking activity, language and cultural barriers, lack of victim knowledge about their rights, isolation, and fear.

Prejudice toward victims. Prejudice against immigrants in general, and toward human trafficking victims in particular, is a bigger problem with this crime compared to other crimes. The prejudice is primarily

communicated through the media. One respondent in the Logan (2007) study said, “They are not just victimized by trafficker, society/community doesn’t see them and can’t help them,” (p. 52) and, “The media gives the message that if you’re an immigrant you are probably illegal, you’re useless, you have no rights, you just have to face consequences of what happens to you” (p. 33).

Greater needs. Another major theme was that human trafficking victims have greater needs because they basically walk away from their situation with nothing except for the clothes on their back. Thus, they have no way to feed themselves, nowhere to live, and no transportation. They are isolated, leaving them with nobody to turn to except service agencies. They often have language and cultural barriers increasing their needs. They have suffered extreme emotional and physical pain that requires appropriate services to relieve suffering as much as possible (Zimmerman et al., 2008). Basically, their whole life has been eviscerated and they need to somehow rebuild their life. The extensive needs of victims were mentioned in several reports as outlined in Reading Table 5.3.

Reading Table 5.3 • Victim Needs^a

	<i>Clawson, Small, Go and Myles (2003)</i>	<i>Clawson, Dutch, and Cummings (2006)</i>	<i>Logan (2007)</i>	<i>Seitz Steinberg (2004)</i>
<i>Victim Needs</i>	<i>N = 98</i>	<i>N = 121</i>	<i>N = 64</i>	<i>N = 15</i>
Basic living needs (food, housing, clothing, transportation, access to public benefits)	—	—	76.7%	—
Housing	98%	65%	69%	40%
Food	95%	26%	20%	—
Transportation	96%	—	5%	33%
Clothing	—	18%	11%	—
Protection/safety	90%	11%	18.8%	—
Victim compensation/money	76%	—	25%	—
Financial needs				
Job training	86%	12%	—	—

(Continued)

Reading Table 5.3 • (Continued)

	<i>Clawson, Small, Go and Myles (2003)</i>	<i>Clawson, Dutch, and Cummings (2006)</i>	<i>Logan (2007)</i>	<i>Seitz Steinberg (2004)</i>
<i>Victim Needs</i>	<i>N = 98</i>	<i>N = 121</i>	<i>N = 64</i>	<i>N = 15</i>
Employment	90%	3%	17.2%	33%
Education	89%	6%	—	40%
Child care	65%	9%	—	—
Life skills	88%	10%	—	—
Help to get back home	—	6%	9.4%	—
Medical care				
Medical	98%	39%	—	40%
Dental	80%	12%	—	—
Mental health	95%	23%	40.6%	—
Crisis intervention	88%	3%	—	33%
Self-help groups/group counseling	58%	27%	—	—
Substance abuse treatment	52%	6%	—	—
Access to services/justice				
Interpreter	86%	15%	32.8%	—
Legal	97%	26%	79.7%	—
Court orientation	85%	—	—	—
Advocacy	97%	26%	—	—
Services				
Outreach	96%	9%	—	—
Info/referrals	95%	6%	31.3%	33%
Service coordination/case management	91%	24%	—	33%

NOTE: See note to Table 1.

^a Reports included in this table gave proportions of respondents who indicated the issue. Reports not included in this table may have mentioned the issue, but did not provide percentages.

Fewer resources and services. Despite the fact that victims of human trafficking have greater needs, there are fewer resources and services for this group than victims of any other crime. Reading Table 5.4 lists the organizational barriers to serving victims mentioned in five of the reports. The lack of adequate resources, funding, and staffing needed to serve human trafficking victims was frequently mentioned as a barrier to serving victims. In

addition, because many service agencies do not understand human trafficking crimes as well as other crimes, services for human trafficking victims are harder to obtain. More training, knowledge, and policies and procedures are needed to effectively serve victims of human trafficking. And the complexity of the cases as well as the overwhelming needs of victims require the service agencies to coordinate with other agencies which can sometimes be difficult.

A number of other issues were mentioned as organizational barriers to serving victims, such as safety concerns or being able to adequately protect victims, and potentially

staff; victim’s legal status may pose a barrier to providing services and, in general, educating other services and the larger society about human trafficking.

Reading Table 5.4 • Organizational Barriers to Serving Victims^a

	CACTSTF (2007)	Clawson, Small, Go, and Myles (2003)	Clawson, Dutch, and Cummings (2006)	Logan (2007)	Seitz Steinberg (2004)
<i>Organizational Barriers</i>	<i>N = 69</i>	<i>N = 98</i>	<i>N = 121</i>	<i>N = 64</i>	<i>N = 63</i>
Lack of adequate resources	57%	78%	38%	42.2%	41%
Lack of adequate funding	62%	72%	—	—	51%
Lack of adequate staff	—	—	—	—	44%
Lack of adequate training	59%	65%	37%	—	34%
Lack of knowledge of victim rights	—	25%	—	—	—
Lack of policies and procedures	—	5%	10%	—	—
Ineffective coordination with federal agencies	—	44%	13%	—	—
Ineffective coordination with local agencies/ awareness and education of services for other service providers	—	39%	8%	42.2%	—
Difficulty working with victim service agencies/law enforcement	—	—	18%	25%	—
Lack of formal rules and regulations/TVPA does not help	—	18%	5%	—	—
Language issues	65%	39%	28%	39.1%	22%
Lack of cultural knowledge	—	—	—	—	8%
Safety concerns	49%	38%	—	—	13%
Victim legal status	48%	17%	—	—	—
Feeling of no support and isolation	—	7%	—	—	—
Victim distrust/victim outreach	—	—	45%	—	—
Difficulty identifying victims	—	—	—	—	38%
Awareness and education of the general public				32.8%	

NOTE: TVPA = Trafficking Victims Protection Act; *N* = Number of participants. Figures from the second column through the last column are percentages of items listed in the first column.

^a Reports included in this table gave proportions of respondents who indicated the issue. Reports not included in this table may have mentioned the issue, but did not provide percentages.

Greater fear and safety concerns. This theme has been mentioned repeatedly throughout the reports. Victims fear for themselves in part because they may be facing multiple perpetrators and even a large organized crime ring, and may also fear for the safety of their families in countries where it is hard to extend protections from the United States.

More limited access to justice. Another major theme was that human trafficking victims have more limited access to justice because of their undocumented status. Because the victims have a more limited understanding of the U.S. legal system and their legal rights, and because human trafficking often overlaps with other criminal activity, victims may instead appear as criminals themselves.

