

CHILD VICTIMS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING: AN ECOLOGICAL
OVERVIEW IN CHILE.

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Cornell University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by

Alejandra D. Escandon Villalobos

August 2014

© 2014 Alejandra D. Escandon Villalobos

CHILD VICTIMS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING: AN ECOLOGICAL OVERVIEW IN CHILE.

Alejandra D. Escandon Villalobos

Cornell University 2014

Recognized as the third largest criminal industry in the world, human trafficking of children is one of the most profitable illegal businesses worldwide. For decades, efforts to stop this form of modern-day slavery have concentrated on apprehending perpetrators rather than understanding the social and psychological needs of the victims. Using a mixed methods design, this study proposes to portray the phenomenon of human trafficking by exploring child human trafficking in Chile from an ecological theory framework. The primary methods used in this formative study were in depth semi-structured interviews with experts who have worked with child victims of human trafficking and other at risk children in Chile, observations of five Chilean cities (Santiago de Chile, Valparaiso, San Antonio, Coquimbo and La Serena) where the vulnerable children were located, and questionnaires to directors of child victim centers from these five cities to assess demographic characteristics and other risk factors of children vulnerable to human trafficking. Results shows that the most important factors were sexual abuse history (73%), maltreatment and neglect (70%; 68%), running away from home, lack of awareness by Chilean institutions, transgenerational vulnerability and chaotic family dynamics.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Alejandra Escandon was born April 25, 1984 in Coquimbo, Chile, a northern city well known for the beach's natural beauty and the energy of the valley close to the city. Ale attended a Catholic school in Coquimbo during her childhood and youth. There, she developed important friendship bonds that continue to the present. During her youth, she enjoyed the outdoors with her family in the Elqui Valley where her father owns a vacation house. Her mother, Tina, worked as a legal assistant and her father, Manuel, as a mining engineer. Her brother, Ricardo, worked as an agricultural engineer and wine maker while her sister, Laura, worked as a teacher and a musician.

When she attended college at Universidad de La Serena, she participated in multiple research projects with Dr. Susan Galdamez in the Childhood and Development Laboratory. For two years, she was a teaching assistant for Dr. Mauricio Gonzalez in his neurobiology class. After finishing in five years a curriculum that typically takes six years to complete, she graduated with honors, finishing within the top ten percent of her class, as a licensed psychologist specializing in early childhood and adolescence for Chile and Latin America.

Early in her career, she worked for several nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) such as, Hogar de Cristo and Paicabi NGO, in the city of La Serena. In addition to her work in the public sector, she also worked in private practice. In April 2009, she married her high school sweetheart, Felipe Aron, a prominent geologist from Universidad Catolica del Norte, who had won a doctoral fellowship to attend Cornell University. After four successful years of work as a recognized psychologist in La

Serena, Alejandra moved with her husband to Ithaca, NY where she met many lovely people and a new culture.

During the first semester, she dedicated her efforts to learning English in the BOCES ESL program in Ithaca. After receiving her employment card, she was hired as a teaching assistant in the daycare center “All Beautiful Children” in Newfield, NY. After working in that full-time position for a semester, Alejandra was promoted to director of the institution, in which she remained for two years.

In 2011, her application for the most competitive Masters fellowship in Chile, “Becas Chile,” was successfully funded. After receiving the funding, she applied for the Human Development Master’s program at Cornell University with the exceptional support of Stephen Ceci and Elaine Wethington, her current advisor and thesis defense committee members. During her tenure as a graduate student, Alejandra extended her program for two years, completing 55 credits with a 3.95 GPA. Her completed coursework covers a broad spectrum of topics, including qualitative and quantitative research methodology, preparing her for future research jobs and a career in public policy relating to childhood and victimization.

At present, she is working as a research assistant on a qualitative research with Dr. Max J. Pfeffer. She leads a team of coders on an important Developmental Sociology and CALS project.

In loving memory of my grandmother, Laura Zepeda, who taught me the importance of sharing and caring about people ... a person who always encouraged me to develop empathy and be humble in all situations of my life.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincerest appreciation to my dear advisor, Dr. Elaine Wethington. Her guidance and support have been valuable to my work as a graduate student, making it a truly rewarding experience. I acknowledge the bravery she displayed when accepting my research proposal in an international field and in a new, challenging theme. I also value her continuous encouragement and support in the funding application process, which made the project possible. It was a pleasure to work with someone with undeniable enthusiasm and kindness.

I also would like to extend my dearest gratitude to Dr. Stephen Ceci, who assisted me during the application process for the Master's program and who generously believed in me, even though I was only beginning to learn English at the time. It is a real honor to have him as a member of my thesis defense committee and I depend on his constructive suggestions.

I wish to thank the following people and institutions for their contribution to this project in the United States and Chile: the Einaudi Center travel grant program, Human Development funding support, SENAME, ONG PAICABI, Carabineros de Chile, PDI, ONG Raices, and Congresswomen Maria Antonieta Saa.

It would have not been possible to accomplish this project without the help of my friends. I wish to thank Rochelle Cassells for editing and advising, Mauricio Bucca, for his statistical assistance, Josefina Ianello, for her help with language translations, and Paulina Larrondo, for her qualitative methods expertise during the coding process. Thanks also to the following people for the emotional support and all the laughter they

provided me during these five years in Ithaca: Nico, Miguel, Agustina, Poli, Fran, Jose Manuel, Eliana, Rosario, Carola, Joselo, Alyssa, Elizabeth, Ariana, Silvia and the entire Chilean Organization at Cornell. And to my friends in Chile: Pamela, Macarena, Lorena and Paulina.

I also wish to thank my family who serve as a source of values, love and inspiration in all my work and life. I feel an indescribable love for my parents, Tina and Manuel, who have supported me during my entire life, always encouraging me to be happy, no matter what. Thanks to my siblings, Ricardo and Laura, my online companion and cheerleaders. Thanks to all my extended family for their love and good wishes, especially to my abuelita, my number one fan, who now is looking down at me from Heaven.

