

Understanding Human Trafficking: Development of Typologies of Traffickers

Noël Bridget Busch-Armendariz, PhD, LMSW, MPA
Principal Investigator
The University of Texas at Austin

Maura B. Nsonwu, PhD, MSW, LCSW
Principal Investigator
University of North Carolina at Greensboro
School of Human Environmental Sciences
Center for New North Carolinians

Laurie Cook Heffron, LMSW
Project Director

Jacqueline Garza
Graduate Student

Mayra Hernandez
Graduate Student

Institute on Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault
Center for Social Work Research
School of Social Work
The University of Texas at Austin

October 2009

This project was supported by Grant Number 2006-VT-BX-K006 awarded to Refugee Services of Texas, Inc. by the Office for Victims of Crime, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. Points of view in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.



SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
Educating for Change



CENTER FOR SOCIAL WORK RESEARCH

Institute on Domestic Violence & Sexual Assault

The mission of the Institute on Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault (IDVSA) is to advance the knowledge base on interpersonal violence in an effort to end violence. IDVSA accomplishes this through research on interpersonal violence and training, technical assistance, and information dissemination to the practitioner community and the community at large. It is the vision of IDVSA that its multi-disciplinary, researcher-practitioner, collaborative approach will enhance the quality and relevance of research efforts and their application in service provision.

The IDVSA is made possible through grants from the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, the RGK Foundation, the Shield-Ayres Foundation, Alice Kleberg Reynolds Foundation, and Dean Barbara White of the University of Texas School of Social Work.

Principal Investigators:

Noël Busch-Armendariz, PhD Principal Investigator The University of Texas at Austin School of Social Work nbusch@mail.utexas.edu	Sarah Buel, JD Co-Investigator The University of Texas at Austin School of Law sbuel@law.utexas.edu	Regina Johnson, PhD Co-Investigator The University of Texas at Austin School of Nursing rjohnson@nur.utexas.edu
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Institute Staff:

Karen Kalergis Associate Director Phone: 512-775-4534 Fax: 512-471-9600 idvsa@mail.utexas.edu	Laurie Cook Heffron, LMSW Project Manager lcookheffron@mail.utexas.edu
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Website: <http://www.utexas.edu/research/cswr/idvsa/>

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	4
Executive Summary	5
Review of Literature	7
Methodology.....	16
Findings.....	18
<i>Mom & Pop</i> - Domestic Servitude	20
<i>Shattering the American Dream</i> – Forced Labor	21
<i>The Minor Pimp</i> - Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking.....	23
<i>Johns’ Demand</i> - International Sex Trafficking.....	25
Analysis of Variables Across Cases.....	27
Discussion	29
References	30
Appendix.....	32

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research team would like to express heartfelt gratitude to the following individuals and organizations for their support of this project:

- The U.S. Department of Justice, Office for Victims of Crime and Refugee Services of Texas, Inc., for their financial support of this research project and their commitment to improving services to victims and survivors of human trafficking.
- Experts in the field of investigation and prosecution of human trafficking crimes, for generously sharing their time and knowledge.
- Karen Kalergis, for contributing her vital editing skills.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Perpetrator typologies have been useful in understanding other crimes, such as domestic violence, and serve a similar purpose in enhancing our knowledge base about human trafficking. Typologies of human traffickers can be useful in improving our understanding about elements needed for successful investigations and prosecutions; developing appropriate services for victims and survivors; preventing human trafficking; and increasing community awareness.

The goal of this project is to explore the types of traffickers based on key characteristics found in the literature and in prosecuted cases. The initial phase of this research, reported here, involved a review of literature and media reports of prosecuted cases related to human trafficking. The second phase involves in-depth interviews with local, state and federal investigators and prosecutors who have experience working cases involving human trafficking crimes. In a future phase, researchers hope to conduct interviews with offenders who have been convicted on charges related to human trafficking. This phase of the study addresses the following research questions: 1) what types of traffickers and trafficking crimes exist?, and 2) how can they be categorized into criminal typologies?

Based on data collected during this first phase of research, four types of human traffickers have been identified. Following are the resulting *working* typologies of human traffickers:

- A. *Mom & Pop* – Domestic Servitude**
- B. *Shattering the American Dream* – Forced Labor**
- C. *The Minor Pimp* – Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking**
- D. *Johns' Demand* – International Sex Trafficking**

Each trafficker type is presented based on an analysis of six relevant variables:

1. Demographics of traffickers
2. Demographics of victims
3. Nature of the victimization
4. Methods of recruitment
5. Trafficking operation
6. Methods of control and coercion

In addition to reviewing cases for commonalities within each typology, the following variables are assessed *across* the spectrum of reviewed cases: age, gender, socio-economic status, immigration status, country of origin (traffickers and victims), and scope of operation.

As these findings represent the first phase of a multi-phase project still underway, the initial working typologies are useful in conceptualizing the broad spectrum of human trafficking crimes and how they impact victims. This project has led to more questions than answers, a

common and curiously *appropriate* product of research. Thus, it is important that subsequent phases of research be supported and pursued.

While typologies of human traffickers can serve as useful tools in preventing and addressing these crimes, those involved in the investigation, prosecution, and victim services fields of human trafficking must maintain an atmosphere of flexibility and creative thinking. After all, the methods and strategies used by traffickers themselves are flexible and creative, and their attempts to thwart law enforcement's efforts are dynamic and ever-changing. Thus, it is appropriate that typologies lead to further questions, investigation, and exploration, as opposed to a final solution or response.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The study of human trafficking is an area of interest, research, and intense debate. Federal legislation and prosecution of cases have made human trafficking a politically volatile issue as media attention informs the American public that human slavery is a robust industry in our country. Through the same federal legislation that allows prosecutors to hold human traffickers accountable for their crimes, victims are able to receive social services and immigration relief. While much progress has been made in the fight against this hidden crime, research gaps need to be addressed.