Complex criminal cases. Human trafficking cases are very complex and the protections are limited, thus making it a very difficult crime to prosecute and to help victims. Because many service agencies do not understand human trafficking crimes as well as other crimes, legal services for human trafficking victims are harder to obtain. Other factors that further complicate the issue are, “Human trafficking is organized and controlled by a group for money,” “There are often multiple perpetrators involved,” and “There are often multiple victims involved.” Other legal complications include, “Human trafficking cases have [more complex and time consuming] government paperwork issues,” “may require dealing with multiple countries,” “Human trafficking is a hard crime to prove,” and all these factors increase “the level of legal services needed” (p. 45). Related to this theme Wilson et al. (2006) found that the crime is so complex it is difficult for legal agencies to coordinate or to decide who should lead the investigations potentially causing diffusion of responsibility (e.g., federal, state, or local officials). Also, the boundary around terming someone a defendant, a witness, or a victim may be very difficult to identify, thus compounding decisions about what stance to take with prosecutors, police, and even defense attorneys.

How Do Human Trafficking Victims Become Identified?

As mentioned above, identifying human trafficking victims is challenging. One way victims are identified is through law enforcement, either because they are trained to identify the situation or the situation is identified

during the course of an ongoing investigation of other crimes (Logan, 2007). Human trafficking victims are also sometimes identified through neighbors, customers, coworkers, or other community members (Logan, 2007). This is one reason it is critical that awareness of human trafficking is raised not just among service providers, but for every citizen in the United States.

Victims have also been identified because they sought social, medical, or employment dispute services and were subsequently identified as human trafficking victims (Logan, 2007). Although it is rare that victims self-identify themselves as *human trafficking victims*, there are “red flags” that can indicate a possible trafficking situation.

Red flags or indicators that may suggest further inquiry into the situation to determine whether or not it might be a human trafficking case can be divided into three categories: (a) situational indicators, (b) story indicators, and (c) demeanor. Several of the reports mention situational indicators like the individual’s living arrangements. For example, lack of English-speaking persons in an establishment, frequent movement of individuals through an establishment, many people living together in a private residence, or people living where they work were all mentioned as possible cues for further investigation of the situation.

Listening to an individual’s story was also mentioned as important in distinguishing between a bad work situation and one of being trafficked. For example, asking about how someone got to the United States or to the area in which they are currently residing, asking about their migration or immigration status, and who had/has control of their travel arrangements and documents. Also asking questions about their employment situation is central to determining the nature of the situation. This would include questions about their freedom to leave their current employment, what happens if they make a mistake at work, whether they owe their employer money, whether they were misled regarding their current work situation, about how much and how they are paid for their work, what their work hours and conditions are like, whether they are moved around a lot for their job, and if they are forced to have sex as part of their job.

In addition, assessing safety, threats, and physical deprivation and abuse is important. Asking about whether they or their family have been threatened; whether they have been deprived of, or are required to ask permission

for, food, water, sleep, medical care, or other life necessities; and whether they had been physically harmed. Asking about social isolation, such as restricted movement or communications, is also important (e.g., are they free to contact friends or family? Are they free to communicate with those outside of the work situation? Can they buy food and clothing on their own? Are they free to have an intimate relationship? Are they free to bring friends to their home?). The Campaign to Rescue and Restore Victims of Human Trafficking has a screening tool for victims of human trafficking which includes many of the same themes mentioned above (U.S. Department of Health and Services, 2008).

Finally, an individual's demeanor during the interview may provide some information about their situation as well. For example, if someone seems very nervous or fearful, or if someone answers questions evasively, these may be indicators of a situation that needs further investigation. Also, seeing a person who is never left alone or does not seem to be able to speak for him or herself may be an indication of a trafficking situation (Clawson et al., 2006; Logan, 2007).

Recommendations for Future Research and Services

There were four main themes in recommendations, including more resources and enhanced approaches for (a) training, education, and protocols; (b) services and outreach; (c) legal protections; and (d) research. These four are not presented in order of importance, as all are critical.

Training, education, and protocols. It is clear that public awareness of human trafficking is very important. The lack of awareness includes victims themselves, health and human service providers, and law enforcement as well as the general public. Human trafficking is a crime that affects individuals, groups of individuals, and the communities in which the crime is occurring. However, neighbors, customers, and citizens may be the ones needed to respond to victims, given the hidden and clandestine nature of the crime, and this may be more effective than placing the entire burden for identifying victims on the police and service agencies. Public awareness campaigns on the rights of victims of trafficking, the laws protecting victims and criminalizing the conduct of traffickers, and services available must be broadcast widely in

a variety of languages. Public awareness campaigns should also target members of the community (e.g., neighbors) who may spot a possible trafficking situation.

It is also clear that training does have a meaningful impact on raising the awareness of service providers who may encounter victims of trafficking (Logan, 2007). Training should be conducted on the specific needs of trafficking survivors as opposed to other crime victims; the legal process and protections for trafficking victims; methods and means of force, fraud, and coercion as experienced by victims; the profiles of traffickers; strategies for public awareness and outreach; cultural competency; working with interpreters; and successful strategies for collaboration.

Further, there is a need to coordinate training across service agencies. Cross trainings, interagency meetings, and identifying a point of contact within each relevant agency can facilitate interagency collaboration. Also, establishing interagency protocols to clearly define agency and organization roles to reduce duplication of efforts and to increase opportunities for sharing information may be important. Further efforts and funding should be allocated to building collaborations and strengthening trust among agencies for the most effective delivery of services to trafficking victims as well as effective prosecutions.

Services and outreach. More resources for human trafficking victims are needed for agencies already serving victims of trafficking as well as those that may come into contact with possible victims to address the multiple and pressing needs of the victims to recover from these traumatic experiences. Resources, at a minimum, should include the following: temporary and safe shelter as well as longer-term housing, physical and mental health care, public benefits, legal assistance, drug and alcohol counseling, job training or assistance in obtaining employment, basic English language training, and assistance should the victim chose to relocate or return to home country. Resources should also be provided to facilitate language access at every point of service access for victims. In addition, resources are needed to translate information and agency documents into a variety of languages as well as for bilingual/bicultural staff for outreach to specific communities.

The various studies highlighted victims in certain sectors of labor and sex work, but there needs to be more effort to identify victims who may be present in other labor sectors that are even more hidden from public view, including factory and agricultural work. At the same time,

there may be labor sectors that are more visible to the public, but where victims remain unidentified, like restaurant workers. Thus, outreach services need to expand into less overtly criminal areas to identify trafficked persons. In addition, there is a need to better identify U.S. citizens who fall prey to traffickers.

