

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SEX TRAFFICKING BETWEEN 2010 AND 2019

by

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Thank you to Matthew Casciani for standing by my side throughout my graduate experience and for being a bright light in my life, and to my parents for your constant encouragement and always believing in me. I could not have done this without the support of you three.

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# A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SEX TRAFFICKING BETWEEN 2010 AND 2019

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Human trafficking is a crime that effects people all over the globe but due to the nature of human trafficking, questions about the magnitude of the problem and why such a problem occurs remain. The news plays an integral role on how people consume information. People's views can unknowingly be influenced by how this news is presented with semantics, emotion, and different sources of information. The present study builds on previous research studies looking at media framing on human trafficking. Using the Dallas Morning News, a content analysis of articles published between 2010 and 2019 was conducted to see how media coverage on human trafficking has evolved since the passage of the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act in 2015. Three frames were used to examine this evolution: a diagnostic frame, a prognostic frame, and the motivational frame. Results reveal that many variables are significantly related to the period after the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act of 2015 was passed.

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Countries are divided into four categories with regards to human trafficking: tier one, tier two, tier two watchlist, and tier three. These tier systems are based on how well countries are meeting the minimum requirements set forth by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) (Department of State, 2019). The TVPA, originally passed in 2000 (and modified in 2003, 2005, 2008, 2013, and 2018) aims at preventing human trafficking through greater resources to law enforcement, protection by providing temporary citizenship to non-US citizens, and prosecution through increased and tougher sanctions for offenders. The minimum requirements of the TVPA include prohibiting human trafficking, punishing acts of human trafficking that is severe enough to deter future acts of human trafficking, and making an effort to eliminate human trafficking from occurring in the future (Department of State, 2019). A tier one country follows all the guidelines set forth in the TVPA (Department of State, 2019). As of 2019 there are 33 countries classified as tier one countries and include: Argentina, South Korea, and the United States of America (Department of State, 2019). A tier two country is one that does not fully meet the minimum standards of the TVPA but is making efforts to meet those standards (Department of State, 2019). There are currently 93 countries classified as tier two countries and include: Greece, India, and Mexico (Department of State, 2019). Similar to tier two countries, tier two watchlist countries are those that do not meet the minimum standards of the TVPA and are making efforts to be compliant with the TVPA; however, they are failing in some aspect, such as increased rates of human trafficking in their country or a failure to properly prosecute cases (Department of State, 2019). There are 38 countries that are tier two watchlist

countries and include: Afghanistan, Iraq, and Vietnam (Department of State, 2019). Lastly, a tier three country is one that has made no effort to meet standards set by the TVPA (Department of State, 2019). There are 22 countries classified as tier three and include: China, Iran, and Russia (Department of State, 2019). According to the Department of State, in 2018 there were 85,613 identified victims of human trafficking and 7,481 criminal convictions globally. (2019, p. 38). This number includes victims of labor trafficking and victims of sex trafficking. It has been found that Belarus, China, Iran, Russia, and Venezuela have the worst rates of human trafficking and are all tier three countries. (McPhillips, 2017). With that being said, this does not mean that countries that are tier one do not have problems with human trafficking. For example, in the United States there were 23,078 victims of sex and labor trafficking identified in 2018 (Polaris Project, 2018a). In Texas alone, there were 2,108 victims of sex and labor trafficking identified (Polaris Project, 2018b).

Although there are several definitions of human trafficking, the TVPA defines labor trafficking as “the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery” (22 USC § 7102). It has been estimated that 24.9 million people worldwide were victims of labor trafficking in 2016 (Polaris Project, 2019a). Common areas of forced labor include the diamond industry, the farming industry, the garment and shoe industry and in nail salons (City and County of San Francisco, n.d.; British Broadcasting Corporation, 2018).

This form of modern-day slavery is often the result of debt bondage, defined as “peonage in which traffickers demand labor as a means of repayment for a real or alleged debt, yet they do

not reasonably apply a victim's wages toward the payment of the debt, or limit or define the nature and length of the debtor's services" (Department of Health and Human Services, n.d.). The debtor may also impose fees for late or missing work as well as room and board, making it nearly impossible for the victim to leave his or her circumstance (Department of Health and Human Services, n.d.). Labor trafficking can also include forced labor and child labor (National Human Trafficking Hotline, n.d.).

Although some people may assume human trafficking happens primarily with smaller businesses, as bigger businesses should have more regulations and public attention, this is not necessarily true. In the early 2000's, for example, Nike was found to use child sweatshops to make shoes, clothing, and footballs (Boggan, 2001). Unfortunately, many industries are using work from third world countries due to the cheap cost of manufacturing goods. An example can be seen with a product that many Americans have: an iPhone. Currently, iPhones are produced in China; however, an analysis was conducted by Marketplace and found that a new iPhone that is currently sold, retailing between \$700 and \$1000, would more than double costs if made in the US retailing around \$2,000 (Varinsky, 2016). Consumers' demands for cheap products will only continue to fuel human trafficking (Unicef, 2017).

Another form of human trafficking, often portrayed in movies and news coverage, is sex trafficking. The TVPA defines sex trafficking as "the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, obtaining, patronizing, or soliciting of a person for the purposes of a commercial sex act, in which the commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age" (22 USC § 7102).

Unfortunately, due to the nature of sex trafficking, estimates have been varied on the magnitude of the problem, but “the International Labor Organization estimates that there are 4.8 million people trapped in forced sexual exploitation globally” (Polaris Project, 2019b). In Texas, there were 1,000 cases of human trafficking in 2018 (Polaris Project, 2018b). Of those cases, 719 were sex trafficking cases and 89 were both sex and labor trafficking cases (Polaris Project, 2018b). To better understand sex trafficking and the response to it, this study will examine newspaper portrayals of human sex trafficking between 2010 and 2019 using the Dallas Morning News. As the Department of State explains, “media plays an enormous role in shaping perceptions and guiding the public conversation about human trafficking” (2017). This thesis will first give a review of human trafficking, outline the current study, data and methods, and then wrap up with a discussion on the findings.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

With human trafficking, there are many moving parts to study, such as how an individual becomes a victim of human trafficking, who are the individuals that traffic others, and what are ways to reeducate the rates of trafficking. Research on human trafficking has examined labor trafficking, (Bouché, Farrell, & Wittmer, 2016), sex trafficking of women (Bouché et al., 2016; Bouché, Farrell, & Wittmer-Wolfe, 2018; Bouché & Wittmer, 2015; Farrell, Bouché, & Wolfe, 2019a; Farrell et al., 2019b; Farrell, Pfeffer, & Bright, 2015; Gonzalez, Spencer, & Stith, 2017; Wittmer & Bouché, 2013; Zimmerman et al. 2008), and the problem of child sex trafficking (Bouché et al., 2018; Reid, 2013; Reid, Huard, & Haskell, 2015). A number of studies have also explored how the media portray human trafficking (Austin & Farrell, 2017; Bouché et al., 2016; Farrell & Fahy, 2009; Gulati, 2011; Johnston, Friedman, & Shafer, 2014; Johnston, Friedman, & Sobel, 2015; Sanford, Martine, & Weitzer, 2016). To understand the role of media and human trafficking, this literature review will first explore how human trafficking and human trafficking legislation are framed by the media. It will next discuss victims and offenders of human trafficking.

#### Framing and Legislative Responses

Framing in traditional journalism gives its readers a way to understand the problem and a potential solution to said problem. It is an important concept to understanding human trafficking. Researchers have come up with different frames to better understand how information is portrayed in the media, including Austin and Farrell (2017) who came up with three main frame

types. The first is the diagnostic frame, where the problem is clearly defined for its readers (Austin & Farrell, 2017). An example of the diagnostic frame would be a news article that claims human trafficking is a problem in areas with close proximity to the Mexican border, which makes it easier to traffic victims into the country. The next framing type is the prognostic frame, which provides the reader with a solution to the problem mentioned in the diagnostic frame (Austin & Farrell, 2017). An example of this might be to suggest to readers that stricter border patrol and immigration legislation would help reduce human trafficking. Last is the motivational frame. This frame encourages readers to take swift action and creates a moral unity amongst readers (Austin & Farrell, 2017). An example of this would be encouraging readers to educate themselves on human trafficking and different signs of human trafficking, such as malnutrition or sleep deprivation, and contacting the police if they notice these red flags (Department of Homeland Security, n.d.). This is one of the many frames haven been used by researchers for content analyses.

In the early 2000's, sex trafficking was not a heavily discussed topic in the news. In fact, a study looking at sex trafficking in 2009 found that among stories that had to do with sex trafficking (n= 988), a little less than 30 percent had to do with sex trafficking as the main issue (n= 282; Johnston et al., 2014). These researchers looked at the articles that did discuss sex trafficking and found that articles revolved around criminalization (of both victim and offender), human rights, and/or immigration, but many did not give an explanation as to what led up to these victims being trafficked. Other studies were conducted and found that when a cause for human trafficking was offered, it often related to its following frame (i.e. criminal frame was caused by drug abuse, child abuse, and poverty; human rights frame was cause by international



issues and war; and policy and legislation frame was cause by lack of concern and adequate laws) (Austin & Farrell, 2017; Johnston et al., 2014). Government officials were the number one source for these articles and crime the most popular frame given to understand human trafficking (Austin & Farrell, 2017; Bouché et al., 2016; Farrell & Fahy, 2009; Johnston et al., 2015; Sanford, Martínez, & Weitzer, 2016). Because of this frame, sex trafficking was not looked at as anything other than an event to criminalize both the perpetrator (for trafficking victims) and the victim (for choosing to engage in this activity and prostituting themselves) (Austin & Farrell, 2017; Farrell & Fahy, 2009; Farrell et al., 2010; Farrell & Reichert, 2017; Farrell, Owens, & McDevitt, 2014)

A common theme for framing is that frames are event driven (Johnston et al., 2014; Sanford et al., 2016). The most obvious example for this is looking at human trafficking, and other crimes for that matter, after the September 11 attacks. In the case of trafficking, the media portrayed this event as an issue of not only crime control, but also of national security (Farrell & Fahy, 2009). A new frame then emerged: anti-immigration (De Vries, Nickerson, Farrell, Wittmer-Wolfe, & Bouché, 2019). Because of the September 11 attacks, many US citizens fear non-US citizens entering the country and vocalize this fear. This frame significantly puts immigrants at risk (De Vries et al., 2019). The ability of the government to enact policy relies on public concern for these issues, resulting in more punitive immigration policies that can do more harm than good (De Vries et al., 2019; Farrell & Fahy, 2009; Gulati, 2011).

