"A Learning Curve": Counselors' Experiences Working With Sex Trafficking



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In this transcendental phenomenological study, we interviewed 10 counselors who have clinical experience working with sex trafficking survivors. Through in-depth individual interviews, participants discussed their lived experiences providing counseling to this population. Our analysis revealed four primary themes: (a) counselor knowledge: "learning curve," (b) counselor skills: "creating a safe space to dive into work," (c) counselor attitudes: "being able to listen to the client's story," and (d) counselor action: "more than just a counselor." The findings indicated that counselors working with sex trafficking survivors needed to understand and address the different aspects of trauma. Our findings also demonstrate that working with sex trafficking survivors requires additional competencies such as recognizing the signs of sex trafficking, vulnerable populations, and the processes by which traffickers force people into sex trafficking. We discuss these findings in more detail and identify implications for counselor training and practice.

Keywords: sex trafficking survivors, counseling, phenomenological, trauma, competencies

Sex trafficking of any individual is a significant concern globally. In 2000, the United States government enacted the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000, which defined sex 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" or "when the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age" (§ 103). Although the United States's efforts fully meet the minimum standards established by the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 to eliminate severe forms of trafficking, the Department of Justice initiated a total of 210 federal human trafficking prosecutions in 2020, of which 195 involved predominantly sex trafficking (U.S. Department of State, 2021). As stated in the *Trafficking in Persons Report* (U.S. Department of State, 2021), all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and U.S. territories have reported all forms of human trafficking over the past 5 years. With an estimated 4.8 million people victimized by sex trafficking (International Labour Organization, 2017), it is important to understand how counselors identify, provide services to, and advocate on behalf of sex trafficking survivors within the counseling setting.

Sex Trafficking and Mental Health

As a form of human trafficking, sex trafficking exposes individuals to torture; kidnapping; and severe psychological, physical, and sexual abuse. Physical health consequences of sex trafficking include general health complications (e.g., malnutrition), reproductive health consequences (e.g., sexually transmitted diseases, unwanted pregnancies), substance abuse, and physical injuries (Grosso et al., 2018; Lutnik, 2016; Muftić & Finn, 2013). Psychological abuses are numerous and can include intimidation, threats against loved ones, lies, deception, blackmail, isolation, and forced dependency (Thompson & Haley, 2018).

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Because of the prevalence of sex trafficking, the health consequences that result from it, and the diverse areas in which counselors practice (e.g., community clinics, private practices, behavioral health departments, college/universities, K-12 schools), counselors must be prepared to work with sex trafficking survivors (Interiano-Shiverdecker et al., 2022, 2023; Litam, 2017, 2019; Romero et al., 2021; Thompson & Haley, 2018). Standards required by the Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs (CACREP; 2015) prepare counselors to demonstrate clinical competencies to address a variety of circumstances, including traumatic experiences, across various continuums of care (e.g., inpatient, outpatient). Clinical mental health counselors with specialization in substance abuse and marriage, couple, and family counseling can also address other comorbid issues typically encountered with sex trafficking clients such as substance abuse and relational difficulties (CACREP, 2015; Litam & Lam, 2020). Early incidence of sex trafficking (12–16 years for girls, 11–13 for boys and transgender youth; Franchino-Olsen, 2019) demands the attention of school counselors trained to promote the academic, career, and personal/social development of school-aged children (American School Counselor Association [ASCA], 2022; CACREP, 2015). Therefore, firsthand accounts of counselors providing services to this population can provide an overview of current needs, challenges, and recommendations for clinical practice and research.

Sex Trafficking Research in the Counseling Profession

A recent review of the literature showed increased attention to sex trafficking coverage in top-tier counseling journals. Conceptual pieces reviewed relevant information on sex trafficking, counselor awareness, and counseling implications (Browne-James et al., 2021; Burt, 2019; Litam, 2017; Thompson & Haley, 2018). Empirical studies explored counselors' attitudes toward sex trafficking (Litam, 2019; Litam & Lam, 2020), assessment for the screening of sex trafficking (Interiano-Shiverdecker et al., 2022, 2023; Romero et al., 2021), mental health treatment programs and modalities for sex trafficking (Johnson, 2020; Kenny et al., 2018; Schmidt et al., 2022; Woehler & Akers, 2022), and survivors' recovery stories (Bruhns et al., 2018). Thompson and Haley (2018) reported a need for more training and education for counselors on sex trafficking. In a study done by Litam and Lam (2020), results indicated that counselor training in sex trafficking increased awareness. As a response, Interiano-Shiverdecker et al. (2023) developed an initial list of child sex trafficking competencies for counselors.

Although these studies provide relevant information for counselors' work with sex trafficking, they do not focus on the *experience* of providing care for sex trafficking victims and survivors. Exploring counselors' experiences provides a significant breakdown of current mental health care for this population. In other words, what does providing care for this population look and feel like in reality and what competencies work when serving sex trafficking victims and survivors? Only one phenomenological study focused on this inquiry, but this study examined therapists' experiences working with foreign-national survivors of sex trafficking in the United States (Wang & Park-Taylor, 2021). Although this study presents important findings, it explored counselors' work with only a certain group of sex trafficking individuals. Despite incomplete records, most data indicate that U.S. citizens are equally vulnerable to sex trafficking. For example, the National Human Trafficking Hotline (n.d.),

which maintains one of the most extensive data sets on human trafficking in the United States, indicates that U.S. citizens comprised approximately 40% of their callers. The current study seeks to expand on the work of Wang and Park-Taylor (2021) by obtaining first-hand accounts of counselors providing services to sex trafficking clients in the United States and providing an overview of needs, challenges, and recommendations for clinical practice and research. The guiding research question for this study was: What are the lived experiences of counselors working with sex trafficking survivors in the United States?