Results of the Logan (2007) report strongly suggested that the media may have a great influence on human trafficking victims in several ways. Not only are the police depicted negatively in the media, but the backlash against immigrants that is repeatedly shown on news and television may have very negative repercussions for help seeking. It seems that dual messages are being given to immigrants as well as to U.S. citizens. On one hand, there may be media messages that help is out there for human trafficking victims, and on the other hand, they are bombarded with negative messages about immigrants in America. These dual messages need to be addressed, and media campaigns targeting human trafficking victims must be developed within the current sociopolitical context portrayed in local and national news as well as through radio and other media entertainment outlets.

Also, outreach and services must be sensitive to individual victim needs and goals, which may be challenging. A recent report examined reasons human trafficking victims declined or did not use services; although this research was not done in the United States, the themes that emerged may be important for those working with human trafficking victims in the United States to consider (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2007). One of the greatest challenges identified in the report was the communication between the service organization and the victim. Not only were language barriers an issue in terms of victims understanding the full scope of services being offered, but often the timing of when services were offered was problematic. In other words, victims were often told about services at the time of identification which can sometimes be a crisis point, which is generally not a good point for decision making. None of the victims they identified said they had received written materials about the services that were being offered. Also, there was an issue with trust and fear. For example, victims were sometimes afraid to believe that they could accept help without owing something back to the agency as the offer sometimes may seem similar to the trafficking process.

Legal protections. Victims, defined so under the U.S. law, have the right not to be held in detention facilities or charged with crimes underlying the trafficking offense

and have a right to additional protection and services if they are willing to cooperate with the criminal investigation and prosecution of the trafficker. However, there is a need for clarification of the stance of the U.S. justice system toward victims of trafficking. Victims may be treated (a) as defendants in the commission of state and/or federal crimes; (b) as witnesses who must be detained due to lack of legal immigration status and risk of flight; (c) as victims who need protective services; or, to the confusion of all, (d) as all of the above. Recognition of trafficking victims' essential human rights would advance the nature of legal responses to this crime. Not only are the available legal protections complex and time consuming to pursue, but also the victims often have no money to pay for attorneys and may lack citizenship or clear immigration status. Furthermore, the time it takes to gain protections and for cases to be prosecuted is very long, and victims get frustrated, especially if their basic living needs and other needs are not being addressed. Victims may also feel they are being revictimized in the process, which can also lead to frustration and lack of cooperation over time. In addition, those who advocate for victims need a better understanding of the legal protections for victims so that they can better educate and advocate for the victims they are helping.

More specifically, the benefits provided by the U.S. government to human trafficking victims are conditioned on the willingness and ability of the victim to report the crime to law enforcement and the subsequent agreement of law enforcement to investigate the violation as a human trafficking offense. However, though prosecution is definitely an end goal, restoration of the human rights of all victims should be the primary goal, and is broader than simply prosecution of the trafficker. Thus, basic human rights and protections should be available to all victims of trafficking, whether or not they are able to cooperate in investigation. Some international experts suggest that states incorporate more of a human-rights focus by ensuring that victims of human trafficking are provided benefits during a period of reflection (e.g., 3 months) before they decide whether or not to prosecute. The U.N. Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking (Anti-slavery, 2002) also specified that protection and care should not depend on the victim's cooperation:

States shall ensure that trafficked persons are protected from further exploitation and harm

and have access to adequate physical and psychological care. Such protection and care shall not be made conditional on the capacity or willingness of the trafficked person to cooperate in legal proceedings. (p. 3)

Also, guidance is needed to better address the kind of legal interventions that are most helpful and restorative to victims. Although the State Department Report (U.S. Department of State, 2006) did include a short mention of best practices, such as the goal of using planned versus blind raids to plan for the needs of victims, and the need to interview victims apart from the traffickers, these have not been issued in a more formal protocol, nor have they been made a prerequisite for receiving federal antitrafficking funding. This has resulted in situations where law enforcement conducts a raid without adequate planning for victims, and in the worst situation, where victims are jailed and put in removal proceedings without having meaningful access to services or interviews by social service providers. In essence, the U.S. laws treat trafficking victims less from a preservation of human rights perspective than from a victim/witness perspective. If the victim agrees to be a witness or to aid in investigation, then they enjoy certain protections not unlike what the government can do under a witness protection plan in prosecuting organized crime. If the victim does not agree to aid investigation, he or she may be denied services and jailed or deported, thereby denying some of the most basic human rights of safety and protection. The U. S. should follow the lead of international law, which emphasizes the “primacy of human rights” by strongly indicating that the victims should be at the center of all efforts “to prevent and combat trafficking and to protect, assist and provide redress to victims” (Anti-slavery, 2002, p. 3).

Research. Ongoing research is needed to enhance understanding of the best ways to identify, serve, protect, and support victims of trafficking as they are seeking justice. Establishing a routine data system to track these cases and information about these cases may be important. This may include surveying other parties who may come into contact with a trafficking case, including law enforcement, prosecutors, child protective service workers, labor, and employment agencies, as well as the individuals themselves who have been trafficked. Research is also needed to capture the geographic clustering of victims in the United States, to better inform outreach and

education strategies. Research should also focus on the particular dynamics of U.S. citizen victims of human trafficking. The research findings must be reported beyond the peer-reviewed journal. Data and findings must be presented in public reports that are shared with the media and with policy makers to bring findings closer to action potential.

Research on human trafficking in the United States is difficult for a variety of reasons as summarized in the following statement (Brennan, 2005):

The first challenge is the diversity of trafficking contexts: Trafficked persons come from a variety of source countries, end up scattered throughout sites in the United States, and are forced into different forms of labour and servitude. They speak different languages, have different socioeconomic backgrounds, varying education, and work histories, as well as differences in age, sex, and race/ethnicity. They also have different experiences entering and exiting their trafficked experiences, including experiences of transit. The length of time they were held in servitude varies from weeks to years, and while some experience psychological coercion others also undergo physical brutality. (p. 38)

Thus, future research will also need to address the challenges inherent in research on human trafficking to be successful. Finally, it is critical that researchers collaborate with service and law enforcement agencies and vice versa.

Conclusions

The analysis of nine reports examining human trafficking in the United States strongly suggests that human trafficking does exist in the United States across a variety of labor sectors and is extremely beneficial or profitable for traffickers. The reports have also documented a number of vulnerability factors and factors that keep people entrapped in the situation. However, there is much we do not know about human trafficking, including the scope and breadth of the crime. Clearly more research is needed to better understand the scope, extent, and characteristics of human trafficking. But above all, there is a need for rethinking the stance of the U.S. justice system with regard to how victims of human trafficking are to be viewed and treated.