Extent of the Problem

Human trafficking, often referred to as modern day slavery, has emerged in the past decade as a major criminal and social justice issue, both in the United States and around the world (Busch-Armendariz et al., 2008; Polaris Project, 2009). The U.S. Department of State *Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP)* (2008) estimates 800,000 victims of human trafficking worldwide. The Polaris Project, which staffs a human trafficking hotline and is one of the largest national organizations engaged in anti-trafficking efforts, estimates 200,000 American minors are at risk for human trafficking (www.polarisproject.org).

In a recent effort to capture better data, the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics (2007–2008) collects information on the number of *alleged* human trafficking incidents as reported by federally funded law enforcement human trafficking task forces using a relatively new Human Trafficking Reporting System (HTRS). Reporting on initial HTRS data, Kyckelhahn, Beck, and Cohen (2009) identify 1,229 total alleged incidents of human trafficking. Of those, 83 percent were sex trafficking, 12 percent were labor trafficking, and 5 percent were identified as other or unknown forms of trafficking. Given that there is missing data for 62.7 percent of these cases, limitations of these data persist, and strategies are being developed to improve reporting to HTRS.

While the HTRS attempts to standardize data from federal task forces, an accurate estimate of the number of trafficked persons remains elusive. This is in part due to barriers faced by law enforcement with identification, investigation, and prosecution of these crimes. The lack of agreement on statistics of human trafficking is largely due to the scarcity of empirical studies on human trafficking (Gozdziak and Collett, 2005). Literature on trafficking largely focuses on defining the problem of trafficking or calling for increased attention to the issue. Researchers face methodological issues in conducting studies on human trafficking because victims are hidden and therefore difficult to identify (Brennan, 2005; Tyldum and Brunovskis, 2005; David, 2007). However, recent efforts have focused on this dilemma. For example, Clawson and Layne (2007) developed and applied statistical models for estimating the magnitude of human trafficking. Using a different approach, Weiner and Hala (2008) designed a screening tool to collect standardized data and applied this tool in New York City. As the body of research on human trafficking advances, a shift toward identifying and investigating cases and the successful prosecution of those cases is necessary. Understanding the factors that promote and

hinder law enforcement strategies will effectively guide future programs, policies, and laws on human trafficking.

Policy Responses & Laws

While many governments around the world are addressing the issue of human trafficking, the United States may be leading the way toward a better understanding of the issue through the implementation of effective criminal justice and social service responses. The attention paid to trafficking in the 1990s led to federal legislation to protect victims and increase prosecution. Landmark acts in this country are the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) signed by President Clinton in 2000 and the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Acts of 2003, 2005, and 2008. These acts have set domestic and international standards for anti-trafficking efforts, including prevention, prosecution of traffickers, and protection of victims.

The TVPA defines human trafficking as: “the recruitment, harboring, transporting, 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, slavery, or forced commercial sex acts.” (TVPA, section 103(8)). The TVPA also entitles trafficked persons to benefits, services, and protection from deportation.

Thirty three states have anti-trafficking laws (<http://www.humantrafficking.neu.edu>). In Texas, the first anti-trafficking law was passed in 2003 and amended in 2007. Further state anti-trafficking legislation is under discussion during the 81st session of the Texas Legislature which ends May 2009.

Types of Trafficking

Victims of human trafficking fall into two broad categories—sex trafficking and labor trafficking. Women and children trafficked into sex industries are often forced into activities such as prostitution and pornography. The foundation of the sex trafficking trade is female victims and male perpetrators, and the gender roles of victims and perpetrators merit gender-focused strategies to combat sex trafficking (Hughes, 2000; Banzon, 2005).

Victims of trafficking for labor may be forced into domestic servitude or industrial labor. One crucial component in labor trafficking is migration. Industries that demand cheap labor, such as agriculture, fisheries, manufacturing and construction, encourage migration of unskilled workers. In the absence of standards to protect their human rights, migrants become particularly vulnerable to exploitation (Richards, 2004).

While sex trafficking receives a great deal of attention, trafficking for labor purposes is actually in greater demand (Feingold, 2005). Labor trafficking applies to men, women, boys, and girls. Currently, only numbers concerning the trafficking of women and children are used in estimate models (Clawson, Layne, Small, 2006). Excluding data on men actually reduces the number of victims that receive attention. While research on sex trafficking is criticized for being ideological, there is very little attempt to analyze labor trafficking through the development of a

theoretical framework for understanding this phenomena (Gozdziak, Bump, 2008). Without further research on labor trafficking as separate from sex trafficking, it remains difficult to adequately address the problem.

Smuggling vs. trafficking

Despite the general agreement around broad definitions and types of trafficking, there are still some sticking points amongst advocates working on trafficking issues. For example, there is still an unclear line for some between smuggling and trafficking (Albanese et al., 2004; Omelaniuk, 2005). Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center (2005) defines smuggling as “the facilitation, transportation, attempted transportation or illegal entry of a person(s) across an international border, in violation of one or more countries laws, either clandestinely or through deception, such as the use of fraudulent documents (Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center, HSTC@State.gov).” Smuggling is generally defined as illegal transport of an individual into a country (Albanese et al., 2004). Smuggling and trafficking are similar in that both re-direct benefits of migration away from the individual to illicit businesses (Omelaniuk, 2005). The main difference between smuggling and trafficking is the lack of coercion in smuggling. However, it is well recognized that smuggling often involves deceit on the part of the smuggler and that people smuggled across borders are vulnerable to victimization. Smuggling is also often a short term venture while exploitation through trafficking continues once a victim is in another country (Albanese et al., 2004). Often individuals are willingly smuggled into the U.S. but later become trafficking victims through forced labor or commercial sexual exploitation. Because of the grey area between smuggling and trafficking, laws may fail to identify trafficking victims because their movement into an area was not physically forced (U.S. Department of State, 2006). Moreover, victims of human trafficking are considered victims of a federal crime, where individuals who are smuggled into the U.S. are considered criminals and are subject to deportation.