While framing affected racial and ethnic groups, it is also framed around gender. In general, sex trafficking is framed as a women's rights problem; therefore, the focus is largely on female victims with an astonishingly low number of male victims reported (Farrell & Fahy, 2009

Johnston et al., 2015; Sanford et al., 2016). Bouché, Farrell, and Wittmer-Wolfe wanted to see how the public views sex trafficking and trafficking victims using three main frames: female victims, minor victims, and American victims (2018). They surveyed 2,000 Americans in the spring of 2014 and randomly assigned participants into one of eight conditions (a 2 X 2 X 2 design; when the victim was a child or an adult in prostitution, when the victim was a foreigner versus a U.S. citizen, and when the victim was a male versus a female). Respondents were then asked questions to gauge knowledge of human trafficking as well as their cognitive and behavioral responses (Bouché, et al., 2018). Surprisingly, there was more concern for male victims than there are for female victims. These researchers conjectured this could be out of shock that males were being victimized or because male victims violate the norm (such as males being the strong figure and/or males engaging in homosexuality). People in the United States also have more concern for U.S. citizens versus non-U.S. citizens. Regardless of this concern, unlike concern for minors, people are not more likely to get involved or help victims that were male and/or U.S. citizens. It is unsurprising that people were unwilling to take action, as their understanding of human trafficking is most likely misinformed. Though articles are increasing their reporting on human trafficking, few (if any) actually define human trafficking (Johnston et al., 2015; Sanford et al., 2016). Although the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime states that in 2011, 67 percent of victims are adults and 30 percent of victims are male, the media likes to portray their ideal victim: a pure and innocent female (Austin & Farrell, 2017; Johnston et al., 2015).

While sex trafficking is viewed as a women's rights issue due to victims primarily being female victims, this frame can also emerge when women hold more positions in the state

legislature. There is a positive correlation between women in legislature and prosecution of human trafficking cases (Farrell et al., 2019a). It has also been found that states with more comprehensive legislation (criminalizes human trafficking, provides more resources to departments, and helps victims through different services), have more women in their legislatures (Bouché & Wittmer, 2015). The representation significantly impacts state investment (Wittmer & Bouché, 2013). However, researchers wonder if this representation is positive. As white males tend to be more resistant towards this issue, more women in legislature campaigning for human trafficking can exclude men, further defining sex trafficking as a women's' rights issue (Bouché et al., 2016; De Vries et al., 2019; Wittmer & Bouché, 2013). This frame can be problematic as sex trafficking affects both men and women (Bouché & Wittmer, 2015). It can also negatively impact state investment, such as providing task forces and training to law enforcement (Bouché & Wittmer, 2015; Wittmer & Bouché, 2013).

While the media and legislation rely on frames, certain police departments also use framing to tackle the issue of human trafficking. Farrell, Pfeffer, and Bright interviewed 166 individuals across 12 different counties from July 2010 until September 2011 (2015). They spoke with law enforcement, prosecutors, victim services, and others who had a stake in human trafficking (2015). A common theme they found was that human trafficking is still a crime that many law enforcement officials are unfamiliar with. To tackle this lack of experience, officers treat human trafficking cases as they would a drug case (Farrell et al., 2015). Looking at sex trafficking similarly to looking at handling a drug case made the process less daunting for officers. In an interview conducted by Farrell, Pfeffer & Bright, an officer from the northeast stated, "when I started doing them [trafficking cases] and I saw the money that was being made,

and it's hundreds of thousands of dollars. When you start looking at it there's no difference than somebody selling a pound of weed or somebody selling flesh, other than I got a renewable source over here" (2015, p. 322).

In sum, the issue of human trafficking has been framed in a number of ways: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frame; national security/immigration frame; women's rights frame; and frames to help law enforcement. These human trafficking frames are powerful, as they impact how people learn and react towards human trafficking. In a study by Bouché et al., it was found that both US citizens and law enforcement agencies learned about human trafficking through the news and movies, such as *Taken* (2016). In the next section, the research on victims and perpetrators is presented. This research identifies possible factors that make these victims particularly vulnerable.

### Victims and Offenders

In 2018, The Polaris Project identified 7, 859 cases of sex trafficking in the United States (Polaris Project, 2018a). Of those cases, there were 14,749 victims identified (Polaris Project, 2018a). Demographics of victims can vary, but there are a number of factors that are correlated with increased risk of victimization and media attention such as age, addiction, and location.

#### *Child Victims*

As with other crimes, sex trafficking of a minor is considered especially heinous. Despite the fact that adults are trafficked at rates that double those of child victims, news articles more frequently publicize and portray victims of human trafficking as children (Johnston et al., 2015; Polaris Project, 2018). Victims that are minors receive more concern, better protections (through safe harbor laws that protect minors from criminal charges), and are processed quicker than cases

involving adults (Bouché et al., 2016; Bouché, Farrell, & Wittmer-Wolfe, 2018; Johnston et al., 2014).

While there is a common myth that children are kidnapped and trafficked by a stranger, it is actually not uncommon to be trafficked by a relative (Reid et al., 2015). In 2018, there were 893 victims of sex trafficking who were trafficked by a family member and 1,078 victims trafficked by a significant others/fiancé (Polaris Project, 2018a). Reid, Huard, and Haskell interviewed 92 girls from agencies in Florida who were receiving services (such as counseling) to overcome their experiences of sex trafficking (2015). These victims tended to be non-U.S. citizens either smuggled in the country or sent to the U.S. where they were subsequently trafficked (most often by a relative) (Reid et al., 2015). Perhaps because their trafficker was a relative, victims were less likely to run away than those victimized by non-relative traffickers. The average age for these victims was 14 years, with the youngest victim just four years old (Reid et al., 2015, p. 365). The most common offender found were the parents, but specifically mother-figures (Reid et al., 2015). Depending on the relation to the victim, motives of the trafficker varied, but the two most common reasons were financial motives and to support a drug habit (Reid et al., 2015).

### *Addiction*

Certain variables that pertain to individuals put them more at risk for being trafficking in the first place. A major risk factor is drug and alcohol addiction (Farrell et al., 2014; Gonzalez et al., 2017). This is a risk factor for three reasons: it makes an individual more likely to become a victim, it makes it harder to leave the trafficking situation (as the trafficker often supplies victims with drugs), and when the individual is out, it makes him or her less credible as a witness (Farrell

et al., 2014; Gonzalez et al., 2017). Traffickers may select their victims who already have an addiction, but they may also have victims that were not addicts, get them addicted, and use this addiction as a control mechanism to get them to stay (Office for Victims of Crime Training and Technical Assistance, n.d.).

### *Location*

Larger population centers that are more homogenous puts individuals at greater risk of becoming victims of sex trafficking (Farrell, McDevitt, & Fahy, 2010). Location also plays a large role in trafficking. Mletzko, Summers, and Arnio (2018) were interested in learning about what outside factors contribute to sex trafficking, but specifically geography and location. Their study looked at crime statistics within 519 census block groups (CBG's) from 2013 till 2015 in Austin, Texas. Within those CBG's they looked at 205 offenses. As with many crimes, most incidents of sex trafficking occurred around one area (Mletzko et al., 2018). A common area was near sexually oriented businesses (such as strip clubs) and motels (Mletzko et al., 2018).

Distance from the highway also plays a large role, as it not only allows greater mobility if the trafficker needs to leave, but it also provides greater access to bring in more victims (Mletzko et al., 2018). Similar to location from highway, bordering states along the U.S. Mexico allow trafficking to occur easier (Farrell et al., 2010). Having a population of 29 million, an interstate that runs 878 miles between El Paso and Orange, and sharing the Mexican border makes individuals in Texas particularly at risk of becoming a victim of sex trafficking (TxDot, 2020; US Census Bureau, 2019).

## Current Study

Human trafficking is not a crime of the past. From 2017 to 2018 there was a 25 percent increase in cases in the United States (Polaris Project, 2018a). In Texas alone there were 2,108 victims and 1,000 cases of human trafficking in 2018 (Polaris Project, 2018b). Of the 1,000 cases, 719 were identified as sex trafficking (Polaris Project, 2018b). Unfortunately, these numbers do not accurately portray the magnitude of human trafficking. As law enforcement officers have little training on human trafficking, they do not know what to look for (Farrell et al., 2019b; Farrell & Reichert, 2017). When officers did see cases of human trafficking, victims were often mistaken for prostitutes or offenders of other crimes, such as smuggling contraband in the country (Farrell et al., 2015; Farrell & Reichert, 2017; Reid, 2013). There is also no incentive for victims to report their case of trafficking. Like many sex crimes, underreporting is a big issue for sex trafficking. Many victims do not report because they do not see themselves as victims (Reid, 2013). While victims might be trafficked by a stranger, often they are trafficked by a family member or significant other; therefore, victims do not see their trafficker as an exploiter, and/or they have loyalty to their trafficker (Farrell et al., 2019b; Reid, 2013; Reid et al., 2015). Victims might be manipulated by their trafficker (Reid, 2013). Understanding the risk involved, traffickers might coach their victims to refuse to talk to the police. It can be hard for the police to understand what victims of sex trafficking are going through when the victims have loyalty and love for their trafficker, often going back to their trafficker after the victims are released from police custody (Reid, 2013). Even if the victim does not love their trafficker, they might fear retaliation if they talk to police and, therefore, refuse to cooperate (Reid, 2013). Victims might also stay loyal to their trafficker because of the victim's financial instability (Gonzalez, Spencer,

& Stith, 2017; Reid et al., 2015). These victims are often dependent on their trafficker financially and fear how they would be able to survive without him or her.

Another reason that adults and children might not report is fear about how they will be received by law enforcement. To gauge how children were treated in the criminal justice system, Reid (2013) conducted a study in a large southern metropolitan area known to have a high number of trafficked children, as well as high rates of poverty, adult prostitution, and a heterogeneous population (all factors correlated with sex trafficking). She found that between 2000 and 2007 there were 400 minors who were arrested and adjudicated for prostitution statewide (Reid, 2013, p. 82). Of those minors, only 10 cases were investigated, and one trafficker was arrested (Reid, 2013).

In response to the increase in the number of reported human trafficking cases, National Human Trafficking Awareness Day began January 11, 2010 to bring attention to this global problem. Since this day, the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act of 2015 was passed. This bill provides victims compensation by issuing fines to offenders, as well as categorizing those that produce child porn as human traffickers, giving law enforcement more resources, and funding more victim services. With these two important events, the framing of human trafficking by the news media may have changed since earlier research on this issue was conducted. It is important to see how human trafficking is depicted as it can influence how citizens, legislators, and law enforcement alike understand human trafficking. To see how news reporting has evolved before and after the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act was passed, data was collected from 2010 to 2014 (5 years before the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act was passed as well as the



beginning of National Human Trafficking Awareness Day) and 2015 to 2019 using the Dallas Morning News.