A recognition of the severity of human rights violations that surround trafficking should make it pointedly clear to the justice system that first and foremost, victims are in need of protections as crime victims, especially during the period when they are contemplating whether or not prosecution is possible. All other justice concerns should be secondary to this first condition.

This is not to say that current U.S. policies and laws are wholly inadequate in aiding victims. However, using a human rights lens may facilitate the goal of ensuring that victims of human trafficking are restored, whether or not prosecution of their traffickers occurs. Such restoration may well deter further trafficking because victims once freed or rescued may not endure the same vulnerabilities and conditions (e.g., poverty, abuse) that led them to become ensnared in a trafficking situation in the first place. However, there is much more to be done to guarantee that laws designed to assist trafficked persons address their fundamental human rights and do not create a dichotomy between “good” (cooperative) and “bad” (non-cooperative) victims when the human rights violations are the same in both contexts. Doing so will guarantee that we are truly able to reach and assist more individuals harmed by human trafficking. In addition, addressing those profiting from human trafficking with appropriate and swift legal repercussions is critical.

At the same time, identification and services for victims must be a high priority. Not only is awareness and training important, but more resources for service agencies are critical. Human trafficking cases are complex and time consuming; although services clearly have an important role in helping victims of this crime, their budgets are often stretched to the limit in serving the clients and cases they already have. Furthermore, these cases are so complex that the coordination between services, cross training, and openness to partnering with other agencies must be incorporated into the response to the needs of these victims. Clearly communities need lead organizers to take initiative and to invite the participating agencies to the table, but agencies must also be willing to be at the table and, if not initially invited, they must be willing to initiate their involvement.

Fundamentally, human trafficking is a deprivation of the most basic entitlements and human rights, and this absence of entitlements and rights limits the ability to achieve a meaningful life. In the case of an undocumented

immigrant human trafficking victim, the individual is deprived of not only citizenship, but also deprived of a life with choices, such as being able to quit his or her job and whether or not to marry, to have children, to worship, to go to the store, or to socialize. These individuals are also deprived of the recognition of his or her labor as legitimate and worthy of adequate reward like fair pay. More drastically, individuals in these situations are often deprived of basic living needs, such as adequate food, access to health care, and safety. Rights are not equally applied to every individual in the United States or across the world; however, basic human rights are considered fundamental to a civilized society. Human trafficking victims cease to be individual agents and instead become pawns for the benefit of others. Bales (2000) summarized human trafficking, “It is not just stealing someone’s labor, it is the theft of an entire life” (p. 7).

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DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What do the authors see as the primary method for recruiting victims of human trafficking?
2. How do ordinary American citizens contribute to sex-related human trafficking?
3. What are the factors that render people vulnerable to being enslaved?

READING /// 6

In this article Stephen J. Watts, Melissa J. Tetzlaff-Bemiller, and James C. McCutcheon examine what is known as a gene x environment interaction (GxE), which is a situation in which genes only have an effect in certain environments, and environments only have an effect in the presence of certain genes. They examine involvement in drug markets and the monoamine oxidase A (MAOA) as significant risks factor for criminal victimization (both are also identified as correlating with risky and antisocial behaviors). Using a sample drawn from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health ($N = 8,860$) they explore whether a variation (allele) of the MAOA gene moderates the effect of drug selling on violent victimization. They show that drug selling increases violent victimization among males, but not females. They also show that the effect of drug selling on violent victimization among males is greater among the carriers of MAOA alleles called 2 and 3 repeats (2R/3R alleles) providing evidence of GxE.

MAOA, Drug Selling, and Violent Victimization

Evidence of a Gene x Environment Interaction

Stephen J. Watts, Melissa J. Tetzlaff-Bemiller, and James C. McCutcheon

Engagement in drug markets through drug selling is a risk factor for criminal victimization. This is due in large part to the unregulated nature of illicit drug markets, which means that informal social control, in particular violent self-help, is a normative way to deal with interpersonal disputes (Anderson, 2000; Bourgois, 2003; Jacobs, Topalli, & Wright, 2000; Jacques & Wright, 2011; Jacques, Wright, & Allen, 2014; Topalli, Wright, & Fornango, 2002). Yet despite the documented link between drug selling and risks for victimization, little research to date has attempted to identify the factors that might moderate this relationship. In particular, research is lacking that has examined the role biology plays in the relationship between drug selling and victimization.

The current study integrates the literature on drug selling and victimization with a biosocial framework, wherein negative outcomes result from an interaction between an individual's environment (here, selling drugs) and their genotype. This type of study is needed, as scientific research in a number of fields has shown that genetics matter for a number of life outcomes when combined with the right environmental triggers (Caspi et al., 2002; Guo, Roettger, & Cai, 2008). Specifically, we draw on data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health) to examine whether the monoamine oxidase A (MAOA) gene moderates the effect of drug selling on violent victimization while controlling for a number of important variables that potentially make the

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drug selling–violent victimization relationship spurious. Prior research has shown that MAOA is related to a host of negative outcomes, usually by moderating the effects of key variables in the criminology and victimology literatures (Beaver et al., 2010; Caspi et al., 2002; Foley et al., 2004; Kim-Cohen et al., 2006; Nilsson et al., 2006). We examine these effects separately for males and females for two reasons. First, we anticipate, based on prior research, that males will be much more likely to report drug selling (Adler, 1993) and violent victimization (Lauritsen & Heimer, 2008). Second, this split is important because females carry two copies of the MAOA gene, while males carry one, meaning that any gene–environment interaction ($G \times E$) effects involving MAOA are likely to differ by gender (Caspi et al., 2002). In the following sections, we review the literature on drug selling and victimization and how MAOA fits in with this literature.

Drug Selling and Victimization

There is much support for an association between drug selling and both violent offending and violent victimization (Bourgois, 2003; Curtis & Wendel, 2007; Goldstein, 1985; Small et al., 2013).¹ There is, in fact, an expectation of violence by individuals involved in the illegal drug trade (Wright & Decker, 1997). Goldstein (1985) posits that violence is inherent to the unregulated illicit drug trade. His typology classifies three types of violence in relation to drug markets. These classifications include psychopharmacological, economic-compulsive, and systemic. The first, psychopharmacological, focuses on the pharmacological effects of illicit drugs and how those effects can lead to violence. The second, economic-compulsive, involves the violent ventures that are conducted to obtain the finances needed to procure illicit drugs. Lastly, systemic violence is related to the unregulated nature of illicit drug markets, where there is no form of legitimate conflict resolution available (Curtis & Wendel, 2007; Goldstein, 1985). Systemic violence includes violent action that derives from disputes between distributors, dealers, and buyers. Importantly, dealers may initiate and act as offenders, but may also be attacked by others, including buyers, competition, an authority figure in their organization, or an outsider.

