A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

POLICIES IN SEATTLE, WASHINGTON AND

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

A Thesis
Presented
to the Faculty of
California State University, Chico

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

in

Political Science

by

Emily Nicole Peart

Spring 2011
I would like to take a moment to thank the people that have been so helpful throughout the process of writing this thesis. First, I would also like to thank Dr. Matthew Thomas for his guidance throughout my time here as a Master’s student. His patience and sound advice have been irreplaceable. I would also like to express my extreme gratitude to my committee, who were not only instrumental in enabling me to complete this thesis, but also inspirational in their support. I would like to thank Dr. Kate Transchel for not only inspiring me to move forward with my research, but for also introducing me to some amazing people working in the fight against human trafficking. I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Jonathan Caudill for his many pieces of sound advice along the way, and his no nonsense Texas attitude. Last, but certainly not least, I would like to extend my deepest thanks to my committee chair, Dr. Mahalley Allen, without whom this thesis would not have been possible. Her dedication to this project has been as unwavering as her support, and for that I am truly grateful.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acknowledgements</th>
<th>iii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Introduction ................................................................</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Historical and Modern Trends Surrounding the Issue of Human Trafficking</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Human Trafficking</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Extent of the Human Trafficking Problem</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government’s Response</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues with Combating Human Trafficking</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Law Enforcement Education</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginalized Individuals as Targets for Trafficking</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Following Chapters</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Seattle: A model of Proactive Success in the Fight Against Human Trafficking</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington State Human Trafficking Legislation</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why Seattle?</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statistics and Data</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Victim Centered Approach: why Seattle is Winning with it</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Seattle Police Department’s Approach to Human Trafficking: Paving the Way for Law Enforcement Agencies Across the Country</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Collaborative Approach: Success Through Cooperation and Respect</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING
POLICIES IN SEATTLE, WASHINGTON AND
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

by

Emily Nicole Peart

Master of Arts in Political Science

California State University, Chico

Spring 2011

In this study, I compare two major metropolitan port cities within the United States, in regard to their unique issues with the worldwide problem of human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation. The two cities are Seattle, Washington, (Seattle) and San Francisco, California (San Francisco). I chose these particular cities because they provide an interesting and relevant comparison of two major West Coast ports with similar ideologies and urban profiles. In order to provide this comparison, I conducted several interviews—both in person and over the phone—and carried out extensive research regarding both cities’ approaches to combating human trafficking. Ultimately, this study suggests that while both Seattle and San Francisco have attempted to adopt similar approaches to fighting the problem of human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation, the specific methodologies implemented
by the city of Seattle have ultimately resulted in greater success. While neither city’s approach is perfect, it would appear that San Francisco has a larger battle to overcome, due in part to past experiences with cases involving human trafficking.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

Human trafficking, one of the many facets of the large-scale problem of modern day slavery, is on the rise in many parts of the world, including the United States. From forced labor and domestic servitude to commercial sexual exploitation, human trafficking takes many forms. Theoretically, victims of each and every form of human trafficking, regardless of age or gender, should be provided equal and substantial levels of assistance and support. This, unfortunately, is not the case. Many victims of human trafficking go unassisted and are often left to fend for themselves. While all victims incur mental and physical trauma, women are often among the most traumatized owing to the nature of sexual servitude they are often forced into (Roby, Turby, and Cloward 2008, 522).

Throughout the United States, and especially in major metropolitan areas that also serve as large ports, such as Seattle and San Francisco, it is estimated that tens of thousands of women are trafficked into the country annually for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation (Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000, 2000). Additionally, a large number of women are estimated to be trafficked internally for similar purposes. Sexual slavery can take many forms, ranging from forced
street prostitution to working in massage parlors or in home brothels as sex slaves (Hepburn and Simon 2010, 4).

Although much has been done in the last decade to combat these criminal acts, all too often women forced into the life of a modern day slave go without rescue, assistance, or support (Hepburn and Simon 2010, 23). A general lack of governmental and non-governmental services for victims, as well as a widespread lack of knowledge surrounding the issue of human trafficking, often leads to a continuing cycle of trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation. While there are certainly excellent programs available in cities throughout the United States designed to assist victims of human trafficking, often those who may come in contact with potential victims, such as law enforcement officers, are not properly trained to look for and recognize the indicators of human trafficking. Consequently, they fail to make the critical distinction between a victim forced into the trade and someone who is willfully engaged in prostitution for profit. Because of this inability to distinguish between a trafficked and a voluntary sex worker, victims of human trafficking are often left stranded and forced to attempt survival in the often violent and severe situations in which they find themselves (Bales and Lize 2007, 25).

Although the issues surrounding commercial sexual exploitation are vastly similar in major metropolitan cities throughout the United States, it is reasonable to question whether disparities and differences in services and types of assistance exist among cities. This study will attempt to do just that and answer the above primary question through an in-depth look at the cities of Seattle and San Francisco. In addition to seeking an answer to the primary question, I will attempt to answer the following
questions through extensive research and interviews with individuals working in the field of human trafficking: First, are there disparities or differences in services, support, and levels of assistance for victims of human trafficking? Second, what are the potential factors for the differences? Third, what steps should be taken in order to remedy these disparities or differences?

Within the remaining chapters, I will endeavor to answer each of the above three questions. This will be done while keeping a distinct definition of human trafficking clearly in mind. For the purposes of this study, I will reference the definition of human trafficking as is given by the *Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons*, which defines trafficking as,

> ... the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal or organs. (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2011, p.2)

While this definition is certainly broad, it is still relevant as it provides a distinct reference to the type of human trafficking that will be discussed throughout the remainder of this study.

Chapter Two provides a detailed review of scholarly literature and research pertaining to the nature of the sexual slave trade in relation to human trafficking within the United States. It also presents a comprehensive look at the history of human trafficking, both on the global as well as the domestic scale, including an assessment of the extent of this problem, an evaluation of the government’s response to human
trafficking, and finally a discussion of general as well as specific issues in combating human trafficking.

Chapter Three provides an in-depth case study of sex trafficking in the city of Seattle. It examines anti-trafficking legislation passed by the state of Washington, data relating to the state of Washington and the city of Seattle’s specific issue regarding human trafficking, as well as a comprehensive look into the approach being taken by agencies and organizations working within the city. This chapter concludes with a discussion of potential reasons why Seattle has approached the problem of human trafficking in the manner it has. This will include a discussion of the identity of social justice that is so commonly associated with the city of Seattle.

Chapter Four largely mirrors Chapter Three with two exceptions: First, this chapter focuses on the city of San Francisco, California, and its specific response to human trafficking. Second, rather than focus on a city identity, I will focus on the issues surrounding San Francisco as one of the most well known sanctuary cities within the United States.

Chapter Five concludes this thesis with a discussion of my overall findings. I will include a detailed look into the similarities and differences found between the types of services and assistance available to victims of human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation. Within this chapter, I will also attempt to discuss what steps should be taken in order to remedy the disparities or differences found among major metropolitan areas in the United States? This final chapter will also include a detailed discussion of where future research should go. This includes the difficulties that can arise in prosecuting individuals accused of committing human trafficking, and other facets of
human trafficking such as forced labor, which is estimated to occur in large numbers within the United States, as well as the rest of the world.
CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL AND MODERN TRENDS
SURROUNDING THE ISSUE OF
HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Overview

Human trafficking is not a new phenomenon; rather it is one that has been growing at alarming rates and lurking in the shadows of all corners of the world. While certainly not a new development, it is one that until recently has received little attention, especially in the United States. Human trafficking is not confined to poor countries with seemingly lower thresholds of morality. This lack of attention correlates directly with an inherent desire to believe that it could not possibly happen in developed countries such as the United States. The public’s impulse to dismiss or ignore human trafficking has led to a lack of education on the issue, which, in turn, has allowed its growth to continue unchecked. It is a topic the world has not wanted to recognize due, in part, to its problematic nature. This symbolic “blind eye,” as it were, is slowly opening and the reality it is facing is severe. Increased research is being done on the subject of human trafficking and more information is making its way into the public forum. The opening of avenues for discussion have led, and continue to lead, to paths of change and assistance, by both community organizations and government sponsored programs alike. This research takes many forms, much of it focusing on the root causes of human trafficking in
individual countries. While this is certainly invaluable research, as solutions to multi-dimensional problems such as trafficking are often best understood and solved by looking at foundational issues, in this thesis I will take a more policy-oriented approach and examine of the types of assistance available to female adult victims of human sex trafficking. In my research, I will evaluate problems of human trafficking and their corresponding solutions, both proposed and enacted, within the United States. More specifically, this research will focus on those trafficked into and from within the U.S. cities of Seattle and San Francisco, for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation. While there are many aspects of human trafficking, the effects of being forced into the modern day sex trade are often more detrimental than other forms of human trafficking as victims are more often than not forced into this occupation through violence (Victims of Trafficking 2000, 1466-1467).

History of Human Trafficking

For hundreds, if not thousands of years, slavery was common practice. American history is no exception. The origins of American slavery can be traced to the 17th century, when, in 1619, “a Dutch ship brought 20 enslaved Africans to the Virginia colony at Jamestown…” (Davis 2011). From 1619 until the eve of the Civil War, slavery grew in both proportion and in severity. “Initially, the first slaves in the Virginia colony were looked upon as workers rather than as property, and some of them were treated much like white indentured servants” (Davis 2011). This style of treatment did not last long. American slavery became intolerable and eventually was abolished by the 13th Amendment of the Constitution (San Francisco Collaborative Against Human Trafficking
Slavery continued to grow and on the “eve of the American Civil War approximately 4 million enslaved Africans lived in the southern region of the United States of America” (Davis 2011).

Slavery is not a proud point in American history, yet it is an important one. The fundamental lessons of slavery have supposedly been learned by the United States. Yet, the following is still true. “There are more than 30 million slaves in the world today. More than at the height of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade” (Not For Sale 2009).

It is through both common teaching methodology, as well as the desire of the human conscience, to think of slavery as something that is relegated to centuries passed, simply an archived piece of history that is not an issue in modern day society. This is not the case, and in fact, quite the opposite is true. In an article entitled, Human Trafficking, scholars Ruth Dearnly and Steve Chalke accurately describe human trafficking and place it in a historical context. For one who believes that slavery no longer exists, the authors’ research could be considered quite surprising. “Fifty years ago, the abomination of slavery seemed like a thing of the past. But history has a way of repeating itself. Today, we find that human slavery is once again a sickening reality” (Dearnly and Chalke 2010, 52). Dearnly and Chalke note that, “It is impossible to ever reach a consensus on the true scale of the problem but, regardless of the figures, what matters is that human trafficking is big and getting bigger. What matters is that every number represents a human life destroyed. It is happening on every continent and in almost every country: whether the place we live is a source, destination or transit point for trafficking, none of us can claim to be wholly unaffected by this crime” (Dearnly and Chalke 2010, 52). While Dearnly and Chalke present an image of human trafficking that may be eye opening for some,
their approach may be considered mild when compared to other scholars who have taken a much more hard-edged look at the issue.

In an article written in 2009, entitled, *Trafficking and Human Dignity*, scholar Mark P. Lagon explains the history of human trafficking in a direct manner. Lagon asserts that human trafficking represents a contemporary form of slavery. The transatlantic slave trade was abolished over two centuries ago. While much has changed in the interim, the same fundamental flaw in reasoning that legitimized the kidnapping and exporting of human cargo two hundred years ago underlies the contemporary slave trade – “a belief that some people are less than human” (Lagon 2009, 51). Lagon’s description illustrates that the concept of a marginalized people is not merely a thing of the past. Later in this chapter, I will thoroughly discuss this idea that for some people, it is acceptable to treat as inferior.