Services for victims of trafficking

Short-term services for survivors of human trafficking are essential to rebuilding lives. As part of the mission to rehabilitate and reintegrate victims, the federal government created grants administered through the Office for Victims of Crime (OVC) to provide critical services to newly identified victims of human trafficking (Caliber Associates, 2007). Grant monies allow community agencies to address acute or immediate needs, and provide housing, mental health services, medical care, food, clothing, legal services, advocacy, and community referrals for victims during a critical time (Caliber Associates, 2007).

More focus is required to identify and develop services for the long-term needs of human trafficking survivors. As service agencies help survivors regain independent lives, victims have cited the need for long-term employment assistance, English language acquisition, immigration status, independent and permanent housing, and family reunification (Caliber Associates, 2007). If a trafficker is not caught, safety continues to be a long-term concern for victims (Caliber Associates, 2007). Long-term mental health needs are an area of importance as survivors begin to create their new lives. Many survivors state that their initial focus on basic necessities led

them to set aside their mental health concerns. However, as survivors become independent, their mental health problems begin to surface, and some survivors report receiving subsequent mental health services (Caliber Associates, 2007). As the discussion of trafficking progresses, a shift towards in-depth research on the long-term needs of victims is necessary.

Non-governmental providers

Two main types of non-governmental organizations provide services to victims of trafficking: social service agencies that provide direct services to victims; and advocacy groups that may be only indirectly involved with victims. Social service agencies provide direct services that may include legal, health, education, immigration, refugee resettlement agencies, prostitution recovery assistance, sexual assault and domestic violence interventions, child-focused services, and faith-based services. Advocacy groups interact with government agencies, the legislatures and other political entities to promote awareness and advocate for the needs of victims (Perkins, 2005).

Service delivery

Because the needs of trafficking victims are often very extensive, few agencies exist whose sole mission is to serve victims of trafficking, and so the service needs of victims are met by a variety of agencies (Clawson et al., 2003). Often these agencies primarily serve clients with similarities to victims of trafficking, including domestic violence victims, immigrants and refugees, and victims of sexual exploitation (Clawson et al. 2003). Clawson et al (2003) report, for instance, that immigration and refugee agencies provide a majority of the services to the victims of trafficking. Many agencies have had to adapt their service delivery systems to serve victims of trafficking. Fewer than one-third of service providers included in the needs assessment study conducted by Clawson et al. (2003) had some sort of formal procedure or a protocol to assist the victims. Other providers relied on informal protocols by dealing with victims on a case-by-case basis, or they adapted existing protocols used with other client populations such as domestic violence victims, refugees, and others. This finding indicates that service providers are grappling with how to integrate services for victims of trafficking into their existent service delivery models. Children have proven to be a particularly difficult population to identify and serve. Further research is necessary to assist these young victims of human trafficking (Bhaba, 2004; Bump et al., 2005).

Human Traffickers – characteristics, networks, and recruitment

While much has been written on the experiences of victims and survivors of human trafficking, less is known about their perpetrators. The biggest challenge involved in studying human traffickers lies in the fact that, similar to human trafficking victims, traffickers are a hidden population. Law enforcement agents who have broken up human trafficking rings have reported that traffickers tend to be males and older than their female victims (Farrell, McDevitt, Fahy, 2008). Troshynski and Blank (2008) sought to develop a theoretical base and trafficker profile. In attempting to find a human trafficker, researchers ultimately developed a relationship with a “gatekeeper.” Such research, while sincere in its attempt to provide relevant

information, is problematic in terms of safety and reliability. Some current knowledge of human traffickers comes from trafficking survivors (Clawson, Layne, Small, 2006).

The literature offers more insight into the formal and informal networks that are central to human trafficking operations. Some human traffickers are linked to ethnic diasporas. Traffickers will exploit their connections to a group's movement and migration and use it to hide their chain of human trafficking (Turner & Kelly, 2008). Human traffickers are also linked to transnational organized crime. Traffickers in the U.S. tend to be associated with small criminal groups, gangs, entrepreneurs and corrupt individuals exploiting their fellow compatriots (Finckenaur & Schrock, 2006). Ninety-two percent of law enforcement agents surveyed in a NIJ-sponsored project stated that human trafficking is linked to criminal networks involved in drugs and prostitution (Farrell, McDevitt, Fahy, 2008).

Current research on human smugglers sheds light on the role of informal connections used in recruitment, which may be relevant to human trafficking. Zhang & Chin (2003) discovered that human smugglers relied on informal networks composed of friends, relatives, and business associates for potential referrals. Family members can also be traffickers or a source of referrals of potential victims, including their own children (Gjermeri, et al, 2008). Women, who compose the majority of victims, appear to sometimes serve as recruiters for the trafficking chain. Women thought to be previous victims may be "promoted" within the organization to recruit new victims, thereby avoiding further victimization (Turner & Kelly, 2008).

Legal responses to human trafficking: Investigation, prosecution, and collaboration

Challenges to the legal response to human trafficking are varied and complex and are related to perceptions about the prevalence of human trafficking, training on investigation and prosecution, and forming effective collaborations. Between 73 and 77 percent of local, state, and national law enforcement surveyed perceive human trafficking as rare or non-existent in their communities (Farrell et al., 2008). Law enforcement training is the best method for eliminating these perceptions. A NIJ sponsored project of law enforcement responses to human trafficking found that thirty-two percent of trafficking cases were discovered through the investigation of other cases (Clawson et al., 2006), which highlights the need for broadly-trained law enforcement. Law enforcement agents themselves have called for more training on identification and response techniques for investigating human trafficking cases (Busch-Armendariz et al., 2008 & Clawson et al., 2006).

Human trafficking investigations, central to a successful prosecution of a human trafficker, are time- and resource-intensive for law enforcement (David, 2008). Given this reality, law enforcement agents have cited the need for additional techniques and resources specific to the investigation of human trafficking cases - such as dedicated agents and new technology (Busch-Armendariz et al., 2008 & Clawson et al., 2006).