Finally, to the love of my life, Dr. Felipe Aron, who pushed me through this entire process. Thank you for your endless patience and love, but mostly for your faith in me. The confidence that Felipe gave me served as the base for my journey at Cornell, and for this I am truly thankful.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>DEDICATION</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>TABLE OF CONTENTS</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>LIST OF FIGURES</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>LIST OF TABLES</i>	<i>xii</i>
<i>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</i>	<i>xiii</i>
1. CHAPTER 1: PROJECT MOTIVATION AND FUNDING	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.2 PROJECT SUMMARY	2
1.3 MOTIVATION FOR THE RESEARCH PROJECT.....	3
1. CHAPTER 2: LITERARURE REVIEW	5
2.1 INTRODUCTION	5
2.2 DEFINING THE PHENOMENON	5
2.3 CAUSES OF CHILD VICTIMIZATION	8
2.4 LATIN AMERICA	11
2.5 CHILE	12
2.6 ECOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK.....	14
REFERENCES	18
3 CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY, FIELDWORK AND DATA COLLECTION	23
3.1 INTRODUCTION	23
3.2 METHODOLOGY DESCRIPTION.....	23
3.2.1 QUALITATIVE DATA	24

3.2.2	QUALITATIVE SAMPLE.....	28
3.2.3	QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS	28
3.2.4	QUANTITATIVE DATA	29
3.2.5	SAMPLING, POPULATION AND POTENTIAL BIASES OF QUANTITATIVE DATA	31
3.2.6	QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS.....	31
3.3	DATA COLLECTION	32
3.2	REFERENCES	38
4	CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS, DEVELOPING AN ECOLOGICAL MODEL FOR HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN CHILE.....	40
4.1	INTRODUCTION	40
4.2	FINDINGS.....	40
4.2.1	QUALITATIVE FINDINGS.....	41
4.2.2	QUANTITATIVE RESULTS	55
	<i>Number and characteristics of children in the centers</i>	56
3.2	REFERENCES	61
3.2	CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE WORK.63ERROR! BOOKMARK NOT DEFINED.	
5.1	INTRODUCTION	63
5.2	DISCUSSION	63
	<i>Limitations of the study</i>	69
	<i>Implications of the study</i>	70
3.2	REFERENCES	71
	APPENDICES	77

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 2

<i>Figure 2.1</i> Gender and age profile of human trafficking victims detected globally, 2009.....	10
<i>Figure 2.2</i> Types of exploitation of human trafficking victims from whom the type of exploitation was known.....	11
<i>Figure 2.4</i> An ecological model of human trafficking in Chile.....	17

CHAPTER 3

<i>Figure 3.1</i> Provinces of Santiago de Chile with estimated prevalence of human trafficking crime.....	34
<i>Figure 3.2</i> Map of cities where data collection took place.....	37

CHAPTER 4

<i>Figure 4.1</i> Macrosystem codes. Frequencies.....	41
<i>Figure 4.2</i> Mesosystem codes. Frequencies.....	44
<i>Figure 4.3</i> Microsystem codes. Frequencies.....	47

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 3

Table 3.1 List of Qualitative variables.....25

Table 3.2 List of Quantitative variables.....29

CHAPTER 4

Table 4.1 Findings by gender and age distribution of children in the six centers....57

Table 4.2 Findings by Education and family of origin characteristics for children in the six the six centers.....57

Table 4.3 Findings by nationality and area.....58

Table 4.4 Matrix of responses on risk factors of human trafficking in Chile.....59

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BRITRAP	Brigade of Trafficking Investigation
Carabineros de Chile	Chilean National Police
HID	Human Development Index
ILO	International Labor Office
INE	Chilean National Statistics Institute
IOM	International Organization for Migration
PDI	Chilean National Police Intelligence
PPCT	Proximal processes in context and time
SENAME	Chilean national service of child protection
TIP	Trafficking in persons
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency
UNODC	Office on Drugs and Crime

CHAPTER 1

PROJECT MOTIVATION AND FUNDING

1.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the motivation for the project, based largely on personal experience. The funding for this international project and the approval process of Cornell's Institutional Review Board (IRB) are also described.

1.2 Project Summary

This research project aims to explore the global and individual characteristics of child human trafficking in Chile. Human trafficking, and its risk factors, have not yet been explored in Chile. Mixed methods of analysis were used, including techniques such as semi-structured interviews with Chilean experts in the field, non-participant observation in human trafficking crime settings, and a questionnaire with treatment center directors to gather information about victims. The study draws attention to the fact that human trafficking is a widespread crime with many cases reported around the globe.

This report develops a multi-level ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) to help identify potential risk factors associated with child victims of human trafficking in Chile. The macrosystem level is defined as a personal set of lifestyle options and beliefs that emerge from social interchange (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Applying this definition, the risk factors found at this level include sexual chauvinism in Latin

America and Chile and a poor understanding of the prevalence of human trafficking. Both make it difficult for Chilean institutions to recognize and combat child human trafficking. The mesosystem level is defined as long-term and recurrent interactions that directly affect children and their environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The probability that a child becomes a victim of human trafficking increases with dysfunctional family dynamics (Bowen, 1976), parents with low levels of education and relationships with deviant peers. The microsystem level is defined as the child's individual characteristics that interact with and are influenced by the environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Bronfenbrenner and Ceci (1994) explain, "there may be systematic interaction between the person and the environment that serve as mechanisms for the actualization of genetic potential for social and mental disorder" (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994, p.580). Child victims of human trafficking may have disordered attachment behavior (Bowlby, 1973) with family figures, a mother or grandmother who were victims of sexual abuse or sexual trafficking in the past, or have suffered physical and psychological maltreatment. The majority of child victims of human trafficking are female with a history of running away from home. Many may also use drugs or have a mental disorder.

This exploratory study was a first attempt at describing child human trafficking in Chile. However, the analyses conducted have several limitations. One major limitation is geographical feasibility; it was not possible for all relevant agencies serving child victims in Chile to be visited. Another limitation is that I did not directly interview child victims. The quantitative data regarding potential victims of human trafficking applies to children who are in poverty and vulnerable to other forms of exploitation.

Another limitation is that it is likely that a significant number of victims remain unidentified. The Chilean legal system cannot systematically account for all child victims of human trafficking.

1.3 Motivation for the Research Project

This multidisciplinary project builds upon my professional work in Chile over the last four years. I have worked as a psychologist and therapist for different NGOs in Chile, with children and adolescent victims of human trafficking. Over the years, I have acquired extensive experience in the field conducting community interventions, family therapy and human trafficking prevention campaigns. I also served the Chilean legal system as an expert witness. I have extensively reviewed the literature on human trafficking in Chile and formed connections with a number of South American NGOs and institutions that are concerned with human rights. This project emerged from the need to generate scientific research on this topic in an unexplored area. Despite alarm over the number of human trafficking victims in the region, a study of this nature has not previously been undertaken in Chile and the topic has only slightly been studied in Latin America (ONG Raices, 2010). At the completion of the study, I will submit a paper based on this thesis to an international scientific journal. The findings from this research project may help inform programs to prevent victimization or to treat recovering victims.

I received funding to complete this project from the following:

- (1) An Einaudi Center research travel grant funded the air ticket to the amount of \$1,462.00.

(2) The Department of Human Development provided \$500 in travel expenses.

The Institutional Review Board for Human Participants of Cornell University (IRB) approved this research project on February 13, 2013.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the relevant literature that serves as the framework for the study. I will begin by defining the phenomenon of human trafficking of children and common misconceptions about the term. I will then describe what is known about the causes of trafficking, characteristics of children who tend to be trafficked, and the associated physical and mental health risks for those children. I will also describe what is known about the characteristics of human trafficking in Latin America, as well as what is known in Chile. Finally, I will describe the development of an ecological model examining child human trafficking in Chile.

2.2 Defining the phenomenon

Human trafficking is now recognized as a large-scale social and illegal problem. It is a multi-dimensional phenomenon that touches every region of the world and is considered worsened by economic globalization and income polarization.