Scholar Jane Nady Sigmon, author of an article entitled, *Combating Modern-Day Slavery: Issues in Identifying and Assisting Victims of Human Trafficking Worldwide*, examines the historical perspective of human trafficking much like Dearnly, Chalke, and Lagon, but does so in a more objective and pragmatic manner. Sigmon notes that while slavery is illegal, practical realities, local economic and social conditions, conflicts and natural disasters prove this to be incorrect. Various forms of slavery appear in diverse forms and locales (Sigmon 2008, 246). Sigmon further asserts that the tactics and methods of coercion are as diverse as the conditions that prompt them. Regardless of the methods, all victims are denied the most basic of rights and are exploited for the profit of their tormentors (Sigmon 2008, 246). Sigmon’s explanation is both beneficial and advantageous to an overall understanding of human trafficking as a social and
cultural problem. Human trafficking, however, has an economic historical component to it as well that should not be overlooked. In a fascinating look at human trafficking, scholar Kevin Bales captures the essence of the economic issues, both past and present, surrounding the issue of modern-day slavery.

In his 1999 book, Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy, scholar Kevin Bales notes the history of modern-day slavery. “Slavery is a booming business and the number of slaves is increasing. People get rich by using slaves. And when they’ve finished with their slaves, they just throw these people away. This is the new slavery, which focuses on big profits and cheap lives. It is not about owning people in the traditional sense of the old slavery, but about controlling them completely. People become completely disposable tools for making money” (Bales 1999, 4). Bales underscores an interesting point that is key to understanding one of the basic components of human trafficking as an industry, - - it relies on both the constant supply of victims and a steady group of individuals who are willing to use these victims as a means to turning a profit.

Forced sexual slavery, while not the only form of human trafficking found within the United States, is the most prevalent. Forced sexual slavery can take many forms, but it emerges most often as “prostitution, live sex shows, stripping, and pornography” (Hepburn and Simon 2010, 4). While all of these forms of enslavement for sexual purposes occur, forced prostitution is the most public form of the sex trade. Prostitutes, whether forced by a captor or engaging in the behavior by their own free will, often have the most contact with law enforcement. Stripping and incidents of pornography are often times more secretive in nature and, therefore, go undetected on a
much more frequent basis (Hepburn and Simon 2010, 4). Just as the industry of prostitution is centuries old, human sex trafficking can trace its roots back many decades as well.

The Extent of the Human Trafficking Problem

In order to understand the scale of human trafficking, it is imperative to have a general idea of the number of individuals who are trafficked each year. This understanding can aid in the study of individual countries. Unfortunately, there are several roadblocks that make the accurate reporting of human trafficking data problematic. I will first discuss these data limitations. Next, I will present available and relevant literature on general statistics in order to establish a base line of information, followed by literature relating to specific statistics for the United States.

The business of human trafficking is a secretive and covert criminal act that occurs in all corners of the world (Hepburn and Simon 2010, 3). As has been noted, the United States is not immune. Scholars T.K. Logan, Robert Walker and Gretchen Hunt frame the statistical issues surrounding human trafficking as “elusive” (Logan, Walker, and Hunt 2009, 6). This “hidden nature” has made the identification of victims challenging, especially those trafficked from within the United States (Hepburn and Simon 2010, 8). As scholars Elzbieta M. Gozdziak and Elizabeth A. Collett frame it, “how do we quantify clandestine phenomena?” (Gozdziak and Collett 2005, 109). Logan, Walker and Hunt echo this sentiment in the following statement.

The victims of human trafficking are part of a covert of society that is hidden to anyone except those who use trafficked persons. The victims are walled off from society and from their family and they are not on the books for tax or other
employment records. In the strict legal sense, they do not exist and since their activities are often illegal, they dare not become visible. (6)

While a few forms of sex trafficking take place in high visibility areas, such as street prostitution, much of it occurs behind closed doors. In areas within the U.S. where wealth is prevalent, the sex trade is marketed online and happens in hotel rooms (Murphy 2011, personal communication). Combating human trafficking in the United States, both with foreign and domestic victims, is not without its struggles. The covert nature is only one of many components. A general mistrust of law enforcement also leads to severe underreporting, which leaves many victims to struggle and fend for themselves (Wagner 2010, 14).

Underreporting of human trafficking incidents, both domestically and globally, is one of the foremost impediments to successfully combating this criminal act. In an article entitled, Investigating Human Trafficking: Challenges, Lessons Learned, and Best Practices, scholars Kevin Bales and Steven Lize discuss this specific issue. They note, “Actions taken at the beginning of a trafficking investigation prove crucial. The successful identification of victims and the subsequent responses of investigators determine the speed, ease, and, ultimately, the success of prosecuting traffickers” (Bales and Lize 2007, 25). Identification, mentioned in the above excerpt, has not proven to be a simple task. In fact, quite the opposite is true. Bales and Lize explain why this is within the following excerpt,

Not surprisingly, gaining the cooperation of victims as witnesses can prove challenging. Because of their distrust of police in their home countries, trafficking survivors usually fear U.S. law enforcement agents. Often, victims come from societies with corrupt authorities. Also, traffickers lie to them about police brutality and deportation; victims begin to believe that U.S. authorities will treat them as criminals, incarcerate them, or deport them. (2007, 26-27)
Scholar John Wagner supports this claim in his article entitled, *Serving California’s Human Trafficking Victims and Refugees*. Wagner remarks that not only is human trafficking a global problem but it is one that inherently causes severe mistrust of authority figures by those individuals victimized by these criminal acts. This mistrust often prevents them from sharing their stories with law enforcement officials and others who may be able to rescue them from deplorable conditions (Wagner 2010, 14).

A general mistrust of law enforcement is not the only reason for underreporting of incidents of human trafficking. Legal resolutions to the criminal acts of human trafficking often act as a hindrance to the reporting process. I will discuss these legal resolutions at great length in later sections.

In an article entitled, *Combating Human Trafficking in Human Beings*, scholar Klara Skrivankova discusses the worldwide epidemic of human trafficking. Skrivankova writes,

Human trafficking is the fastest growing form of slavery today. At least 2.5 million people are trafficked throughout the world: boys as young as four years old are abducted from their homes in South Asia and trafficked to the Gulf as camel jockeys; young girls in West and Central Africa are trafficked into domestic work; men in impoverished areas of Brazil are trafficked to the Amazon and forced to clear forest to make way for agricultural estates and women are trafficked from Eastern Europe and forced into Western Europe’s sex industry. (2006, 229)

Other research puts the number of persons trafficked much higher. In his 2007 report, researcher Jonathan Tran finds that, “Estimates put the number of slaves in the world at between 12 million (the United Nations figure) and 27 million (the figure offered by Kevin Bales, president of Free the Slaves, an organization committed to ending global slavery)” (Tran 2007, 22). Tran continues on to say that “Recently the Vatican declared that human trafficking in our time is a greater scourge than the transatlantic slave trade of
the 18th century” (Tran 2007, 22). While the research on the numbers of persons trafficked varies from scholar to scholar and from source to source, one thing remains constant. Human trafficking is occurring in all countries. It would be difficult for any country to feasibly argue they are immune from the modern-day slave trade.

Until recently, it was rare for the United States to be thought of as a major destination or hot spot for human trafficking. The United States has long enjoyed the perception that it is somehow profoundly more morally and ethically developed than other countries and, therefore, is naturally not a part of the lucrative business of human trafficking. Denial regarding the existence of this issue has long been the American public’s response, but awareness is growing. Such denial has increased the level of hardship on those trafficked into and within the United States.

“The U.S. is one of the top 10 destinations for human trafficking-with tens of thousands of people trafficked into the country each year” (Hepburn and Simon 2010, 3). Instances of human trafficking have been reported in ninety cities within the United States and include victims from the whole of Latin America, South East Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe (Hepburn and Simon 2010, 3). From this research alone, one can see that the United States plays a critical role in contributing to the widespread issue of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

While the exact number of individuals trafficked into and within the United States each year for the purpose of sexual exploitation will most likely never be known, there are many estimates. Scholars Hepburn and Simon provide an interesting explanation of the difficulties encountered when attempting to ascertain general numbers of victims. Hepburn and Simon write, “In fact the CIA estimates that there are 50,000
women and children trafficked each year throughout the US for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation, which comes in various forms—including prostitution, live sex shows, stripping, and pornography” (Hepburn and Simon 2010, 4). Hepburn and Simon note that the number of 50,000 is solely an estimate as there are numerous difficulties in identifying those individuals who are trafficked from within the US (Hepburn and Simon 2010, 8). Citizens are often the target of traffickers and are primarily intended for the domestic commercial sex trade (Hepburn and Simon 2010, 8). The scholars assert that ascertaining an estimate on the number of individuals victimized by domestic human sex trafficking “is extremely difficult . . . this is in part due to the hidden nature of the crime but also because most studies have focused on international as opposed to domestic trafficking” (Hepburn and Simon 2010, 8).

Scholar Kimberly Kotrla, author of Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking in the United States, agrees with the research of Hepburn and Simon, saying that within the United States, children often fall victim to the dangers of the sex trade. Kotrla writes, “Recent research suggests that American youths are the most vulnerable to becoming victims of sex trafficking in this country” (Kotrla 2010, 181). As is obvious by reviewing the information presented here, estimates are all that is available. Hundreds, if not thousands, of cases of human trafficking into and within the United States may exist but simply go unreported due to the clandestine nature of the crime.

Government’s Response

In the United States, two of the federal government’s responses to the problem of human trafficking include the issuing of the American T and U visas (Hepburn and
Both visas are offered to victims under the condition that certain requirements are met.

The success of a U visa application turns on whether the petitioner has suffered substantial physical or mental abuse as a result of having been a victim of one or more of a specific list of crimes that includes trafficking as well as rape, torture, sexual assault, sexual exploitation, prostitution, kidnapping, being held hostage, and false imprisonment. (Hepburn and Simon 2010, 18)

While the United States Department of Homeland Security can extend up to “10,000 U visas annually” only “65 U visas have been issued and 20 have been denied” (Hepburn and Simon 2010, 18). While the U visa relies heavily on individual victim experience, the T visa carries an entirely different and sometimes more emotionally difficult set of requirements.

“In 2000, the federal government, in an effort to address the problem, passed the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act. Among other elements, the Act created T visas” (Pollock and Hollier 2010, 127). Since their creation, relatively few T visas have been granted. “The TVPA allows the Secretary of Homeland Security and the Attorney General to grant 5,000 T visas each year. However, government data reveal that few victims have applied for T visas, and even fewer have been granted one” (Pollock and Hollier 2010, 138). As of 2007, only 616 T visas had been granted by the United States. One year later, that number had only reached 750. This number appears especially insignificant when one realizes that “the number of visas granted comes nowhere near the 40,000 approved by Congress (computed at 5,000 each year for 8 years)” (Pollock and Hollier 2010, 138).