Law enforcement agencies face a multitude of challenges with human trafficking cases. A common challenge for law enforcement agencies is the lack of state involvement in anti-human

trafficking activities and/or state legislation for human trafficking (Farrell et al., 2008; Clawson et al., 2008). As law enforcement agencies are called to respond to more criminal activity, the need for more agents becomes acute. Law enforcement agents have also called for more dedicated staff/investigators for human trafficking. Federal prosecutors also point to the importance of a victim-centered approach among law enforcement investigators and the need for closer relationships among all investigative agents working a case (Clawson et al., 2008).

The prosecution of human trafficking cases is also fraught with hurdles, especially among state and local prosecutors, who operate with fewer resources and less training. Among state and local prosecutors surveyed, 68 percent stated that human trafficking was not a problem in their jurisdictions, and only 7 percent had prosecuted a case since 2000 (Clawson et al., 2008). While Clawson et al. (2008) found that federal prosecutors have largely been trained on human trafficking and found it very useful, forty-seven percent of state and local prosecutors said there was no need for training on human trafficking prosecution in their areas (Clawson et al., 2008). Sentencing and punishment for human traffickers is another identified area of concern for law enforcement (Clawson et al., 2008).

Collaboration on human trafficking cases is critical to a successful legal response to human trafficking. Law enforcement agencies working collaboratively within their communities are more likely to identify and prosecute human trafficking cases (Farrell et al., 2008) than those who do not work collaboratively. One barrier to effective collaboration appears to be knowledge of other agencies and their roles within investigation and prosecution. Clawson et al. (2006) discovered that local law enforcement agents are often unclear on the role of federal agents within human trafficking cases. Further education on the different roles and jurisdictions of different agencies would help create and strengthen law enforcement collaborations.

Victim services: Collaboration through coalitions

With so few agencies devoted exclusively to serving victims of trafficking, the most common service delivery system is collaboration among agencies. Collaborative partners frequently include refugee resettlement providers, domestic violence providers, immigration attorneys, victim assistance providers, health services providers, social workers, and local and federal law enforcement (Clawson et al., 2003). Law enforcement agents and service providers have cited the need for creating and improving mechanisms for collaborative efforts (Busch-Armendariz et al., 2008).

Collaborations foster more formal structures, such as coalitions against human trafficking, which exist at the state and local level across the country. Coalitions provide a wide range of services to victims of trafficking, including shelter, safety, empowerment of victims, public education, dialogues with local and state governmental entities to formulate policies to combat trafficking, national training programs, and conferences to exchange information, knowledge and technology on the issue (Coalition of Catholic Organizations Against Human Trafficking, 2006). Despite their increasing numbers, information about the effectiveness of these coalitions is not widely available. Because coalitions are the most widely used form of collaboration for

serving victims of trafficking, more information is needed to identify best practices and measure the effectiveness of coalitions.

Additional studies (Busch et al., 2007 and Busch-Armendariz et al., expected May 2009) are also relevant to the effectiveness of coalitions and how they serve victims and survivors of human trafficking. The Central Texas Coalition Against Human Trafficking (CTCAHT) in Austin, Texas, which is funded by the Office for Victims of Crime, was founded in the summer of 2003 in response to Austin's first case of human trafficking. The 2007 *Assessing the Needs of Human Trafficking Victims* (Busch et al.) revealed that the CTCAHT has made, and continues to make, tremendous progress in building a coalition and in providing comprehensive services to victims and survivors of human trafficking. The CTCAHT's structure, communication, and use of resources are considered a model for other coalitions striving to increase awareness about human trafficking and to provide essential victim services. Interviews with social service providers, law enforcement professionals, and victims and survivors of human trafficking (n=19) also revealed identified challenges CTCAHT faces in serving victims and survivors of human trafficking: 1) Need for standardized protocols; 2) Inadequate resources and available services; 3) Barriers within law enforcement procedures; 4) Victims'/survivors' fears and emotional needs; 5) Cultural competence barriers; and 6) Communication and information barriers.

As a follow-up to the CTCAHT evaluation published in 2007 (Busch et al.), researchers are concluding a second phase evaluation of victim services provided by the coalition (Busch-Armendariz et al., expected August 2009). Researchers interviewed several of the victim participants from the first phase evaluation, in hopes of gaining insight into the long-term needs of trafficked persons. This research focuses on chronic needs of survivors of human trafficking and those that emerge after conventional victim services have concluded, particularly in terms of self-sufficiency, self-efficacy, and challenges associated with family reunification.

Texas – Positioned for challenges and success

Given its size and geographic location as a border state, Texas is situated to experience a wide range of human trafficking crimes. With five federally funded task forces, it is also positioned to pilot innovative approaches to preventing, investigating, and prosecuting crimes related to human trafficking.

First of all, large agencies serving populations of 250,000 or more are significantly more likely to identify and investigate cases of human trafficking (Farrell et al., 2008). Within the state of Texas, there are eight cities with populations greater than 250,000 and 11 counties with populations greater than 250,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). The demographic makeup of Texas makes it appropriate for further study of rural and/or small communities' perceptions of and responses to human trafficking. Farrell et al. (2008) found that all types and sizes of law enforcement agencies have, in fact, investigated human trafficking crimes. Farrell et al. (2008) also found that law enforcement agencies in border states are more than twice as likely to have investigated human trafficking cases than non-border states.