It is especially the trafficking of women and girls for sexual exploitation that has raised the most attention around the world and that is commonly associated with the phenomenon of human trafficking even though men, women, and children of all ages are believed to be victims of human trafficking for various purposes (Loubser, 2009)

In the last decade, human trafficking has risen to prominence (UNODC, 2012). Previously largely unknown and unreported, it has garnered a widespread attention on

the global scale and is recognized by many governments. The crime is now considered the second largest and fastest growing illegal industry in the world, surpassing every other criminal enterprise except the drug and arms trades (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2006 in Mace, Venneberg & Amell, 2012). In the Palermo resolution of November 15th, 2000, the UN General Assembly adopted the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. A political conference convened to examine transnational crime approved the:

“Article 3, paragraph (a) of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons defines Trafficking in Persons as the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation” (UN, 2000).

According to this document, the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs are included in organized human trafficking crime.

The key elements of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA), approved by all member states of the UN, state that it is illegal to use force, fraud or coercion to exploit a person for profit or for personal services. The use of coercion can be direct, through physical violence, or it can be indirect, through psychological means.

Although most news accounts of human trafficking focus on the violence endured by the victims of trafficking, the powerful outcomes of psychological coercion play a key role in entrapment and persistence in the state of exploitation (Kim, 2007; Logan, 2007 in Logan Walker & Hunt, 2009).

One misconception about human trafficking, perhaps owing to the term itself, is

that people must be transported in order to meet the definition of human trafficking in the law. However, the current legislation does not require that a person be physically transported across locations in order for the crime to meet the definition of human trafficking (U.S. Department of State, 2004). Another common confusion about human trafficking is that individuals are always brought into the country, legally or illegally, as part of the trafficking situation. It must be recognized that people can be trafficked within their own country (Logan, Walker & Hunt, 2009).

Although the UN definition established a basis for describing the nature of the problem, it did not lead to defining trafficking in a fully uniform fashion across countries. This lack of uniformity in the definition has led to difficulties assuring international cooperation in investigations. Data collection also suffers, as the scope of behavior comprised in the different national data sources on human trafficking are dissimilar (Aromma, 2007 as cited in Savona & Stefanizzi, 2007).

With recognized victim levels reaching several million yearly and significantly increased media attention on the issue of human trafficking, there is growing pressure on governments and international organizations to take action to address and combat this problem. The limited success of early efforts led many within the anti-trafficking community to question how effective any anti-trafficking program can be without addressing and understanding prevention, which are critical to curtailing trafficking at its source (Betz, 2009; Feingold, 2005).

2.3 Causes of child victimization

Although the overall number of child victims of trafficking may be inaccurate, international studies do offer insight into the characteristics of victims. These studies have found that human trafficking disproportionately affects women and girls. A 2012 U.N. report from the Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2012) found that, on average, 55-65% of human trafficking victims are women and 27% are children. The ILO (2012) has estimated that women and girls account for 55% (11.4 million) of victims in forced economic exploitation, such as domestic service, agricultural work, and manufacturing and 98% of victims in forced commercial sexual exploitation enterprises.

Most children fall victim to trafficking through the process of migration (U.S. Department of State, 2004). Other vulnerable children include street workers, the homeless, and unaccompanied minors crossing international borders illegally (Fong & Berger, 2010). Traffickers, people that belong to criminal trafficking organizations, may also separate children from their parents using control, violence, coercion, narcotics and social exclusion in order to force children into debt bondage, involuntary servitude and commercial sexual exploitation.

The violence perpetrated on children in the sex industry is severe (Fong & Berger, 2010). Studies of children rescued by law enforcement show that the children suffer from acute physical and sexual trauma and adverse health effects including mental illness, substance abuse, sexually transmitted diseases, HIV infection, pregnancy and abortion-related complications (Willis & Levy, 2002).

Many academics and aid organizations have attempted to identify the multiple

causes of human trafficking and assess whether these causes are universal or specific to individual nations (Betz, 2009). The causes appear to be both general and nation specific. Chuang (2006) argued that human trafficking arises from migration, which is triggered by current global socioeconomic trends. Chuang stresses that globalization has bred an ever-widening wealth gap that has created a wave of migrants seeking employment opportunities abroad as a means of survival when jobs disappear in their origin countries. UNICEF (2001) claims that in many countries, the “global economy has increased unemployment and reduced wages and social spending, plunging more third world families into poverty, thus increasing the number of possible trafficking victims” (UNICEF, 2001, p. 17). In addition, according to the U.S. Department of State (2008), extreme poverty, lack of economic opportunities, civil unrest, and political uncertainty, are all factors that contribute to an environment that encourages human trafficking. Similarly, Amnesty International (2005) adds that lack of access to education, chronic unemployment, family financial obligations, gender discrimination, racism, and homelessness are also some of the main contributing factors that place men, women and children in vulnerable positions to be trafficked.

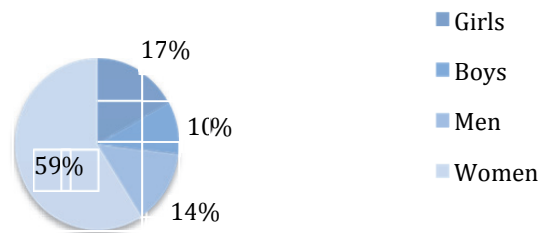
Recent studies summarized in the IOM-Kosovo report on human trafficking (2010), highlight numerous consequences of trafficking. Mental and physical health dangers for the victims such as chronic long-term trauma, HIV and other sexually-transmitted diseases, and a general lack of sense of order or justice in the world, and fear of the future are common symptoms for the traumatic experience of trafficking.

In general, the prosecution rates remain low, leading to a high likelihood that the criminals involved will become repeat offenders and the victims may be re-trafficked

(Stencavage, 2007). Over a ten-year period from 1999 to 2009, the IOM Human Trafficking Database found that the groups who appear to be most vulnerable to re-trafficking are women, children, and young adults. Those who have been trafficked under the age of 18 are often vulnerable to re-trafficking in adult life (Jobe, 2010).

Currently, the most recent UNODC global report projects a high prevalence of women victims. Figure 2.1 illustrates the gender and age profile of the victims.

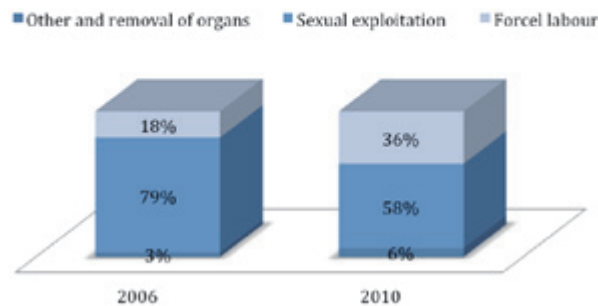
Figure 2.1. Gender and age profile of human trafficking victims detected globally, 2009.



UNODC data. 2012

In terms of types of trafficking, Figure 2.2 shows that the rate of sexual exploitation is high.