While the lack of visas approved may appear curious, there is much scholarly research that provides evidence as to why this is the case. Success of a T visa application
relies on several factors that make it an undesirable option for many victims of human trafficking. “The underutilization of the T visa may in part be on account of the strict criteria. One concern among social service providers is the current requirement to assist law enforcement” (Hepburn and Simon 2010, 18). This concern with the necessary prerequisite to aid law enforcement officials in the investigation process is seen not only in the article written by Hepburn and Simon, but also through the research of Joycelyn M. Pollock and Valerie Hollier. In their article entitled, Solutions: T Visas: Prosecution Tool or Humanitarian Response?, Pollock and Hollier reiterate this viewpoint. “The T visa, as written, does not meet the needs of trafficked victims for a number of reasons, including the fact that many victims are too fearful to cooperate with law enforcement” (Pollock and Hollier 2010, 140). Pollock and Hollier offer a second explanation, making the argument that additionally, the T visa fails to suit the needs of the victim, ignoring critical social and cultural concerns. The requirement for victims over the age of eighteen to cooperate with law enforcement is just one of many examples. Often times, a victim of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation comes from a country that is riddled with corruption where cooperation with law enforcement may prove to be dangerous. Law enforcement in many of the home countries of the victims may even prove to be in league with traffickers. Victims often shy away from cooperating with law enforcement for fear of potential retaliation for them and their families (Pollock and Hollier 2010, 141). This fear of retaliation by traffickers, and the overwhelming fear and distrust of law enforcement are only two of the many issues with the T visa. The T visa, in and of itself, sets up a system of economic disparity that is, at the very best, difficult to overcome.
When envisioning a victim of human trafficking, an affluent individual does not come to mind. This generalized lack of economic means is another hindrance to the successful obtainment of the T visa. The application process for a T visa is not a simple one. The Department of Justice delineates the application procedure as follows:

The application packet, including attachments and instructions, is 17 pages long. A complete application includes the following:

- The proper fee or a request for a fee waiver. The INS has set the fee at $200 for the principal applicant, and $50 for each accompanying family member up to a maximum fee of $400 for one application.
- Three current photos.
- A fingerprint fee of $50 per person.
- Evidence that the principal applicant has been a victim of a severe form of trafficking.
- Evidence that the applicant is physically present in the U.S. on account of being a victim of a severe form of trafficking.
- Evidence that either (1) that the applicant has complied with a reasonable request for assistance made by a law enforcement agency that investigates and prosecutes traffickers or (2) that the applicant is not yet 15 years of age.
- Evidence that the applicant would suffer extreme hardship if he or she were removed from the U.S.
- Individuals who are inadmissible also need to apply for a waiver by submitting form I-192 (Application for Advance Permission to Enter as a Nonimmigrant. The INS recently raised the fee for this form to $195.) (DOJ issues regulations for T visas, available to victims of trafficking, 2002).

From the information presented above, it is clear that the application requirements are quite involved. For a victim of human trafficking, with limited language skills, the process may be impossible. It should be noted that while there is a fee waiver, nowhere within the application packet does it tell the applicant how to go about obtaining this waiver. This lack of access to information acts as yet another barrier to government assistance for victims of human trafficking. Another concern is that the T visa does nothing to assist domestic victims of human trafficking. This is critical as domestic
victims of human trafficking, especially children, make up approximately “32 percent” of
the individuals trafficked each year (Kotrla 2010, 182).

Within the broad spectrum of underreporting, scholars overwhelmingly cite
the idea that mistrust of law enforcement is prevalent. This mistrust stems from more
than one place, such as corruption and fear of retaliation. The issue with law
enforcement, however, runs much deeper than that. Mentioned briefly in previous
scholarly works cited within this literature review, law enforcement, specifically local
law enforcement agencies, generally are not trained on how to identify and interact with
victims of human trafficking.

In addition to the T and U visas, the federal government passed the
Trafficking Victims Protection Act in October of 2000 (Bales and Lize 2007, 24-25). The
act, commonly referred to as the TVPA, “created new forced labor and sex trafficking
criminal offenses for perpetrators, as well as protective measures for victims” (Bales and
Lize 2007, 25). In addition to creating new criminal offenses, the “TVPA created an
Interagency Task Force to Monitor and Combat Trafficking …” (Pollock and Hollier
2010, 132). Since its passage in 2000, the TVPA has been reauthorized three subsequent
times, in the years 2003, 2005 and 2008 (Pollock and Hollier 2010, 132). Each
reauthorization has added additional provisions, including some for children, and some
that “included new civil remedies for victims” (Pollock and Hollier 2010, 132).

At the state level, several states have enacted legislation that has helped to
criminalize human trafficking and has also created an increase in the availability of
services for victims of this criminal act. In 2003, the state of Washington “was the first
state to pass a law criminalizing human trafficking “(Washington State Office of the
Washington’s anti-trafficking law, which is the most strict in all of the United States, makes it a “serious felony to recruit, harbor, transport or obtain any person for labor or services using force, fraud or coercion” (Washington State Office of the Attorney General 2011). Human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation is identified as a service subject to criminal prosecution under this law. While the state of Washington is certainly not the only state to enact legislation to combat human trafficking, it is the most stringent and possibly the most thorough in the U.S.

Issues with Combating Human Trafficking

Solving the multi-faceted issue of human trafficking, both domestically and globally, is a task that appears almost insurmountable. Those who fight to end this challenging issue are often faced with obstacles. While there are seemingly too many hindrances to mention, let alone overcome, there are several that are constant and are of great concern. Two of these issues include law enforcement’s lack of education and knowledge about the subject of human trafficking and the problematic fact that those who are trafficked for the purposes of commercial sexual exploitation are often times part of a marginalized group of people. Both issues will be discussed in detail, beginning with law enforcement’s lack of formal training.

Lack of Law Enforcement Education

The lack of education about human trafficking by law enforcement remains a fundamental problem. Local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies are all involved in the struggle against human trafficking. While some agencies have had more success than others, there are still underlying themes that seem to traverse enforcement agencies
of all types. This fundamental lack of education is detrimental to properly assisting the thousands of victims of human trafficking, both domestically and internationally (Pollock and Hollier 2010, 133). Even while human trafficking has been proven to be a serious concern, impediments to the prosecution of traffickers still exist. A lack of law enforcement training accompanied by the victims’ reluctance to cooperate rank amongst the largest obstacles to combating human trafficking. Law enforcement agencies often do not receive adequate training that would enable them to properly identify a victim and, unfortunately, they often times mistake victims for illegal aliens (Pollock and Hollier 2010, 133). Pollock and Hollier argue that there has been some research indicates that victims of human trafficking are less likely to be taken seriously when they seek out assistance from law enforcement. Further research makes the claim that victims who come forward to share their stories are less likely to be believed due in part to the fact that they often have little to no evidence that they were legitimate victims of human trafficking (Pollock and Hollier 2010, 133-134). The sheer brutality the victims have endured is hard for many to believe (Pollock and Hollier 2010, 133-134). Kavitha Sreeharsha, author of an article written for the 2010 Symposium Issue of Georgetown Journal of Gender and the Law, takes this argument and expands upon it in a manner that takes any potential culpability off of law enforcement agencies and, instead, places it on the laws of this country. Specifically, Sreeharsha contends that immigration enforcement by federal officials has severely undermined the ability of local law enforcement to do the best they can in properly identifying and assisting victims of human trafficking (Sreeharsha 2010). Scholar Jennifer Chacon echoes the idea that immigration issues play a large role in human trafficking. In an article entitled, Tensions and Trade-Offs:
Protecting Trafficking Victims in the Era of Immigration Enforcement, Chacon remarks that the immigration policies of wealthy nations “have contributed significantly to the contemporary problem of international trafficking” (Chacon 2010, 1609). When referring to the issue of human trafficking within the United States, Chacon states that U.S. policy on immigration helps traffickers “assert control over victims once those victims are in the United States” (Chacon 2010, 1612).

Marginalized Individuals as Targets for Trafficking

Women, the poverty stricken, and children are the typical victims of human trafficking, both globally and domestically. According to Erin Murphy, Advocacy Director of Seattle Against Slavery (SAS), the reasoning behind why this is commonly the case is nothing less than deplorable (Murphy 2011, personal communication). Murphy recounts that often times, people don’t want to recognize that certain groups of people are more likely to be subjected to human trafficking due to circumstances beyond their control. Too often, people prefer to believe that traffickers do not target their victims based on race, ethnicity, gender, or age but rather they randomly select their victims based on opportunity (Murphy 2011, personal communication). Murphy remarks that this is not a symptom of naïveté but rather an inherent desire to believe that society has moved beyond issues of institutionalized racism and classism (Murphy 2011, personal communication). She believes that unless people are willing to start asking the right questions about why human trafficking exists and why certain groups of people seem to be targeted more than others, the problem will never be solved. Organizations and agencies fighting human trafficking will only ever be able to provide temporary solutions
to an ever-evolving problem where the criminals are intelligent, sophisticated in their methods, and willing to do whatever it takes to turn a profit (Murphy 2011, personal communication).

Following Chapters

In the following two chapters, I will provide case studies of Seattle and San Francisco, examining their policies with regard to human trafficking. I will thoroughly and critically examine the types of assistance and services available to victims of human trafficking within the commercial sex industry. In addition, I will look at specific statistics available for each city’s problem of human trafficking. I will also look at both cities’ respective law enforcement responses to this problem. Through this examination I will provide a comparison of these cities for both similarities as well as potential disparities that may exist.
CHAPTER III

SEATTLE: A MODEL OF PROACTIVE SUCCESS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Introduction

Situated in the Pacific Northwest, Seattle is a city known for its diversity as well as its significant commitment to social justice. This commitment does not mean, however, that Seattle is without its social and cultural problems. Seattle, much like many major port cities within the United States, battles against an epidemic of human sex trafficking.

In this chapter, I will provide an in-depth look at Seattle, with regard to its problem of human trafficking in both foreign and domestic victims. This chapter will be divided into the following six sections: (1) a look at legislative action with regard to human trafficking taken by the state of Washington, (2) an overview of human trafficking in Seattle, which will include a look at the reasons why Seattle is such a popular destination for victims of human trafficking, (3) a discussion of the victim centered approach most organizations in Seattle have adopted, (4) a discussion of the programs and approaches to human trafficking taken by the Seattle Police Department, (5) a discussion of the collaborative approach to combating human trafficking taken by the city
of Seattle as a whole, and (6) a look at how Seattle’s city identity of a commitment to social justice has helped to combat human trafficking.

Washington State Human Trafficking Legislation

The state of Washington has been enormously proactive in its approach to combating human sex trafficking. From community organizations to statewide legislation, it has led the way in setting examples for other states throughout the nation in how to effectively wage war against this challenging issue. First and foremost, it is critical to understand that Washington is successful in combating human trafficking because of the intensely collaborative approach of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), law enforcement agencies, and government organizations (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication). One government agency that has been vital to the state’s success is the Office of the Attorney General. This office not only acts as a source of legal information, but also as a resource for a wide range of individuals, including victims of human trafficking and law enforcement officers (Washington State Office of the Attorney General). The Washington Advisory Committee on Trafficking (WashACT) was created through a joint effort of the Office of the Attorney General and the U.S. Department of Justice (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2010). The mission of the WashACT is

To ensure that victims of trafficking receive all resources available to them; and that human traffickers are identified, investigated and prosecuted to the utmost extent of the law. The committee also serves as the Advisory Committee for a U.S. Department of Justice human trafficking grant awarded to the Seattle Police Department. (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2010)
The Washington Office of the Attorney General, working alongside other agencies and organizations, is responsible for much of the anti-trafficking legislation that has been signed into law and introduced within the state. Washington State Senate Bill 6476, which was first introduced in January of 2010, is an act that deals with sex crimes involving minors (SB 6476 2010, 1). This law allows social services “to connect a child, who is sexually exploited, with services and treatment” (Seattle Against Slavery 2011). Also in January of 2010, Senate Bill 6330 was passed and made into law (SB 6330 2010, 1). SB 6330 allows the State Department of Transportation to work with advocacy groups to place informational anti-trafficking posters at rest areas along Washington highways (Seattle Against Slavery 2011).