The 2008 *Human Trafficking in Texas: A Statewide Evaluation of Existing Law and Social Services* (Busch-Armendariz et al.) has significant relevance for the present study. This study was funded by the Office of the Attorney General of Texas and the Texas Health and Human Services Commission to evaluate the effectiveness of existing laws and social services in meeting the needs of human trafficking victims in the state of Texas, and to make recommendations to address the inefficiencies, and shortcomings. To achieve this, researchers interviewed and surveyed 138 law enforcement officers and prosecutors from all five federally funded task forces, state policy makers, and direct service providers. Law enforcement investigators and prosecutors were interviewed in-person (n = 45) and policy makers and direct service providers were included using a Web-based survey (n = 93). Findings suggest that human trafficking efforts in those five geographic areas demonstrate great progress in the collaboration matrix of investigation and prosecution of cases and the provision of services to victims of human trafficking. Given the complexity of human trafficking cases and the relative newness of both federal and state statutes and attention to the issue, questions and challenges persist. Those working to eliminate human trafficking continue to struggle with identifying victims, providing comprehensive and culturally competent victim services, appropriately addressing the needs of domestic victims, and securing the adequate resources and support needed to effectively investigate cases. Opportunities remain for improved information sharing across the state and increased awareness among state agencies and the broader community.

The most common recommendations across all participant groups were: maintain a victim-centered approach; increase focus on and understanding of domestic victims, particularly underage victims of human trafficking; develop and improve mechanisms for collaboration efforts across disciplines (nongovernmental organizations and law enforcement) and jurisdictions (local, state, and federal); consider a statewide organizational structure for improved services; and increase efforts toward prevention, investigation, and prosecution. Furthermore, findings indicate that additional study is necessary to better understand the scope of human trafficking in Texas regarding both international and domestic victims. In addition, continued inquiry is necessary to determine the most appropriate avenues for improvement in prosecutorial tools, investigation strategies for increased victim cooperation, and enhanced victim services.

While Texas has shown great progress in its response to human trafficking, there is room for improvement on many levels. Of the five areas addressed in the Center for Women Policy Studies (2007) report card, Texas failed to receive a passing grade in three: victim services and protections, interagency task forces, and regulation of travel-service providers (Center for Women Policy Studies, 2007). Texas received a "B-" for its criminal statute and an "A" for legislation regarding marriage brokers. Texas' grade was based on laws already "on the books" and did not reflect changes made by the Texas Legislature during its 80th session or any legislative changes that might be forthcoming in the 81st Session.

In general, research indicates that those working to combat human trafficking are highly committed to justice. They also face many challenges in that pursuit. By drawing on existing

capacities and narrowing gaps, there are opportunities to lead and improve the criminal justice system's response to human trafficking.

METHODOLOGY

The goal of the project is to explore the types of traffickers based on key characteristics found in the literature and in data gathered from prosecuted cases. The initial phase of this research, reported here, involved a review of literature and media reports of prosecuted cases related to human trafficking. The second phase involves in-depth interviews with prosecutors and investigators at local, state, and federal levels who have experience working cases involving human trafficking crimes. In a future phase, researchers hope to conduct interviews (using non-OVC funds) with human traffickers who have been convicted on charges related to human trafficking. The study addresses the following two research questions:

1. What types of trafficking crimes and traffickers exist?
2. How may they be categorized into criminal typologies?

Data Collection

Findings of this study are based on the review of 46 prosecuted cases related to human trafficking. These cases were prosecuted using various federal statutes and were reported in the media or in government reports. This sample of cases is not necessarily exhaustive of all cases being adjudicated. Data were also gathered during an in-depth interview with one federal prosecutor with vast experience in this field. A semi-structured questionnaire with five open-ended questions was developed for participant interviews (See Appendix A).

This study was reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at The University of Texas at Austin and The University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Participation in this study was completely voluntary. Participants did not receive monetary compensation for their participation.

Data Analysis

The following six variables were developed for consideration in constructing these typologies:

- Demographics of traffickers
- Demographics of victims
- Nature of the victimization
- Methods of recruitment
- Trafficking operation: location, scope, size
- Methods of control and coercion

While demographic information figures in two of the six variables, it should be noted that relevant information included in the case reports available to the public is limited.

Throughout this report, victims and survivors of human trafficking may be referred to simply as 'victims' for narrative efficiency and in recognition of their crime victimization. However, it should be noted that all victims of human trafficking have survived a horrifying combination of

physical and emotional abuse, trauma, and financial distress. The use of the term “victim” is not meant to be demeaning or judgmental.

Direct quotes are presented in text boxes to add context and further illustrate the typologies. All but two of the quotes are from local, state, or federal law enforcement investigators and prosecutors who participated in the 2008 study, *Human Trafficking in Texas: A Statewide Evaluation of Existing Law and Social Services* (Busch-Armendariz et al.). The study was funded by the Office of the Attorney General of Texas and the Texas Health and Human Services Commission to evaluate the effectiveness of existing laws and social services in meeting the needs of human trafficking victims in the state of Texas. The other quotes are by officials of the U.S. Department of Justice and the Environmental Protection Agency, and are taken from media reports of the human trafficking cases reviewed, and are identified as such.

FINDINGS

Based on data collected to date, four types of human traffickers have been identified. Following are the resulting *working* typologies of human traffickers:

- A. *Mom & Pop* – Domestic Servitude
- B. *Shattering the American Dream* – Forced Labor
- C. *The Minor Pimp* – Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking
- D. *Johns' Demand* – International Sex Trafficking

Table 1. Number of cases reviewed by case type

Case Type	Number of Cases Reviewed
<i>Mom & Pop</i> Family-Based Domestic Servitude	10
<i>Shattering the American Dream</i> Forced Labor	10
<i>The Minor Pimp</i> Domestic Sex Trafficking	10
<i>Johns' Demand</i> International Sex Trafficking	16
TOTAL	46

Among the 46 cases reviewed, ten cases (n=10) each of *Mom & Pop*, *Shattering the American Dream*, and *The Minor Pimp* cases were identified. Thus, 21.7% of reviewed cases were represented by each of those three types. A larger 35% of cases reviewed fall under the *Johns' Demand* typology. The percentage of cases by type can not necessarily be generalized to the broader spectrum of human trafficking cases that have yet to be identified or prosecuted.

In the following sections, each trafficker type is presented based on analysis of six relevant variables, which include:

1. Demographics of traffickers
2. Demographics of victims
3. Nature of the victimization
4. Trafficking operation
5. Methods of recruitment
6. Methods of control and coercion

Each type is also followed by a list of illustrative legal cases. These examples are not exhaustive of the types of cases that fall under each typology.