Figure 2.2. Types of exploitation of human trafficking victims from whom the type of exploitation was known: Global 2006-2010.



UNODC/UN.GIFT and UNODC data. 2012

2.4 Latin America

The ILO (2012) estimates that Latin American and the Caribbean have the third highest total of human trafficking victims in the world, with 1.8 million victims (roughly nine percent of the world's total), after Asia and Africa.

Similarly, UNODC (2012) global report provides recent information about victims of trafficking in the Americas. Between 2007 and 2011, about 27% of the reported victims were children.

According to Seelke (2012), outside factors contributing to human trafficking include a general demand for domestic workers, political, social, or economic crises, lingering machismo (chauvinistic attitudes and practices), trafficking networks with sophisticated recruitment methods, public corruption, restrictive immigration policies, government disinterest and limited economic opportunities for women. The same author also notes that victimization

specifically in children is associated with street living, contribution to household income/poverty, infrequent school attendance, physical or sexual abuse, drug or alcohol addiction, and involvement in a criminal youth gang.

2.5 Chile

A slowly growing number of Chilean children are trafficked in the national territory (NGO Raices, 2010 cited in Giorgi, 2010) Many of the domestic victims of sexual exploitation are vulnerable youth from the street or from the foster care system (SENAME, 2010 cited in Gomez & Haz, 2008) The current legislation on trafficking of persons in Chile was adopted in April 2011. This new law considers all aspects of trafficking described in the UN Trafficking Protocol, while the previous law only criminalized the offense of international trafficking for sexual exploitation. Taking that information into account, The UNODC (2012) reported the number of cases obtained between 2008 and 2009 from Carabineros de Chile (7 cases), Policia de Investigaciones (PDI) (63 cases) and National Chilean Court (4 cases). In addition, the IOM (2007) described general characteristics of victims such as gender, (60% females and 40% male) age, (18% children and 82% adults), destination (14% internal and 86% external); and form (domestic servitude 1 %; transiting 10%; labour exploitation 57%; sexual exploitation 79 %).

The most recent data from The Ministry of Interior and Public Security reports that from 2011 to October 2013, 152 victims of human trafficking have been rescued, including people forced to come to the country for sexual purposes, subjected to slave labor and in transit to another country. According to Cynthia Contreras, deputy prefect of Brigade of Trafficking Investigation (BRITRAP) of PDI (2013), one of the main

routes of entry into the country is the northern border 2,059 km from Santiago, where there are countless unauthorized border crossings. “There are gangs operating knobs or coyotes who charge between \$200 and \$300 for people entering the desert country” (Contreras C. 2013, November 4).

Domestic and international victims of human trafficking in Chile are typically not eligible for treatment services until they have been officially classified as victims of trafficking, sexual exploitation or child labor. Victims, children and adults are detected by Governmental and Non-governmental agencies, which receive funding for services of detection and treatment, in some cases. In the situation of sexually exploited youth, once they have been identified, they are relocated to shelters and treatment programs that can assist in rehabilitation and reintegration. Currently, there are few shelters for international migrants; and only one of them attends to victims of human trafficking. In case of adults, there are seven shelters, two located in the capital of the country (one of them is specialized in human trafficking victims) and the rest concentrated in the North of Chile where most of illegal migration occurs. Those houses are in the charge of a Catholic NGO with limited funds and insufficient capacity.

Children, because they are trafficked without parental or legal guardianship, are classified by diagnostic criteria and protected by SENAME (Chilean National Service of Child Protection). Children who enter the SENAME system programs are placed in shelters or federal foster care and are sometimes eligible for a wide range of benefits, including mental health treatment, free medical care, educational services and legal representation. However, these children are not likely to follow a standard treatment program. Many of the 16-17 year olds victims have considered themselves to be adults

not children and have had considerable difficulties in adjusting to rehabilitation and treatment programs. They not only resisted things like curfews and chores, but have also often valued work more than education. In fact, some of the adolescent boys trafficked for labor exploitation wanted to continue to work for the same employer (Godziak, 2008).

In Chile, Non-governmental organizations, such as ONG Paicabi and ONG Raices together with international institutions such as Child Prostitution, Child Pornography, and Trafficking Children for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT) and UNICEF have proposed intervention and prevention models to mitigate the long-term mental and physical health consequences of child exploitation. In Chile, implementations of such strategies are not uniform and are underutilized. Thus, while the broad picture of human trafficking may be understood, and while NGOs, international and governmental agencies, and law enforcement around the world are concerned with the traffic in human beings, there is a serious need for more information and deeper analysis of that information if we are to achieve an understanding of trafficking in Chile (Bales, 2007).

2.6 Ecological Framework

An ecological framework to address the complex issue of human trafficking can suggest strategies at multiple levels of analysis to address this crime in Chile. An ecological model can suggest ways in which the prevalence and causes of human trafficking of children can be assessed as well as ways that protective factors can be mobilized to prevent it.

Urie Bronfenbrenner described potentially useful linkages between the ecological model and conditions in children's lives that pose developmental risks (Evans & Wachs, 2010). Ecological theory has also been used in several applications in the field of child maltreatment, (Belsky, 1980; Howze & Ketch, 1984; Garbarino, 1977), child abuse and neglect (Wilson-Oyelaran, 1989), and familial chaos (Evans & Wachs, 2010). Specifically, I will apply the ecological model to describe the chaotic systems where children victims/potential victims of human trafficking live. The ecological model has four major components: process, person, context and time (PPCT). In some chapters (Bronfenbrenner, 1997; Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1983) Bronfenbrenner referred to process as that which could explain the connection between some aspect of the context (culture or social class, for example) or some aspect of the individual (e.g., gender) and an outcome of interest. (Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield & Karnik, 2009).