While SB 6476 and SB 6330 have already become law, the state of Washington has two more bills awaiting approval that would have a significant impact on the issue of human trafficking. Senate Bill 5545, which was first introduced in January of 2011, would allow for greater surveillance of suspected child traffickers as well as allowing “prosecutors to request assistance from juveniles in the undercover surveillance of telephone communications in trafficking investigations, without putting them in danger” (Seattle Against Slavery 2011).

Senate Bill 5482 is a proposed housing bill that would supply victims of human trafficking with affordable housing (Seattle Against Slavery 2011). SB 5482 is critical in the sense that providing assistance to victims of human trafficking is a challenging task as agencies that provide these types of services often go severely underfunded (Murphy 2011, personal communication). Not only has the state of Washington enacted legislation that has helped to combat the issue of human trafficking,
but there have also been many organizations around the state created to work side by side with government agencies to provide support and assistance to victims.

The Washington Anti-Trafficking Response Network (WARN) is one such agency (Washington Anti-Trafficking Response Network (WARN) 2011). WARN provides “direct assistance to victims of trafficking” (WARN 2011). Some of these direct services include: urgent response twenty-four hours a day, immigration advocacy, and immediate access to food and shelter (WARN 2011). WARN also provides information on two twenty-four hour hotlines, one for tips and resource information and the other for victims (WARN 2011). Just as the state of Washington as a whole has made definite strides in combating the crime of human trafficking, through organizations such as WARN, the WashACT, and the Washington State Office of the Attorney General, the city of Seattle has also been heavily involved in this fight.

Why Seattle?

Human trafficking in Seattle has been booming for many years. Its geographical location is one of the primary reasons human sex trafficking is able to flourish as it does. The State of “Washington possesses many of the underlying conditions that support trafficking of persons…These conditions contribute to the climate in which the trafficking industry can not only exist, but prosper” (Office of Crime Victims Advocacy 2004, i). As a major port city, Seattle is “one of two major international gateways and hub cities in the northwest region of the United States…” (Office of Crime Victims Advocacy 2004, ii). Being an international gateway allows for victims to be trafficked into the United States from countries throughout the world.
According to the office of Washington State Attorney General Rob McKenna, “Seattle is part of a trafficking circuit that can include Honolulu, Las Vegas, New Orleans, Portland, Vancouver (Clark County), Yakima and Canada” (Washington State Office of the Attorney General 2011).

Much of Seattle’s issue with human sex trafficking occurs in massage parlors, in-home brothels, and nail salons. These problems are in addition to the issue of forced street prostitution. Lieutenant Eric Sano of the Seattle Police Department remarks that the women in the massage parlors, in home brothels, and nail salons tend to range in age from their early 20’s to mid 30’s, whereas the women forced into the occupation of street prostitution tend to be slightly younger, ranging in age from approximately 18 to 25 years old (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication).

Statistics and Data

Regardless of whether one is looking for worldwide, nationwide, or statewide statistics on human trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation, exact numbers are difficult to come by. Citywide statistics and data are no different; in fact, they may be even harder to estimate. Journalist Wenda Reed remarks that this is because nobody counts how many human trafficking victims end up in Seattle “because the number is fluid as people pass through this gateway state on their way to other destinations” (Reed 2010).

On this same issue, Lieutenant Sano states that they truly have no idea of how many individuals are trafficked into and within Seattle each year (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication). Erin Murphy echoes this sentiment.
In terms of policy advocacy, police and others will say that the ‘numbers’ really aren’t important. We know enough to know it’s a big problem and trying to ascertain an exact number is only distracting from what action is required. (Murphy 2011, personal communication)

With regard to Seattle’s statistics, Lieutenant Sano remarks,

It is so underreported and many subjects we believe are being trafficked won’t admit to it out of fear of retaliation. I can tell you that we recovered 81 victims of Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking last year but we know there’s clearly anywhere from 300 – 500 children in the greater Seattle Metropolitan area that are being trafficked for sex. (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication)

While this figure is not inclusive of the number of foreign victims of human trafficking in Seattle, it is still worthwhile to note that Seattle has been one of the most successful cities in the United States to both rescue and offer multi-faceted types of assistance to victims.

The Victim Centered Approach: Why Seattle is Winning with It

Considered by many to be winning the uphill battle against human trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation, Seattle is often referred to as a model city. While there is more than one reason why this is the case, many attribute the victim-centered approach taken by organizations, government agencies, and others within the city to be the main reason Seattle has seen so much success in recent years.

The victim-centered approach focuses on the well being of the victim, starting from the moment of rescue. According to Sergeant Ryan Long of the Seattle Police Department, the primary focus is on “finding and recovering” the victim. Everything else is secondary (Sgt. Long 2011, personal communication). In speaking with Sergeant Long, the overriding theme of the conversation was the idea that his mission as well as the mission of the rest law enforcement in Seattle is to help the victim in any way they can,
and they will go above and beyond what is expected of them in order to accomplish this mission. This mindset and victim centered approach is not only seen at the Seattle Police Department, but through many other agencies and organizations operating within the city of Seattle.

Seattle Against Slavery, founded in 2009, is a grassroots organization aimed at fostering “collaboration in the fight against human trafficking through education, advocacy, and mobilization,” in order to “end slavery around the world, one city at a time” (Seattle Against Slavery 2011). Attempts are made through these collective collaborative efforts, “to raise human trafficking awareness and mobilize the public to better advocate for victims, enhance survivor care, promote legislation to combat human trafficking, and help service providers build capacity” (Seattle Against Slavery 2011). Murphy remarks that the collaboration of agencies and organizations, along with the victim-centered approach, is “amazing” (Murphy 2011, personal communication). She says that the meeting of the minds allows those striving to fight this epidemic to increase community awareness to unbelievable levels (Murphy 2011, personal communication). This ability to raise awareness makes what some believe to be only a “global” problem that happens in Thailand or Cambodia a reality that also occurs at the local level. Making it local is key says Murphy. She believes that the diverse cultures found in Seattle help to localize the problem and bring it home, which increases the likelihood that Seattle residents will pick up the phone and get involved or report a tip to authorities (Murphy 2011, personal communication).

Murphy also believes that the success of SAS is due in part to the city’s overwhelmingly high level of interest in social justice and the ability of the local
residents to see the problem for what it truly is (Murphy 2011, personal communication). She also firmly believes that none of Seattle’s fight to combat human sex trafficking would be possible without the utilization of the victim-centered approach (Murphy 2011, personal communication). Lieutenant Sano echoes this sentiment. He believes simply that if the collaboration between agencies, NGOs and other organizations is non-existent and the victim-centered approach is absent as well, there can only be one outcome; victims will not be recovered and human trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation will continue to proliferate (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication). The adoption of the victim-centered approach as well as collaboration is not strictly limited to local agencies within Seattle. The implementation of these approaches are a result of a trickle down effect starting at the top, in the office of Washington State Attorney General, Rob McKenna.

It is not uncommon for politicians to be heard criminalizing the acts of those who engage in the trafficking of human beings for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation and making powerful, emotionally charged speeches about engaging whole heartedly in the fight to end this criminal activity. Often times, however, the moving speech and the overt gestures of commitment are unfortunately, an elaborate façade for inaction. Often times, critical and necessary actions are not taken and the problem continues to escalate. It is not enough for a politician to make emotional speeches and vow to do something about this problematic issue. In order to actually be successful, they also have to act. Washington State Attorney General Rob McKenna has done and continues to do just this.
“In 2003, Washington was the first state to pass a law criminalizing human trafficking and we have the most stringent law in the country” (Washington State Office of the Attorney General 2011). Under the 2003 law, human trafficking, including sex trafficking, was defined as a serious felony (Washington State Office of the Attorney General 2011). Five years later, after no charges of human trafficking had been filed, Attorney General McKenna decided to readdress the continuing problem and approach it from a different angle (Washington State Office of the Attorney General 2011).

At the AG’s office, we learned the law wasn’t being used because victims of human trafficking were not being recognized as such. Rather, they were being seen as victims of other crimes, such as domestic violence and sexual assault. In April 2008, the Attorney General’s Office convened a roundtable of legislative, law enforcement and social services leaders well versed in the issue of human trafficking to determine ways to integrate efforts. (Washington State Office of the Attorney General 2011)

Rather than just using the lack of criminal charges as an opportunity to not have to address the significant problem of human trafficking, McKenna chose approach the problem from a different angle, one of collaboration, and has since had success in capturing and prosecuting individuals involved in the trafficking of human beings. The collaborative approach, as well as the victim-centered approach, has led to an increase in the types of services available to victims of human trafficking in the city of Seattle. Many of these services would not be as successful as they are without the hard work and extreme dedication of the human trafficking team of the Seattle Police Department.
The Seattle Police Department’s Approach to Human Trafficking: Paving the Way for Law Enforcement Agencies Across the Country

To say that the Seattle Police Department simply believes human sex trafficking is an important problem would be a gross understatement of just how strongly these dedicated officers feel about this issue. To say that they have made the fight against human trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation a top priority would be far more accurate. Seattle Police Department has one dedicated “full-time detective position that specializes in investigating Human Trafficking” (Combating Human Trafficking, 2011). The Seattle Police Department also has an entire human trafficking team led by Lieutenant Sano that focuses all of its attention on working closely with NGOs and other agencies to rescue victims of this growing problem (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication).

Both Lieutenant Sano and Sergeant Long comment that recognizing human sex trafficking as having its own identity is critical to any success in combating this criminal act (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication), (Sgt. Long 2011, personal communication). In former years, all incidents and occurrences of human trafficking were reported to the Vice Crimes Unit. Recently, however, a separate department was created entitled the “High Risk Victims Unit.” This unit focuses solely on the crime of human trafficking. This separation of departments has allowed for more education and training, which has, in turn, led to better equipped officers who are better able to assist victims of human trafficking (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication).
In 2003, the Seattle Police Department was the recipient of a United States Department of Justice grant that focused on human trafficking. The Washington Advisory Committee on Trafficking (WashACT) provides the oversight for the grant (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2010). This grant has allowed for the expansion of the human trafficking program through the Seattle Police Department.

Not only do members of Seattle Police Department’s human trafficking team work closely with other city organizations and agencies, they also work hand in hand with law enforcement agencies on the federal level. An agent of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement Bureau (ICE) is an integral part of Seattle Police Department’s human trafficking team. The unique expertise of ICE agents with immigration law gives rescued victims a level of peace of mind that deportation is not their only option. Having an ICE agent on the team helps reduce the level of fear that a victim may have, as the underlying fear of deportation is one that is instilled on day one by the captors of these victims (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication).

Seattle Police Department’s human trafficking officers recognize the fear and general mistrust that many victims of trafficking associate with law enforcement. It is because of this understanding that they have made several significant changes to the way they operate in order to put the rescued victim at as much ease as they can. All members of the human trafficking team that deal directly with victims wear plain or “soft” clothes instead of uniforms. Uniforms are often times used as a tool for intimidation in the home countries of many victims, and intimidation is not a goal of the department’s human trafficking team (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication).
In addition to the implementation of soft clothes worn by officers on the human trafficking team, translators are brought in for the victim each and every time Seattle Police Department’s human trafficking rescues a victim. Lieutenant Sano remarked that this is possible only because of the incredible level of collaboration with other agencies and organizations throughout the city (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication). Lieutenant Sano says that having someone on scene who speaks the same language as the victims and who can communicate with them in a calm and reassuring manner goes a long way in helping to gain their cooperation, which is the first step in getting them the assistance they need (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication).