Due to the violence implicit in the illegal drug trade, drug dealers are at increased risk for both violent offending and violent victimization. When drug dealers violently offend or are targeted for violence, there is a higher

level of danger and risk of lethal violence because of the need to engage in violence as a form of social control. Blumstein (1995a) highlights the relationship between drug markets and violence in association with the use of firearms. Individuals engaged in drug markets arm themselves for self-defense. Blumstein (1995a) argues that individuals fall into an “arms race” that actually escalates violence among participants in illicit drug markets. In one study, Blumstein and Cork (1996) find that increases in the illegal drug trade in New York coincided with an escalation of gun-related homicide among juveniles. An additional layer of risk is added for those involved in the drug trade because robbers and burglars consider drug dealers attractive targets since they are known to have both money and drugs and are considered very unlikely to contact law enforcement to report their victimizations (Wright & Decker, 1997). This latter point means that the drug dealer is reliant on informal social control when they have a grievance, where the response and deterrent is retaliation, which is often violent in nature (Anderson, 2000; Bourgois, 2003; Jacobs et al., 2000; Jacques & Wright, 2011; Jacques, Allen, & Wright, 2014; Topalli et al., 2002). Such retaliation puts drug dealers under the threat of further returned victimization. Through this process, violence becomes a normative mode to the drug dealer, as it develops through common interactive means (Bourgois, 2003; Bourgois, Prince, & Moss, 2004).

As mentioned above, these risks for a drug dealer are further compounded by the fact that when victimized, they are limited in their options, as reporting a victimization will increase the chances that their own illicit activities are discovered by law enforcement. Furthermore, drug dealers often don't believe police will be of any assistance in their case (Moskos, 2008). Even if reporting was a more viable option, it would put the drug dealer under threat of further violence from the street element because they could be labeled a “snitch” and face violent victimization due to the application of this label (Rosenfeld, Jacobs, & Wright, 2003). This process of social control is known by those who wish to take advantage of the criminal opportunity by stealing from a drug dealer, thus further increasing the risk of victimization for the dealer. Due to the few legitimate options available for dealing with victimization, those involved in illicit drug markets become attractive targets who respond to violence with violence, forming a vicious cycle of victimization that is hard to break out of. The next section will

illustrate how genetics fit in to the drug selling–violent victimization relationship.

MAOA and $G \times E$

Research examining the genetic basis for disparate life outcomes has tended to focus on genes involved in the regulation of neurotransmitter activity in the brain. One gene that has received much attention in the literature is the MAOA gene. The MAOA gene encodes the MAOA enzyme, which metabolizes neurotransmitters, including norepinephrine, serotonin, and dopamine, and plays a key role in regulating behavior (Belsky & Pluess, 2009). Since the MAOA gene is found on the X chromosome, males have only a single copy while females have two copies. Research to date has suggested that it may only be males who are affected by MAOA genotype in regard to risky and antisocial behaviors (Beaver et al., 2010; Simons et al., 2011a).² The findings concerning MAOA and risky and antisocial behaviors have been so consistent that MAOA has been given the moniker of “the warrior gene” (Beaver et al., 2010; Holland & DeLisi, 2014).

Studies, discussed below, looking at the relationship between MAOA and antisocial outcomes tend to find that environmental factors have their most pronounced effects among those carrying the low-activity version of MAOA (the 2R and 3R alleles). In a seminal study looking at $G \times E$ effects and MAOA, Caspi et al. (2002) find that young males, in a sample of New Zealanders who are the carriers of the 2R and 3R alleles, were most affected by child maltreatment in regard to their later antisocial behavior and aggression. The males in the sample with high-activity versions of MAOA who had also been the victims of child maltreatment displayed substantially less antisocial behavior later in life. It is important to note, however, that other researchers have failed to replicate the findings of Caspi and colleagues concerning MAOA, child maltreatment, and antisocial behavior utilizing other samples (Haberstick et al., 2005; Young et al., 2006). In another study looking at child maltreatment and MAOA, Kim-Cohen et al. (2006) found that 7-year-old abused boys who carry the low-activity variants of MAOA were rated by their mothers and teachers as having more attention deficits than their abused peers with the high-activity variants of MAOA. More recently, a meta-analysis conducted by Byrd and Manuck (2014) found that across 27 peer-reviewed English-language studies, the low-activity

variant of MAOA consistently and significantly moderates the effect of child maltreatment specifically on antisocial outcomes across many different samples.

A number of other studies also reveal a significant interaction between MAOA and environmental adversity. In a large longitudinal study of twin adolescent boys, Foley et al. (2004) find that boys who carry the low-activity variants of MAOA are more likely than their high-activity carrying peers to be diagnosed with conduct disorder when exposed to high levels of adversity during childhood. Nilsson et al. (2006) report similar results in a cross-sectional study, finding that maltreatment and living arrangement experiences were most related to criminal behavior among carriers of the low-activity variants of MAOA. Other studies have produced similar findings concerning MAOA and environmental adversity (Ducci et al., 2008; Widom & Brzustowicz, 2006).

More recent studies have produced further evidence of $G \times E$ effects on antisocial outcomes involving MAOA. Simons and colleagues (2011b) find in a sample of African Americans that MAOA (along with 5-HTTLPR and DRD4) moderates the effects of family and community diversity on the adoption of the “street code” and aggressive behavior. Fergusson, Boden, Horwood, Miller, and Kennedy (2011, 2012) find in two separate studies that MAOA moderated the effects of child maltreatment and school failure on property and violent offending and number of criminal convictions in later adolescence. Beaver, DeLisi, Vaughn, and Wright (2010) find in a study of White males in the Add Health sample that the effect of verbal ability on self-control and delinquency is moderated by MAOA genotype. In a study looking at desistance, Beaver, Wright, DeLisi, and Vaughn (2008) find that several genes, MAOA among them, interact with marital status to predict the patterns of desistance among males in the Add Health sample. Watts and McNulty (2014) find in the Add Health sample that the effect of the parent–child relationship on the levels of self-control and criminal behavior is moderated by MAOA (as well as DAT1). Armstrong and colleagues (2014) find in an incarcerated sample that parental criminality interacts with MAOA genotype to predict the self-reports of serious criminal behavior for both property and violent arrest rates. Finally, Ouellet-Morin and colleagues (2015) find in a sample of Canadian youths that MAOA moderates the effect of violence exposure on violence perpetration.