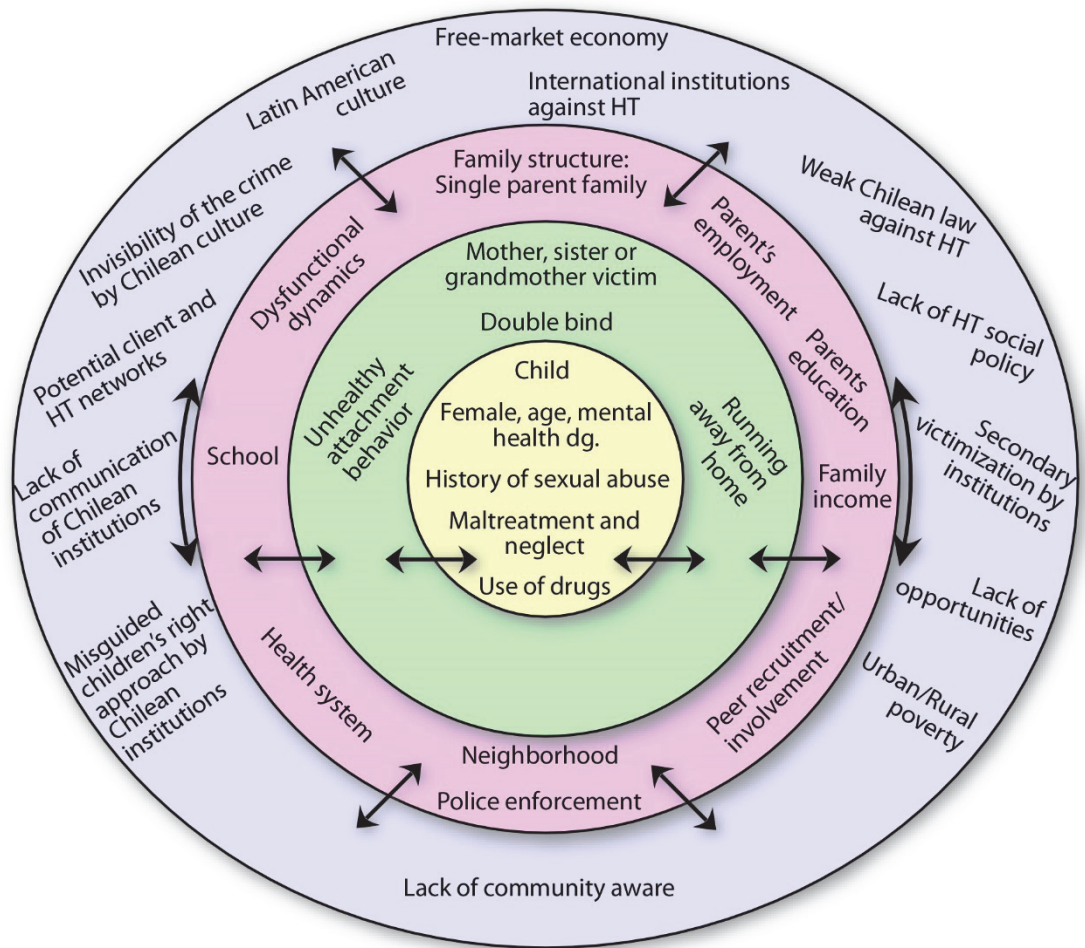
“Especially in its early phases, and to a great extent throughout the life course, human development takes place through processes of progressively more complex reciprocal interaction between an active, evolving biopsychological human organism and the persons, objects, and symbols in its immediate external environment. To be effective, the interaction must occur on a fairly regular basis over extended periods of time. Such enduring forms of interaction in the immediate environment are referred to as proximal processes” (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994, p. 572).

The environment, or context, involves four interrelated systems. The first is the microsystem environment, such as home, school, or peer group, in which the developing person spends a good deal of time engaging in activities and interactions. Interactions among more than one microsystem are called the mesosystem. There are also important contexts in which the individuals whose development is being considered are not actually situated but which have important indirect influences on

their development (i.e., the exosystem). Finally, Bronfenbrenner defined the macrosystem as a context encompassing any group (“culture, subculture, or other extended social structure”) whose members share value or belief systems, “resources, hazards, lifestyles, opportunity structures, life course options and patterns of social interchange” (Bronfenbrenner, 1993, p. 25).

In human trafficking research, many academics and aid organizations have attempted to identify the multitude of causes of human trafficking and assess whether these causes are universal or specific to each individual country (Betz, 2009). What makes people vulnerable, and who are some of the most vulnerable persons in a society? For one, both boys and girls are clearly more vulnerable than adults, as they are neither mature enough nor legally empowered to make their own life decisions. They are dependent on caregivers who may not always have their best interest at heart. Children, as a result of their lack of experience, are also prone to trusting others easily, which can be used by criminals to exploit them (UNODC, 2012). In this thesis I will attempt to provide a general explanation for why human trafficking occurs in Chile, figure 2.4 illustrates my approach. I will further discuss the factors of the model in the Results chapter (Chapter 4).

Figure 2.4 An ecological model of human trafficking in Chile.



REFERENCES

- Amnesty International (2005). *No one signs up to become a slave*. Retrieved November 1, 2013, from http://www.aifirefly.org/trafficking/about_human_trafficking.htm
- Bales, K. (2007). What predicts human trafficking? *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 31(2), 269-279.
- Belsky, J. (1980). Child maltreatment: an ecological integration. *American Psychologist*, 35(4), 320.
- Betz, D. L. (2009). *Human trafficking in Southeast Asia causes and policy implications* (Master thesis). Retrieved November 5, 2013, from http://www.researchgate.net/publication/235022506_Human_Trafficking_in_Southeast_Asia_Causes_and_Policy_Implications
- Bowen, M. (1966). The use of family theory in clinical practice. *Comprehensive Psychiatry*, 7(5), 345-374.
- Bowlby, J. (1973). *Attachment and loss: Vol. II, Separation: Anxiety and anger*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1993). The ecology of cognitive development: Research models and fugitive findings. In R. Wozniak & K. Fischer (Eds.), *Development in context: Acting and thinking in specific environments* (3-44). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1997). *Ecological models of human development. Readings on*

- the development of children (5)*. Retrieved December 6, 2013 from <http://www.psy.cmu.edu/~sieglar/35bronfenbrenner94.pdf>
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Ceci, S. J. (1994). Nature-nuture reconceptualized in developmental perspective: A bioecological model. *Psychological Review*, *101*(4), 568-586.
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Crouter, A. C. (1983). Evolution of environmental models in developmental research. In W. Kessen & P. Mussen (Eds). *Handbook of child psychology: Vol 1, Theoretical models of human development* (357-414). New York: Wiley.
- Chuang, J. (2006). Beyond a snapshot: Preventing human trafficking in the global economy. *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, *13*(1), 137-163.
- Contreras C. (2013). Chile avanza contra la trata de personas. *Infosur hoy*. Retrieved from <http://infosurhoy.com/es/articles/saii/features/main/2013/11/04/feature-01>
- Evans, G. W. & Wachs, T. D. (2010). *Chaos and its influence on children's development: An ecological perspective*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Feingold, D. A. (2005). Human trafficking. *Foreign Policy*, *Sep/Oct*, 26-32.
- Fong, R., & Berger Cardoso, J. (2010). Child human trafficking victims: Challenges for the child welfare system. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, *33*(3), 311-316.
- Garbarino, J. (1977). The human ecology of child maltreatment: A conceptual model for research. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *39*, 721-735.
- Giorgi, V., & IIN-OEA (2012). Estrategias de restitución de derechos a víctimas de

ESCNNA en la región. Reflexiones y recomendaciones a partir del análisis de experiencias. *Encuentro sub-regional: Prevencion, proteccion y restitution de derechos frente a la trata y explotacion sexual de ninas, ninos y adolescentes*, 3, 105-116.

Gomez, E., & Haz, A. M. (2008). Intervencion familiar preventiva en programas colaboradores del SENAME: la perspectiva del profesional. *Psykhé*, 17(2), 53-65.

Gozdziak, E. M. (2008). On challenges, dilemmas, and opportunities in studying trafficked children. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 81(4), 903-924.

Howze, D. C., & Kotch, J. B. (1984). Disentangling life events, stress and social support: Implications for the primary prevention of child abuse and neglect. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 8(4), 401-409.