Mom & Pop Family-based Domestic Servitude

Mom & Pop traffickers primarily engage the labor of a single, foreign-born victim for the purposes of housecleaning and childcare. *Mom & Pop* cases are generally operated by one or two traffickers, often a married couple from the same country of origin as their victim. The duration of servitude can be lengthy, up to 19 years. Ten (n=10) *Mom & Pop* cases were identified from among the 46 cases under review.

Traffickers

- Traffickers are often a couple or family and may be immigrants to the United States and highly-educated.

Victims

- Victims of *Mom & Pop* trafficking are often foreign-born minors without legal immigration status.
- Victims are also generally from a vulnerable social class in their country of origin and are often from the same country as their traffickers.

Operation

- *Mom & Pop* operations are generally small, involving only a single victim at a given time, although the duration of victimization can be lengthy.

Recruitment Tactics

- Traffickers use promises of a better life and future in the United States, including education, as a tool to recruit victims.

Control & Coercion

- *Mom & Pop* traffickers use physical and emotional abuse, some sexual assault, restriction from attending school, isolation from friends and family, confiscation of travel documents, and threats of deportation.

Preying on this woman's hope for a better life, this couple instead forced her into a life of involuntary servitude.

Wan J. Kim, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice

www.americandaily.com

Examples

- U.S. vs. Calimlim – The Calimlim family brought a 19-year-old Filipina woman to their home in Wisconsin where she was enslaved in domestic servitude for 19 years.
- U.S. vs. Mubang – Theresa Mubang brought an 11-year-old girl from Cameroon for housecleaning and childcare and denied her education.

Shattering the American Dream **Forced Labor**

The forced labor scenario typical of *Shattering the American Dream* is most similar to the slavery model we are most familiar with in earlier American history. This type commonly involves crews of migrant workers and other U.S.-born and foreign-born victims, whose vulnerabilities are exploited in the search for cheap labor. Ten (n=10) cases of *Shattering the American Dream* were identified from among the 46 cases under review.

Traffickers

- There are a wide variety of traffickers from *Shattering the American Dream*, from small family operations to larger organized crime.

Victims

- International victims tend to be undocumented immigrants promised work and a visa, paying off smuggling debt via seasonal agricultural work
- U.S.-born victims represent vulnerable or marginalized populations

Operations

- The scope of *Shattering the American Dream* operations range from small family operations to larger organized crime.

Recruitment

- Traffickers use false promises of a better life in the United States, offering smuggling services as recruitment tactics among immigrant victims.
- Among U.S.-born victims, traffickers take advantage of the vulnerabilities that marginalize victims (such as poverty, substance abuse, and mental illness).

Control & Coercion

- Traffickers of foreign-born victims use threats of deportation, confiscation of identification and travel documents, drug addiction, and physical assault as methods of control and coercion.
- Traffickers of U.S.-born victims use physical assault and threats of violence to control victims.

The defendants ran their labor 'camp' as a 'house of horrors' in which they not only took economic advantage of some of the least fortunate members of society, but also created – and exposed them to – an environmental wasteland of raw sewage and contaminated water.

Granta Y. Nakayama, EPA

Press Release, Office of the U.S. Attorney, Middle District of Florida

Examples

- U.S. vs. Evans - facilitating addiction to crack cocaine for homeless men working in the agricultural field
- U.S. vs. Kaufman – A couple provided ‘therapeutic residential treatment,’ which included nude therapy and working nude in fields, to patients with mental illness
- U.S. vs. Ramos - Labor contractor brothers supplied undocumented migrant workers to citrus growers in order for workers to pay off smuggling debt

The Minor Pimp **Domestic Sex Trafficking**

The Minor Pimp scenario describes child commercial sexual exploitation, or domestic minor sex trafficking. In general, it involves small pimp-run operations who exploit chronic runaway minors in the sex trade. Ten (n=10) *Minor Pimp* cases were identified from among the 46 cases under review.

Pimps are human traffickers. The standard pimp that we see characterized on TV or on the streets is a human trafficker...

Traffickers

- *The Minor Pimp* is typically a single, male adult defendant.
- While *The Minor Pimp* is typically an adult exploiting minors, cases are beginning to emerge involving younger traffickers, including minors.

Used to, [in] the average case we would prosecute, [the trafficker would] be twenty-seven to thirty-five years old. Now we're seeing them as young as nineteen and twenty. They don't even have cars, but they can talk a ten or eleven year old child into turning tricks for them on the street.

Victims

- Victims of *The Minor Pimp* are most often female minors, although traffickers also exploit adult women.
- Victims are often U.S. citizens, although case reviews identified some immigrant victims.
- Victims are often chronic runaways or 'throw away kids' no longer sought by their parents.

Virtually all pimps will prostitute children, given the opportunity, because they make money, and that's what it's all about - money.

Operations

- The scope of *The Minor Pimp* operations is generally small with one or two organizers.
- A new trend in *The Minor Pimp* strategy involves moving operations from street prostitution to more hidden venues, including spas and clubs.

We used to [investigate] a lot of street prostitution, literally going out looking for kids prostituting. Now what we are seeing is, because law enforcement has been so active in this area that we have pushed them inside, into the spas, into the clubs, and it's making it much more difficult for us to locate our victims and build our cases.

Recruitment

- Similar to other traffickers, *The Minor Pimp* takes advantage of victims' vulnerabilities, such as runaway status, substance abuse, and early childhood sexual assault.
- Pimps take advantage of minors who have few options and offer them another lifestyle.
- The *Minor Pimp* will often court a potential victim romantically in an effort to lure her into the business.