Method

Using transcendental phenomenological research, the researchers—Claudia G. Interiano-Shiverdecker, Devon E. Romero, Katherine E. McVay, Emily Satel, and Kendra Smith—sought to understand counselors' experiences working with sex trafficking survivors. A transcendental phenomenological method was best suited for this study because it allowed us to provide thick descriptions of the phenomena while employing bracketing techniques to explore participants' experiences outside of our perspectives (Hays & Singh, 2012). Utilizing Moustakas's (1994) modification of Van Kaam's method, we sought to explore the occurrences of counselors working with sex trafficking survivors and collectively met to address any biases that came up during data analysis.

Researchers as Instruments

At the time of the study, Interiano-Shiverdecker and Romero were counselor educators at a university in the Southern United States with recent sex trafficking publications and experience working with youth vulnerable to sex trafficking in community and school settings. McVay was a doctoral candidate and a licensed professional counselor who was practicing as a social-emotional wellness counselor at a private school. Satel and Smith were master's students in a clinical mental health program. Our desire to explore this topic stemmed from a limited discussion of sex trafficking in the literature and sought to include the voices of counselors. As the research team, we are all involved in a research lab dedicated to understanding sex trafficking and how counselors can better serve sex trafficking survivors. As such, we had varying levels of experience with research and engagement with sex trafficking. Satel and Smith were new to research, including topics surrounding sex trafficking. Therefore, Interiano-Shiverdecker and Romero's broader understanding of the topic could have influenced newer members. For example, Interiano-Shiverdecker assumed that codes would resemble counseling competency categories (e.g., knowledge, skills, awareness). To reduce researcher bias, we engaged in weekly debriefing meetings for approximately 5 months for ongoing discussion of our perspectives and preconceived notions throughout data analysis. We documented our biases in journals, checked in on them during meetings, and referenced participants' quotes to prevent imposing our assumptions of the data.

Participants and Sampling

After receiving IRB approval from the university, we sought participants through purposeful sampling and snowball sampling. Purposeful sampling strategies included reaching out directly via email to counselors who fit the study criteria and sending two calls for participants on an email mailing list for counselors and counselor educators (i.e., CESNET). For direct emails, McVay created a list of individuals who fit the criteria from Interiano-Shiverdecker and Romero's professional network and an internet search. We also engaged in snowball sampling methods through recruited participants involved in the study. Inclusion criteria included counselors over the age of 18, who had previously or were currently working with children or adults who had been sex trafficked. Participants confirmed meeting the inclusion criteria by responding to a demographic questionnaire before beginning the interview. Following the qualitative researcher's recommendation of sample size, we sought a range between five and 25 participants for this study (Creswell, 2013; Moustakas, 1994). Counselors who

agreed to participate completed the consent forms, a demographic form, and a one-time Zoom interview. Participants received a \$25 gift card for their involvement in the study. We recruited for about 5 weeks after interviewing 10 counselors. After the tenth interview was completed and we concluded the first round of analysis for all interviews, we felt that data saturation was achieved when similar codes showed up throughout the data.

The resulting participant pool consisted of 10 counselors (nine female and one male) ranging in age from 27 to 61 years (M = 40.7, Mdn = 38.5, SD = 11.1). Seven participants identified as White, two participants identified as Hispanic, and one participant identified as Asian. The participants also identified their employment setting: university (n = 1), agency (n = 3), and private practice (n = 6). Participants disclosed providing services in one or several states such as Alabama (n = 1), Florida (n = 1), Missouri (n = 1), North Carolina (n = 1), and Texas (n = 7). One participant also reported providing services to sex trafficking survivors in the United Kingdom. Years working with survivors of sex trafficking ranged from 1 to 13+ years, with a range of three to 50+ clients who disclosed their sex trafficking experience. One participant (Alejandra) who had worked primarily with survivors of sexual abuse did not indicate their number "since a lot of clients I have worked with do not readily admit to being sex trafficked, I'm not sure." Table 1 outlines participant demographics in more detail.

Table 1

Participant Demographics

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Race/ Ethnicity	Work Setting	Years of Service	# ST Clients	CACREP
Kimberly	48	Female	White	Private Practice	11	30	Yes
John	38	Male	White	University	11	5	Yes
Stacy	33	Female	White	Private Practice	8	3+	Yes
Alejandra	54	Female	Hispanic	Agency	Unsure	Most of career	No
Fen	39	Female	Asian	Private Practice	5	4	Yes
Cassandra	33	Female	White	Private Practice	5	50+	Yes
Tiffany	27	Female	White	Private Practice	1	25	Yes
Amanda	29	Female	White	Private Practice	4	5	Yes
Ana	61	Female	Hispanic	Agency	13+	20	Yes
Cristina	45	Female	White	Agency	3	10+	No

Note. Years of Service = Years providing services to ST survivors; ST = Sex trafficking; CACREP = Program accredited by the Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs.

Data Collection Procedures

To follow phenomenological research methods, Interiano-Shiverdecker trained the doctoral student (McVay) in conducting semi-structured interviews. The researchers developed interview questions based on the purpose of the study and from a review of the literature. Interiano-Shiverdecker and McVay completed the interviews. Following Moustakas's (1994) recommendations, the interview protocol consisted of 12 semi-structured, open-ended questions that invited an in-depth discussion of their experiences. To create our interview protocol, we reviewed current literature in counseling on sex trafficking, particularly qualitative studies (Browne-James et al., 2021; Bruhns et al., 2018; Johnson, 2020; Wang & Park-Taylor, 2021; Woehler & Akers, 2022). Based on this review and Interiano-Shiverdecker's experience in qualitative research, we decided to focus not only on counselors' experiences with working with this population but also on their perspectives on the identification, prevention, and impact of sex trafficking on their clients. The complete interview protocol can be found in the Appendix. Interviews lasted from 26 to 69 minutes in length and occurred via Zoom because data collection occurred in 2021 and it was the most appropriate medium to respect social distancing and obtain a national sample. According to our IRB approval, our data collection presented no more than minimal risks for the participants. All interview questions followed a respectful disposition using open-ended questions to engage participants. However, McVay explained before beginning the interviews that participants could stop, pause, or opt out of the interview if the questions brought too much emotional distress. No participant requested the interview to be stopped or paused. During the interviews, we used counseling skills to facilitate the conversation and to build upon the experiences discussed. We recorded and de-identified all interviews for verbatim transcription.