In summation, studies show that the 2R/3R alleles of MAOA moderate (i.e., amplify) the effects of environmental adversity on antisocial outcomes. But, why do genes have this moderating effect on risky behaviors and antisocial outcomes? Belsky and Pluess (2009) observe that genes like MAOA are related to the dopaminergic and serotonergic system related to reward and punishment sensitivity. Thus, individuals are more or less sensitive to their environment when it comes to experiencing and reacting to pleasure and displeasure based in part on their genetics. In the current study, this means that engagement in drug markets by selling drugs is a risky behavior that is more or less risky in its impact on violent victimization depending on individual genotype, specifically MAOA genotype.

Concerning MAOA genotype more specifically, it has been hypothesized that MAOA shows its effects because it is involved in the regulation of emotion and cognition in the limbic system (Beaver et al., 2010). In particular, the low-activity version of MAOA has been shown through functional MRI analyses to relate to increased amygdala arousal, which is related to aggressive behavior, and diminished activity of the regulatory prefrontal cortex, which is related to behavioral inhibition (Beaver et al., 2010). So, in a context of drug selling, a person with the low-activity version of MAOA might, in challenging circumstances, be more likely to behave and react to others in a way that puts them at greater risk for violent victimization. This is due in part to drug markets being populated by individuals who, compared to individuals not in the drug market, are generally more violence prone (Anderson, 2000; Blumstein, 1995b).

The Present Study

The current study seeks to expand on the existing literature concerning drug selling and victimization. This will be accomplished by examining the effect of drug selling on violent victimization in a nationally representative sample of youths. More importantly, the current study will also test whether the effect of drug selling on violent victimization is moderated by genetics, specifically the MAOA gene. This represents a merging of the literatures on drug selling and victimization and the $G \times E$ literature. In the current study, drug selling is seen as a risk factor for

victimization that may be moderated by genotype. Therefore, people of different genotypes may, when exposed to the same environmental risk factor, experience different victimization outcomes.

Prior research on the drug selling–victimization link and in the $G \times E$ literature led to the development of two hypotheses that are tested in the current study. *Hypothesis 1* predicts that drug selling at Wave I will increase violent victimization at Wave II, net of important controls that could potentially make this relationship spurious. *Hypothesis 2* predicts that MAOA genotype will moderate the drug selling–violent victimization relationship, such that drug-selling carriers of the 2R or 3R alleles will report more violent victimization at Wave II than drug sellers who are not the carriers of the 2R or 3R alleles of MAOA.

Data and Method

Sample

The current study uses data from Add Health. Add Health is nationally representative, consisting of a sample of adolescents who were first recruited during 1994–1995 when respondents were in Grades 7–12 (Harris et al., 2003; Udry, 1998). Add Health acquired a nationally representative sample of adolescents by employing a multistage stratified sampling process to select 80 high schools and 52 middle and junior high schools for inclusion in the study. Over 90,000 students filled out in-school self-report surveys, and of this group, a subsample was randomly chosen for the Wave I in-home component of Add Health. In total, 20,745 adolescents and 17,700 of their primary caregivers participated in the Wave I in-home component of Add Health (Harris et al., 2003). Wave II data collection occurred approximately 1–2 years after Wave I. Wave III data were collected approximately 7 years after Wave I when respondents were between 18 and 26 years old, and Wave IV data were collected during 2007–2008 when respondents were between 24 and 32 years old.

During Wave IV in-home interviews, Add Health took saliva swabs from all respondents for DNA analysis. In conjunction with the Institute for Behavioral Genetics in Boulder, CO, Add Health genotyped Wave IV interviewees for a set of genetic markers of interest to biological and biosocial researchers. The current study includes respondents

interviewed at Waves I, II, and IV, who had complete weighting data and were not missing data concerning MAOA genotype.³ The final sample for analysis includes information gathered from 8,860 respondents.⁴ That Add Health is a large and nationally representative data set that contains variables measuring both genetics, and the social environment makes it well suited for the present study.

Measures

Dependent variable

Violent victimization. The dependent variable violent victimization is drawn from Wave II, when the average respondent was approximately 16 years old. At Wave II, respondents were asked a number of questions about their experiences witnessing, perpetrating, and being the victim of violence in the past 12 months. Among these items were questions that asked respondents if in the past 12 months, they had been jumped, cut or stabbed, or shot. For all three questions, respondents had the option to answer never, once, and more than once. Very few respondents report any violent victimization in the prior year at Wave II (approximately 10%), with frequent violent victimization being extremely rare. We thus treat violent victimization conservatively, creating a single, dichotomous measure where a score of 1 indicates that a respondent was jumped, cut or stabbed, shot, or any combination of the three at least once in the past year.⁵

Independent variables

Drug selling. The independent variable drug selling is drawn from Wave I. As part of the delinquency questionnaire in Wave I, respondents were asked how often in the past 12 months they had sold marijuana or other drugs. Respondents could answer never, 1 or 2 times, 3 or 4 times, or 5 or more times. Very few respondents report any involvement in drug selling at Wave I (approximately 7%), with frequent drug selling being rare. We thus transformed this variable by dichotomizing it, with a score of 1 indicating that a respondent sold marijuana or other drugs at least once in the year prior to Wave I.

MAOA genotype. The past research on MAOA strongly suggests that two low-activity versions of this gene (2 repeat and 3 repeat) are associated with negative behavioral and mental health outcomes, particularly

among males (Belsky & Pluess, 2009; Caspi et al., 2002; Kim-Cohen et al., 2006). Following the past research, we code MAOA to reflect the nonpresence (0) or presence (1) of either the 2R or 3R allele. We lump the 2R and 3R alleles together because there are very few 2R allele carriers in the Add Health data set, limiting statistical power when trying to make comparisons based on a three group coding of the gene (no 2R/3R vs. 2R vs. 3R). Based on our coding, about 53% of the full sample are carriers of either the 2R or 3R allele. The Hardy-Weinberg equilibrium test confirms that the distribution of MAOA among the females in the sample does not differ significantly from that predicted on the basis of simple Mendelian inheritance.⁶

Analytic Strategy

Given that the dependent variable is dichotomous, we utilize logistic regression techniques. These models test whether drug selling increases violent victimization in the presence of controls that potentially make the drug selling-violent victimization relationship spurious (Hypothesis 1) and whether this relationship is strengthened by the presence of the 2R/3R alleles of MAOA (Hypothesis 2). As previously mentioned, we run separate models for males and females because of expected gender differences in drug selling and violent victimization and because males carry one while females carry two copies of the MAOA gene. We utilize the appropriate weight, cluster, and strata variables in all analyses to account for the complex Add Health survey design.⁷ Tests using variance inflation factors show that multicollinearity is not a problem in any of the presented equations.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

About 10% of the full sample report experiencing a violent victimization between Waves I and II, while about 7% of the full sample report selling drugs in the year prior to Wave I in-home interviews. The full sample is almost evenly split by MAOA genotype, with 53% of the full sample being carriers of the 2R/3R alleles.