The following research questions are explored:

1. What is the article composition of stories that discuss human trafficking?
2. Diagnostic Frame: has the diagnostic frame for human trafficking evolved since the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act was passed?
  - a. More specifically, has there been more content given to the reader from the pre-period to the post-period?
  - b. Has the type of human trafficking reported (sex, labor, or both) varied from the pre-period to the post-period?
3. Prognostic Frame: Have solutions to these problems varied since the passage of the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act?
4. Motivational Frame: Has the Dallas Morning News held readers more accountable to help fight human trafficking since the passage of the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act?

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODS

To retrieve articles from the Dallas Morning News, both EBSCOhost and NewsBank were utilized. NewsBank only had articles up till the year 2016, so EBSCOhost was used to retrieve articles from 2017 to 2019. With both databases the search term was “human trafficking.” Using NewsBank, there were 292 results. Of those articles 55 were repeated stories and were thus excluded from the study ( $N= 237$ ). There were 104 results using EBSCOhost, 27 of which were repeated and excluded from the study ( $N=77$ ). The data from 314 articles were coded into two main categories: (1) article composition and (2) framing.

#### Article Composition

To determine the article composition, two variables were recorded. The first was the article placement as measured by the section of the paper. Article placement included:

- Front page of the main section of the paper
- Inside the main section of the paper
- Front page of another section of the paper
- Inside other section of the paper
- Op-eds

The section of the paper was not given for articles in EBSCOhost, however, and was only recorded for NewsBank articles. Article composition was measured by the type of trafficking the article discussed (sex, labor, or both sex and labor trafficking) as well as victim age (child [persons 17 years and younger], adult, or both children and adults were discussed as victims). I

wanted to see if these two variables had any impact where the articles were placed in the newspaper.

The second variable, word count, recorded the number of words the author used to write the article. This metric largely determines how much information the author could provide. Wordcount was broken up into 6 categories:

- 1-400 words
- 401-800 words
- 801-1,200 words
- 1,201-1,600 words
- 1,601-2,000 words
- 2,001 words or more

This was measured along with whether human trafficking was the main focus (as opposed to articles that briefly mentioned human trafficking, such as “Community Calendar” articles). By looking at word count by the article’s main focus, I will be able to see how many words articles that focus on human trafficking receive.

### Framing

The current study looked at framing using the three main frames offered by Austin and Farrell (2017) by article trigger. Article trigger is the reason that the article was written. There were five different codes for article trigger:

- General news stories: stories that discussed human trafficking as a whole, human trafficking legislation, nonprofits, or border/immigration relating to human trafficking

- Specific news stories: actual events that occurred, such as a police bust, or human trafficking legislation that was passed
- Other: articles that talked about fundraiser dates that focused on human trafficking, art events such as plays and concerts whose storyline was with regards to human trafficking, and stories about politicians that briefly mentioned he or she combated human trafficking
- Op-Eds/Commentary
- Letters to the Editor

*Diagnostic Frame.* This frame defines the problem of human trafficking and gives the reader insight into human trafficking. The following codes were recorded for the diagnostic frame:

- Victim Age: a child (17 years old and younger), an adult, or both children and adults in the article
- Number of Victims: one victim or multiple victims
- Victim gender: female, male, or both female and male victims
- Victim race: White, Black, Hispanic, or Asian. If there were multiple victims, each victim's race was recorded.
- Victim Citizenship: US citizen or a non-US citizen
- Number of offenders: one offender or multiple offenders
- Offender gender: female, male, or both female and male offenders
- Offender race: White, Black, Hispanic, or Asian. If there were multiple offenders, each offender's race was record.
- Offender citizenship: US citizen or a non-US citizen

- Type of trafficking discussed: sex trafficking, labor trafficking, or both sex and labor trafficking
- Main Focus: the search term for all articles was “human trafficking;” however, this variable looked to see if the main focus of the article was indeed human trafficking or if human trafficking was secondary in the article (such as in “community calendar” articles)
- Definition given: whether the author gave a definition of human trafficking
- Educating the reader: whether the author provided information on human trafficking, such as statistics
- Cause: the main factor as to why human trafficking occurs, and includes:
  - Location to border/geographic demographics: areas that were next to the Mexican border, areas that had an abundance of highways, areas next to sexually oriented businesses (such as strip clubs), and areas that were near hotels/motels
  - Legislation/government: inadequate legislation and the lack of attention from the government on human trafficking.
  - Sex Industry: sex-conferences, the way that people dressed, the way that women are portrayed in music videos/pornography, pornography in general, and how mainstream sex has become in the US culture
  - Money: money laundering or financial gain
  - Drugs: support drug addiction
  - Immigration: immigrants entering the country illegally
  - Other: lack of resources for victims

For all the codes in the diagnostic frames, if the information was not provided, “not

given” was recorded.

*Prognostic Frame* The next frame measured was the prognostic frame, which offers a solution to the cause offered in the diagnostic frame. The following are potential solutions:

- Police/law enforcement: more investigations into possible human trafficking cases, better investigations into these cases, and more prosecutions
- Legislation/government officials: creating legislation that could help victims while creating tougher sanctions for offenders
- Immigration/secure the border: crack down on illegal immigration and secure the Mexican border
- Helping victims: rather than prosecuting victims, law enforcement agencies should help victims with their recovery, as well as providing more resources to victim services
- Training/awareness: focused on any employee that could have contact with a potential human trafficking victim and/or offender (such as hotel workers, airline workers, and those that work at bars) to learn about warning signs of sex trafficking and to contact the police if they notice any potential signs of human trafficking, such as individuals that are constantly being monitored and/or individuals that are sleep deprived.
- Other: providing more birth control

To see what types of sources are most often cited, the source of the article was recorded and include:

- Law enforcement/court personnel
- Legislators/government officials
- Service providers/volunteers

- Letters to the editor
- Other: such as religious leaders.

For all the codes in the prognostic frame, if a solution or source was not offered, “not given” was recorded.

*Motivational Frame* This frame looked to see if the author of the article urged its readers to take action and included:

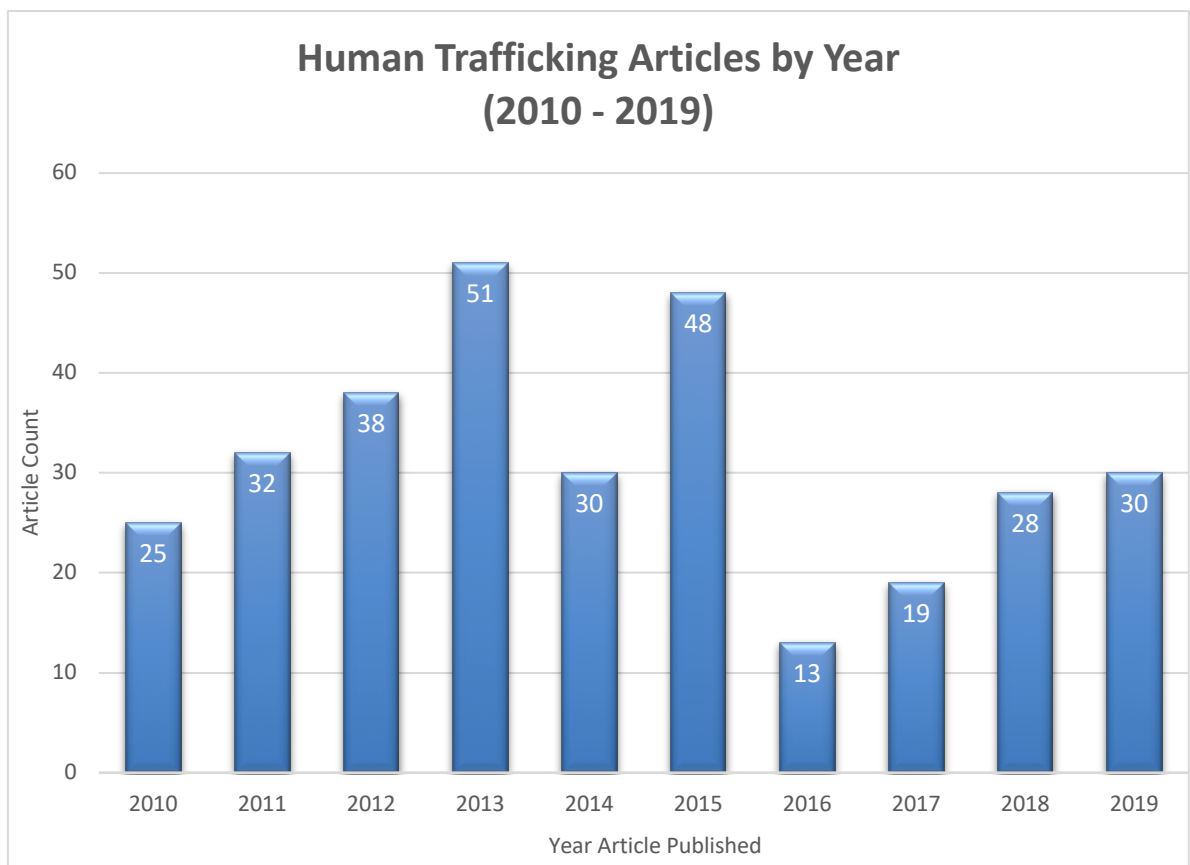
- Training/awareness: urging readers to go to websites, such as the Polaris project, to better understand human trafficking and become more aware that this happens in every community.
- Volunteering/donating: donating time or money to nonprofits
- Reporting to police: urging readers to contact police if they notice any warning signs or anything unusual
- Other: purchasing items from companies who focus on human rights issues and are taking action.

If no call to action was given, “none” was recorded.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS

Figure 1 shows the number of articles published in the Dallas Morning News between the years 2010 and 2019 ( $N= 314$ ). Between the years 2010 and 2014, there were 176 articles published. Taking the average of the articles in those five years, results in 35.2 articles per year. After the passage of the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act of 2015, 138 articles were published, resulting in an average of 27.6 articles per year. These results can be seen in Figure 1.