Participants also completed a demographic questionnaire before the interview to confirm their eligibility for the interview and obtain information on their age, gender, race/ethnicity, work setting, CACREP accreditation and degree, years working with sex trafficking survivors, and the number of clients they worked with who identified as trafficked.

Data Analysis

Utilizing Moustakas's (1994) modification of Van Kaam's data analysis, the research team engaged in the seven steps proposed by this approach. Data analysis and management relied on the use of NVivo software (Version 12). Interiano-Shiverdecker provided training in data analysis to McVay, Satel, and Smith. Interiano-Shiverdecker, McVay, Satel, and Smith engaged in the first step by individually analyzing transcripts and engaging in horizontalization of meaning units (Hays & Singh, 2012) to create in vivo codes for all nonrepetitive, nonoverlapping statements (meaning units). Second, we merged all files to determine the invariant constituents through a process of reduction and elimination. This first process of reduction allowed us to determine what was necessary and sufficient data to understand the phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994). The team then assigned themes or clusters of meaning to similar statements (third step). From the clusters of meaning, we created an initial codebook based on the discussions and findings from individual data analysis. We used the initial codebook to examine the themes against the dataset, ensuring that it was representative of participants' experiences (fourth and fifth steps). As a team, we discussed any disagreements and worked on the data until we achieved a consensus. We worked out disagreements by discussing any opposing views and voting as a group on the best decision. We subsequently created textural descriptions through participants' verbatim quotes, as well as created structural descriptions by examining the emotional, social, and cultural connections between what participants said (sixth step). Finally, we created composite textural-structural descriptions that outlined the reoccurring and prominent themes across all participants by organizing the themes into subthemes and ensuring that

they represented all (if not most) participants' experiences. After this analysis, we felt we achieved data saturation. After the completion of the initial analysis, Romero reviewed the data as a peer reviewer and offered suggestions. The entire research team reviewed the suggestions and came together to incorporate them until we reached a consensus and developed the final codebook.

Strategies for Trustworthiness

To limit the effects of researcher bias, we employed several strategies for trustworthiness. These included reflexive journals, triangulation of researchers, peer debriefers, an external auditor, member checking, and thick descriptions to ensure ethical validation, credibility, transferability, confirmability, sampling adequacy, and authenticity of our analysis (Hays & Singh, 2012). We engaged in reflexive journaling and weekly bracketing meetings during our individual and group data analysis to discuss codes, potential themes, and our assumptions shadowing the participants' words. Researchers on the team brought varying levels of experience with research and the topic of sex trafficking, which we believe helped balance our subjective analysis of the data. We engaged in two rounds of member checking with the participants, one occurring after the transcription of the interviews and the second one after we wrote the themes. No participants changed the transcription of their interview or disagreed with the presentation of the themes. After the formulation of the themes from the original coding team, Romero served as a peer debriefer and reviewed the themes, key terms, and raw data, allowing participants to make recommendations on the content presented. This division in the research team allowed for another check outside of the original designated research team. An external auditor, a counselor educator with experience in conducting qualitative research, also reviewed the NVivo file and the write-up of the findings. The external auditor agreed with our data analysis procedures and presentation of the findings. He did provide suggestions to reduce the repetition of our first and second themes, which we implemented. Finally, we provide thick descriptions of our data collection and analysis procedures and present our results with direct quotes to ground our work.

Results

We identified four prevalent themes about mental health counselors' experiences with sex trafficking survivors: (a) counselor knowledge: "learning curve," (b) counselor skills: "creating a safe space to dive into work," (c) counselor attitudes: "being able to listen to the client's story," and (d) counselor action: "more than just a counselor." We use pseudonyms to present our results.

Counselor Knowledge: "Learning Curve"

All participants emphasized the importance not only of understanding trauma but also of gaining sex trafficking–specific knowledge throughout their work with survivors. Tiffany noted a "learning curve" when working with this population, despite working with trauma for most of her career. We categorized this theme into two subthemes: (a) *understanding trauma work* and (b) *understanding sex trafficking and survivors*.

Understanding Trauma Work

To work with sex trafficking, all counselors spoke about the importance of having general knowledge of trauma work. The most prominent topics included multicultural, legal, and ethical considerations. Important multicultural considerations for counselors involve understanding group differences between their clients (e.g., gender, race, age) and working from a culturally sensitive framework. Kimberly emphasized that "we really need people to not only have cultural sensitivity but also encourage those who are of other races to counsel these girls," adding that "they need someone that's like them from the same culture . . . to relate culturally to somebody." Legal

implications included understanding consent, informing clients of their limits of confidentiality when assessing for risk, and their role as mandated reporters. In reference to ethical practices, consultation and supervision arose as with any other trauma work. Stacy noted that it was "important for us to talk to one another if something's going awry."

Many participants conveyed how crucial it was for them to understand healing and its complexities. Cristina shared that clients are "going to have their ups and downs," with Amanda echoing that there are "so many layers to the healing process." Kimberly felt it important to remind herself that "you're probably not going to see the seeds that you plant develop a lot of times." Another important aspect of healing trauma, mentioned by half of the sample, was understanding clients' stages of change. Stacy shared that one of her clients "went back to her hometown and relapsed immediately. And that's also a hard thing to deal with—to know that I felt like we had some good sessions . . . and then it's, 'Wait a minute. You went back to the relapse [sex trafficking]." Cristina noted that "especially [when they're] first out and they're not quite sure, that pre-contemplation if they want to leave or stay" was very important.

Another important aspect of their work included boundaries and self-care. All participants acknowledged that at some point in their careers, it was challenging to practice healthy boundaries. Cassandra acknowledged the following when working with individuals forced into sexual acts, "I wish I could take all the ladies I've ever worked [with], that have danced on stripper poles for money, unwillingly, and just like put clothes on them and wrap them up and hug them." She added,

[It] can get really tricky when we start answering our phone because it's an emergency all the time . . . and it'll wear you out, your batteries will wear out, and you'll end up having this dual relationship that will end up hurting her because . . . you're not her friend.