The traffickers or pimps have learned to cruise the streets. They cruise the bus stops and the train stops... the greyhound bus stations, and they look for these young throw away kids, and then they have a very defined pattern that the trafficker follows. They will approach the child, offer them a ride first, offer them the use of a cell phone, buy them some food, offer them a place to stay, buy them clothes, if they need it. Then they will offer them drugs, usually marijuana first, then maybe crack cocaine. They will then maybe offer them affection and use sex as a means to control them or manipulate them. And then they will engage in some act of violence in front of the child to an older prostitute who works for them. This gives the child the idea that they need to toe the line. And then they put the child on the street, or in a sexually-oriented business to earn them money. And at some point, will engage in some act of violence against the child. You could write a textbook on that.

Control & Coercion

- In order to control their victims, *The Minor Pimp* uses physical, emotional, and sexual abuse, withhold earnings, and sometimes facilitate substance abuse.
- Traffickers may also continue using "love" and the illusion of a romantic relationship to keep his victims in line.
- Traffickers are also supported by broad societal culture of abuse, exploitation, unhealthy relationships.

I've often used the example of the Stockholm syndrome, which we used to hear about back in Patty Hearst days, and I think that the old definition may apply here. We have girls who are conditioned to a lifestyle, and we're not talking about foreign trafficked victims only, we're talking about U.S. citizens as well. They become conditioned to a lifestyle and they are conditioned to do what they are expected, and sometimes it's difficult, especially the younger they are, for them to break out of that mindset.

Examples

- U.S. vs. Brice – Jaron Brice exploited girls as young as 14 in a prostitution operation that spanned the Eastern seaboard.
- U.S. vs. Doss, et al. – Doss and his wife trafficked two underage girls throughout California.

Johns' Demand International Sex Trafficking

International sex trafficking cases, or the *Johns' Demand* typology, represent a broad array of sex-related work operated out of old-fashioned brothels, massage parlors, spas, karaoke bars, and cantinas. Among the four typologies, *Johns' Demand* cases (n=16) represent the largest percentage (35%) of cases under review.

*Honestly, if you got right down to it, it's pretty big. I'm going to bet you that, well I can **guarantee** you, that all the massage parlors that are operating illegally are involved in human trafficking.*

Traffickers

- Traffickers of the *Johns' Demand* typology are often, although not always, part of a larger organized crime ring.
- Traffickers engaged in international sex trafficking tend to be both male and female.

Victims

- Most victims are adult and minor women.
- Victims originate from a wide variety of home countries.

Operation

- *Johns' Demand* operations are primarily large, organized networks, with a few exceptions of smaller businesses.

Recruitment

- Traffickers often use false promises of a better life in the United States, and more specifically, the promise of legal work in a bar or restaurant.
- Traffickers in international sex trafficking also use false impressions of romance and marriage to recruit victims.

Control & Coercion

- Strategic tools include: physical and sexual abuse, threat to harm the family in the home country, threat of violence and deportation, confiscation of travel documents, confiscation of earnings to pay smuggling and other debts, and a reinforcement of immigrant victims' fear of government officials.

The traffickers convince the women to buy into the system of exploitation and see it as being normal.

Examples

- U.S. vs. Chang and Chang - South Korean women were forced to work in a karaoke bar, drinking with customers, to pay off their smuggling debts.
- U.S. vs. Malcolm – A Korean madame forced Korean women into prostitution in a network of three “spas” in Dallas, Texas.
- U.S. vs. Mondragon, et al. - Almost 90 victims from Central America were involved in forced prostitution in a network of cantinas.

As part of their work, the Honduran women were required to dance and to consume alcohol with the male patrons of the bars whether or not the women had attained the age of 21. Medrano coached the young women that if the police arrived, they were to go and sit next to a male customer, hold his hand, and if asked, just say that they were with that guy and that they did not work at the bar. As part of their job, and to make more money in tips, the young women were required to wear provocative clothing and act seductively around the male patrons to entice the men to buy beers for themselves, as well as for the girls. The young women's tips were based upon the total number of beers the men purchased. - U.S. Attorney's Office Report on Medrano

Analysis by Variables *Across* Cases

In addition to reviewing cases for commonalities within each typology, the following variables were assessed across the spectrum of reviewed cases:

1. Age
2. Gender
3. Socio-economic Status
4. Immigration Status
5. Countries of Origin (Traffickers and Victims)
6. Scope of Operation

Age

- Both adult and minor victims are found in all types of cases.
- Primarily minor victims are found in family-based domestic servitude and domestic sex trafficking cases.
- All prosecuted traffickers among reviewed cases are adults.
- There is some evidence of emerging minor traffickers in the area of domestic sex trafficking.

Gender

- Victims are overwhelmingly women.
- Both genders are represented among victims of forced labor cases.
- Traffickers are both male and female.
- Most cases were perpetrated by only men or by both men and women.
- Family-based domestic servitude is generally perpetrated by married couples. Eighty percent (80%) of cases reviewed were couples.
- Only two (n=2) cases involved female-only traffickers, and both were family-based domestic servitude cases.

Socio-economic Status

- Overwhelmingly, victims are from a vulnerable socio-economic status.
- Little information was available about the cases under review concerning the socio-economic status of traffickers, with the exception of some highly-educated, affluent family-based domestic servitude traffickers.

Immigration Status

- Case reviews revealed a pattern of undocumented immigrant victims in all areas except domestic sex trafficking.
- Victims of forced labor included a mix of U.S. citizens and immigrants.
- Among domestic servitude cases, traffickers and victims were often from the same country of origin.

- Immigration status and related threats were key strategies in the recruitment, control and coercion of immigrant victims.

Countries of Origin

Traffickers involved in reviewed cases represent the following countries of origin:

Brazil	Mexico	South Korea
Cameroon	Morocco	Ukraine
Egypt	Nigeria	United States
Eritrea	Philippines	

Victims involved in reviewed cases represent the following countries of origin:

American Samoa	Honduras	Peru
Brazil	Indonesia	Philippines
Cameroon	Jamaica	Russia
China	Mexico	South Africa
Costa Rica	Moldova	South Korea
Egypt	Morocco	United States
Eritrea	Nigeria	

Scope of Operation

- The types of cases with smaller numbers of victims are usually domestic servitude (single victims) and domestic sex trafficking.
- Other types are a mixed bag of small and large numbers of victims.
- Larger operations with larger numbers of traffickers (up to 36) are found among forced labor cases and international sex trafficking cases.