**Figure 1.** Human Trafficking Articles by Year



When looking at the number of publications before and after the passage of the act, articles published in 2010 and 2014 had more general news stories (42%) versus articles published between 2015 and 2019 (35%), but those published between 2015 and 2019 had more specific stories (33%) versus articles published between 2010 and 2019 (16%). A chi-square goodness of fit test was conducted to assess the differences in the period prior to the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act (2010-2014) and after the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act was passed (2015-2019). The number of human trafficking stories significantly varied between these two time periods ( $\chi^2=4.60$ , d.f.=1,  $p < 0.05$ ). These results can be seen in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Chi-Squared Goodness of Fit Test between 2010-2014 and 2015-2019

Years	<i>n</i>	%	$\chi^2^*$
2010-2014	176	56	4.60
2015-2019	138	44	

Note: \* $p < 0.05$

To drill down further into these differences, another chi-square test was conducted for each year during the study period. Globally, the number of stories significantly varied across the years ( $\chi^2= 39.89$ , d.f.= 9,  $p < 0.05$ ). A closer examination revealed that the years 2013 and 2015 saw significantly more stories published than one would expect by chance alone. In 2013, there were 19.6 more stories expected if there was a uniform distribution ( $\chi^2= 12.23$ , d.f.=1,  $p < 0.05$ ). In 2015, there were 16.6 more stories produced than expected if there was a uniform distribution ( $\chi^2= 8.78$ , d.f.=1,  $p < 0.05$ ). These results can be seen in Table 2.

**Table 2.** Chi-Squared Goodness of Fit Test for Each Year between 2010-2019

Years	<i>n</i>	%	$\chi^2^*$
2010	25	8	39.89
2011	32	10	
2012	38	12	
2013	51	16	
2014	30	10	
2015	48	15	
2016	13	4	
2017	19	6	
2018	28	9	
2019	30	10	

Note: \* $p < 0.05$

A separate chi-square goodness of fit test was conducted to look at articles published in 2015 as the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act was passed that year. Globally across all years, there was a significant difference across the months of 2015 ( $\chi^2 = 41.00$ ; d.f. = 11,  $p < 0.05$ ). March produced a greater number, 8, of articles than expected if there was a uniform distribution ( $\chi^2 = 16.00$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.05$ ). April produced 7 articles more than expected if there was a uniform distribution ( $\chi^2 = 12.25$ , d.f. = 1,  $p < 0.05$ ). These results can be seen in Table 3.

**Table 3.** Chi-Squared Goodness of Fit Test for 2015

Months	<i>n</i>	%	$\chi^2^*$
January	3	6	41.00
February	1	2	
March	12	25	
April	11	23	
May	6	13	
June	2	4	
July	3	6	
August	5	10	
September	1	2	
October	2	4	
November	1	2	
December	1	2	

Note: \* $p < 0.05$

*Article Composition*

An analysis was done to look at the section of the paper that discussed the age of victims as well as the trafficking type between 2010 and 2016. Results reveal that very few articles were published on the front page of the main section. For both age and type, articles were primarily published inside the main section ( $n= 81$ ) and inside other section ( $n= 81$ ). These results can be seen in Table 4 and Table 5.

**Table 4.** Section of Paper by Victim Age

	<b>Front Page of Main Section</b>	<b>Inside Main Section</b>	<b>Front Page of Other Section</b>	<b>Inside Other Section</b>	<b>Op-Eds</b>
2010					
Child			1	2	
Adult			1	3	1
Both			1		1
Not Given	2	1	5	6	1
2011					
Child	1	2	1	1	
Adult				1	
Both				4	
Not Given	2	2	3	14	
2012					
Child	2		2	4	
Adult	1		1	4	
Both		1			
Not Given	2	5	4	11	1
2013					
Child		3	5	6	
Adult					
Both		1	1	1	1
Not Given	1	9	5	17	1

**Table 4.** Continued

	<b>Front Page of Main Section</b>	<b>Inside Main Section</b>	<b>Front Page of Other Section</b>	<b>Inside Other Section</b>	<b>Op-Eds</b>
2014					
Child		6	2		
Adult					
Both					1
Not Given		11	6	2	2
2015					
Child		2	7		1
Adult		1			
Both		3	1		1
Not Given		28	2	1	1
2016					
Child			2		
Adult			1		
Both		5	1	1	
Not Given		1		2	
Total	11	81	52	81	12

**Table 5.** Section of Paper by Trafficking Type

	<b>Front Page of Main Section</b>	<b>Inside Main Section</b>	<b>Front Page of Other Section</b>	<b>Inside Other Section</b>	<b>Op-Eds</b>
<b>2010</b>					
Sex			2	3	2
Labor					
Both			1		
Not Given	2	1	5	8	1
<b>2011</b>					
Sex	1	1	1	9	
Labor			1	1	
Both		1		1	
Not Given	2	2	2	10	
<b>2012</b>					
Sex		2	5	7	
Labor					1
Both	1			1	
Not Given	4	4	2	11	
<b>2013</b>					
Sex		4	5	7	1
Labor			2	1	
Both		1	1		
Not Given	1	8	3	16	1

**Table 5. Continued**

	<b>Front Page of Main Section</b>	<b>Inside Main Section</b>	<b>Front Page of Other Section</b>	<b>Inside Other Section</b>	<b>Op-Eds</b>
<b>2014</b>					
Sex		2	6		1
Labor					
Both		1			
Not Given		14	2	2	2
<b>2015</b>					
Sex		6	8	1	2
Labor					
Both		3			
Not Given		25	2		1
<b>2016</b>					
Sex		3	3	3	
Labor			1		
Both		2			
Not Given		1			
Total	11	81	52	81	12

An analysis was also done on the number of words each article used (between 2010 and 2019) compared to whether or not human trafficking was the main focus. Results reveal that the majority of articles that focus on human trafficking had a wordcount between 1 and 800. These results can be seen in Table 6. In sum, these articles are not placed front in center of the newspaper and the majority of the stories published on human trafficking are limited in what the author wrote about.

**Table 6.** Word Count by Human Trafficking as Main Focus

	<b>1-400 Words</b>	<b>401-800 Words</b>	<b>801-1,200 Words</b>	<b>1,201- 1,600 Words</b>	<b>1,601- 2,000 Words</b>	<b>2,001 + Words</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>2010</b>							25
Yes		2					2
No	7	5	10	1			23
<b>2011</b>							32
Yes	5	3	3				11
No	5	8	4	2	2		21
<b>2012</b>							38
Yes	2	5	1	1			9
No	7	13	7	1	1		29
<b>2013</b>							51
Yes	11	7					18
No	10	12	5	5	1		33
<b>2014</b>							30
Yes	8						8
No	7	8	4	2		1	22
<b>2015</b>							48
Yes	22	9					31
No	3	9	3			2	17
<b>2016</b>							13
Yes	4	4	1				9
No			4				4
<b>2017</b>							19
Yes	4	3	1				8
No	3	2	6				11
<b>2018</b>							28
Yes	7	3	3	1	1	1	16
No	2	5	5				12
<b>2019</b>							30
Yes	5	11	3	1			20
No	2	5	3				10

*Diagnostic Frame*

The first frame is the diagnostic frame. This frame is important because it frames how the reader will understand human trafficking. The first factor of the diagnostic frame are victim characteristics. A more detailed table outlining this data set pre-2015 can be seen in Table 7 and post-2015 can be seen in table 8 outlining all three frames.

**Table 7. Three Frames by Story Trigger (2010-2014)**

	Diagnostic Frame					Total
	General News	Specific News	Op-Ed/ Commentary	Letter to the Editor	Other	
<b>Type of Trafficking</b>						
Sex	25 (14%)	19 (11%)	2 (1%)	3 (2%)	10 (6%)	59 (34%)
Labor	0 (0%)	4 (2%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	6 (3%)
Both	5 (3%)	3 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (5%)
Not Specified	43 (24%)	3 (2%)	5 (3%)	3 (2%)	49 (28%)	103 (59%)
<b>Human Trafficking</b>						
<b>Main Focus</b>						
Yes	25 (14%)	20 (11%)	1 (1%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	48 (27%)
No	48 (27%)	9 (5%)	6 (3%)	5 (3%)	60 (34%)	128 (73%)
<b>Definition Given</b>						
Yes	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)
No	72 (41%)	29 (16%)	7 (4%)	7 (4%)	60 (34%)	175 (99%)
<b>Educating Reader</b>						
Yes	22 (13%)	7 (4%)	1 (1%)	2 (1%)	1 (1%)	33 (19%)
No	51 (29%)	22 (13%)	6 (3%)	5 (3%)	59 (34%)	143 (81%)
<b>Cause Offered</b>						
Not Given	131 (37%)	50 (14%)	17 (5%)	14 (4%)	117 (33%)	326 (91%)
Location to Border/ Geographic Demographics	4 (1%)	3 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (<1%)	8 (2%)
Legislation/Government	1 (<1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (<1%)
Sex Industry	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (<1%)	3 (1%)
Money	6 (2%)	3 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (<1%)	10 (3%)
Drugs	1 (<1%)	1 (<1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (1%)
Immigration	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Other	5 (1%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (<1%)	8 (2%)
	Prognostic Frame					Total
	General News	Specific News	Op-Ed/ Commentary	Letter to the Editor	Other	
<b>Solution to Cause</b>						
Not Given	36 (20%)	23 (13%)	5 (3%)	3 (2%)	56 (31%)	123 (67%)
Police/ Law Enforcement	5 (3%)	3 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	10 (5%)
Legislation/Government	8 (4%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	10 (5%)
Immigration/Secure the Border	12 (7%)	1 (1%)	2 (1%)	1 (1%)	2 (1%)	18 (10%)
Help Victims	8 (4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (4%)
Training/Awareness	9 (5%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	11 (6%)
Other	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	3 (2%)
<b>Source</b>						
Not Given	5 (3%)	2 (1%)	3 (2%)	0 (0%)	38 (20%)	48 (26%)
Law Enforcement/Court Personnel	19 (10%)	23 (12%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	44 (24%)
Legislators/Government	22 (12%)	2 (1%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	10 (5%)	35 (19%)
Service Providers/ Volunteers	26 (14%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (2%)	31 (17%)
Letters to the Editor	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	7 (4%)	0 (0%)	7 (4%)
Other	10 (5%)	3 (2%)	3 (2%)	0 (0%)	6 (3%)	22 (12%)

**Table 7. Continued**

	<b>Motivational Frame</b>					<b>Total</b>
	<b>General News</b>	<b>Specific News</b>	<b>Op-Ed/ Commentary</b>	<b>Letter to the Editor</b>	<b>Other</b>	
<b>Call to Action</b>						
None	65 (37%)	25 (14%)	7 (4%)	7 (4%)	59 (33%)	163 (92%)
Training/Awareness	6 (3%)	3 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	9 (5%)
Volunteer/Donate	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	2 (1%)
Report to Police	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (1%)
Other	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)