Like many other agencies and organizations in the Seattle area, the Seattle Police Department has adopted the victim-centered approach toward human sex trafficking, and it is this approach that Sergeant Ryan Long believes has made much of the difference (Sgt. Long 2011, personal communication). Lieutenant Sano, head of the human trafficking department, echoes this sentiment entirely stating that the success of the department is due to “the right people, doing the right jobs, right now” (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication). Lieutenant Sano remarks that it is the personality characteristics of the officers on his team that continues to determine their high level of success. He states that they are educated, knowledgeable, and compassionate individuals who put the well being of the victim first every time. While acknowledging that catching and prosecuting traffickers is highly important, he remarks that it pales in comparison to helping the victims - physically, mentally, and emotionally (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication).
The Seattle Police Department’s human trafficking team is a part of the Innocence Lost Task Force, an operational partnership with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which “provides a rapid and effective investigative response to reported federal crimes involving the victimization of children” (Federal Bureau of Investigation: Seattle 2011). Federal crimes covered by this operational partnership include those that deal with human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation. The Innocence Lost Task Force is a direct partnership between “the Seattle Police Department vice unit and the Seattle FBI” (Federal Bureau of Investigation: Seattle 2011).

In addition to being a part of this prestigious task force, officers from Seattle Police Department’s human trafficking team have had such great success in their own city that they have been called upon numerous times to share their wealth of information with other municipal law enforcement agencies throughout the country. Lieutenant Sano remarks that the failing of other departments are not difficult to distinguish, as they usually rest upon the fact that there is little to no collaboration between law enforcement and other agencies and NGOs (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication).

The Collaborative Approach: Success Through Cooperation and Respect

Along with the victim-centered approach, Seattle also relies a collaborative approach when working to fight human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation. The city has been extremely successful in utilizing this method to properly identify victims of human sex trafficking quickly without the threat of retraumatization. Seattle has created a collaborative team meets monthly to discuss issues, share strategies, and keep the lines of communication between agencies and organizations open (Sgt.
Long 2011, personal communication). Sergeant Long truly believes that this communication between agencies is what helps to set Seattle apart from other cities fighting this growing problem. Due in part to its high level of success in the fight against human trafficking, the city of Seattle is often referred to as a model for other cities throughout the country.

Members of this collaborative human trafficking team from Seattle have been called upon to share their expertise with other cities within the state of Washington and elsewhere. Unfortunately, the utilization of the collaborative approach in other cities is not always successful. All too often, Lieutenant Sano sees a complete lack of respect between law enforcement and other agencies. He remarks that often times these problems are found in larger cities (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication). This lack of respect, according to Lieutenant Sano, is not only a waste of time, but extremely detrimental to the victims who rely on these agencies to save them from the horrors of their everyday life (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication).

Inter-agency collaboration, along with respect and a thorough understanding of the city’s specific problem of human trafficking, has set Seattle apart from several other cities within the United States. A model city, Seattle has much it can share with others, and its willingness to communicate should be utilized by other major cities within the United States.
The crusade for social justice is by no means a pointless one. As mentioned previously, Erin Murphy of SAS subscribes to the idea that the belief in this cause has helped Seattle tremendously in its fight against human trafficking. It can, however, have its downsides. Murphy explains these by stating that the campaign for social justice often lends itself to having followers who really like the idea of the label of being a believer in social justice, but are not willing to put in any effort beyond just sticking a pin on a backpack. This indirect bandwagon mentality, according to Murphy, can be detrimental to the fight to end human trafficking (Murphy 2011, personal communication).

This mentality, according to Murphy, is ever present in Seattle. Although it never hurts to put a pin on one’s bag or backpack to show commitment to the fight against slavery, Murphy believes that these actions often times stop people from asking the tough questions, the ones that delve into the institutional foundations that result in the continued presence of slavery in the U.S. By identifying with the label as one who is a believer in social justice and by putting a sticker on a water bottle, or a pin on a backpack, people often feel like they’ve done all they can. At the heart of it, though, says Murphy, is a group of people, who, as a whole, are fundamentally afraid to actually talk about the root causes of issues like human trafficking. It is much easier to discuss human trafficking on a surface or superficial level. Discussing ingrained beliefs like those that make human slavery a profitable business is frightening and people do not want to do it (Murphy 2011, personal communication).
Community awareness, unlike generalized campaigns for social justice, says Murphy, is an entirely different thing. There can never be too much awareness for an issue as detrimental to society as human trafficking. (Murphy 2011, personal communication). Murphy hopes that the levels of community awareness seen in Seattle regarding human trafficking will spread to other cities throughout the country, as it can and has led to some pretty amazing success stories (Murphy 2011, personal communication).
CHAPTER IV

SAN FRANCISCO: LEARNING FROM PAST MISTAKES AND MOVING FORWARD IN THE FIGHT AGAINST HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Introduction

Situated at the southern most end of northern California, San Francisco has long been a city known for its unique individuality and belief in equality. Arguably one of the most beautiful cities in the United States, on the surface San Francisco gleams like a beacon of hope for those looking for a better life. There is, however, a darker side of the city that exists in the shadows. This underworld of San Francisco is where human sex trafficking not only exists, but also flourishes. Much like Seattle, San Francisco faces an epidemic of human trafficking in the commercial sex industry. As a major port city, San Francisco is an excellent point of entry for victims of human trafficking. Also like Seattle, the city of San Francisco has taken many steps in the fight against human trafficking.

This chapter provides a detailed case study of San Francisco, regarding its large-scale problem of human trafficking in both foreign and domestic victims. It is divided into the following five sections: (1) an examination of California legislation that
aims to eradicate the problem of human trafficking, (2) a discussion of how San Francisco’s newly adopted victim-centered approach is beginning to provide benefits to victims, (3) a thorough look into the mindset and approach of the San Francisco Police Department as it relates to human sex trafficking, (4) an explanation of San Francisco’s attempts to form collaborations that will attempt to help serve victims of human trafficking in the best possible way, and (5) a discussion of the continuing problems San Francisco faces in combating this crime due in part to its role as a sanctuary city.

California Human Trafficking Legislation

Within the last decade, the state of California has taken several direct steps toward combating human trafficking. Among these advances were “Senate Bill (SB) 180 and Assembly Bill (AB) 22” (Wagner 2010, 15). Both SB 180 and AB 22 made human trafficking a state level offense as well as helped to provide “law enforcement training to successfully detect, investigate and prosecute trafficking crimes” (Wagner 2010, 15). Out of this legislation came the California Alliance to Combat Trafficking and Slavery Task Force (CA ACTS) (Wagner 2010, 15). The CA ACTS is tasked with studying “the problem of human trafficking” as well as developing “strategies for combating the crime” (Wagner 2010, 15). Due in part to reports prepared by the CA ACTS in 2007, further legislation was enacted that increased the types and levels of assistance for victims (Wagner 2010, 15).

Included in this continuing legislation was SB 1569, which establishes “California’s Trafficking and Crime Victims Assistance Program, or TCVAP, which provides state-funded benefits and services to noncitizen victims of human trafficking,
domestic violence, or other serious crimes…” (Wagner 2010, 15). Under the TCVAP, several services are available to noncitizen victims of human trafficking (Wagner 2010, 15-16).

California has taken several steps in the fight against human trafficking. While several cities in the U.S. have gone further, San Francisco is still one of the more proactive cities within the state of California. In the next section, I will examine several programs and organizations related to the problem of human trafficking within the city of San Francisco.

The Victim Centered Approach: A Newly Adopted Approach for the City of San Francisco

The victim-centered approach to combating human trafficking has not always been the adopted method for the city of San Francisco. In fact, the adoption of this method is fairly recent (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). To say, however, that agencies and organizations fighting human trafficking have not always made the victim a priority would be unfair, as well as a mistake. What is fair to say is that San Francisco has long struggled with the battle between those who chose to see these individuals involved in human sex trafficking as victims and those who would adopt a more libertarian approach. Those adhering to the libertarian approach strive to protect San Francisco as a “sex-friendly city” (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). These libertarian arguments are hard to refute on face value alone as San Francisco, as a city, strives to maintain an attitude that whatever happens between two consenting adults is no one’s business (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). As Sergeant
Vanderbilt remarks, it is when one actually stops and takes a closer look at these arguments that they begin to lose their validity (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). As a former victim of human trafficking from the San Francisco area remarked, “most customers come into a massage parlor thinking nothing is wrong; that it’s a job we choose…it doesn’t occur to them that we are slaves” (Humantrafficking.org, 2006). For many years, the libertarian approach was the prevailing attitude regarding human sex trafficking, and to a large extent, it still is, thus treating these women as victims is not always common practice (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). Fortunately, for these women and those striving to help them, views are changing. Due in part to the long-standing libertarian viewpoint of the city of San Francisco, and the desire of many to look at what happens in massage parlors as consensual acts between two adults, statistics relating to human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation are, at best, difficult to come by. According to researcher Christine Frey, “the actual scope of human trafficking in San Francisco is unknown. Data on the number of trafficking cases in the city is limited, and the data that is available provides varied estimates” (Frey 2010, 3). Sergeant Vanderbilt concurs that nongovernmental organizations often report much higher incidents of human trafficking than do other agencies. He states that “NGOs inflate the amount of individuals trafficked into San Francisco on a regular basis. They play fast and loose with the numbers and it is just not necessary” (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). While critical of the reporting methods of these agencies, Sergeant Vanderbilt understands the reasoning behind them. More victims usually equal more attention, which tends to lend itself to more resources being allocated to the cause. Even so, he believes that truthful and honest
reporting methods will lead the city down the right path, without the potential fallout from inaccurate reporting (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication).

Within San Francisco, numerous individuals, non-profit organizations, and city government organizations have made significant advances in assisting victims of human sex trafficking. These advances, according to Sergeant Vanderbilt, have not been easy. (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). As he puts it, with regard to combating human sex trafficking, “the city of San Francisco is learning from past experiences, and it’s far from simple” (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). When asked if there was one such past incident he could speak to, Sergeant Vanderbilt was quick to turn to a case that occurred in 2005, commonly referred to as “Gilded Cage” (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication).

In 2005, “a force of 400 federal and local law officers raided 11 suspected brothels and arrested 27 suspects in what was described as a major Bay Area sex trafficking operation…” (Van Derbeken and Kim 2005). Out of this raid, law enforcement officers “found more than 100 women working as prostitutes at 10 San Francisco massage parlors and one in Emeryville” (Van Derbeken and Kim 2005). On the surface, this raid would appear to have been highly successful, and in certain aspects it was. Because of the raid on the San Francisco massage parlors, human sex trafficking became a much more visible issue (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). According to Sergeant Vanderbilt, “Gilded Cage” fell apart in the details, and in human trafficking cases, it is often times the details that make the difference (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). He remarks that attorneys in the “Gilded Cage” found themselves triaging the victims who were also their potential legal clients, creating a large conflict of
interest. For the federal law enforcement officers working on the case, triaging these women created more questions than answers or solutions. Attorneys were responsible for figuring out the following three things: Who would cooperate? Who would be willing to testify? And who wanted absolutely nothing to do with the investigation at all? Without precedent on how to best accomplish this, “Gilded Cage” turned from a potential milestone in combating human sex trafficking to a complete collapse of interagency communication that left victims stranded (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication).

In 2006, one year after operation “Gilded Cage” occurred, no one involved had faced trial and most faced minimal punishments that resulted in “either less than a year in custody” and fines “less than $5,000” (Humantrafficking.org, News and Updates 2006) “Today, seven of the 10 alleged San Francisco brothels raided in Operation Gilded Cage are still open for business…” (humantrafficking.org, News and Updates 2006). The victims found in “Operation Gilded Cage” did not fare much better. As of 2006, only a handful of the victims had applied for the T-Visa and many of the women returned to the lifestyle they had been rescued from, due mainly to the fact that working in massage parlors was the only way they knew how to survive in the U.S. (humantrafficking.org, News and Updates 2006).