It was helpful for Cassandra to remind herself that she was not the client's parent. Rather, she shared, "when I hear things like that, I have to remind them that this is my job, this is what I do for a living." Implementing healthy professional boundaries reduced burnout and facilitated self-care. Participants highlighted activities such as meditating, doing yoga, or taking the occasional day off. The counselors heeded that self-care also included managing their caseload to limit emotionally heavy clients or seeing a personal counselor themselves, as Cassandra and Amanda respectively noted. Amanda said, "you definitely have to secure your oxygen before you can secure other people's."

Understanding Sex Trafficking and Survivors

All participants explained that working with this population required them "to understand what sex trafficking is and . . . the many different ways that it looks," as stated by John. He elaborated that "it takes many different forms and shapes," some of which may not be immediately recognized as trafficking. Participants agreed that sex trafficking can often be much more discreet than one might anticipate. Tiffany commented on media portrayals like the film *Taken*, stating that the real experience is often much less dramatic: "Listening to their stories, it's very, very subtle . . . like, if you do this then I'll pay for your college tuition . . . and then from there it gets bigger." Similarly, Cassandra noted that sex trafficking "can be, like, a bunch of underaged females, thrown in the back of a truck and trafficked across the United States" or people that "have their own residences, that don't actually live with the trafficker, or they live with a family member that's trafficking them."

Counselors learned that although anyone can be trafficked, some populations are more vulnerable. According to Fen, these populations include clients with cognitive disabilities, immigrants, emotional

abuse survivors, clients with PTSD, and clients with addictions. Other populations mentioned included the LGBTQ+ population, people recently released from jail/juvenile detention centers, college students with debt, and people in financial need.

The participants' work also required them to learn how clients were recruited and what kept them from leaving sex trafficking. John and Amanda noted that many survivors knew their traffickers or were introduced to them by family, friends, or a romantic partner. Ana explained that traffickers may kidnap people from big sporting events or from opposing gang(s) or may train survivors to recruit and groom for them. She also worked with women recruited online from abroad and trafficked once they arrived in the United States. Counselors also learned about the numerous tactics used by traffickers, including the trauma bond, coercion, and control. John noted that traffickers often use manipulation: "The common theme was 'If you do this, you'd really be helping me out. You wanna see me be okay?' or 'You don't want me to go to jail, do you?'" Cassandra reported working with a client whose parents used "an odd twist on Christianity" and the principle of "respect your elders" to traffic her. Other tactics mentioned were threats of violence against survivors and their families, branding or tattooing survivors, stalking, taking survivors' IDs, gaslighting, and fear. Cassandra also observed that trafficking was "so alluring . . . there's a lot of money in that . . . so much about leaving sex trafficking is starting from zero and creating something new." Amanda recalled a client who "was very upscale and so they lived kind of a lavish lifestyle, and I could see and understand, really emphasize the struggle to like give that up," particularly when they were worried about providing for their families. Factors that forced individuals into sex trafficking were multilayered. Amanda continued, "so many other facets and like layers to this. It's like an onion."

As a result, counselors learned about the overall impact of sex trafficking on survivors' mindsets, behaviors, and presenting symptomology. As noted by Kimberly, sex trafficking impacted every aspect of survivors' lives. Tiffany noticed that many of her clients were initially very fragile and mistrusting of everyone, while Cristina and Stacy shared that it was common for their clients to display guarded and closed-off body language. John's work taught him that sex trafficking "affects [clients] in terms of intimacy and trust, and that trickles into their relationships, whether it's with family, roommates, or romantic partners." The counselors' work with sex trafficking survivors included clients with an array of presenting concerns. Cassandra observed clients with complex PTSD, substance use issues, self-harm behaviors, suicidal ideation, self-hatred, self-blame, feelings of insecurity, an inability to trust, and eating disorders. Ana also noted that clients presented with anxiety, depression, paranoia, and physical concerns such as sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and sleep problems.

Counselor Skills: "Creating a Safe Space to Dive Into Work"

All participants recognized that because of the nature of their work and their clients, they needed to "create a safe space to dive into work," as stated by Tiffany. To do so, they needed to build skills in two main categories: (a) *assessment and ensuring safety* and (b) *processing trauma*. Amanda explained, "I think all of that stuff [assessment and ensuring safety] really has to come first before we can do any really heavy work and therapy. . . They have to be stable before they can really dig into whatever they want to dig into." Although this separation provides clarity, counselors' experiences were also more fluid, at times requiring them to use skills particular to ensuring safety while processing trauma and vice versa.

Assessment and Ensuring Safety

All counselors' experiences of assessment and ensuring safety consisted of effectively engaging with their clients during the intake interview, assessing risk, applying crisis skills, and formulating

personalized treatment plans. Based on her experiences, Cristina spoke about the importance of building rapport during that initial interview: "When I do our initial assessment with them . . . I have the assessment, but I'm having a conversation with them." She also learned to discuss confidentiality and mandated reporting with her clients to explain her role as the counselor while also giving them a choice: "I tell them straight out, like, 'Hey, you tell me this, I have to report it, I have to call law enforcement . . . so how do you want to do it?" Cassandra found that obtaining a thorough history of the client was a critical part of the process:

When addressing trauma, I don't just go back to when the trafficking started. I go all the way back, make sure that I have that thorough history, because 99 times out of a 100, from my experience, that was not the first trauma that person experienced.