**Table 8. Three Frames by Story Trigger (2015-2019)**

	<b>Diagnostic Frame</b>					<b>Total</b>
	<b>General News</b>	<b>Specific News</b>	<b>Op-Ed/ Commentary</b>	<b>Letter to the Editor</b>	<b>Other</b>	
<b>Type of Trafficking</b>						
Sex	17 (12%)	29 (21%)	12 (9%)	2 (1%)	3 (2%)	63 (46%)
Labor	0 (0%)	5 (4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5 (4%)
Both	4 (3%)	2 (1%)	6 (4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	12 (9%)
Not Specified	26 (19%)	9 (7%)	7 (5%)	4 (3%)	12 (9%)	58 (42%)
<b>Human Trafficking Main Focus</b>						
Yes	25 (18%)	40 (29%)	17 (12%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	84 (61%)
No	22 (16%)	5 (4%)	8 (6%)	5 (4%)	14 (10%)	54 (39%)
<b>Definition Given</b>						
Yes	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (2%)
No	47 (34%)	44 (32%)	23 (17%)	6 (4%)	15 (11%)	135 (98%)
<b>Educating Reader</b>						
Yes	17 (12%)	8 (6%)	14 (10%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	41 (30%)
No	30 (22%)	37 (27%)	11 (8%)	5 (4%)	14 (10%)	97 (70%)
<b>Cause Offered</b>						
Not Given	88 (32%)	79 (29%)	37 (13%)	12 (4%)	30 (11%)	246 (89%)
Location to Border/ Geographic Demographics	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Legislation/Government	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Sex Industry	3 (1%)	1 (<1%)	3 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	7 (3%)
Money	1 (<1%)	4 (1%)	4 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	9 (3%)
Drugs	0 (0%)	1 (<1%)	4 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5 (2%)
Immigration	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (1%)
Other	3 (1%)	5 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (3%)



**Table 8. Continued**

	<b>Prognostic Frame</b>					<b>Total</b>
	<b>General News</b>	<b>Specific News</b>	<b>Op-Ed/ Commentary</b>	<b>Letter to the Editor</b>	<b>Other</b>	
<b>Solution to Cause</b>						
Not Given	24 (17%)	36 (25%)	11 (8%)	3 (2%)	14 (10%)	88 (61%)
Police/ Law Enforcement	6 (4%)	3 (2%)	10 (7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	19 (13%)
Legislation/Government	9 (6%)	3 (2%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	14 (10%)
Immigration/Secure the Border	3 (2%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	7 (5%)
Help Victims	2 (1%)	3 (2%)	5 (3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	10 (7%)
Training/Awareness	3 (2%)	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	6 (4%)
Other	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<b>Source</b>						
Not Given	1 (1%)	2 (1%)	13 (8%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	16 (10%)
Law Enforcement/Court Personnel	17 (10%)	30 (18%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	51 (31%)
Legislators/Government	23 (14%)	8 (5%)	3 (2%)	0 (0%)	6 (4%)	40 (24%)
Service Providers/ Volunteers	7 (4%)	1 (1%)	3 (2%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	12 (7%)
Letters to the Editor	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (4%)	0 (0%)	6 (4%)
Other	15 (9%)	7 (4%)	7 (4%)	0 (0%)	13 (8%)	42 (25%)
<b>Motivational Frame</b>						
	<b>General News</b>	<b>Specific News</b>	<b>Op-Ed/ Commentary</b>	<b>Letter to the Editor</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Call to Action</b>						
None	40 (28%)	41 (29%)	14 (10%)	5 (4%)	13 (9%)	113 (80%)
Training/Awareness	3 (2%)	2 (1%)	6 (4%)	1 (1%)	2 (1%)	14 (10%)
Volunteer/Donate	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (2%)
Report to Police	1 (1%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	4 (3%)
Other	3 (2%)	0 (0%)	3 (2%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	7 (5%)

Victim characteristics were not mentioned in most articles. Child victims were mentioned in 22% of the articles between 2010 and 2014 as opposed to 20% between 2015 and 2019. Articles published between 2010 and 2014 mentioned adult victims in 7% of articles, and both child and adult victims were mentioned in 7% of articles. Articles published between 2015 and 2019 mentioned adult victims in 14% of articles, and both child and adult victims were mentioned in 14% of articles. A chi-square test of independence was conducted to assess whether victim’s ages (child, adult, both, or not given) varied significantly between the pre-

passage period (2010-2014) and the post-passage period (2015-2019). The number of stories that talk about victim age over time is significantly related to the time period in which the story was written ( $\chi^2= 11.34$ , d.f.=3,  $p < 0.05$ ). These results can be seen in Table 9.

**Table 9.** Chi-Squared Test of Independence of Victim Age

Victim Age	2010-2014		2015-2019		$\chi^2^*$
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
Child	39	22	27	20	11.34
Adult	12	7	20	14	
Both	12	7	20	14	
Not Given	113	64	71	51	

Note: \* $p < 0.05$

Of the articles written between 2010 and 2014, female victims were written about in 25% of articles, males were written about in 3% of articles, and both females and males were written about in 1% of articles. Of the articles written between 2015 and 2019, female victims were written about in 36% of articles, males were written about in 1% of articles, and both females and males were written about in 1% of articles. A chi-squared test of independence was conducted to assess whether victim gender (female, male, both, or not given) varied significantly between the pre-passage period (2010-2014) and the post-passage period (2015-2019). The number of stories that talk about victim gender is not significantly related to the period in which they were passed ( $\chi^2= 6.69$ , d.f.=3,  $p < 0.05$ ). These results can be seen in Table 10.

**Table 10.** Chi-Squared Test of Independence of Victim Gender

Victim Gender	2010-2014		2015-2019		$\chi^2^*$
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
Female	44	25	50	36	6.69
Male	5	3	1	1	
Both	1	1	0	0	
Not Given	126	72	87	63	

Note: \* $p < 0.05$

Victim race was not mentioned in 97% of articles between 2010 and 2014. Of the races given, 2% were Hispanic and 2% were Asian. Between 2015 and 2019, 92% of the articles did not specify victim race. Of the races given, 2% were Hispanic, 3% were Asian, 2% were Black, and 1% were White. A chi-squared test of independence was conducted to assess whether victim race (White, Black, Asian, Hispanic, or not given) varied significantly between the pre-passage period (2010-2014) and the post-passage period (2015-2019). The number of stories that talk about victim race is not significantly related to the period in which they were passed ( $\chi^2= 5.78$ , d.f.=4,  $p<0.05$ ). These results can be seen in Table 11.

**Table 11.** Chi-Squared Test of Independence of Victim Race

Victim Race	2010-2014		2015-2019		$\chi^2^*$
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
White	0	0	1	1	5.78
Black	0	0	3	2	
Hispanic	3	2	3	2	
Asian	3	2	4	3	
Not Given	171	97	129	92	

Note: \* $p<0.05$

Similar to race, victim citizenship was not mentioned in the majority of the articles written between 2010 and 2014 (97%), mentioning US citizens in 2% of articles and non-US citizens in 1% of the articles. Victim citizenship is not mentioned in 93% of articles written between 2015 and 2019, mentioning US citizens in 1% of articles and non-US citizens in 5% of the articles. A chi-squared test of independence was conducted to assess whether victim citizenship (US citizen, non-US citizen, or not given) varied significantly between the pre-passage period (2010-2014) and the post-passage period (2015-2019). The number of stories that talk about victim citizenship is not significantly related to the period in which they were passed ( $\chi^2= 4.32$ , d.f.=2,  $p<0.05$ ). These results can be seen in Table 12.

**Table 12.** Chi-Squared Test of Independence of Victim Citizenship

Victim Citizenship	2010-2014		2015-2019		$\chi^2^*$
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
US Citizen	3	2	2	1	4.32
Non-US Citizen	2	1	7	5	
Not Given	171	97	129	93	

Note: \* $p < 0.05$

Between the two time periods, friend/acquaintance and other were the two most commonly cited relationship between victims and offenders. Between 2010 and 2014 friend/acquaintance was discussed in 5% and other was discussed in 3% of articles. Between 2015 and 2019, friend/acquaintance was discussed in 8% and other was discussed in 8% of articles. A chi-squared test of independence was conducted to assess whether the relationship between the victim and offender (family, friend/acquaintance, stranger, other, or not given) varied significantly between the pre-passage period (2010-2014) and the post-passage period (2015-2019). The number of stories that talk about the victim-offender relationship is significantly related to the period in which they were passed ( $\chi^2 = 13.38$ , d.f.=4,  $p < 0.05$ ). These results can be seen in Table 13.

**Table 13.** Chi-Squared Test of Independence of Victim-Offender Relationship

Victim-Offender Relationship	2010-2014		2015-2019		$\chi^2^*$
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
Family	1	1	6	4	13.38
Friend/Acquaintance	8	5	11	8	
Stranger	3	2	6	4	
Other	6	3	12	8	
Not Given	158	90	107	75	

Note: \* $p < 0.05$

In terms of the number of victims, 86% of articles did not mention the number of victims, 10% mentioned only 1 victim, and 5% wrote about multiple victims between 2010 and 2014. Between 2015 and 2019, 73% of articles did not mention the number of victims, 16% mentioned only 1 victim, and 11% wrote about multiple victims. A chi-square test of independence was conducted to assess whether the number of victims reported in the stories (1 victim, multiple victims, or not given) varied significantly between the pre-passage period (2010-2014) and the post-passage period (2015-2019). The number of stories that talk about the number of victims is significantly related to the period in which they were passed ( $\chi^2= 8.22$ , d.f.=2,  $p < 0.05$ ). These results can be seen in Table 14.

**Table 14.** Chi-Squared Test of Independence of Number of Victims

# of Victims	2010-2014		2015-2019		$\chi^2^*$
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
1 Victim	17	10	22	16	8.22
Multiple Victims	8	5	15	11	
Not Given	151	86	101	73	

Note: \* $p < 0.05$

The second factor of the diagnostic frame are offender characteristics. Of the articles written between 2010 and 2014, 86% of articles did not identify the gender of the offender. Of those articles that did identify the offender, male offenders were in 14% of articles, and both males and females were in 1% of articles. Of the articles written between 2015 and 2019, offender gender was not written about in 68% of articles, male offenders were written about in 13% of articles, female offenders were written about in 4% of articles, and both males and females were written about in 14% of articles. A chi-squared test of independence was conducted to assess whether offender gender (female, male, both, or not given) varied significantly between the pre-passage period (2010-2014) and the post-passage period (2015-2019). The number of

stories that talk about offender gender is significantly related to the period in which they were passed ( $\chi^2= 33.20$ , d.f.=3,  $p<0.05$ ). These results can be seen in Table 15.