International Labor Office (2012). *Global estimate of forced labor: results and methodology*. International Labor Office, Special Action Program to Combat Forced Labor (SAP-FL). Retrieved November 13, 2013 from <http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed\ norm/---declaration/documents/publication/wcms\ 181953.pdf>

International Organization for Migration-IOM-Kosovo (2003). *General overview of psychological support and services provided to human trafficking victims*.

Retrieved November 20, 2013 from

<http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/5743B9D1A3FCD95449256DA9001C203F-iom-kos-19sep.pdf>

International Organization for Migration- IOM (2010). *The Causes and Consequences*

- of Evidence from the IOM Human Trafficking Database*. Retrieved November 15, 2013 from http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/causes_of_retrafficking.pdf
- Jobe, A. (2010). *The causes and consequences of re-trafficking: evidence from the IOM human trafficking database*. Retrieved November 15, 2013 from http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/causes_of_retrafficking.pdf
- Kim, K. (2007). Psychological coercion in the context of modern-day involuntary labor: Revisiting U.S. v. Kozminski and understanding human trafficking. *University of Toledo Law Review*, 38, 941-972.
- Logan, T. K., Walker, R., & Hunt, G. (2009). Understanding human trafficking in the United States. *Trauma, Violence & Abuse: a Review Journal*, 10(1) 3-30.
- Loubser, R. (2009). *Human trafficking in Southern Africa* (Master thesis). Retrieved October 25, 2013 from http://othes.univie.ac.at/7565/1/2009-11-04_0746510.pdf
- Mace, S. L., Venneberg, D. L., & Amell, J. W. (2012). Human trafficking: Integrating human resource development toward a solution. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 14(3) 333-344.
- Savona, E. U., & Stefanizzi, S. (2007). *Measuring human trafficking*, New York, NY: Springer.
- Seelke, C. R. (2012). Trafficking in persons in Latin America and the Caribbean. *Trends in Organized Crime*, 14, 272-277.
- Stencavage, D. L. (2007). *Security implications of human-trafficking networks: Global studies in a European perspective* (Master Thesis). Universitat Leipzig.

Retrieved October 5, 2013 from

<http://oai.dtic.mil/oai/oai?verb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA471456>

Tudge, J. R., Mokrova, I., Hatfield, B. E., & Karnik, R. B. (2009). Uses and misuses of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 1(4), 198-210.

UNICEF (2012). *The state of the world's children 2012*. Retrieved October 2, 2013 from <http://www.unicef.org/sowc2012/>

UNICEF (2001) *Profiting from abuse: An investigation into the sexual exploitation of our children*. New York, NY: UNICEF Division of Communication.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2012). *Global report on trafficking in persons*. Retrieved October 2, 2013 <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/glotip.html>

United States Department of State (2004). *Trafficking in persons report*. Washington, D.C: U.S. Department of Justice.

Willis, B. M., & Levy, B. S. (2002). Child prostitution: Global health burden, research needs, and interventions. *The Lancet*, 359(9315), 1417-1422.

Wilson-Oyelaran, E. B. (1989). The ecological model and the study of child abuse in Nigeria. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 13(3) 379-87.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY, FIELDWORK AND DATA COLLECTION

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the design of the research utilized in this investigation. I start by describing the qualitative methodology, including variables, hypotheses, instruments and participants. The second part includes a detailed description of the quantitative data analysis, including the variables, hypotheses, sampling and study biases that limit interpretation of quantitative data. At the end of the chapter I will present a narrative of the fieldwork and data collection in Chile.

3.2 Methodology Description

Human trafficking is difficult to measure. Although there have been research on the issue, it is still difficult to give an accurate estimate of the incidence and prevalence of the problem because of definitional and legal issues, which vary across nations. As previously mentioned, a clear distinction between human trafficking and smuggling is difficult to ascertain; existing estimates of the problem thus are a mix of data on human trafficking, human smuggling and illegal immigration (Gallagher, 2009). Further, governments and NGOs often use different methods and data to define the problem, creating a vicious cycle of inconsistencies and discrepancies. Finally, there is a tendency to focus on a victim-oriented one-sided viewpoint that simplifies the multiple interactions and relationships between offenders, family, relatives and the

victims (Kleemans, 2011). Therefore, the research goal of this project's mixed methodology is to construct a dynamic ecological model identifying all the elements that expose children to the threat of human trafficking.

3.2.1 Qualitative Data

A qualitative, inductive methodology was utilized to answer the following research questions: (1) what are the systemic and environmental characteristics surrounding child victims of human trafficking? (2) What psychosocial characteristics do the victims have in common and what makes them vulnerable to exploitation? (3) Considering equal environment, what are the characteristics that differentiate victims and non-victims of human trafficking?

Key Qualitative Variables. The variables examined fit into systems of the ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). A child victim of human trafficking was defined as any person under 18 years of age and who experienced one or both major categories of human trafficking, forced labor and sexual exploitation. Microsystem and mesosystem components of human trafficking were defined as the proximal processes that immediately occur within the child victim's setting (Evans & Wachs, 2010). Macrosystem components incorporate large-scale cultural, political, economic and natural forces that can shape both the quality and quantity of proximal processes as well as the other levels of context that surround the child (Evans & DiLillo, 2008; Repetti, Taylor & Seeman, 2002; Lieberman & Osofsky, 2009; Voisin & Hong, 2012). Table 3.1 displays a summary of the qualitative variables.

Table 3.1.
List of qualitative variables.

Microsystem level		
-History of sexual abuse	-History of running away from home	-Unhealthy attachment style
-Age	-History of child maltreatment	-Mental illness
-Double bind	-Dysfunctional family dynamics	School dropout
-Transgenerational component (a family history of sexual abuse, sexual exploitation or child labor)	-Drug and substance abuse	
Mesosystem level		
-Family employment opportunities	-Peer influence	-Community awareness of human trafficking
-Family income	-Human trafficking networks	-Chilean institutions believes and actions.
-Parent's education	-Neighborhood	-Family opportunities (housing, space, amenities, recreational)
Macrosystem level		
-Free market economy	-Policy against human trafficking	-Chilean law implementation regarding human trafficking
-Income Inequality	-Human trafficking victims from rural areas	-Chilean population beliefs about human trafficking
-Demand for physical and sexual labor in the global economy?	-International Law against human trafficking? Always be specific	-Latin culture beliefs regarding Human trafficking gender roles

Note: table includes each variable for a single ecological niche. The concepts do not follow a specific order.

Study hypotheses. The following hypotheses are based on previous research on human trafficking in the international context.

Hypothesis 1: Microsystem and mesosystem components that are significantly relevant in the involvement of a child in human trafficking crime are: dysfunctional family dynamics that trigger unhealthy attachment with parental figures, history of sexual abuse, history of running away from home, drug or substance abuse and poverty.

Hypothesis 2: Trafficking of children in Chile is perpetuated by a lack of awareness by the Chilean population and institutions.