Seven participants spoke about learning the signs of sex trafficking and knowing what questions to ask to obtain more information and determine a person's exposure to sex trafficking. Amanda explained, "I don't think I've ever had somebody start off within an intake session be, like, 'Hiya, so I was trafficked." Participants learned to ask about phone use and the number of phones owned, the extent of drug use, sexually transmitted diseases, wanted and unwanted pregnancies, boyfriends and their ages, and sexual behaviors such as the use of a condom. When assessing, Alejandra learned to "ask questions that minimize you coming across as being shaming or judging." At the same time, some counselors spoke about the lack of sex trafficking assessments that could facilitate this part of their work. Alejandra explained that she "did an assessment at work yesterday, and there, there are no questions about sex trafficking.... There are questions about abuse, but it is inferring more [about] sexual abuse, physical abuse, emotional abuse versus sex trafficking." Fen echoed this sentiment by wishing there was a more rigorous psychosocial interview that assessed risks associated with sex trafficking because "at times people do hide and at times people don't disclose."

All counselors agreed that a significant aspect of ensuring safety for their clients was collaborating with clients on safety plans. Counselors took the time to develop a "well thought out" safety plan with their clients, as stated by Alejandra. Stacy explained how she helped the client brainstorm ways to feel safer, including leaving town for a while or taking steps to "create a new account, changing her look a little bit . . . getting [a] new phone number." Collaboration was not only utilized to respect clients' autonomy but also to instill hope—"Hope that you know that you have a future," stated Cristina. Ana elaborated, "seeing what they want for themselves and their lives, like, where do you want to go with your life . . . if you didn't have this going on, you know, what is it you would like to do for yourself?"

Processing Trauma

To process trauma, all counselors listed skills, interventions, and therapies they found helpful with this population. Utilizing foundational skills (e.g., reflection, open-ended questions, appropriate self-disclosure) to build rapport was the most referenced code in this section, addressed by all participants. Cristina saw the benefit of learning how "to connect very quickly." Stacy added, "I would definitely start relying a lot more on the rapport when I work with trauma." Counselors also found it helpful to have a toolbox that included creative approaches and interventions that helped clients reclaim power, develop a support system, improve self-esteem, build and discover resiliency, and utilize the client's strengths. Psychoeducation, mentioned by nine participants, included teaching their clients about sex trafficking because as John explained, "clients don't always know that they are being trafficked." Psychoeducation of sex trafficking requires explaining fraud, force, and manipulation. Kimberly explained how a client did not think she was trafficked because her partner did not have her "locked in a closet. I don't got chains around me. I'm not his slave . . . I get up and get myself dressed.

I go out there and meet these guys . . . I cooperate when he's taking pictures of me." To help her client reevaluate her situation, Kimberly utilized motivational interviewing–based questions such as "Would you let your sister do this?" or "What would be the benefits of leaving your situation?"

Although most counselors felt that an integrative approach to counseling worked best with sex trafficking clients, the therapies most mentioned included dialectical behavioral therapy, narrative therapy, and eye movement desensitization and reprocessing therapy. Counselors recommended individual treatment to process trauma, although four participants also mentioned family and group counseling. Fen found family therapy helpful "if the family wants to get involved in the practice" and "if there are family members who are ready to support them and come with them and who are aware of this." Other participants mentioned the benefits of providing group counseling for sex trafficking survivors. Cassandra recalled how members of a support group she facilitated "connect with each other, they know that they're not alone, they give each other honest feedback. . . . It has been super empowering." Yet Alejandra, Fen, and Tiffany found that group counseling may not be well suited for all clients. "Group therapy doesn't work really well because you know every survivor is different, and they don't want to open up in front of others until they have worked through the process for a long time," explained Fen.

Because of the nature of their work, counselors recognized that an essential skill to processing trauma was learning how to manage countertransference. Cristina spoke about how as "clinicians, we want to save all of them." For this reason, Kimberly recognized that it was important for her to understand her attachment style. Cassandra recalled nights when she would go home and "worry about [if] I am going to see this client again." Ana left sessions "shaking sometimes from those places . . . 'cause the stories I would hear." Stacy highlighted that it was also difficult at times to manage the lies. She explained, "I was a little frustrated because I knew that she was hiding things . . . obviously it just wasn't that time and that's okay." As a result, counselors found it essential to process their emotions. Kimberly explained that "if you haven't emptied your cup of all the sad, mad, bad before you come into that office with them . . . you're going to flip your lid whether it's in front of them or behind closed doors."

Counselor Attitudes: "Being Able to Listen to the Client's Story"

All participant interviews illuminated thought patterns and beliefs they needed "to listen to the client's story," as stated by John. Counselors learned to personify certain attitudes by (a) *valuing empathy and validation* and (b) *embodying a sense of safety.*

Valuing Empathy and Validation

All participants highlighted the importance of embracing a philosophy of empathy and validation in their work with clients by being warm, genuine, open-minded, patient, and nonjudgmental. Participant interviews described various mechanisms to embody these attitudes. For instance, a consistent approach they took was to respect and empower the clients' choices and, ultimately, believe in and provide client autonomy through supportive and nonjudgmental means. Ana emphasized, "I think that's huge for those whose choices were taken away. . . . It's offering them a choice, and I think that's very empowering for them." Fen echoed this message stating, "You can't push—you can definitely motivate—but you cannot just push." Kimberly learned to be patient: "You'll end up getting there eventually, just take your time. . . . You have to build that rapport and trust." Cassandra stated, "Another thing I would say is don't make any assumptions. . . . Everybody's experiences, although there are similarities, every experience is so different." Cristina described the shock value of hearing survivors' stories and how essential it was for her to remain nonjudgmental and aware of her biases. Amanda embodied "those Rogerian qualities, like that open-mindedness, empathy, warmth, genuineness, authenticity — those things are all really important to utilize when meeting with that population, or any population." Cristina provided an example of how she conveyed this to a client by saying, "I'm here if you need me.... There's no judgment happening, I'm just glad you're here."

Counselors also shared a philosophy that validated clients' experiences. Fen believed in "just making clients feel normal," while Cassandra noted how helpful it was for her to approach clients' behaviors as "normal reactions to abnormal situations." An important attitude communicated by John was that "they are survivors." Even though others and possibly even the client themselves might use the word victim, he found it helpful to have "the conversation about being a survivor versus a victim." Tiffany further explained, "I've noticed just in working with sex trafficking survivors . . . it seems very hard for them to say the word 'abuse' or view themselves as anything other than a victim." She found value in seeing the client as "a survivor" and teaching this perspective to the client.