**Table 15.** Chi-Squared Test of Independence of Offender Gender

Offender Gender	2010-2014		2015-2019		$\chi^2^*$
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
Female	0	0	6	4	33.20
Male	24	14	18	13	
Both	1	1	20	14	
Not Given	151	86	94	68	

Note: \* $p<0.05$

Offender race was not mentioned in 97% of articles between 2010 and 2014. Of the races given, 3% were Hispanic and 1% were Asian. Between 2015 and 2019, 87% of the articles did not specify offender race. Of the races given, 2% were Hispanic, 7% were Asian, 1% were Black, and 3% were White. A chi-squared test of independence was conducted to assess whether offender race (White, Black, Asian, Hispanic, or not given) varied significantly between the pre-passage period (2010-2014) and the post-passage period (2015-2019). The number of stories that talk about offender race is significantly related to the period in which they were passed ( $\chi^2= 18.11$ , d.f.=4,  $p<0.05$ ). These results can be seen in Table 16.

**Table 16.** Chi-Squared Test of Independence of Offender Race

Offender Race	2010-2014		2015-2019		$\chi^2^*$
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
White	0	0	4	3	18.11
Black	0	0	2	1	
Hispanic	5	3	3	2	
Asian	1	1	10	7	
Not Given	170	97	122	87	

Note: \* $p<0.05$

Similar to race, offender citizenship was not mentioned in the majority of the articles written between 2010 and 2014 (97%), mentioning non-US citizens in 3% of the articles. Offender citizenship is not mentioned in 96% of articles written between 2015 and 2019, mentioning US citizens in 3% of articles and non-US citizens in 1% of the articles. A chi-squared test of independence was conducted to assess whether offender citizenship (US citizen, non-US citizen, or not given) varied significantly between the pre-passage period (2010-2014) and the post-passage period (2015-2019). The number of stories that talk about offender citizenship is significantly related to the period in which they were passed ( $\chi^2= 6.92$ , d.f.=2,  $p<0.05$ ). These results can be seen in Table 17.

**Table 17.** Chi-Squared Test of Independence of Offender Citizenship

Offender Citizenship	2010-2014		2015-2019		$\chi^2^*$
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
US Citizen	0	0	4	3	6.92
Non-US Citizen	5	3	1	1	
Not Given	171	97	133	96	

Note: \* $p<0.05$

Between 2010 and 2014, articles wrote about 1 offender in 9% of articles and multiple offenders in 6% of articles. Between 2015 and 2019, articles wrote about 1 offender in 12% of articles and multiple offenders in 20% of articles. A chi-squared test of independence was conducted to assess whether the number of offenders (1 offender, multiple offender, or not given) varied significantly between the pre-passage period (2010-2014) and the post-passage period (2015-2019). The number of stories that talk about the number of offenders is significantly related to the period in which they were passed ( $\chi^2= 16.55$ , d.f.=2,  $p<0.05$ ). These results can be seen in Table 18.

**Table 18.** Chi-Squared Test of Independence of Number of Offenders

# of Offenders	2010-2014		2015-2019		$\chi^2^*$
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
1 Offender	15	9	17	12	16.55
Multiple Offenders	11	6	28	20	
Not Given	150	85	93	67	

Note: \* $p < 0.05$

In sum, data for both victims and offenders are limited, but more information is given in the post-passage period. A more detailed description of victim and offender data pre-2015 can be seen in table 19, and data on victim and offender information post-2015 can be seen in table 20.

**Table 19.** Victim and Offender Information

	General News	Specific News	Op-Ed/ Commentary	Letter to the Editor	Other	Total
<b>Victim Age</b>						
Not Given	44 (25%)	7 (4%)	5 (3%)	6 (3%)	51 (29%)	113 (64%)
Child	18 (10%)	13 (7%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	7 (4%)	39 (22%)
Adult	6 (3%)	5 (3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	12 (7%)
Both	5 (3%)	4 (2%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	12 (7%)
<b># of Victims</b>						
Not Given	70 (40%)	9 (5%)	7 (4%)	7 (4%)	58 (33%)	151 (86%)
1 Victim	2 (1%)	15 (9%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	17 (10%)
Multiple Victims	1 (1%)	5 (3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	8 (5%)
<b># of Offenders</b>						
Not Given	68 (39%)	11 (6%)	7 (4%)	7 (4%)	57 (32%)	150 (85%)
1 Offender	2 (1%)	10 (6%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (2%)	15 (9%)
Multiple Offenders	3 (2%)	8 (5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	11 (6%)
<b>Victim Gender</b>						
Not Given	51 (29%)	8 (5%)	5 (3%)	6 (3%)	56 (32%)	126 (72%)
Female	21 (12%)	17 (10%)	2 (1%)	1 (1%)	3 (2%)	44 (25%)
Male	0 (0%)	4 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	5 (3%)
Both	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)



**Table 19. Continued**

	<b>General News</b>	<b>Specific News</b>	<b>Op-Ed/ Commentary</b>	<b>Letter to the Editor</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Offender Gender</b>						
Not Given	67 (38%)	13 (7%)	7 (4%)	7 (4%)	57 (32%)	151 (86%)
Female	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Male	6 (3%)	15 (9%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (2%)	24 (14%)
Both	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)
<b>Victim Race</b>						
Not Given	71 (40%)	26 (15%)	7 (4%)	7 (4%)	60 (34%)	171 (97%)
White	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Black	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Hispanic	1 (1%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (2%)
Asian	2 (1%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (2%)
<b>Offender Race</b>						
Not Given	70 (40%)	27 (15%)	7 (4%)	7 (4%)	59 (34%)	170 (97%)
White	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Black	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Hispanic	3 (2%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	5 (3%)
Asian	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)
<b>Victim Citizenship</b>						
Not Given	73 (41%)	24 (14%)	7 (4%)	7 (4%)	60 (34%)	171 (97%)
US Citizen	0 (0%)	3 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (2%)
Non-US Citizen	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (1%)
<b>Offender Citizenship</b>						
Not Given	70 (40%)	28 (16%)	7 (4%)	7 (4%)	59 (34%)	171 (97%)
US Citizen	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Non-US Citizen	3 (2%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	5 (3%)
<b>Victim/Offender Relationship</b>						
Not Given	64 (36%)	22 (13%)	7 (4%)	7 (4%)	58 (33%)	158 (90%)
Family	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)
Friend/Acquaintance	1 (1%)	6 (3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	8 (5%)
Stranger	3 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (2%)
Other	4 (2%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	6 (3%)

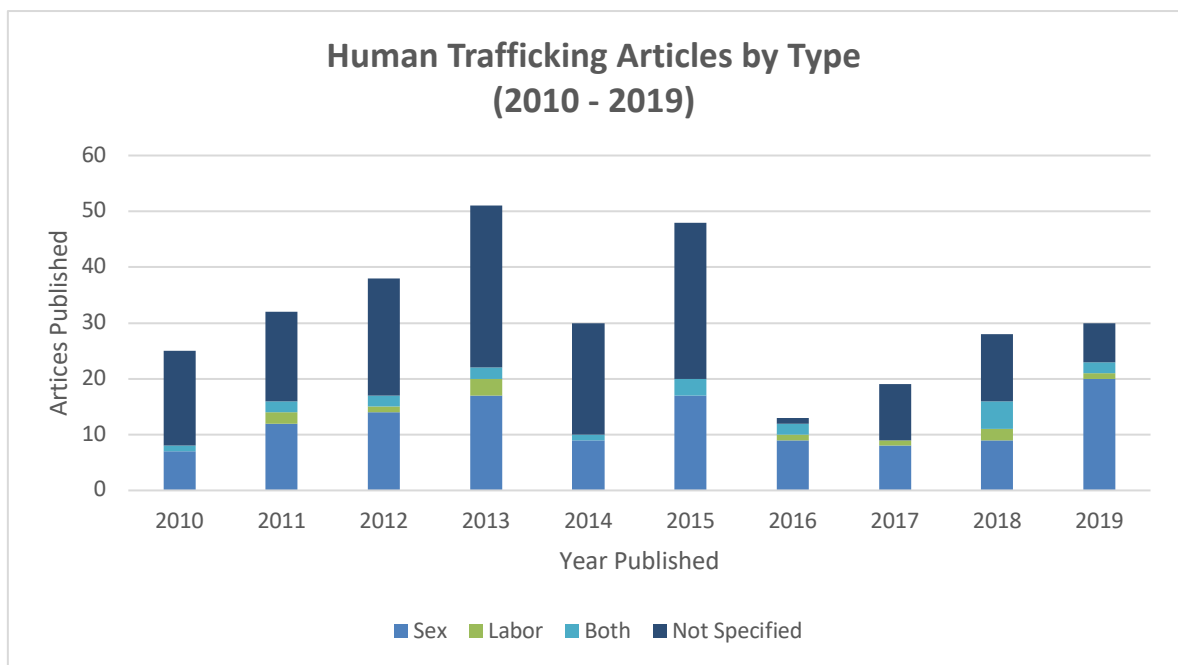
**Table 20. Victim and Offender Information (2015-2019)**

	<b>General News</b>	<b>Specific News</b>	<b>Op-Ed/ Commentary</b>	<b>Letter to the Editor</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Victim Age</b>						
Not Given	35 (25%)	9 (7%)	10 (7%)	4 (3%)	13 (9%)	71 (51%)
Child	2 (1%)	18 (13%)	4 (3%)	2 (1%)	1 (1%)	27 (20%)
Adult	1 (1%)	13 (9%)	6 (4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	20 (14%)
Both	9 (7%)	5 (4%)	5 (4%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	20 (14%)
<b># of Victims</b>						
Not Given	46 (33%)	18 (13%)	17 (12%)	5 (4%)	15 (11%)	101 (73%)
1 Victim	0 (0%)	17 (12%)	4 (3%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	22 (16%)
Multiple Victims	1 (1%)	10 (7%)	4 (3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	15 (11%)
<b># of Offenders</b>						
Not Given	46 (33%)	13 (9%)	16 (12%)	4 (3%)	14 (10%)	93 (67%)
1 Offender	0 (0%)	12 (9%)	3 (2%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	17 (12%)
Multiple Offenders	1 (1%)	20 (14%)	6 (4%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	28 (20%)
<b>Victim Gender</b>						
Not Given	38 (27%)	18 (13%)	12 (9%)	5 (4%)	14 (10%)	87 (63%)
Female	9 (6%)	26 (19%)	13 (9%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	50 (36%)
Male	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)
Both	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)
<b>Offender Gender</b>						
Not Given	46 (33%)	16 (12%)	14 (10%)	4 (3%)	14 (10%)	94 (68%)
Female	0 (0%)	4 (3%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (4%)
Male	1 (1%)	12 (9%)	3 (2%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	18 (13%)
Both	0 (0%)	13 (9%)	6 (4%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	20 (14%)

