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Understanding Human Trafficking:

Development of Typologies of Traffickers PHASE II

by

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IN BRIEF

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 two phases of this research, reported here, involve a review of literature, government reports, and media reports of prosecuted cases related to human trafficking and in-depth interviews with prosecutors and national experts who have experience working cases involving human trafficking crimes. In a future phase (using non-OVC funds), interviews will be conducted 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?

As these findings represent the first two phases 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.

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 involves a review of literature and media or government reports of prosecuted cases related to human trafficking. The second phase involves in-depth interviews with national experts and prosecutors at state and federal levels who have experience working cases involving human trafficking crimes. In a future third phase (using non-OVC funds), interviews will be conducted with human traffickers who have been convicted on charges related to human trafficking. The study addresses the following 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 67 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.

Findings are also based on in-depth interviews conducted with professionals in the field of human trafficking. Data collection began with an in-depth interview with one federal prosecutor with vast experience in this field. Findings also represent data gathered during five (n=5) subsequent in-depth interviews with federal and state prosecutors and other national experts who have experience working cases involving human trafficking crimes.

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
- 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. A majority of the quotes come from interview participants in this project. Other 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.). A few 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. *Shattering the American Dream*

Labor Trafficking

1. Organized Labor Exploitation for Profit
2. Family-Based Domestic Servitude

B. *Johns' Demand*

Sex Trafficking

1. Sex Trafficking of US Citizens
2. Sex Trafficking of Foreign-Born Victims

	Case Type	Number Reviewed
Shattering the American Dream: LABOR	Organized Labor Exploitation for Profit	14
	Family-Based Domestic Servitude	15
Johns' Demand: SEX	Sex Trafficking of US Citizens	12
	Sex Trafficking of Foreign-Born Victims	26
TOTAL		67

Among the 67 cases reviewed, 29 (43.3%) represent labor trafficking. Of those 29, 14 are forced labor cases and 15 are family-based domestic servitude cases. A larger 56.7% of cases reviewed involve commercial sexual exploitation. Of those, twelve (n=12) cases represent the trafficking of U.S. citizens, and 26 cases represent foreign-born victims. 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:

- Demographics of traffickers
- Demographics of victims
- Nature of the victimization
- Trafficking operation
- Methods of recruitment
- 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.

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:

- Scope of Operation
- Age
- Gender
- Socio-economic Status
- Immigration Status
- Countries of Origin

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.
- Analysis of the numbers of victims involved in cases is limited, because the total number of victims involved in a case of human trafficking is difficult to obtain. Investigations and prosecutions of cases often represent snapshots of the number of victims uncovered during a raid and/or the minimum charge a defendant must admit to in order to proceed with a negotiated plea.

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.

When we go in and do a raid, we'll maybe find 10 victims. But that's really only a snapshot in time, and that was the point in time of the raid of that operation. And many of these cases, we'll find that operation had been ongoing for years and that was their M.O. They would cycle a woman through, maybe for only a year at a time. It may have been that there were 100 women victimized, even though we only found 10.

Federal prosecutor

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. In twelve of the 15 cases reviewed the traffickers were married couples.
- Three (n=3) cases involved female-only traffickers, and two were family-based domestic servitude cases and one was international sex trafficking.

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. This trend is also found in international sex trafficking cases.
- Immigration status and related threats were key strategies in the recruitment, control and coercion of immigrant victims.

Countries of Origin

Given the scope of this report, number counts of traffickers' and victims' countries of origin are limited. Of the 67 reviewed cases, *traffickers* represent the following 16 countries of origin:

- Brazil
- Cameroon
- China
- Colombia
- Egypt
- Eritrea
- Guatemala
- Mexico
- Morocco
- Nigeria
- Philippines
- Saudi Arabia
- South Korea
- Ukraine

Victims involved in reviewed cases represent the following 26 countries of origin:

- American Samoa
- Brazil
- Cameroon
- China
- Costa Rica
- Dom. Republic
- Egypt
- El Salvador
- Eritrea
- Guatemala
- Haiti
- Honduras
- India
- Indonesia
- Jamaica
- Mexico
- Moldova
- Morocco
- Nigeria
- Peru
- Philippines
- Russia
- South Africa
- South Korea
- United States

A. Shattering the American Dream **Labor Trafficking**

Labor trafficking is an area of growing concern and hidden exploitation, even though media

attention and community organizing have typically focused on sex trafficking. Amidst a global recession, strategies to increase profits while decreasing expenses may create an atmosphere ripe for growing exploitation in the form of labor trafficking. Labor traffickers use force, fraud, and coercion to exploit laborers through agricultural work, housekeeping, factory jobs, and other work. Twenty-nine (n=29) cases of *Shattering the American Dream* were identified from among the 67 cases under review.