Embodying a Sense of Safety

All participants embraced attitudes that created and maintained a safe environment for their clients. Fen explained that as the counselor, "you're the only safety net for that person" who provides safety and trust. Cristina reflected on a client who was still in "the life" and returned for help and services when needed. She stated, "she knows that I'm a safe person" and "this [shelter name] is her home, this is where she felt safe. But [she] knew she couldn't get out of this life yet because she wasn't ready to." Fen explained that "there is shame, there is guilt, there is fear, and apprehension of being caught . . . so, one has to make them feel safe." Some participants communicated and provided safety by creating a "homier and safer" office space or by buying a client's favorite snacks and beverages, as described by Cassandra. Alejandra spoke of establishing "an environment where it's safe to talk about taboo subjects" such as "having been a mule or whatever they did, you know, whatever sexual acts."

Six of the participants also spoke of attitudes that promoted consistency and predictability. Kimberly stated, "That's something they've never had in their life; you know, so while you're doing all this other stuff, be consistent." Several participants noted how difficult it was for their clients to have continuity with counselors. Kimberly shared:

> Counseling someone who's had this kind of trauma takes a long time . . . once you leave and can't continue that counseling process, the likelihood of them going back to the counseling is very slim to none. . . . Even though they were resistant to building that rapport with you at the same time, deep down inside they're connecting with you.

Similarly, a few participants learned to be consistent in their messages shared with clients and accessibility to clients. For instance, Stacy spoke of the need for congruency between actions and words when working with these individuals: "Trust is such a fleeting word . . . it has to be action, sometimes, speaks louder than the words."

Counselor Action: "More Than Just a Counselor"

All participants realized that working with this population required them to reevaluate their role as the counselor. They learned that clients required "more than just a counselor," as stated by Kimberly. Therefore, the fourth theme elucidated actions that counselors found necessary to help clients recover from their experiences. We categorized counselor action into two subthemes: (a) *client advocacy* and (b) *engaging with social work/workers*.

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Client Advocacy

Over half of our participants spoke about the importance of advocating for clients. Cristina talked about how some clients did not have a caseworker and needed someone "that's in their corner." Counselors spoke about specific needs they advocated on behalf of clients in the life or in recovery. Kimberly spoke about advocating for prison reform, particularly for minority women who went to prison for some of the things they got involved in while being trafficked. Cristina advocated for "easier access to get into drug treatment." She explained that this was necessary because certain insurances did not pay for certain drug treatments, or it would take too long to get clients into treatment. Although clients would sometimes agree to treatment, it would take several days "to get everything going.... by then the kids change their minds, or they run. . . . The obstacles shouldn't be that hard." Other forms of advocacy focused on working with and educating police officers to best work with this population. Tiffany explained how many women didn't trust law enforcement. She believed it was crucial to bridge these services because law enforcement could "get them out of that lifestyle, but then on the other hand, they're very much like, 'Don't trust them." Stacy also spoke about advocating for shelters specific to sex trafficking. She remembered a client who visited a shelter once a month and loved it because "she felt safe there versus just, like, a domestic violence clinic . . . they had the awareness of sex trafficking versus just, like, you know, an overnight shelter type of place."

Participants also taught clients how to advocate for themselves while also respecting their choices. Stacy explained, "It's not my job to fix what they're going through, but it is my job to be as supportive as I can." She understood that she needed to "advocate for them but also having the respect that if they don't want me to advocate for them, then that's the place that they're at too." Stacy also clarified that at times she does not "really know exactly 100% how I would want to advocate" for clients who had been trafficked. Yet as she continued to reflect, she realized her desire to "seek out more education about it because I do think that it needs to be navigated in a specific way."

Engaging With Social Work/Workers

The call for advocacy led all counselors to speak about how their work required them to expand their roles to connect clients to resources and collaborate with social workers. Kimberly explained that this population requires "more than just a counselor while they're in session . . . you've really got to start with building a community around them before you get into the deep trauma work." Counselors provided resources to obtain transportation, financial assistance, government assistance, their GED or college degree, food, employment, stable housing, legal support, childcare, hygiene products, substance treatment, and medical care. Amanda explained that this population requires that their basic-level needs be met to help them feel like they "can function in society and be comfortable," and Kimberly elaborated:

As a counselor, I used to have a huge list of resources that I could give them, but they also needed guidance from outside of the counseling office. . . . I have, like, eight people with one survivor, that's how much it took us 'cause it's so much work for one person. You're talking about every aspect, everything that you learned as a child growing up. . . . If you want counseling to be successful, they have to have that outside component to help them . . . a counselor can't do all of that.

Ana partnered up with organizations already doing this work. She particularly spoke about an organization that not only focused on "educating people but also helping these women with resources." She added that "the residential places they were able to stay in, they were able to finish their education and get an education there, and they also helped them with finding jobs, which was really important for them, too." She explained that this was particularly important because many of the women she worked with had a violent criminal history. Many company insurances refused to hire women with criminal records, preventing their clients from a second chance at improving their lives. However, John learned to support clients with resources. "I don't think it's sufficient to just say 'Here you go, here's the resource guide. They have lots of options in there. Good luck.' . . . Our job doesn't end with giving the resources," he explained.

An important point to make is that although some counselors spoke about collaborating with social workers, it seemed that most believe their work resembled "a little more of that, like, case management–type stuff to make sure that they have the resources if and when they want out," added Cassandra. Kimberly elaborated, "You're the one that's helping to get them to [a] place where they can have a relatively stable life . . . but without the resources that come alongside that, they're gonna go nowhere, [they're] going to hit a wall every time."