**Table 20.** Continued

	<b>General News</b>	<b>Specific News</b>	<b>Op-Ed/ Commentary</b>	<b>Letter to the Editor</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Victim Race</b>						
Not Given	46 (33%)	40 (29%)	22 (16%)	6 (4%)	15 (11%)	129 (92%)
White	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)
Black	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (2%)
Hispanic	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (2%)
Asian	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (3%)
<b>Offender Race</b>						
Not Given	47 (33%)	36 (26%)	20 (14%)	5 (4%)	14 (10%)	122 (87%)
White	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	2 (1%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	4 (3%)
Black	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (1%)
Hispanic	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	3 (2%)
Asian	0 (0%)	7 (5%)	3 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	10 (7%)
<b>Victim Citizenship</b>						
Not Given	46 (33%)	40 (29%)	22 (16%)	6 (4%)	15 (11%)	129 (93%)
US Citizen	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (1%)
Non-US Citizen	1 (1%)	4 (3%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	7 (5%)
<b>Offender Citizenship</b>						
Not Given	47 (34%)	43 (31%)	23 (17%)	5 (4%)	15 (11%)	133 (96%)
US Citizen	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	4 (3%)
Non-US Citizen	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)
<b>Victim/Offender Relationship</b>						
Not Given	46 (32%)	26 (18%)	16 (11%)	5 (4%)	14 (10%)	107 (75%)
Family	1 (1%)	3 (2%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (4%)
Friend/Acquaintance	1 (1%)	7 (5%)	3 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	11 (8%)
Stranger	0 (0%)	5 (4%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (4%)
Other	0 (0%)	7 (5%)	3 (2%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	12 (8%)

Between 2010 and 2014, sex trafficking was mentioned in 59% of articles, labor trafficking was written about in 6% of articles, and both sex and labor trafficking was written about in 8% of articles. Between 2015 and 2019, sex trafficking was mentioned in 46% of articles, labor trafficking was written about in 4% of articles, and both sex and labor trafficking was written about in 9% of articles. This information can be seen in Figure 2.



**Figure 2.** Human Trafficking Articles by Type of Trafficking

A chi-square test of independence was conducted to assess whether the different types of trafficking (sex, labor, both, or not given) varied significantly between the pre-passage period (2010-2014) and the post-passage period (2015-2019). The number of stories that talk about different types of trafficking is significantly related to the period in which they were passed ( $\chi^2=9.14$ , d.f.=1,  $p < 0.05$ ). These results can be seen in Table 21.

**Table 21.** Chi-Squared Test of Independence of Type of Offenders

Type	2010-2014		2015-2019		$\chi^2^*$
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
Sex	59	34	63	46	9.14
Labor	6	3	5	4	
Both	8	5	12	9	
Not Given	103	59	58	42	

Note: \* $p < 0.05$

Prior to the passage of the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act of 2015, only 27% of articles focused on human trafficking (as opposed to articles that briefly mentioned human trafficking). After this act was passed, 61% of articles focused on human trafficking. A chi-squared test of independence was conducted to assess whether the main focus of articles (human trafficking) varied significantly between the pre-passage period (2010-2014) and the post-passage period (2015-2019). The number of stories that talk human trafficking as the main focus is significantly related to the period in which they were passed ( $\chi^2 = 35.8322$ , d.f.=1,  $p < 0.05$ ).

These results can be seen in Table 22.

**Table 22.** Chi-Squared Test of Independence of Definition Given

Main Focus	2010-2014		2015-2019		$\chi^2^*$
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
Yes	48	27	84	61	35.83
No	128	73	54	39	

Note: \* $p < 0.05$

Between 2010 and 2014, an overwhelming number of articles did not provide the reader a definition (99%) and did not educate the reader (81%). Similar to 2010 and 2014, 98% of articles did not provide the reader a definition between 2015 and 2019, and 70% did not educate the readers. A chi-squared test of independence was conducted to assess whether or not the articles that gave a definition on human trafficking varied significantly between the pre-passage period

(2010-2014) and the post-passage period (2015-2019). The number of stories that give a definition of human trafficking is not significantly related to the period in which they were passed ( $\chi^2= 1.59$ , d.f.=1,  $p<0.05$ ). Perhaps the authors of these articles assume that its readers already know what human trafficking is. With the many myths surrounding human trafficking, this number is too low. These results can be seen in Table 23. Another chi-squared test of independence was conducted to assess whether or not the articles that educated the reader on human trafficking varied significantly between the pre-passage period (2010-2014) and the post-passage period (2015-2019). The number of stories that educate the reader about human trafficking is significantly related to the period in which they were passed ( $\chi^2= 5.16$ , d.f.=1,  $p<0.05$ ). These results can be seen in Table 24.

**Table 23.** Chi-Squared Test of Independence of Definition Given

Definition Given	2010-2014		2015-2019		$\chi^2^*$
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
Yes	1	1	3	2	1.59
No	175	99	135	98	

Note: \* $p<0.05$

**Table 24.** Chi-Squared Test of Independence of Educating the Reader

Educating the Reader	2010-2014		2015-2019		$\chi^2^*$
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
Yes	33	19	41	30	5.16
No	143	81	97	70	

Note: \* $p<0.05$

Many articles did not offer a cause as to why human trafficking exists between 2010 and 2014 (91%), but those that did mentioned money as the most common cause (3%). The second cause offered was the location to the Mexican border/geographic demographics (2%) and other causes (2%). Many articles between 2015 and 2019 also did not mention a cause (89%). When a

cause was mentioned, there was an emphasis on the sex industry (3%), money (3%), and other causes (3%). A chi-squared test of independence was conducted to assess whether or not the article's that offered a cause (location to border/geographic demographics, legislation/government, sex industry, money, drugs, immigration, other, or not given) varied significantly between the pre-passage period (2010-2014) and the post-passage period (2015-2019). The number of stories that offered a cause about human trafficking is significantly related to the period in which they were passed ( $\chi^2= 15.35$ , d.f.=7,  $p<0.05$ ). These results can be seen in Table 25. In sum the data the was offered to the reader was limited; however, most of the data was significantly related to the post-passage period when they were passed.

**Table 25.** Chi-Squared Test of Independence of Cause Offered

Cause Offered	2010-2014		2015-2019		$\chi^2^*$
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
Location to Border/Geographic Demographics	8	4	0	0	15.34
Legislation/Government	1	1	0	0	
Sex Industry	3	2	7	5	
Money	3	2	2	1	
Drugs	1	1	2	1	
Immigration	0	0	2	1	
Other	8	4	2	1	
Not Given	157	87	123	89	

Note: \* $p<0.05$

### *Prognostic Frame*

The prognostic frame offers a solution to the problem. Of the solutions given, better immigration policy/securing the border were offered in 10% of articles written between 2010 and 2014. The second solution given between 2010 and 2014 was better training/awareness for employees (6%). Articles written between 2015 and 2019 had better police/law enforcement

efforts in 13% of articles followed by better legislation/government official efforts (10%). A chi-squared test of independence was conducted to assess whether or not the article's that offered a solution (immigration/secure the border, legislation/government, police/law enforcement, help victims, training/awareness, other, or not given) varied significantly between the pre-passage period (2010-2014) and the post-passage period (2015-2019). The number of stories that offered a solution is significantly related to the period in which they were passed ( $\chi^2= 14.35$ , d.f.=6,  $p<0.05$ ). These results can be seen in Table 26.

**Table 26.** Chi-Squared Test of Independence of Solution Offered

Solution Offered	2010-2014		2015-2019		$\chi^2^*$
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
Immigration/Secure the Border	18	10	7	5	14.35
Legislation/Government	10	5	14	10	
Police/Law Enforcement	10	5	19	13	
Help Victims	8	4	10	7	
Training/Awareness	11	6	6	4	
Other	3	2	0	0	
Not Given	123	67	88	61	

Note: \* $p<0.05$

Articles often used different sources to obtain information. The primary source used in articles written between 2010 and 2014 was law enforcement/court personnel (24%). Other sources were the second most common source given (19%). Similarly, articles written between 2015 and 2019 used law enforcement/court personnel (31%). Other sources were also the second most common source given (25%). A chi-squared test of independence was conducted to assess whether article source (law enforcement/court personnel, legislators/government officials, service providers/volunteers, letters to the editor, other, or not given) varied significantly between the pre-passage period (2010-2014) and the post-passage period (2015-2019). The



number of stories that utilized sources is significantly related to the period in which they were passed ( $\chi^2= 21.29$ , d.f.=5,  $p<0.05$ ). These results can be seen in Table 27.

**Table 27.** Chi-Squared Test of Independence of Sources

Source	2010-2014		2015-2019		$\chi^2^*$
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
Law Enforcement/Court Personnel	44	24	51	35	21.29
Legislators/Government Officials	34	18	40	28	
Service Providers/Volunteers	32	17	12	8	
Letters to the Editor	7	4	6	4	
Other	22	12	20	14	
Not Given	48	26	16	11	

Note: \* $p<0.05$

In sum, there was more information given within the prognostic frame in the post-period. The data shows that articles that were written and released post- the Justice for Victims of Trafficking act were significantly related to their time period.

### *Motivational Frame*

The motivational frame is a call to action for its readers to help reduce the problem of human trafficking. An overwhelming number of articles written in 2010 and 2014 did not give a call to action (91%). The most common call to action given was training/awareness (5%). With articles written between 2015 and 2019, 80% of articles did not give a call to action. When a call to action was given, articles mentioned training/awareness in 10% of articles. A chi-squared test of independence was conducted to assess whether the article’s call to action (none given, training/awareness, volunteer/donate, report to police, or other) varied significantly between the pre-passage period (2010-2014) and the post-passage period (2015-2019). The number of stories that offered a call to action is significantly related to the period in which they were passed ( $\chi^2= 11.58$ , d.f.=4,  $p<0.05$ ). A more detailed description can be seen in Table 28.