Within those 29 cases of labor trafficking, the following two typologies were identified:

1. **Organized Labor Exploitation for Profit**
2. **Family-Based Domestic Servitude**

1. Organized Labor Exploitation for Profit

The forced labor scenario is similar to the slavery model we are most familiar with in earlier American history. This type commonly involves both U.S.-born and foreign-born victims, whose vulnerabilities are exploited in the search for cheap labor. Fourteen (n=14) cases of *Organized Labor Exploitation for Profit* were identified from among the 67 cases under review.

Traffickers

- There are a wide variety of traffickers from this type, from small family operations to larger organized crime. Traffickers may manage labor crews who work in agricultural fields, temporary staffing companies who provide workers for hotel housekeeping and other industries, or factories manufacturing garments or other products.

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.
- Of all cases reviewed, 2 cases involved minors.

Defendants in cases have tended to be other marginal people who just had to work their way up the ranks and now they're kind of labor crew managers and are using forced labor to maximize their profit in their labor crew. But they're not the farm owners. They're not the factory owners. The guy who owns the farm has got so many layers of contracts between him and the worker - he has some deniability.

Federal prosecutor

Operations

- The scope of operations range from small family operations to larger organized crime.
- Forced labor can include work in agricultural sector, garment factories, hotel housekeeping, and other service and manufacturing industries.

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 use the unavoidable accumulation of debt as a common tool for controlling victims.

- 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.

A lot of times with our labor trafficking cases, even if they are getting paid, we see that their check may be docked for not having their shirt tucked in while working, something as simple as that. Not taking a small break – their check could be docked for that. And so a lot of times because of all the different excuses that the traffickers are making up, ‘we had to take this out of your paycheck because you did this or that.’ A lot of times they’re left with nothing. And then there are some that weren’t even being paid to begin with.

Victim services provider

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

2. Family-based Domestic Servitude

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

Office of the U.S. Attorney, Middle District of FL

Family-based Domestic Servitude traffickers primarily engage the labor of a single, foreign-born victim for the purposes of housecleaning and childcare. These 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. Fifteen (n=15) *Family-based Domestic Servitude* cases were identified from among the 67 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 *Family-based Domestic Servitude* 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.

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

Operation

- *Family-based Domestic Servitude* operations are generally small, involving only a single victim at a given time, although the duration of victimization can be lengthy.
- The motivations of traffickers seem to be closely related to the traffickers’ family needs and somewhat detached from direct economic gain.

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

- *Family-based Domestic Servitude* 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.

I think the means of control is dependent on the personalities of the people exerting control.

Federal prosecutor

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.

B. Johns' Demand – Sex Trafficking

Due to high-profile documentation of international sex trafficking, awareness of this crime has steadily increased over the last decade. However, the extent to which the crime is committed within the borders of the United States and traffickers' use of minors and US citizens is the subject of more recent focus and investigation. Thirty-eight (n=38) cases of *Johns' Demand* were identified from among the 67 cases under review.

Within those 38 cases of sex trafficking, the following two typologies were identified:

1. **Sex Trafficking of US Citizens**
2. **Sex Trafficking of Foreign-Born Victims**

One of the pimps said he got out of drugs and into prostitution because you could make more money and wouldn't get as much time in jail.

Federal prosecutor

1. Sex Trafficking of US Citizens

Sex Trafficking of US Citizens describes commercial sexual exploitation of adults and children in the United States and includes both US citizens and immigrants. In general, it involves small pimp-run operations who exploit vulnerable adults and chronic runaway minors in the sex trade. Twelve (n=12) *Sex Trafficking of US Citizens* cases were identified from among the 67 cases under review.

Traffickers

- Traffickers are often single, male adult defendants.
- While the trafficker is typically an adult exploiting adults and minors, cases are beginning to emerge involving younger traffickers, including minors.

Most of the individual domestic trafficking guys I've encountered are very charismatic, very persuasive, especially to someone who's young and hasn't seen a lot of the world.

Federal prosecutor

Victims

- *Sex Trafficking of US Citizens* exploits both adult women and children. Of the twelve cases, 8 (67%) involved minor victims. Most cases involving minor victims also exploited adults.
- There is evidence that pimps may specifically recruit minors, since minors may be at increased vulnerability and easier to recruit. In addition, johns pay more for sex with a child, and the traffickers' primary motivation is making a profit.
- 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.

Human Trafficking in TX: A Statewide Evaluation of Existing Law & Social Services, 2008

Operations

- The scope of operations is generally small with one or two organizers.
- Traffickers often "promote" victims to be recruiters and enforcers of the other victims, thereby involving them as a trafficker. Pimps may also utilize security guards and taxi drivers in their operations.
- Increasing evidence demonstrates the use of broader family networks. Other family members may be used to launder money (real estate and vehicle licenses for example).
- A new trend in *Sex Trafficking of US Citizens* involves moving operations from street prostitution to delivery services and more hidden venues, including spas, clubs, and house parties.