Research sites: This research was conducted using ethnographic methods in five cities of Chile: La Serena, Coquimbo, Valparaiso, San Antonio and Santiago de Chile. Two primary methods were used: semi-structured interviews and non-participant observation.

Study Methods. I used two primary methods: semi-structured interviews and non-participant observation.

Semi-structured interviews. (See appendix A) were conducted with professionals working with child victims of human trafficking in various capacities such as, NGOs, law enforcement, public policy, psychological therapy, and the health system. The sample includes 16 professional. Each interview approximately 50 minutes in length. The interview protocol was piloted with the help of a Chilean research collaborator who works as psychologist and is a native Spanish speaker. Each interviewed followed the same sequence of events: introducing the purpose of the study, reviewing the ethics protocol and informed consent (Appendix B), recording the interview and conversation, ending with an agreement to share the findings of the research. The interviews were recorded and then transcribed to Spanish and English. After this

process, the audio files were destroyed. The data was analyzed using qualitative software, Atlas.ti.

Non-participant observation. The information gathered from the interviews was supported by local neighborhood observations and informal conversations with people living in the five cities where human trafficking is most prevalent. The observations were conducted using the ethnographic practice of “hanging out,” (Whyte 1955; Bryman, 2008). In addition, photographs were taken of the local area (without people) to capture images of the physical environment. The aim of the observation was to gain a better understanding of the environment in which current and potential victims live, their roles, routines and local activities. It was important for the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of settings beyond the in-depth interviews. The use of observational notes also helped to validate the authenticity of the data.

Because the observation did not involve interacting with people for research purposes, conversations with people were restricted to spontaneous talks. The observation component was located in neighborhoods identified by the interviewees as sites where human trafficking crime or similar are prevalent. A member of a local NGO gave me protection in most settings, although sometimes I conducted unaccompanied observations. In most of the circumstances, the local community respected the NGO members, supporting the study.

Coding. The coding process included social network analysis (SNA). SNA is a tool used to gather and analyze data to explain the degree to which network actors (codes and their links) connect to one another and the structural makeup of collaborative relationships (Scott, 1991 cited in Carrington, Scott, & Wasserman, 2005). The coding process was revised and discussed with two scientific advisors, one

of them a native Spanish speaker and an English speaker. Data observations and photographs were examined together during analysis to enhance interpretation.

The list of codes and categories developed is appended at the end of this thesis (See appendix C). The creation of the codes and code families was based on the theoretical framework of the ecological model. The interview questions were also oriented towards this model.

In the final stage, the analysis of the qualitative coding was transferred to an Excel spreadsheet for analysis. I calculated descriptive statistics and created graphics using Stata/SE Software for Statistical Analysis.

3.2.2 Qualitative Sample

The study employed a snowball sample for qualitative research, (Bryman, 2008). The researcher consulted with other experts and researchers in one-on-one meetings and other events and solicited names of possible new participants.

I contacted the participants by email or telephone. I included professionals who had had the opportunity to work, assist or treat child victims of human trafficking in Chile.

3.2.3 Qualitative Data Analysis

The coding process was discussed with a Chilean psychologist enhancing data interpretation. All qualitative data was transcribed in a Word document and imported to Atlas.ti for qualitative analysis (See appendix C). Every code belongs to one category according to coding rules in Atlas.ti. Strauss and Corbin (1990) define open coding as the “process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 61). Each code represents an element of the system that I selected as relevant to the larger ecological model. Using this program, data was categorized using key words and concepts, clustering codes in

larger categories. Patterns and themes emerged and are displayed graphically in the Results chapter of this thesis (Chapter 4).

3.2.4 Quantitative Data

Quantitative methodology was utilized to answer the following two research questions; (1) what are the common demographic and environmental characteristics among the potential child victims of human trafficking in Chile? (2) What are the most prevalent risk factors for Chilean children who may be vulnerable to trafficking? Table 3.2 displays variables with definitions.

Table 3.2
List of quantitative variables.

Dependent Variable	Operational Definition	Ecological system
Child human trafficking in Chile	Number of children reported as victims of human trafficking in any category (child labor or sexual exploitation) between May 2012 - May 2013.	Microsystem
Independent Variables	Operational Definition	Ecological system
Gender	Male or female	Microsystem
Age	A-ages 0-6 years old/ B- ages 7 and 13 years old/ C- ages 14-18 years old.	Microsystem
Education level	A- no education/ B- elementary school completed/ C- Middle school completed/ D- High School incomplete/ E- High school completed.	Microsystem
Education level of parents or caregivers	A-no education/ B- elementary school completed/ C- Middle school completed/ D- High School incomplete/ E- High school completed.	Microsystem

Average family income	A: >260.000 pesos/Family Income Level B: between 260.000-390.000pesos/ Family Income Level C: between 390.000560.000pesos/ Family Income level E: >890.000pesos.	Microsystem
Type of care	A-Parental care (one or both), B-extended family/ Other.	Microsystem
Type of family housing	A family owned house/ B- rented/ C car/tent/ D-institution/ Street/ homeless.	Microsystem
Nationality	A. Chilean/ B. Not Chilean.	Microsystem
Urbanicity	A- Urban area/B- Rural area.	Mesosystem

Hypotheses.

Gender, age, education level of the victim, education level of the victim's parents, average family income, care of the victim, housing of the victim, nationality of the victim and area where the victims live will be associated with a child becoming a victim of human trafficking. Specifically, it is hypothesized that females between the ages of 14 and 17 years who have completed less than middle school education and who are from low-income families will be most at risk for human trafficking. It is predicted that females between the ages of 14 and 17 years with middle school or less education levels, income levels between group A and B, and who are cared for by non-kin and who are homeless will represent the highest number of victims. Consequently, female, 14-17 years old, middle school or less, elementary school or less, income A/B, others caring for the victims (not parents), homeless and Chilean are

factors that I hypothesize will concentrate a high rate of victim cases.

3.2.5 Sampling, Population and Potential Biases of Quantitative data

A non-probabilistic convenience sample was used to select sites for collecting data about characteristics of potential child victims. The sample was identified using existing relationships with NGO collaborators. Six NGO directors provided local information about their client base. This purposive sampling technique assured that I could gather data about an otherwise hard to reach population (Cadet-Tarou, et al., 2010; Benoit, Jansson, Millar & Phillips, 2005).

Characteristics of the participants. The questionnaires for NGO directors (See Appendix D) are summarized in a panel with six observations corresponding to six child protective services centers. There were 1087 children at the six visited centers. The 1087 children attended the respective centers during the period of May 2012 to May 2013. There are multiple criteria for treatment at the six visited centers including: maltreatment and neglect, child labor, and commercial sexual exploitation. The director of each institution reported statistics for their center.

3.2.6 Quantitative Data Analysis

Questionnaire responses were coded into an Excel spreadsheet, later imported to a Stata/SE file to perform descriptive statistics of the data. A detailed syntax file (Do-file Stata/SE) was developed to replicate the results for further research and revision. Original questionnaire data and informed consent forms remains archived and locked in the research center in Bronfenbrenner Center for Translational Research at Cornell University.