Numerous sex differences in the sample can be noted. There is significantly more violent victimization

and drug selling among the males in the sample. Females in the sample are significantly more likely to be carriers of the 2R/3R alleles than are males. This makes sense due to the fact that females carry two copies of the MAOA gene, while males carry only one. Among the controls, the male respondents are slightly older, and males report greater involvement in minor delinquency and more involvement with delinquent peers.

Mean comparisons by genotype for the full sample (not presented) reveal one important difference between 2R/3R carriers and carriers of other MAOA alleles. Carriers of the 2R/3R alleles report significantly less violent victimization than do the carriers of other MAOA alleles. There is not a significant difference in drug selling between the two genetic subgroups in the full sample.

Multivariate Analysis

Reading Table 6.1 presents the logistic regression models with violent victimization at Wave II regressed on drug selling at Wave I, MAOA genotype, and controls. Separate models are run for males and females. As can be seen in Model 1 of Reading Table 6.1, the key independent variable of interest, drug selling, significantly increases violent victimization among males, but not females. Thus, Hypothesis 1 is supported among males, but not females.⁸ MAOA genotype does not directly shape violent victimization for either males or females. Among the more theoretically important controls, minor delinquency, fighting, and affiliating with delinquent peers increase violent victimization among both males and females. Relying on gut feelings increases violent victimization among males, but not females.

In Model 2 of Reading Table 6.1, the interaction between drug selling and MAOA genotype is introduced. This interaction variable was produced by simply multiplying the 0/1 drug selling measure by the 0/1 MAOA genotype measure. This interaction is significant and in the expected direction for males, but not females, among whom the interaction is insignificant. Like with Hypothesis 1, support for Hypothesis 2 is found only among males. Reading Table 6.2 uses the regression results from Model 2 in Reading Table 6.1 to present the predicted probabilities of violent victimization at Wave II among the different categories of individuals based on the drug selling–MAOA interaction for males and females separately. These predicted

probabilities further highlight the nuanced effect of the interaction between drug selling and MAOA genotype on violent victimization. Focusing on males, the group with the lowest predicted probability of violent victimization at Wave II is those who carry the 2R/3R allele of MAOA, who do not sell drugs. Per what is seen in Model 2 of Reading Table 6.1, the group among males with the highest risks for violent victimization based on the predicted probabilities is those who carry the 2R/3R allele of MAOA and sell drugs. The predicted probability of violent victimization at Wave II for this group is twice that of nondrug sellers who carry the 2R/3R allele of MAOA.

Discussion

This article sought to examine the relationship between genetics, drug selling, and victimization. Specifically, we utilized data from Add Health to test whether selling drugs influenced later violent victimization while controlling for a number of variables that potentially make the drug selling–victimization relationship spurious and whether the relationship between drug selling and violent victimization is moderated by MAOA genotype. Results differed by gender. Among males, but not females, drug selling increases later violent victimization, net of controls, supporting Hypothesis 1 among this group. Additionally, the drug selling–violent victimization relationship among males is moderated by MAOA, such that male, drug-selling carriers of the 2R or 3R alleles of MAOA reported significantly more violent victimization than male drug sellers who carry some other MAOA allele. Like with Hypothesis 1, Hypothesis 2 is supported among males only.

There are several meaningful conclusions to be drawn from these results. First, drug selling increases violent victimization among males but not females, net of controls. This seems to suggest that engaging in drug markets is riskier for males than females in terms of exposure to violence. Prior qualitative research has suggested this is the case, with females using gender stereotypes and their gendered roles within criminal organizations to decrease their likelihood of experiencing victimization (Miller & Decker, 2001). Future research and theorizing on drug selling as a risk factor for victimization must continue to account for gender and how it conditions this relationship.

Reading Table 6.1 • Violent Victimization W2 Regressed on Drug Selling W1, MAOA Genotype, and Controls.

Variables	Model 1		Model 2	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
	OR (SE)	OR (SE)	OR (SE)	OR (SE)
Environment and genetic variables				
Drug selling W1	1.47 (.26)*	1.10 (.31)	1.06 (.26)	0.88 (0.43)
MAOA (I = 2R/3R)	0.82 (.10)	1.13 (.22)	0.72 (.10)*	1.09 (0.23)
Two-way interaction				
Drug selling W1 × MAOA			2.07 (.67)*	1.40 (0.80)
Controls				
Hispanic	1.89 (.33)**	2.49 (.64)**	1.88 (.32)**	2.48 (0.64)**
Black	1.69 (.32)**	2.81 (.66)**	1.70 (.33)**	2.81 (0.67)**
Native American	2.06 (.83)	3.98 (1.30)**	1.98 (.83)	4.08 (1.29)**
Asian	1.11 (.40)	2.49 (1.33)	1.16 (.42)	2.50 (1.34)
Other	1.50 (.55)	0.94 (.59)	1.53 (.54)	0.96 (0.59)
Age W2	1.06 (.04)	0.87 (.05)**	1.06 (.04)	0.87 (0.05)**
Parent's education	0.80 (.12)	0.84 (.17)	0.80 (.13)	0.85 (0.17)
Parent employed W1	1.26 (.33)	1.08 (.36)	1.25 (.33)	1.09 (0.37)
Minor delinquency W1	1.08 (.04)*	1.21 (.06)**	1.08 (.04)*	1.21 (0.06)**
Fighting W1	3.09 (.51)**	5.84 (1.29)**	3.08 (.50)**	5.83 (1.30)**
Gut feeling	1.13 (.06)*	1.01 (.09)	1.13 (.06)*	1.01 (.09)
Evaluate outcomes	0.86 (.07)	0.87 (.10)	0.86 (.07)	0.87 (0.10)
Affiliation with delinquent peers	1.17 (.03)**	1.10 (.04)**	1.17 (.03)**	1.10 (0.04)**
Cocaine W1	1.18 (.42)	1.16 (.52)	1.22 (.43)	1.14 (0.51)
Other drugs W1	0.96 (.25)	1.32 (.38)	1.02 (.27)	1.32 (0.38)
Constant	0.01 (.01)**	0.08 (.09)*	0.01 (.01)**	0.08 (0.09)*

NOTE: $N = 8,860$, W1 = Wave 1, W2 = Wave 2. Non-Hispanic White is the reference category for all race/ethnic groups. This table includes odds ratios (OR; linearized standard errors) from logistic regression models. MAOA = Monoamine oxidase A.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Reading Table 6.2 • Predicted Probabilities of Violent Victimization W2

Drug selling by MAOA combinations	Predicted Probabilities of Victimization
Males	
NO drug selling, NO 2R/3R	.109
NO drug selling, 2R/3R	.081
Drug selling, NO 2R/3R	.115
Drug selling, 2R/3R	.162
Females	
NO drug selling, NO 2R/3R	.030
NO drug selling, 2R/3R	.033
Drug selling, NO 2R/3R	.027
Drug selling, 2R/3R	.040

NOTE: All other covariates held at their means. All presented probabilities sig. at $p < .05$.