Discussion

We sought to understand counselors' experiences working with sex trafficking survivors through a phenomenological analysis. The participants in our study needed to understand and address the different aspects of trauma. Because of clients' traumatic experiences that resulted in psychological injuries (Cole et al., 2016; Grosso et al., 2018; Lutnik, 2016; Muftić & Finn, 2013; O'Brien et al., 2017), counselors benefited from respecting the process of healing, addressing stages of change, and building a safe and trusting relationship. Counselors overall possessed knowledge of the development of posttrauma responses over time. They knew what to look for and how to best treat traumatic symptoms that permeated all aspects of their client's lives, particularly sex trafficking survivors' ability to trust others. Counselors believed that having a trauma-informed approach could reduce instances of re-victimization. Counselors also recognized the importance of self-awareness such as assessment of personal trauma, self-care, restorative practice, and biases regarding how youth are trafficked and by whom.

Yet, our findings demonstrate that working with sex trafficking survivors requires additional competencies as illustrated in previous research (Interiano-Shiverdecker et al., 2023). The participants discussed the need to become educated in recognizing the signs of sex trafficking, vulnerable populations, and the processes by which traffickers force people into sex trafficking to obtain a deeper understanding of the client's worldview and provide appropriate support (Interiano-Shiverdecker et al., 2023). Participants addressed components—namely force, fraud, coercion, exploitation, power, grooming, and solicitation—commonly used in sex trafficking literature (Bruhns et al., 2018). When asked about the nature of their work, their focus naturally divided into sections that focused on assessing risk and safety planning, processing trauma, and helping the client re-establish their life and their identity. Our findings align with CACREP (2015) recommendations for clinical crisis skills and knowledge while also elucidating their application to sex trafficking survivors. Participants learned to assess for specific sex trafficking signs (e.g., phone usage, boyfriends and their ages, sexual behaviors) and to ask questions that differentiated sex trafficking from other forms of abuse.

Counselors must also understand the differences between sex work (i.e., the voluntary exchange of sexual services for compensation) and sex trafficking (i.e., subjection to the exchange of sexual services due to force, fraud, or coercion or from any person under the age of 18). As Ana shared, most counselors felt that the notion to detect was on their end "because I don't always think it's the responsibility of the client to be able to say 'Hey, I've been trafficked." Thus, participants indicated that possessing these competencies could help increase the identification of sex trafficking. As such, some counselors may

desire more guidance on specific sex trafficking assessments, which scholars have previously noted (Interiano-Shiverdecker et al., 2022; Romero et al., 2021). A content analysis on sex trafficking instruments (Interiano-Shiverdecker et al., 2022) illustrated the importance of asking specific questions to assess for control, confinement, threat, and isolation, as these are the main indicators of sex trafficking. Example items included: "Have you ever felt you could not leave the place where you worked [or did other activities]?" (confinement; Simich et al., 2014, p. 20); "Are you kept from contacting your friends and/ or family whenever you would like?" (isolation; Mumma et al., 2017, p. 619); "Do you have to ask permission to eat, sleep, use the bathroom, or go to the doctor?" (control; Mumma et al., 2017, p. 619); and "Has anyone threatened your family?" (threat; Mumma et al., 2017, p. 619).

Moreover, for some sex trafficking victims, the relationship with their traffickers represented an affirming, reliable, and secure relationship in their lives, later used to coerce or force them into sexual, violent, or illegal behavior. Therefore, participants realized that processing trauma would require attitudes and skills that provided emotional safety, patience, and a nonjudgmental process. Survivors' lack of choice throughout their sex trafficking experience fomented counselors' abilities to empower clients over their bodies, boundaries, and choices, and help clients reintegrate into society (Interiano-Shiverdecker et al., 2023; Thompson & Haley, 2018). Participants seemed to emphasize that without all the elements mentioned, clients might not disclose their situation or trust the counselor enough to open up, and they might even terminate counseling abruptly.

This last point is connected to our fourth finding, *counselor action*. Aligned with the Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (Ratts et al., 2016), the participants in our study recognized the need to engage in work that advocated for clients within and outside of the session. Despite their dedicated work with clients to process the emotional repercussions of sex trafficking and rebuild their lives, their efforts did not seem enough to support clients in their recovery. So much of what ailed their clients fell on systemic or external forces (e.g., poverty, employment, lack of resources). Although that existed outside of the counselor's role and verged into another profession, our participants embraced these responsibilities or connected with other professionals. They believed that otherwise, clients would not succeed in their recovery. Our findings present an important reminder that sex trafficking, a modern form of human slavery, is an act of social injustice affecting individuals vulnerable to historical and systemic oppression.

Implications

Our themes add to the existing research with implications for counseling practice, supervision, and education. Scholars (Romero et al., 2021; Thompson & Haley, 2018) have identified counselors as first-hand responders to the early detection and prevention of sex trafficking. Although each trafficking scenario is unique, counselors need to refer to sex trafficking indicators, recruitment and grooming tactics, and manipulative dynamics that prevent individuals from disclosing or leaving sex trafficking. It is important for counselors to dispel common myths of sex trafficking and understand that sex trafficking may appear differently than one may expect. Amanda alluded to clients who defined their experience as a "lavish lifestyle" and were lured by the financial benefits of sex trafficking. We caution counselors not to misinterpret sex trafficking as a "lifestyle," as this implies choice. There may be a myriad of invisible factors contributing to their circumstances such as trauma bonding and financial instability.