Cases like “Gilded Cage” have led the city to adopt a more victim-centered approach in the fight against human sex trafficking (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). Sergeant Vanderbilt notes that the victim-centered approach is “pretty much the industry standard nowadays, and the city of San Francisco is adhering to it the best they can” (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). Although it’s not ideal,
Sergeant Vanderbilt remarks that sometimes treating a victim of human trafficking like a criminal is, at first, inevitable, but the payoff can be worth it in the long run. Cases of human trafficking often begin as a criminal investigation; therefore victims are treated as such (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). If he has to arrest the women and keep them in jail overnight until he can figure out services for them, Sergeant Vanderbilt says he has no qualms about doing just that. While he realizes that victims might not understand his process right away, he is hopeful that over time they come to understand why he did what he felt he had to do, and that ultimately, he was just trying to save them from returning to the deplorable conditions they came from (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). He says that it is in times like this, where members of his team are striving to adhere to the victim-centered approach, that the demeanor of the officer is critical. There can be no judgment, as judgment only leads to uncooperative victims (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication).

San Francisco Police Department: An Approach of Compassionate Care by Dedicated Individuals

The law enforcement community within San Francisco has become directly involved in the fight to end human trafficking. The San Francisco Police Department’s Vice Crimes Unit, headed up by Sergeant Arlin Vanderbilt and his partners, has completely redirected its approach to identifying and assisting victims of human trafficking as well as prosecuting those responsible (Sgt. Arlin Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). In 2005, the San Francisco Police Department released a department bulletin that outlined the problem of human trafficking, indicators that officers should
look for that may indicate when an individual is a victim, as well as approaches officers should take when dealing with both victims and potential victims. The department bulletin delineates how officers should go about reporting potential cases of human trafficking. The bulletin states that all San Francisco Police Department officers are required to complete necessary paperwork and to contact the Vice Crimes Unit when investigating a case of human trafficking (San Francisco Police Department, Department Bulletin 2005, 1-2). The Vice Crimes Unit has also established a tip line that is available for both victims of human trafficking as well as those wishing to report a case or a suspected case of human trafficking (San Francisco Police Department, Department Bulletin 2005, 1-2). See attached bulletin.

Because of measures taken by the department, as outlined in the bulletin, Sergeant Vanderbilt believes that he and his fellow officers have a pretty good picture of human trafficking as it relates to the street situation, which refers to street level prostitution, where the women are controlled by pimps who are, more often than not, extremely violent. He remarks that the street situation inherently provides a model that is easier to combat as it is not as secretive as other forms of human trafficking (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). He states that the sex trade that occurs within the city’s massage parlors and in-home brothels is a problem of another kind, one that is shrouded in secrecy and sophistication (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). Ten years ago, says Sergeant Vanderbilt, law enforcement officers were rescuing victims of human trafficking from basements and false walls of businesses. This, he says, is no longer the reality. Traffickers are much more sophisticated in their operations than they used to be, and the intense rise in the utilization of cell phones by pimps and traffickers
has made it that much harder to catch. Rescuing victims from situations like these requires time and money, something that Sergeant Vanderbilt says there just isn’t enough of (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). He remarks that in an ideal world he would be able to design and set up a local federal task force that would focus solely on the issue of human trafficking within the city’s limits. He would keep the task force small, focused, and flexible, with local and federal law enforcement officers working together every day to eradicate the problem of human trafficking (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). This, however, Sergeant Vanderbilt realizes all too clearly, is not the reality. Fortunately, however, the reality facing the San Francisco Police Department is getting better. Sergeant Vanderbilt appreciates the collaborative efforts being made within the city to combat human trafficking. He acknowledges, however, that while interagency working relations are good, they could be much better. Elaborating on this, Sergeant Vanderbilt says that while breakdowns in interagency communications are in and of themselves frustrating, they become especially infuriating when one looks at them from the perspective that every time communication fails, victims or potential victims of human trafficking are more than likely left to fend for themselves. This feeling of helplessness, Sergeant Vanderbilt says, is most definitely not the goal of the San Francisco Police Department, or of any other agency working to aid and assist victims of human trafficking (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication).

As Sergeant Vanderbilt is quick to acknowledge, he is sure that some NGOs within the city have “their gripes” with the way his department conducts its business (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011 personal communication). He knows that the system is not perfect and makes no attempt to conceal that fact. He also acknowledges that police have their
complaints about working with NGOs as well. Vanderbilt sees weaknesses on the services side of the effort to combat human trafficking. He remarks that more often than not, shelters are not equipped to deal with victims of human trafficking. Used to dealing with victims of domestic violence who do not stay in shelters all that long, service providers often become resentful of human trafficking victims as they tend to require services for a much longer period of time (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). Because of this inability to properly assist victims of human trafficking, Sergeant Vanderbilt says that the women he rescues often spend the night at the police station or in a homeless shelter, neither of which is a desirable outcome, for the police or the victim (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2100, personal communication). All too often, the women Sergeant Vanderbilt and his team attempt to help end up leaving the shelters in the middle of the night (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). When asked why this is, Sergeant Vanderbilt replies that most victims of human trafficking suffer from a severe form of Stockholm syndrome (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). The term Stockholm syndrome was generated shortly after a 1973 bank robbery in Sweden, where bank employees were held for five days. When rescued and questioned by authorities, the hostages sided with and defended the bank robbers (De Fabrique, Romano, Vecchi and Van Hasselt 2007, 11). According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation,

People view Stockholm syndrome as a psychological response of a hostage or an individual in a similar situation in which the more dominant person has the power to put the victim’s life in danger. Perpetrators occasionally use this advantage to get victims to comply with their demands. (De Fabrique, Romano, Vecchi and Van Hasselt 2007, 11)
Sergeant Vanderbilt says this ability to convince human trafficking victims to comply with the demands of the traffickers happens on a regular basis and that traffickers have become so sophisticated in their methods that they no longer need to rely solely on overt means of coercion to gain compliance. He remarks that the traffickers he deals with are so adept in manipulation that often times the women unknowingly find themselves deeply attached to their traffickers that they lie for them, and upon leaving the shelters, run straight back to the massage parlors or the brothels (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication).

While traffickers are effectively using methods of coercion that are covert in nature, it does not trivialize the overt methods that they utilize on their victims from the start. Overt means of coercion used by traffickers have caused numerous problems for the San Francisco Police Department. Sergeant Vanderbilt recognizes that the level of fear in the victims is almost incomprehensible (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). The fear of deportation and retaliation runs rampant in the underworld ring of human trafficking within San Francisco, much like it does in Seattle. It is because of this that Sergeant Vanderbilt firmly believes that building a rapport and a level of trust with the victims has to be the number one goal of everyone on his team. He believes it is crucial to make sure the victims understand that he and his team are not there to take advantage of them in any way and that revictimization is not their goal. Sergeant Vanderbilt and his officers approach every situation with compassion and understanding (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). Similar to the human trafficking team in Seattle, the San Francisco Police Department attempts to have a capable police interpreter available to all victims in order to increase their level of comfort in an already uncomfortable situation.
Police interpreters are a viable methodology for the San Francisco Police Department as they, unlike the Seattle Police Department, do not have translators at the ready for every case. This approach of having an interpreter is not only used to benefit the victims, but it also has the added benefit of helping the police as well. If a level of comfort and trust can be created between the victims and the translator, it is much more likely that the victims will provide enough necessary information so that police can proceed with apprehending the trafficker (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication).

Overall, Sergeant Vanderbilt is proud of the strides the San Francisco Police Department has made. He states that he gets two to three calls per month reporting incidents of human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation. While he says that this may not seem like much, it is more than they were getting in years past. He believes this is due in part to the changing attitudes of the community regarding this criminal act as well as the growing awareness that the San Francisco Police Department takes this issue seriously and has the ability and the determination to combat it (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). Sergeant Vanderbilt firmly believes that “through continued hard work, and maybe some additional funding, the police department, in conjunction with other agencies and advocates, can help to efficiently fight the problem of human trafficking” (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication).

The Collaborative Approach: A City’s Struggle for Enhanced Victim Assistance through Better Communication

In San Francisco, the collaborative approach is one that is fairly new, but one that is making great strides (Janourova 2011, personal communication). One organization
that acts as an umbrella organization to many other agencies and smaller organizations within the city of San Francisco is the San Francisco Collaborative Against Human Trafficking (SFCAHT) (Janourova 2011, personal communication). The San Francisco Collaborative Against Human Trafficking acts as a directory for all services available to victims of human trafficking. SFCAHT is a fairly new organization, in existence since January of 2010 (Janourova 2011, personal communication). It is the “first local partnership of its kind” (Frey 2010, 1) and,

. . . is committed to ending human trafficking through collaboration, education, outreach, advocacy, and supporting survivors of human trafficking by taking a zero tolerance stance on exploitation, violence, and human trafficking. (Janourova 2011, personal communication)

The collaborative is made up of many prominent individuals and agencies within the San Francisco community, including the office of the District Attorney, the Mayor’s Office, the Human Rights Commission, the San Francisco Police Department, and the Department of Public Health (SFCAHT Directory of Services for Survivors of Human Trafficking 2011, 44). In 2010, in collaboration with SFCAHT, the city of San Francisco, “participated in a month-long awareness campaign… which included public appearances by the Mayor, District Attorney and Chief of Police” (Frey 2010, 7).

Founded in 1975, Asian Pacific Islander Legal Outreach (API Legal Outreach) is a community-based organization committed to social justice for the disenfranchised within the greater Bay Area (API Legal Outreach 2010). API Legal Outreach recognizes that the scope of the human trafficking problem is overwhelming and that there is much work to be done in order to eliminate it (API Legal Outreach 2010). API Legal Outreach approaches the problem of human trafficking from two
angles; attempting to “reach and eliminate the source of human trafficking” and to “ensure the safety and well-being of the victims” (API Legal Outreach 2010). It is because of this two-pronged approach that API Legal Outreach has established and implemented a multi-layered strategy within their “Anti-Trafficking project to deal with the numerous issues involved in human trafficking” (API Legal Outreach 2010). This multi-layered strategy utilizes advanced technologies, policy advocacy at all levels, as well as “continuing community education and outreach to sister agencies and the general public” (API Legal Outreach 2010).

API Legal Outreach’s human trafficking division provides “legal representation to these individuals to stabilize their immigration status, protect and advocate for them during the ensuing criminal investigation and prosecution…” (API Legal Outreach 2010). API Legal Outreach is “the only legal organization in the entire state of California that provides comprehensive legal services to victims of human trafficking” (API Legal Outreach 2010). The success of this organization has led to its recognition by the United States Department of Justice. API Legal Outreach is one of only three “programs in the entire country to be replicated on a national basis” (API Legal Outreach 2010).

Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE), a San Francisco based non-profit organization, is another San Francisco agency that focuses its attention whole heartedly on the issue of human trafficking issue for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) in both children and adults (Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE) 2011).
Founded by a victim of commercial sexual exploitation, SAGE is a survivor centric based organization that forges a unique collaboration between law enforcement, public health, social services, and private agencies…it’s about restorative justice that benefits individual communities and the whole of our society. (SAGE 2011)

In addition to the survivor-centered foundation, the level of personal experience with commercial sexual exploitation “possessed by many on the SAGE team” helps to provide support to victims of human trafficking “without re-traumatizing even the most fragile of clients” (SAGE 2011). The organization works directly with several hundred victims each week, both women and children, and indirectly with many more through collaborative efforts with other organizations within the city of San Francisco (SAGE 2011).