Second, the drug selling–violent victimization relationship among males is moderated by the 2R/3R alleles of MAOA, such that male carriers of the 2R/3R alleles of MAOA are at increased risks for violent victimization when they sell drugs compared to males who carry some other allele for MAOA. This finding matches up with prior biosocial research, which has found that behaviors and environmental stressors that increase the likelihood of antisocial outcomes are exacerbated among male carriers of the 2R/3R allele (Beaver et al., 2010; Simons et al., 2011a). The question remains, why is this the case? The descriptive results suggest an absence of rGE, so male carriers of the 2R/3R alleles aren't self-selecting into drug selling more often, so what part of engaging in drug markets puts male carriers of the 2R/3R alleles more at risk for violent victimization? Given the moniker of the “warrior gene” that has been bestowed upon MAOA, it could have something to do with the levels of aggression on the part of these individuals. Perhaps once they are involved in drug markets, they are more likely to use aggression to gain successful outcomes, whether this aggression is

provoked or not. Looking into this possibility is beyond the scope of the current study, but more research is needed.

Lastly, it is worth noting that the results not presented show that the drug selling–violent victimization relationship among females is a spurious relationship driven by the combination of self-control, affiliation with delinquent peers, delinquency, and drug use. Another question that arises is why is the drug selling–violent victimization relationship gendered in this way? Why is there a direct relationship among males, while among females this relationship is driven by factors that shape both offending and victimization risks? It could be that males and females differ in their motivations for selling drugs, and this seems like an area where qualitative research would be quite informative.

Before the implications of this study are discussed, the key limitation of sample attrition should be addressed. Due to decisions made by Add Health concerning who to reinterview at Waves II and IV, as well as losing respondents without sampling weight information, the final analytic sample in the current study is considerably smaller than the original

Wave I sample. There is also some further attrition because some respondents refused DNA swabs at Wave IV (less than 5% of respondents). On this point, it is worth noting that reports published by Add Health suggest that, at the very least, those who refused DNA swabs at Wave IV do not differ from those who participated concerning race/ethnicity (Smolen et al., 2012). The Add Health team has published reports in the past arguing that as long as researchers utilize the sampling weight data they provide in the correct manner to account for the project's sampling design when conducting analyses utilizing more than one wave of data, the coefficients and standard errors produced by statistical models should remain unbiased (Chen & Chantala, 2014). Still, the loss of a large, nonrandom portion of the original Add Health sample when conducting analyses utilizing multiple waves of data must be noted as an important limitation of the data set and the current study.

Two practical implications of the current study for criminal justice systems should be noted. First, the results suggest that among males, drug selling is a risk factor for violent victimization. While youths are actively discouraged from engaging in drug markets based on many different kinds of reasoning, that reasoning does not often include informing youths that they are increasing their risks for serious injury and/or death by selling drugs. Alongside the other warnings, this line of reasoning could further discourage youths from selling drugs. Second, the results suggest that among males who carry the 2R/3R alleles of MAOA, there is an even higher risk of injury. This result suggests that individualized programs that target youths who are considered at-risk, both socially and genetically, could result in greater decreases in antisocial outcomes (Wright & Boisvert, 2009). These targeted interventions would be more efficient by focusing on offenders who are the most high-risk, and thus program success rates could be improved (Gajos, Fagan, & Beaver, 2016).

In summary, this study illustrates, like many before it, that genetics condition the effects of risky behaviors on antisocial outcomes. Future research must continue this trend by focusing on other candidate genes and risky behaviors and the antisocial outcomes they shape.

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Notes

1. Some recent work has challenged the simplistic assumption that involvement in drug markets is intrinsically associated with violence (Jacques, 2010). While drug market involvement does not have to associate with violence, research has consistently shown that this activity does carry with it an increased risk for violence (Berg & Loeber, 2015; Blumstein, 1995b; Johnson, Golub, & Dunlap, 2000).
2. Limited research suggests that Gene \times Environment interaction findings concerning monoamine oxidase A (MAOA) may not be applicable to females (Sjoberg et al., 2007).
3. Multiple imputation techniques in STATA 13 were used to impute missing values for the other independent and control variables.
4. This analytic sample is much smaller than the original Wave I sample due to several decisions made by the Add Health team. First, Add Health chose not to reinterview at Wave II those

who were high school seniors at Wave I. Second, respondents without a sampling weight at Wave I were not reinterviewed at Wave IV. Between these decisions and having to eliminate respondents with missing data on the MAOA variable (less than 5% of respondents), the total Wave I sample is reduced by more than half in the present analysis. Add Health has published reports stating that as long as researchers utilize the appropriate statistical techniques (i.e., sampling weights, etc.) to account for the Add Health sampling design when conducting longitudinal analyses, estimates produced by statistical models should remain unbiased (Chen & Chantala, 2014). Still, the loss of a large, non-random portion of the sample when doing longitudinal analysis should be noted.

5. Because of how skewed the violence measures are, little to no statistical power is gained by creating a count measure or by summing the original ordinal measures. Less than 2% of the analytical sample experienced more than one of these three victimizations in the prior year.
6. Hardy–Weinberg equilibrium assumes that individuals are diploid, and this assumption is violated in the case of human males who are not diploid on the X chromosome. To maintain consistency, both males and females are coded identically for MAOA (1 = 2R/3R), so no differentiation is made between females who carry one and two copies of the 2R/3R alleles.
7. These variables and the guidance on how to appropriately use them are provided by Add Health. Specifically, Add Health respondents have an individual weighting variable, a cluster variable based on their school, and a stratification variable based on their census region.
8. If this model for females is run without the controls that are a check for spuriousness, drug selling has a highly significant effect of increasing violent victimization among this group. So, at least in the present data, the drug selling–violent victimization correlation appears to be, among females, the spurious outcome of risk factors that increase both the likelihood of drug selling and violent victimization.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Explain the concept of gene-environment interaction as used in this article.
2. What is the role of MAOA?
3. Why would selling drugs expose one to violent victimization?