Participants agreed that an integrative approach with interventions that addressed complex trauma (e.g., dialectical behavior therapy, eye movement desensitization and reprocessing therapy) worked best when working with sex trafficking. We encourage counselors to not only become familiar with

such modalities but also to conceptualize any treatment modality through a trauma-focused lens that considers how sex trafficking impacts all aspects of a client's life and how they will interact in session. Participant narratives indicated that clients could present with defiant behaviors, distrust, angry or irritable mood, and refusal to comply with treatment. These themes underscore the importance of a counselor's ability to create safe, trusting, and empathic relationships that allow the client to disclose risk and eventually process trauma. Counselors should also integrate a strong rapport with sex trafficking clients by demonstrating unconditional positive regard, authenticity, and empathy with any treatment modality chosen. Although counselors establish a strong therapeutic relationship, they can integrate other counseling goals, including psychoeducation, assessing for risk, supporting clients through the stages of personal change, and helping the client rebuild and reintegrate into society. Based on the nature of their work, managing countertransference and self-care represents an essential instrument to maintain balance while engaging in emotionally draining clinical work. We encourage counselors to seek supervision, connect with colleagues, and practice regular self-care routines to avoid experiencing burnout, secondary trauma, and countertransference. Additionally, counselors should connect clients to services that provide basic needs (e.g., safe and stable housing, food). When clients lack basic physiological needs, they may struggle to focus on higher-order needs such as developing a safety plan or emotion regulation. Counselors can engage in legislative advocacy by writing letters to judges, sharing clinical experiences with senators, and providing training on sex trafficking victim identification and treatment. It is important for counselors to build constituency groups with education, governmental task forces, and legislators to lobby for bills that benefit clients, as sex trafficking exists in an ecosystem of community and social contexts (Farrell & Barrio Minton, 2019). Our findings also underscore the limitations of intake interviews when assessing for sex trafficking risk. Although identification and screening tools exist (Interiano-Shiverdecker et al., 2022; Romero et al., 2021), counselors are not always in a setting where a formal assessment is appropriate or accessible.

We encourage educators and supervisors to emphasize the value of informal assessment methods with counselors-in-training. Counselor knowledge of signs, symptoms, and questions to ask during an intake can improve identification efforts. Our findings also hold some implications for training beyond counselor education. Because of the complexities of working with trauma and sex trafficking, counselors intending to work with this population should seek out specialized training. For instance, they may review conference programs for trauma or sex trafficking–specific education sessions. At the same time, counseling programs should evaluate their preparation for counselors to work with sex trafficking. Requiring a trauma course, including content on sex trafficking and complex trauma throughout the curriculum (e.g., trauma, grief, addiction counseling courses), inviting guest speakers, and providing training opportunities and workshops for students and community counselors are all suggestions to ensure that counselors obtain the necessary knowledge and skills to work with this population. We believe that more training opportunities can minimize any possible misunderstanding of sex trafficking, expectations on clients to disclose, and re-victimization of clients that leads to early termination of counseling.

Limitations and Future Directions

The nature of our sample holds some limitations for the interpretation and application of the themes from this study. We collected data from single data sources (i.e., individual interviews); additional interview sources (e.g., focus groups) may have contributed more information. Moreover, lack of racial and gender diversity was a limitation in this study because most participants identified as White and female. We noticed that participants did not discuss racial and gender differences in clients' experiences of sex trafficking. This result could have originated from our interview protocol that sought to gain an overall understanding of sex trafficking experiences and therefore did not

request this information. Participants' demographic profiles may have also provided a limited perspective of the experiences of Black, Indigenous, and/or people of color. We also did not require CACREP accreditation or specific years of practice as part of our inclusion criteria. Although all our participants were licensed professional counselors, they had different degrees in mental health, a variety of clinical practice, and did not all graduate from CACREP-accredited programs. During our interviews, we did not define sex trafficking to the participants and engaged in open-ended questions that inquired about their experiences. Participants' responses are based on their definition of sex trafficking, which can vary and might not be accurately distinguishable from sex work. As is the case with all qualitative research, counselors and scholars should consider the transferability of these findings to other client populations and with counselors. For example, the findings of this study can be applicable to professional school counselors, but the recruitment of school counselors as participants would have provided greater insight into the roles and responsibilities of counselors in schools. Furthermore, we did not include client perspectives in this study; therefore, even though our participants' perspectives when working with sex trafficking survivors is very insightful, they may not have an accurate representation of clients' experiences in session.

Based on these limitations, we recommend scholars explore individual and external factors that can impact counselors' work with sex trafficking survivors. For example, we did not explore withingroup differences (e.g., race, gender, sexual orientation, religion) between counselors and cross-cultural interactions between clients and counselors. These factors are important to consider and reflect on when building trust and a sense of safety for the client, particularly when considering current conversations around racial tension in the United States. A more in-depth analysis of these considerations could facilitate a better understanding of how multicultural traits play a role in counselors' experiences when working with sex trafficking survivors. Participants' emphasis on the need for specialized knowledge and skills to work with sex trafficking also warrants research on evidence-based interventions for sex trafficking survivors. Moreover, an examination of the client's experiences is necessary to garner a holistic picture of the impact of sex trafficking on the client's healing and counseling process. We also believe that researchers should consider external factors that might impact counselors' experiences when working with sex trafficking. Considering participants' discussion of advocacy and engaging with social work/workers, it seems necessary to consider sociopolitical and institutional elements that either hinder or support clients' ability to leave sex trafficking and obtain access to services that allow them to heal and flourish. As such, counselors working with sex trafficking survivors must consider specific training that allows them to assess for risk, process the emotional ramifications of sex trafficking, and rebuild their lives.

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Appendix

Icebreaker

• Please tell me a little about yourself, your professional background, and clinical experience.

Counseling

- What is important for counselors to know when working with sex trafficking survivors?
- How can counselors best detect when individuals are being sex trafficked or are vulnerable to sex trafficking?
- How can counselors support individuals while they are being trafficked?
- How can counselors help individuals leave their traffickers?
- How can counselors support individuals from returning to their traffickers?
- What do counselors have to know about supporting sex trafficking survivors after sex trafficking?

Personal Experiences and Mental Health

- Please share, to the extent that you are comfortable, your experiences with working with sex trafficking survivors.
 - What is the age range in which most of your clients experienced sex trafficking?
- How have these experiences impacted your clients?
 - Emotionally and mentally?
 - Physically?
 - Relationships with others?
 - Spiritual/religious beliefs?
- What do you believe has helped them overcome the impact of sex trafficking?
- What services or resources do you believe were most helpful to them?
- What is important about your experience that I haven't asked you and you haven't had the chance to tell me?

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