- Some traffickers use the internet to advertise the sex-related services.
- There is some evidence that supports an alliance between pimps and gangs. Gangs may become involved in the protection of a pimp, in extorting a pimp, and in using a pimp's services. Sex-related services may also be integral to the social and member initiation activities of the gang.

Recruitment

- Similar to other trafficking, *Sex Trafficking of US Citizens* 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 trafficker will often court a potential victim romantically in an effort to lure her into the business.

Control & Coercion

- In order to control their victims, traffickers use physical, emotional, and sexual abuse, withhold earnings, and sometimes facilitate

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.

Human Trafficking in Texas: A Statewide Evaluation of Existing Law & Social Services, 2008

substance abuse.

- Traffickers may also continue using “love” and the illusion of a romantic relationship to keep his victims in line.
- Traffickers may have their name or a related image tattooed on a victims’ body, in order to mark her as his property.
- Traffickers are also supported by broad societal culture of abuse, exploitation, unhealthy relationships.

The sex that he is having with the women that he’s coercing into prostitution is not like sex a lay person might imagine sex to be about, temporary gratification or whatever. It’s very much about defining a relationship, using the sex to define the relationship – that she is subservient to him.

Federal prosecutor

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.

The already-established gang network seems to be taking more and more aggressive interest in prostitution as a means to generate income and control.

Federal prosecutor

2. Sex Trafficking of Foreign-Born Victims

Sex Trafficking of Foreign-Born Victims represents a broad array of sex-related work operated out of old-fashioned brothels, massage parlors, spas, karaoke bars, and cantinas. Among the four typologies, ST2 cases (n=26) represent the largest percentage (38.8%) of cases under review.

Traffickers

- Traffickers of this 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

- *Sex Trafficking of Foreign-Born Victims* operations are primarily large, organized networks, with a few exceptions of smaller businesses. Traffickers and their colleagues may include recruiters, security guards, enforcers, and taxi drivers.
- Sex-related work operates out of old-fashioned brothels, massage parlors, spas, karaoke bars, and cantinas.
- Delivery services and residential brothels seem to be becoming more prevalent. These operations are less visible to law enforcement and enjoy more mobility and protection for traffickers. Residential brothels are often housed in apartment complexes.
- Another trend in urban settings is the use of formal and informal taxi services used to transport victims to clients’ homes, hotels, or other locations.

*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.*

Human Trafficking in Texas: A Statewide Evaluation of Existing Law & Social Services, 2008

- Brothels may use a legitimate front such as a karaoke bar, cantina bar, or massage spa – with a separate building or room in back for. Some cantinas use trafficking victims as hostesses or waitresses who are forced to sell drinks to customers and may not be involved in prostitution.
- Traffickers use word of mouth and printed materials to advertise sex-related services. These marketing strategies often target an ethnic community similar to that of the victims. Some traffickers use “calling cards” with code words or code images and a phone number for services.
- Traffickers often use beads, playing cards, or tickets as a way to keep track of the numbers of services provided by each victim. These items are given to customers when they enter the venue, and clients then give them to the victims. This serves as proof of payment from the client and as an accounting system for payment owed to victims who may receive a percentage of total earnings.

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. Victims from poor, rural areas are often courted and made to believe they are starting a new life in the U.S. with a “husband,” only to find out he has several other “wives” in the US.

Control & Coercion

- Strategic tools include: physical and sexual abuse, threat to harm the family in the home country, threat of violence and depor-

tation, confiscation of travel documents, confiscation of earnings to pay smuggling and other debts, and a reinforcement of immigrant victims’ fear of government officials.

They have this elaborate set of rules. Every trafficker has them because that’s how you maintain control. You set up some systems of rules and hierarchy that has to be followed, things that have to be done. That’s one of the tools of control.

Federal prosecutor

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

DISCUSSION

These findings represent the first two phases 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 reviewed three cases of sex tourism of children, in which US citizens did or conspired to have sex with a child outside the United States. These cases were not included in this report, as the four typologies concentrate on trafficking crimes that occur on American soil. However, this crime cannot be neglected and is certainly part of the complex chain of supply and demand. This is an area that merits further investigation, especially if domestic pressure to uncover this crime pressures traffickers to develop alternative strategies.

In addition, most types of human trafficking (with the exception of forced labor cases) seem to simulate the family network. For example, typically young women or girls are employed as babysitters and housekeepers in domestic servitude cases and may assume a family member role. Likewise, in some cases of women trafficked from Mexico and Central America, traffickers use a pseudo-marriage for recruitment and control of victims. Pimps can also serve as a parental role for US victims of trafficking, even to the point of referring to the pimp as daddy, family-based domestic servitude. Questions remain about how this plays into the motivation of traffickers and/or the increased vulnerability of victims.

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.

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*... advancing the knowledge on
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