DISCUSSION

These findings received a positive reception at two presentations where the audience was primarily law enforcement officers and victim service providers (Central Texas Coalition Against Human Trafficking, August 2008, & Texas Association Against Sexual Assault, March 2009).

These findings represent the first phase of a multi-phase project still underway, and the initial working typologies are useful in conceptualizing the broad spectrum of human trafficking crimes and how they impact victims.

This project has led to more questions than answers, a common and curiously *appropriate* product of research. Thus, it is important that subsequent phases of research as outlined earlier be supported and pursued.

Researchers also identified the following questions for continued and future investigation:

- How can we use this information to better serve victims of human trafficking, better identify/prosecute human trafficking offenses?
- How can we use this information to develop interventions for traffickers and stop the perpetration of this crime?
- What recommendations can be made for improved policies and services? How do those vary by trafficker typology and/or geography?
- What are the gaps in our knowledge about offenders of human trafficking?
- What are the personality characteristics of traffickers?
- Regarding evidence that drug trafficking operations may be moving from mono-ethnic groups to multi-ethnic groups (Ruggiero & Kahn, 2006) – will this happen or is it already happening with human trafficking?

While typologies of human traffickers can serve as useful tools in preventing and addressing these crimes, those involved in the investigation, prosecution, and victim services fields of human trafficking must maintain an atmosphere of flexibility and creative thinking. After all, the methods and strategies used by traffickers themselves are flexible and creative, and their attempts to thwart law enforcement's efforts are dynamic and ever-changing. Thus, it is appropriate that typologies lead to further questions, investigation, and exploration, as opposed to a final solution or response.

REFERENCES

- Busch-Armendariz, N. B., Heffron, L. C., Kalergis, K., Mahapatra, N., Faulkner, M., Voyles, L., et al. (2008, August). *Human trafficking in Texas: A statewide evaluation of existing laws and social services*. Austin, TX: The University of Texas.
- Caliber Associates. (2007, April). *Evaluation of comprehensive services for victims of human trafficking: Key findings and lessons learned, final report*. Retrieved March 1, 2009, from <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/>
- Chin, K.-L., & Zhang, S. (2002, October). *Characteristics of Chinese human smugglers: A cross-national study, final report*. Retrieved March 1, 2009, from <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/>
- Clawson, H., Dutch, N., & Cummings, M. (2006, October). *Law enforcement response to human trafficking and implications for victims: Current practices and lessons learned*. Retrieved March 1, 2009, from <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/>
- Clawson, H., Layne, M., & Small, K. (2006, December). *Estimating human trafficking in the United States: Development of a methodology*. Retrieved March 1, 2009, from <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/>
- Clawson, H. J., Dutch, N., Lopez, S., & Tiapula, S. (2008, September). *Prosecuting human trafficking cases: Lessons learned and promising practices*. Retrieved March 1, 2009, from <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/>
- Farrell, A., McDevitt, J., & Fahy, S. (2008, June). *Understanding and improving law enforcement responses to human trafficking*. Retrieved March 1, 2009, from <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/>
- Fickenauer, J. O., & Schrock, J. (2006). *Human trafficking: A growing criminal market in the U.S.* Retrieved March 1, 2009, from International Center National Institute of Justice Web site: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/>

- Gjermeni, E., Van Hook, M. P., Fjipali, S., Xhillari, L., Lungu, F., & Hazizi, A. (2008). Trafficking of children in Albania: Patterns of recruitment and reintegration. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 32*, 941-948. Retrieved March 1, 2009. doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2007.09.015
- Gozdziak, E. M., & Bump, M. N. (2008, September). *Data and research on human trafficking: Bibliography of research-based literature*. Retrieved March 1, 2009, from <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/>
- Reichel, P. L. (2008, May). *Cross-national collaboration to combat human trafficking: Learning from the experience of others*. Retrieved March 1, 2009, from <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/>
- Ruggiero, V. & Kahn, K. (2006). British South Asian communities and drug supply networks in the UK: A qualitative study. *International Journal of Drug Policy, 17*, 473-483.
- Troshynski, E. I., & Blank, J. K. (2008). Sex trafficking: An exploratory study and interviewing traffickers. *Trends in Organized Crime, 11*, 30-41. Retrieved March 1, 2009. doi:10.1007/s12117-007-9015-8
- Turner, J., & Kelly, L. (2008, November 14). Trade secrets: Intersections between diasporas and crime groups in the constitution of the human trafficking chain. *British Journal of Criminology, 49*, 184-20. Retrieved March 1, 2009. doi:10.1093/bjc/azn079
- United States Department of State. (2008). *Trafficking in persons report 2008*. Retrieved March 1, 2009, from <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2008/>

Appendix A Interview Protocol for Professionals

1. Describe your involvement in the field of trafficking? In what capacity have you worked with victims and/or perpetrators of human trafficking, and for how long?
2. When you think about the human trafficking cases that you've worked on, what are the characteristics of those cases that were notable to you?
3. What information did you learn about the cases that was surprising?
4. What are the characteristics of traffickers you have encountered?
 - a. What are the demographics of the traffickers? (country of origin, age, gender)
 - b. What is the nature of the work?
 - c. What are the traffickers' methods of recruitment?
 - d. What are the traffickers' methods of coercion?
 - e. What is the size/scope/reach of the operation?
 - f. Where was the operation?
 - g. How did the traffickers get into this business?
 - h. How would you characterize the traffickers in terms of their motivations for involvement? Was there anything that you expected about them that you didn't necessarily see?
5. Is there a set of broad categories that traffickers fall under? If so, are these related to the type of trafficking situation? Describe the categories as you see them.
 - a. Who are the victims that are associated with each category?
 - b. Where are they from?