San Francisco as a Sanctuary City: A Double Edged Sword

While the city of San Francisco is not the only sanctuary city within the United States, it is certainly one of the more well known. Sanctuary cities began to appear in the 1980s as a result of the Sanctuary Movement, which was spearheaded by faith communities across the country. The movement was designed to provide “refuge to Central Americans fleeing civil wars in their countries” (San Francisco General Services Agency 2011). In San Francisco, a sanctuary ordinance was passed in 1989 that “prohibits City employees from helping Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) with immigration investigations or arrests unless such help is required by federal or state law or a warrant” (San Francisco General Services Agency 2011). Four years ago, in February of 2007, “San Francisco’s commitment to immigrant communities” was reaffirmed when former Mayor, Gavin Newsom “issued an executive Order that called
upon City departments to develop protocol and training on the Sanctuary Ordinance” (San Francisco General Services Agency 2011).

In many aspects, being a sanctuary city has been a positive experience for the city. When referring to the aspect of human trafficking, however, Sergeant Vanderbilt says that this could not be further from the truth (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). Because it is a sanctuary city, San Francisco has policies in place that prevent the police department from working with federal law enforcement agencies to combat problems. This has been especially problematic in the department’s attempts to combat human trafficking (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication).

Until late 2009, when the San Francisco Police Department was the recipient of a grant that allowed it to work with agencies like ICE in special circumstances, the department was limited to its relatively low level of expertise on the area of immigration as it related to victims of human trafficking (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). This lack of knowledge regarding immigration issues by police officers only added to the already high levels of fear felt by victims. Without the help of ICE agents, victims would rarely cooperate for fear of deportation. Now, due in large part to the grant received, ICE agents are able to be on scene and explain to victims what will happen and because of this thorough explanation, the threat of deportation is greatly diminished, enhancing the likelihood that victims will cooperate with an investigation (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication).

Moving forward, Sergeant Vanderbilt is hopeful that things will only get better and easier, both for the police officers trying to fight these criminal acts, and for the victims who live a life filled with the terror associated with constant threats to their
lives. Cautiously optimistic, Sergeant Vanderbilt remarks, “there is more work to be done…it’s tough” (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). When asked why he continues to fight this seemingly endless battle, Sergeant Vanderbilt remarks simply that he does it “because it’s the right thing to do” (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). Sergeant Vanderbilt also says that those who want hard numbers in order to prove human trafficking is a problem are not approaching the problem from the correct perspective. Sergeant Vanderbilt says, “You don’t need to throw out astonishing numbers to prove it’s a real problem – one girl being pimped out is too many” (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication).

In the following chapter, I will provide a discussion of both similarities and possible disparities in services available to victims of human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation in Seattle and San Francisco. I will include a discussion of potential reasons why disparities between the two cities exist and what individuals working in the field feel should be done to eliminate them. This final chapter will also include a discussion of where future research on the general subject of human trafficking should go.
CHAPTER V

A COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING POLICIES IN SEATTLE AND SAN FRANCISCO

Overview

Within the body of this study, I have completed case studies of Seattle, and San Francisco, with regard to their city specific problems with human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation. The remainder of this chapter is broken down into the following four sections: (1) the similarities and disparities found between the cities of Seattle and San Francisco with regard to the services available to victims of human trafficking as well as the attitudes of those working to combat this problematic issue, (2) a discussion of the potential reasons why these disparities exist, (3) an examination of what individuals working in the field of human trafficking feel should be done to help eradicate the problem, both globally and domestically, and (4) a look at the direction possible future research should go take. I will first begin with a detailed look into the ideological similarities and disparities between Seattle, and San Francisco, and then move into a discussion of the similarities and differences found within the respective cities’ police departments.
Law Enforcement Approaches to Human Trafficking by Police Departments in Seattle and San Francisco

After completing several interviews, both over the phone and in person, as well as conducting extensive research on both cities’ approaches to combating the issue of human sex trafficking, it is clear that while there are numerous similarities in the manner in which each city is fighting this problem, there are also noticeable differences that have had a significant impact on the progress each city has been able to make. It is important to understand that this discussion of similarities and disparities is not meant in any way, to criticize the actions of a city, but to provide a better understanding of what is working and what approaches may need to be shifted in order to achieve better results. I will first begin with a discussion of the ideological similarities that can be found between Seattle and San Francisco, with regard to their approaches to combating human sex trafficking.

Both Seattle and San Francisco have adopted the victim-centered approach as their method of choice for attempting to provide assistance and aid to victims of human trafficking. While Seattle has been utilizing this approach for a much longer period of time than San Francisco, agencies and organizations within both cities have recognized that the victim-centered approach garners them the most positive results. Law enforcement officials in both cities acknowledge that in order for the victim-centered approach to work effectively, there cannot be any pre-conceived notions of what a victim of human trafficking should look like. Officers at both the Seattle and San Francisco Police Department’s wholly adhere to the idea that officer demeanor is critical, and that with the wrong demeanor, law enforcement runs the risk of reinforcing an already
existing level of fear and mistrust, which, in turn, can lead to victims who simply will not talk or provide law enforcement with necessary information. Both human trafficking teams at each police department completely understand and fully appreciate the fact that making it comfortable for victims to share their stories is never easy. As Sergeant Vanderbilt puts it, “you have to talk to these victims just as if you were a doctor talking to a patient…there are extremely uncomfortable questions that unfortunately have to be asked” (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication).

Both human trafficking teams at these police departments have also adopted the practice of wearing plain or soft clothes while talking to victims in order to further create a level of trust. This helps to further the goals of the victim-centered approach as it strives to reduce levels of fear and distrust that victims may have with individuals in uniform. Just as both cities have adopted the victim-centered approach in order to combat human trafficking, organizations and agencies within each city have also embraced a collaborative effort in order to enhance the accessibility of services as well as the speed at which they are available to victims of human trafficking.

Both Seattle and San Francisco have managed to create successful collaborations between agencies and organizations that have enhanced cooperation in such a manner that many more victims of human sex trafficking have been rescued and given assistance and support. Similar to the adoption of the victim-centered approach, Seattle succeeded San Francisco in the implementation of this approach as well. All individuals that were interviewed strongly believe that through cooperation and respect between agencies, the problem of human trafficking can be addressed in a much more efficient manner. As Lieutenant Sano remarks, “a lack of respect between NGOs and law
enforcement agencies can only lead to failure, and failure does not help the victims” (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication). Carrie Dickenson, co-president of the San Francisco Bay Area Chapter of the UN Women National Committee, echoed this opinion in remarking that the successes San Francisco has had in combating human need to be credited, at least in part, to the enhanced collaborative efforts being made on the parts of city-wide agencies and organizations (Dickenson 2011, personal communication). The collaborative approach to fighting human trafficking would not be possible if there were not individuals within both Seattle and San Francisco who believe whole heartedly in the cause.

As Sergeant Long says, “we have the right people, doing the right jobs, right now” (Sgt. Long 2011, personal communication). According to Sergeant Vanderbilt, in order to successfully fight back against traffickers who are constantly becoming more and more sophisticated in their methods of manipulating the women they force into sexual slavery, individuals working in the field need to have that much more compassion and understanding for the victims (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). “The passing of any level of judgment is unacceptable, and will only diminish the chances of cooperation on the part of the victim” (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). After examining the many similarities between both Seattle, and San Francisco, I will now look at the disparities and differences found while conducting my research.

While Seattle and San Francisco have adopted both the victim-centered and collaborative approaches to combating human sex trafficking, both cities have gone about the adoption of these guiding principles in different manners. Within the adoption of the victim-centered approach, the city of Seattle has decided that the needs of the victim are
primary, and everything else is secondary. These secondary issues include prosecuting those who commit the acts of trafficking (Sgt. Long 2011, personal communication). San Francisco, on the other hand, according to Sergeant Vanderbilt, places equal importance on the prosecution side as well as the rescue and assistance side of human trafficking (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). In addition to these differences, Seattle has taken the victim-centered approach to mean that there is absolutely no revictimization of a trafficked individual. This is accomplished through exemplary collaboration, cooperation, and respect between agencies and organizations within the city (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication).

From the interviews conducted in both cities, it appears that Seattle has established more successful collaborations between agencies and organizations than San Francisco. This difference has had a significant impact on the number of victims each city has been able to rescue and provide assistance to. The city of Seattle has designated shelters specifically designed to accommodate victims of human trafficking while San Francisco does not. The city of San Francisco often has to resort to sending these women to shelters for victims of domestic violence, homeless shelters, or even placing them in jail until services can be provided. Because of this lack of adequate shelter for victims of human trafficking, the women often run away in the middle of the night and return to the life officers and other individuals work so diligently to rescue them from. This noticeably reduces the number of victims that the city of San Francisco can assist. Sergeant Vanderbilt equates this to problems in communication and a side effect of still working out the kinks of inter-agency collaboration (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication).
When faced with the successes other major metropolitan cities within the United States have had with combating human trafficking, in comparison to the city of San Francisco, Sergeant Vanderbilt is not discouraged. In fact, he is cautiously optimistic. This optimism stems from the belief that “these disparities are not impossible to overcome…it’s tough and it’s not simple, but we talk about fighting human trafficking, we say we’re doing it, so shouldn’t we actually be fighting as hard as we can be to eliminate this problem?” (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication).

Similarities and Disparities in Service Approaches in Seattle and San Francisco

While many of the policies and approaches of both the Seattle and San Francisco Police Departments are similar in nature and design, the manner in which officers in both departments go about the implementation process is where the differences become most apparent. As was mentioned earlier, the Seattle Police Department has fully adopted the victim-centered approach into every policy relating to human trafficking. This includes a zero tolerance policy of revictimizing the trafficked individual. Sergeant Vanderbilt takes a slightly different approach.

Sergeant Vanderbilt says that if he has to resort to placing a victim in jail overnight in order to get her off the streets or out of a massage parlor, he will act with little to no hesitation even though others may view his actions as unsympathetic or callous (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). While he understands this opposing viewpoint, he sees his method as rescuing the victim from her personal torment by whatever means necessary (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). While
Sergeant Vanderbilt feels that increased collaborative efforts made within the last few years in San Francisco have lessened the chance that he will have to place a victim in jail overnight, he is still somewhat skeptical of the overriding goals of some non-governmental organizations he comes into contact with. One organization in particular, whose name will not be revealed for the purpose of anonymity, criticizes Sergeant Vanderbilt’s actions on a regular basis and takes the stance that letting victims remain on the streets or in a brothel is preferable to putting them in jail for a night (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). Sergeant Vanderbilt believes that agencies such as this only serve to weaken collaborative efforts in San Francisco and are primarily interested in publicity and have an ultimate goal of looking good rather than doing good, which counters his ideology that personal gain is not the goal (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). This skepticism of certain NGOs is where Seattle and San Francisco differ significantly. When speaking with Sergeant Long, Lieutenant Sano and Erin Murphy, all had nothing but tremendous praise for the collaborative efforts made by the city of Seattle. As Murphy puts it, “the collaboration with other agencies and organizations is amazing” (Murphy 2011, personal communication).

Potential Reasons for Differences and Disparities

Acquiring the resources to effectively fight human trafficking on a global or domestic level is complex. Sergeant Vanderbilt notes that it takes an incredible amount of salesmanship to get the resources needed to fight this problem (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). If salesmanship is the prerequisite for allocating resources, it could be argued that Seattle is the better salesman of the two cities. As was stated earlier,
Seattle has shelters specifically designated for victims of human trafficking, whereas San Francisco does not. The city of Seattle has resources for victims of human trafficking that make it a model city for other major metropolitan areas around the United States (Murphy 2011, personal communication).