**Table 28.** Chi-Squared Test of Independence of Sources

Call to Action	2010-2014		2015-2019		$\chi^2^*$
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
None	163	92	113	80	11.58
Training/Awareness	9	5	14	10	
Volunteer/Donate	2	1	3	2	
Report to Police	2	1	4	3	
Other	1	1	7	5	

Note: \* $p < 0.05$

In sum, the motivational frame varies significantly after the Victims of Trafficking act was passed.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **DISCUSSION**

This study attempted to measure any differences in reporting between 2010-2014 and 2015-2019 in sex trafficking using the Dallas Morning News. When looking at the number of articles published each year, there were more articles published in 2013 (leading up to the act) and in 2015 (when the act was passed). Looking closer at 2015, both March and April produced more articles than any other month that year. This is most likely due to the timing of the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act, as the act was passed May 29, 2015.

The first study question talks about article composition. Between 2010 and 2013 there were 11 articles discussing human trafficking on the front page of the main section and no articles between 2014 and 2016 on the front page of the main section. This information is limited as EBSCOhost did not provide section of the paper. Perhaps if EBSCOhost did provide this information, article placement would vary following the passage of the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act of 2015. Besides limited data, this could also be due to the presidential election that occurred in 2016. Many articles still appeared inside of the main section, allowing readers to have easy access to the article.

Word count for articles that focused on human trafficking was mainly between 1 and 800 words. This is most likely because articles that had more words given focused on community events and politicians.

#### *Diagnostic Frame*

The second study question aimed at seeing how and if the diagnostic frame has evolved since the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act was passed. While many articles did not give

information, many variables in the diagnostic frame were significant pre- and post- the Justice for Victims of trafficking Act. It is no surprise that there is no significant difference in reporting for victims, as the newspaper might limit the information they publish to protect victims. The amount of coverage on children victims remained stable, but there was more reporting on adult victims between 2015 and 2019 than there was between 2010 and 2014. Perhaps this is the newspaper mirroring the realities of human trafficking.

The majority of the articles focused on sex trafficking. This aligns with previous research (Austin & Farrell, 2017; Bouché et al., 2016; De Vries et al., 2019; Farrell & Fahy, 2009; Farrell et al., 2014; Farrell & Reichert, 2017; Gulati, 2011; Renzetti, Bush, Castellanos, & Hunt, 2015; Sanford et al., 2016). Looking at statistics on labor trafficking, however, it is curious why there is such an underrepresentation of labor trafficking in the news, as labor trafficking is the more prevalent form of human trafficking. One explanation for this is that US consumers enjoy purchasing cheap goods. As Unicef states, “human trafficking is the only industry in which the supply and demand are the same thing: human beings” (2017). Perhaps because consumers enjoy purchasing goods at a low cost, there is more of an incentive to turn a blind eye to the realities of human trafficking. If news outlets started publishing more stories on labor trafficking, there would be a call to action to stop purchasing cheap goods, which many citizens are unwilling to do.

Another notable difference in the diagnostic frame was that human trafficking was the main focus between 2015 and 2019. Between 2010 and 2014, only 27 percent of articles discussed human trafficking as the main focus as opposed to 61 percent in 2015 and 2019. This is likely because many articles in the pre-period focused on immigration and border control and

used human trafficking as a reason to enforce border security. This was less evident between 2015 and 2019.

Lastly, causes offered slightly varied. Between 2010 and 2014, money (three percent), other (two percent) and location to border/geographic demographics (two percent) were the most commonly given causes for human trafficking, while money (three percent), other (three percent), and the sex industry (three percent) were the most commonly given causes for human trafficking between 2015 and 2019. This slight variation is most likely due to a sex expo that was coming to Dallas in 2016, which caused controversy amongst residents in the Dallas/Fort Worth area. Overall, more information about human trafficking was given to the reader between the period of 2015 and 2019.

#### *Prognostic Frame*

Sources used in the prognostic frame did not vary much across the years, but interestingly solutions did. Between 2010 and 2014, the top two solutions offered was immigration/secure the border (10 percent) and training/awareness (six percent). Articles written between 2015 and 2019 offered police/law enforcement (13 percent) and legislation/government (10 percent) as the top two solutions offered while immigration/secure the border (five percent) and training/awareness (four percent) were among two of the least offered solutions. Immigration/secure the border lacking as a solution in 2015 through 2019 was surprising, as President Trump has placed an emphasis on border patrol and illegal immigration. Legislation/government, on the other hand made sense. As the Justice for Victims of Trafficking Act of 2015 was passed, discussion on that act and human trafficking legislation in general was bound to occur.

Better police/law enforcement was another solution heavily discussed between 2015 and 2019 and is an area that needs to evolve. As mentioned earlier, often times traffickers go unpunished; however, this does not mean that perpetrators are never caught. The bigger the state and population that the offender is living and trafficking in, the greater likelihood that he or she will be arrested (Farrell et al., 2019a). This can be attributed to the increased number of victims with a bigger population, creating more opportunity (Farrell et al., 2019a). From the time of arrest to adjudication, cases typically take around 257 days to prosecute these offenders. The average sentence length found for offenders convicted is around 115 months, depending on the charge the offender actually receives (Bouché et al., 2016). The type of charge a defendant receives can vary for a few reasons. First, like most crimes, hiring a private attorney who can take the time needed to defend such a unique case will be less likely to receive a conviction, or at least a conviction for a less severe offense (Bouché et al., 2016). Second, most trafficking charges are used as leverage (Bouché et al., 2016). According to Farrell, Owens, and McDevitt, “most cases forwarded to state prosecution are sex trafficking cases involving U.S. citizens, and state prosecutors overwhelmingly charge human trafficking offenders with other, lesser crimes,” such as prostitution or aggravated promotion of prostitution (2014, p. 139- 152). Departments will often measure success by the number of arrests, when in actuality not all arrests result in convictions.

There are a few areas for potential improvement of law enforcement agencies that previous researchers have pointed out. The first is providing more resources to departments at the local level. Investments and external funding are the main hindrance for police departments (Bouché et al., 2016; Farrell et al., 2019a). While federal agencies have a better ability to tackle

human trafficking, more often than not, it occurs locally, and local agencies need to be equipped as well, with tools such as wiretapping and providing task forces (Bouché et al., 2016; Farrell et al., 2019a). These tools and investments will help not only with arrests but with prosecutions as well (Farrell et al., 2019a). Having laws with tougher penalties is more likely to result in increased arrests, often because these departments will see sex trafficking more seriously and devote more time and energy identifying victims and perpetrators (Farrell et al., 2010; Farrell et al., 2019a).

Tougher sanctions are one way that states can improve, but training is another. Departments that have all their officers go to training are about five times more likely to investigate cases, and subsequently arrest offenders (Renzetti et al., 2015). Without this training, officers do not even know what to look for (Farrell et al., 2019b; Farrell & Reichert, 2017). With training, officers can have better awareness and realize that it is a problem that occurs in their community (Farrell et al., 2010).

### *Motivational Frame*

Lastly, while there was a significant difference between the pre-period and post-period, the motivational frame did not vary much. Training/awareness was the most commonly offered call to action for readers to take in both the pre-period (5 percent) and the post-period (10 percent). The most notable difference was that more articles were publishing suggestions for its readers between 2015 and 2019. As awareness continues to grow around this topic, readers will most likely be more invested as to how they can help.

### *Limitations*

This study is not without limitations. The first limitation of this study was that only one

source was used: The Dallas Morning News. Because this study only looked at human trafficking in one area, the results may not be generalizable to other areas of the country, specifically states that do not border Mexico, have a large population size, and do not have an abundance of highways. The second limitation of this study was that only one type of media outlet was used: newspaper. As technology continues to evolve, looking at digital forms of news might provide different insights into human trafficking. Along those lines, just because an article was published does not mean that it is treated with equal importance or is equally impactful. Not every individual that reads the Dallas Morning News will read the paper cover to cover, so certain articles on human trafficking might not have been read. Future research should look at different ways the news is consumed and what articles are driving the most traffic. This would give a better understanding of how effective the news is at framing human trafficking. A third limitation was that two different databases were used: EBSCOhost and NewsBank. This was necessary due to a limited date range of NewsBank. EBSCOhost did not offer the same information that NewsBank offered, specifically word count and page number. Word count was manually calculated, but the location of the paper was omitted from articles using EBSCOhost. Lastly, many variables, such as victim demographics, were not given in these articles. This could be due to the reporting agency (Dallas Morning News) but is most likely due to the sensitive and ambiguous nature of human trafficking. To protect those involved in the human trafficking case, information might have been withheld. This could also be due to the difficult nature of human trafficking. Human trafficking is hard to research and report on because of the nature of the crime. Law enforcement officers have a hard time distinguishing sex trafficking victims from those involved in prostitution (Farrell & Fahy, 2009; Farrell et al., 2010; Farrell & Reichert,



2017). This adds to the misinformed data on human trafficking and paint an incomplete picture of the magnitude on human trafficking.

Future research should also explore the link between human trafficking and different theoretical traditions. One theory that future research should look at is conflict theory. Conflict theory rests upon the assumptions that people struggle for power and resources, creating conflict and inequality. This theory can best be seen with labor trafficking, as the wealthy exploit the poor. Social construction theory is another theory that should be explored with human trafficking. This theory posits that society creates norms and rules that we learn to live by, and these norms exist only because society believes them to be true. The last theory that future researchers should explore is moral panic theory. This theory states that moral panic occurs when there is a threat to societal values. Both labor and sex trafficking can be looked at with moral panic theory, but it would be interesting to see how moral panic occurs around labor trafficking, as there is a conflict of interest that exists with citizens: threat to societal values by mistreating humans for labor and accepting that the goods that they are able to obtain for a low price point is due to cheap labor.

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Elle Repeta was born in Lansdale, Pennsylvania. After completing school at Carmel Catholic High School in 2013, Elle attended Texas Christian University in Fort Worth, Texas, where she received a Bachelor of Arts in Psychology with a double minor in Criminology and Spanish in 2017. Elle took a year off to work as an au pair in Spain and as a new client specialist at a law firm in Fort Worth, Texas. In August 2018, she started the criminology graduate program at The University of Texas at Dallas.

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### **University of Texas at Dallas**

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### **Sexual Harassment and Misconduct Encyclopedia**

January 2019- March 2019

*Contributing Author*

- Synthesized the events of Gamergate
- Aided with the entry on Zoe Quinn and Anita Sarkeesian

### **Student Sexual Assault Research Project**

October 2018- October 2019

*Research Assistant*

- Investigated female teach sex offenders
- Conducted a content analysis between 2005 and 2015

### **Backpages Research**

December 2017- August 2019

*Research Assistant*

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- Conducted a content analysis between December 2017 and April 2018

### **Comparative Cognition Research**

January 2016- May 2017

*Research Assistant*

- Conducted comparative cognition experiments with animals
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