The city of Seattle, unlike San Francisco, is not hindered by an overriding libertarian approach to questionable adult actions. San Francisco has long prided itself on being one of the most sex-friendly cities in the world (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). This prevailing ideology has made the job of salesperson even more difficult for those working in the field of human trafficking within the city of San Francisco.

Lastly, it would appear that Seattle has taken a more proactive approach when it comes to rescuing victims of human trafficking. Sergeant Long of the Seattle Police Department notes that while he cannot disclose specifics, he can say that the human trafficking team of the Seattle Police Department has adopted many innovative, but still legal, strategies to sourcing out victims of human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation (Sgt. Long 2011, personal communication). San Francisco, on the other hand, takes a much more standard or reactive approach, waiting for a tip and then acting accordingly (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication).

**Future Policy Proposals**

In an ideal world, human trafficking would not exist. Unfortunately, reality is not often ideal, and in order to effectively deal with the reality of human trafficking, people need to stop looking at the superficial issues and start asking the right questions.
about the illegal sale of human beings for sex is so prevalent within the global society (Murphy 2011, personal communication). The right questions, according to Murphy, are those that get to the root of the issue. Sadly, Murphy says, people would much rather just pin a button on a backpack and identify with the cause of standing against human trafficking this manner rather than asking the hard questions, the ones that could actually lead to self-sustaining solutions to the problem (Murphy 2011, personal communication). The hard questions, says Murphy, deal with issues such as institutionalized racism and classism. These issues signify deeply ingrained societal beliefs that most people are too scared to acknowledge exist within the confines of the supposedly morally progressive United States (Murphy 2011, personal communication). Until people begin to ask these hard questions, says Murphy, it can be expected that human trafficking for all purposes, and specifically for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation, will continue to run rampant and affect millions of innocent lives every year (Murphy 2011, personal communication). Along with the insight and proposals from Murphy, numerous other scholars and researchers have proposed several policy solutions about what needs to be done in order to more successfully and effectively combat this problem.

Better identification of potential victims of human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation is critical. Through better identification, more victims can be rescued and receive the assistance and support they need in order to successfully transition from a life of slavery to one of freedom. Scholar Elizabeth Hopper echoes this sentiment within the following passage from an article entitled, *Underidentification of Human Trafficking Victims in the United States*. Hopper suggests that in order to improve the identification of human trafficking victims, organizations and agencies need to
develop “proactive victim identification programs” (Hopper 2004, 129). Hopper gives an example of one organization that is attempting to do just this. She writes of an organization in Washington DC that “has recently developed an alert system that utilizes media and personal connections to identify potential trafficking cases” (Hopper 2004, 129) Scholars Jini Roby, Jennifer Turley and Joanna Cloward offer another suggestion as to how to better identify victims of human trafficking in the United States. They suggest that, “victims should be assisted for the harm they have suffered, rather than primarily as law enforcement and prosecution tools” (Roby, Turley and Cloward 2008, 508). This suggestion is in response to the T-Visa requirement that in order to be eligible, victims of human trafficking must assist law enforcement in any way possible (Hepburn and Simon 2010, 8). While this may prove to be a challenging issue, it is a critical one.

In order for victims of human trafficking to receive proper assistance, they need to be first properly identified by law enforcement officials, whether at the federal, state or local level. This, remarks Lieutenant Sano, can only be done through extensive training and education on the issue, something most local police departments do not have (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication). Without a specific level of acquired education on the issue of human trafficking, Lieutenant Sano says many victims are simply arrested for the criminal act of prostitution and prosecuted as such, when in reality they have been held captive and forced into this horrifying profession (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication). This education for law enforcement officials, while not readily available in many departments, can be acquired through an enhanced collaborative effort of nongovernmental agencies and other organizations that work to combat human trafficking. Increased collaboration by agencies and organizations is another way in
which to help the identification process of human trafficking victims. In addition, this enhanced collaboration can ultimately lead to better services and increased levels of support being provided to these individuals.

Scholar Elizabeth Hopper reiterates this point when she writes, “service providers and advocates should focus on the establishment of networks to facilitate data-sharing and service-building” (Hopper 2004, 134). Hopper continues on to note that, “The development of such networks will allow national resources to filter down, leading to an increased local impact” (Hopper 2004, 134). This idea of data-sharing and service-building was reaffirmed in a 2007 Government Accountability Office Report, in which the authors write that several federal agencies “have identified the need to advance and expand U.S. efforts to combat human trafficking through more collaborative and proactive strategies to identify trafficking victims” (GAO-07-915 2007). Services, support and assistance are all critical elements to successfully combating human trafficking, and without interagency collaboration and cooperation, victims will continue to have to face this horrible reality on their own (Lt. Sano 2011, personal communication).

Future Research Possibilities

Human sex trafficking in the United States is only one aspect of a multi-faceted problem. Human trafficking for the purpose of forced labor and domestic minor sex trafficking are other areas of the problem that are most certainly worthy of extensive research. According to Sergeant Long, trafficking individuals into forced labor is just as prevalent, if not more so, than trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual
exploitation (Sgt. Long 2011, personal communication). Future research would be wise to explore these areas in order to gain a more accurate overall picture of the problem of global human trafficking. I believe it would be not only interesting, but also worthwhile, to explore the potential disparities between services offered to juvenile victims of human trafficking to their adult counterparts, as well as doing a comparative study of the European Union’s approach to combating human trafficking to the approach of the United States. Numerous metropolitan areas within Europe have severe problems with human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation. The United Kingdom is one such hot bed area. In an article entitled, Fine Words on a Filthy Trade, author Kira Cochrane describes the disdainful underworld of human sex trafficking in the United Kingdom in a shockingly descriptive manner.

It is very difficult to get precise figures for how many women and girls are trafficked here each year, although it’s widely accepted that numbers run into the thousands. Prostitution and the trafficking of women is the third most lucrative trade for the global “black market” (after arms and drugs), which is far from surprising, considering the Metropolitan Police’s estimate that trafficked women in London are obliged to have sex with between 20 and 30 men a day. I say “have sex”. But, of course, for women who have been forced into prostitution, lured with the promise of jobs as waitresses and nannies – who have never consented to working in a brothel an have often been gang-raped by their captors and locked up – what’s really happening when buyers visit them is that they are being raped. Repeatedly. Hundreds of times a week. (2007, 22-23).

Another area of potential research lies in the ability to successfully prosecute cases of human trafficking on a domestic level. Sergeant Vanderbilt notes that prosecuting individuals charged with human trafficking is extremely difficult, as the cases are not clear-cut. Unlike narcotics cases, which rarely have victims and are much more simple and straightforward, human trafficking cases rely heavily on the testimony of scared individuals who do not trust nor likely understand the process of the justice
system in the United States (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication).

Additionally, district attorneys are not accustomed to prosecuting cases of human trafficking. This lack of familiarity leads district attorneys to prosecute the types of cases they know they can win, in short, narcotics cases (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication).

**Conclusion**

While this study focused on only one aspect of human trafficking, that of the commercial sex trade of women, it did ultimately prove that disparities do exist in the services offered to, and the attitudes toward victims of human trafficking in two major United States cities, Seattle and San Francisco. Though I did not enter into this research with any beliefs or pre-conceived notions that one city would ultimately be more successful in combating human trafficking than the other, I did believe that city ideology, the level of knowledge of the problem by law enforcement agencies, and the extent to which organizations within the individual cities collaborated with each other would play a major role in how successful or, conversely, unsuccessful they would be. While there are noticeable similarities in the approaches to combating human trafficking in both Seattle and San Francisco, my research shows that there are also considerable differences. These differences have played a key role in the differing levels of success each city has had in fighting this growing problem.

Seattle is living up to its identity as a model city for successfully combating human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation. Collaboration and cooperation between agencies and organizations is remarkably and impressively high
and, according to those interviewed, it is still expanding and continuing to grow (Murphy 2011, personal communication). The notoriety of Seattle’s success is spreading, and agencies like the Office of the Attorney General for the State of Washington and the Seattle Police Department are serving as model establishments for other cities and states throughout the country. The city of San Francisco, while embodying many of the same underlying principals as Seattle, has not yet enjoyed similar high levels of success in combating human trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation.

San Francisco, with its slightly less strict adherence to the victim-centered approach and its somewhat struggling inter-agency cooperation and collaboration, is still facing a large-scale human trafficking problem that is growing at an alarming rate of speed. The City of San Francisco also lacks sufficient resources to effectively combat its human trafficking problem. According to Sergeant Vanderbilt, unlike many other cities throughout the United States, San Francisco has not been hit as hard by current economic conditions. It is still an extremely affluent city, and the commercial sex industry has not seemed to suffer at all (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication). Sergeant Vanderbilt says that the continued affluent nature of San Francisco, along with the need for better collaboration between agencies is all part of the growing problem of human trafficking within the city (Sgt. Vanderbilt 2011, personal communication).

While both Seattle and San Francisco have their individual problems with human trafficking, the issue is one that is, ultimately, much larger. Human trafficking affects millions of people worldwide each and every year. Tens of thousands of individuals are trafficked into the United States each year alone (Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 2000). As traffickers continue to become more and
more sophisticated in their methods and clandestine in their operations, the problem will not slow down, but rather it will continue to reign as one of the most lucrative and discouraging problems facing the modern world.

Conducting the research for both cities was not only interesting and educational, but enlightening as well. The interviews I was privileged enough to conduct truly helped to shed light onto the specific problems major metropolitan cities within the United States are facing with regard to human sex trafficking. These interviews allowed me, as a researcher, to get a glimpse into the world of human trafficking that most might not. With insight from those in the field working directly with victims of human trafficking, I was able to get a clear and vivid picture of the multi-faceted nature of the problem. While the information portrayed by the media is gripping and disheartening, it pales in comparison to the information I was granted access to by those fighting the uphill battle of human trafficking on a daily basis.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A
HUMAN TRAFFICKING

The Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA) is the most recent and comprehensive federal law to contend with severe human trafficking. The purpose of this act is to combat trafficking of persons, insure effective punishment of traffickers and protect the victims.

Under this Act, 22 US Code 7102, Section 103 (8) defines the term “severe form of trafficking” as being:

(a) Sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act (sex for money or something of value) is induced by force, fraud, or coercion or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years.

OR

(b) The recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision or obtaining of a person for labor or services through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of subjecting to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt-bondage or slavery.

Law enforcement may encounter trafficking victims through various calls for service including, but not limited to, sexual assault, aggravated assault, kidnapping, false imprisonment, domestic violence, forced domestic labor and prostitution-related activity. Suspects, and in some instances, victims, involved in these crimes should be arrested according to the appropriate California Penal Code violation. There is no California Penal Code section that specifically addresses human trafficking.

Members should be aware that most victims of trafficking are reluctant to come forward and trust law enforcement. Some are not accustomed to basic rights and may not see themselves as victims. A lengthy investigation is usually required before an arrest under federal law is possible in a trafficking case. However, during the preliminary investigation you may detect important signs that might be an indication of trafficking.

- The victim is unable to leave the current employer.
- Someone is holding the victim’s passport or travel documents.
- The victims are moved to different cities without their consent or prior knowledge.
- The victim is required by the employer to live at a certain location.

When an officer encounters an incident that might involve trafficking, they shall take reasonable steps to:

1. Conduct a preliminary investigation and a police report shall be written.
2. Make arrests as appropriate under the Penal Code and department policy.
3. Notify the Vice Crimes Division.
4. Send a copy of the report to Vice.

The Vice Crimes Division is responsible for the investigation of human trafficking. All reports and information shall be sent to Vice. Vice can be contacted directly at 970-3001 (days) or Operations (nights).

HEATHER J. FONG
Chief of Police