3.3 Data Collection

Interviewees were given pseudonyms to protect their identities, even though permission to use their names was authorized via the informed consent process. Institutions mentioned approved their participation in the study via an official letter that allowed the researcher to name them, as well as the name of the cities and neighborhoods that are public information. No victim names were recorded at any time during the study nor did I learn the names of any victims during my research.

3.4 Field work in Chile, South America

I traveled to Chile on May 28, 2013. My first task was to contact SENAME, the Chilean National Service of Children, which had offered me a matrix of data related to human trafficking. After a meeting with June Smile, the director of OPD-Chile (Chilean Office of Children's Rights Protection), we established that the documentation about human trafficking in Chile would be forwarded to me. After a month and a half, the documentation was sent from DEPLAE (Department of Planning and National Statistics) in a file created by Mindy Herrera, coordinator of DOP (Development of Children's Rights Protection Programs). The document contains socio-demographic information on the identified child victims of human trafficking in Chile from May 2012 to May 2013.

Months prior to field work, I was in correspondence with Katherine Zepeda, coordinator of the Network Assistance of Children Victims of Crime in Chile who disclosed a list of professionals from different fields working in a new Commission Against Human Trafficking Crime; the board is composed of representatives of the different areas where this crime is known to occur (e.g. police, social work teams and

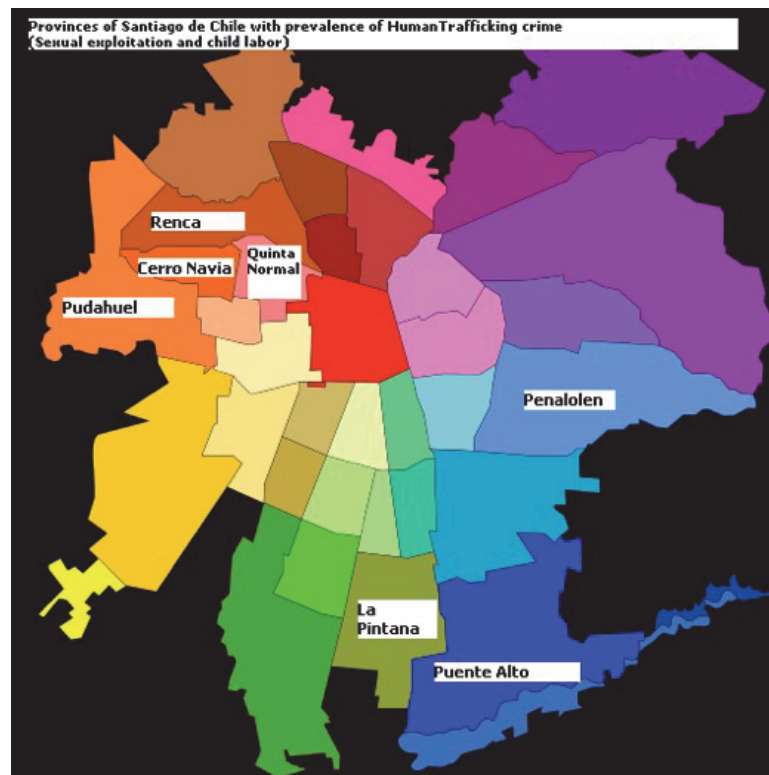
NGOs). On May 30th, I reached Capitan Tomas Diaz, member of the police research team from Carabineros de Chile who is the brigade OS-9 specialist on human trafficking cases.

The same day, I contacted Andrea Cruz, also a member of my Chilean research team. Both interviewees provided relevant information about detailed cases and identified the areas and key neighborhoods where human trafficking occurred; this was the key source for the observation phase of this research.

Another member of the Commission Against Human Trafficking is Elisa Melo, director of ONG Raices (NGO Raices), the professional with decades of experience with sexual exploited victims and human trafficking in children. On June 4th, I interviewed her and her team of social workers of the same NGO. This meeting was crucial to understanding the complete picture of human trafficking in Chile and characteristics of victims. In addition, this meeting opened important contacts for the research such as, a meeting with Congresswomen Maria Antonieta Saa on July 5, 2013.

After spending a week and a half in the capital of Chile, I dedicated my efforts to do observation in this city, which is composed of 37 provinces. Map 3.1 depicts the zones recognized by law enforcement as prevalent areas for police's human trafficking victimization Santiago de Chile.

Figure 3.1. Provinces of Santiago de Chile with estimated prevalence of human trafficking crime.



The fieldwork was adapted to different realities and situations. In the city of Santiago de Chile I was able to “walk around” under the supervision of a collaborator waiting for me in a car, in case of emergency. While I was walking and observing, most of the time I was not able to take pictures to report the scene, however, I had the opportunity to speak briefly with locals about their knowledge of human trafficking. I must express that this experience was very rewarding because I was able to feel the vulnerability for myself. I never feared for my life and never experienced anxiety for my own safety, but I did feel the human needs of good people living in risky zones who are desperately trying to raise their families in a context of drugs, violence, and crime.

On June 9th, I traveled to San Antonio, the second biggest port in Chile. In this city there are several institutions working with different types of children rights

violations such as maltreatment, neglect, sexual abuse, forced labor and sexual exploitation. This fact captured my attention due to the small population of the city. Victims of sexual exploitation are treated by Kalan Center, from NGO Paicabi. Pauline Brooks, director of the center, provided a full description of the situation in San Antonio and Amelia Perez, psychologist of Kalan, shared a detailed analysis of the victims attended in the institution. After these meetings, I was able to spend the rest of the day doing observations in areas where the professionals identified as prone to sexual exploitation crime. In La Costa, I visited the port of the city, especially the gates of trucks to enter the port, the cemetery and Carmen Hill.

After San Antonio, I headed to Valparaiso, the main port in Chile. On June 11th, I interviewed Sofia Castro, director of Antu Center from NGO Paicabi. This center facilitates psychological treatment for victims and provides social assistance for their families. Sofia presented a complete description of Antu Center's work, mentioning two recognized cases of internal human trafficking in La Ligua. She revealed detailed information and connected me with the professionals working with the victims and the families. Unfortunately, none of them were at the office the day of my visit, thus, we agreed to have a Skype meeting, which took place on August 4th. The director also identified different areas where sexual exploitation is occurs. Due to the complex geography of Valparaiso city and time/resources management, I was able to do observation and pictures only in downtown, the port, and Las Heras Street.

Next I traveled to Coquimbo where I interviewed Patricio Roman, psychologist substitute director of Coquimbo OPD (Chilean Office of Children's Rights Protection).

Working for the same institution, OPD located in the town La Serena, I interviewed Emma Friend, director of OPD La Serena. She shared relevant information about how the increasing number of child labor cases as well as sexual

exploitation victims her office treats, the latter of whom are transferred to specialized centers such as, Centro Aruna from NGO Paicabi, for this type of child treatment.

During this visit to OPD La Serena, I was able to contact a psychologist, Issa Amigo, working directly with victims. The psychologist provided explicit examples of child labor abused victims and how legal institutions address this problem.

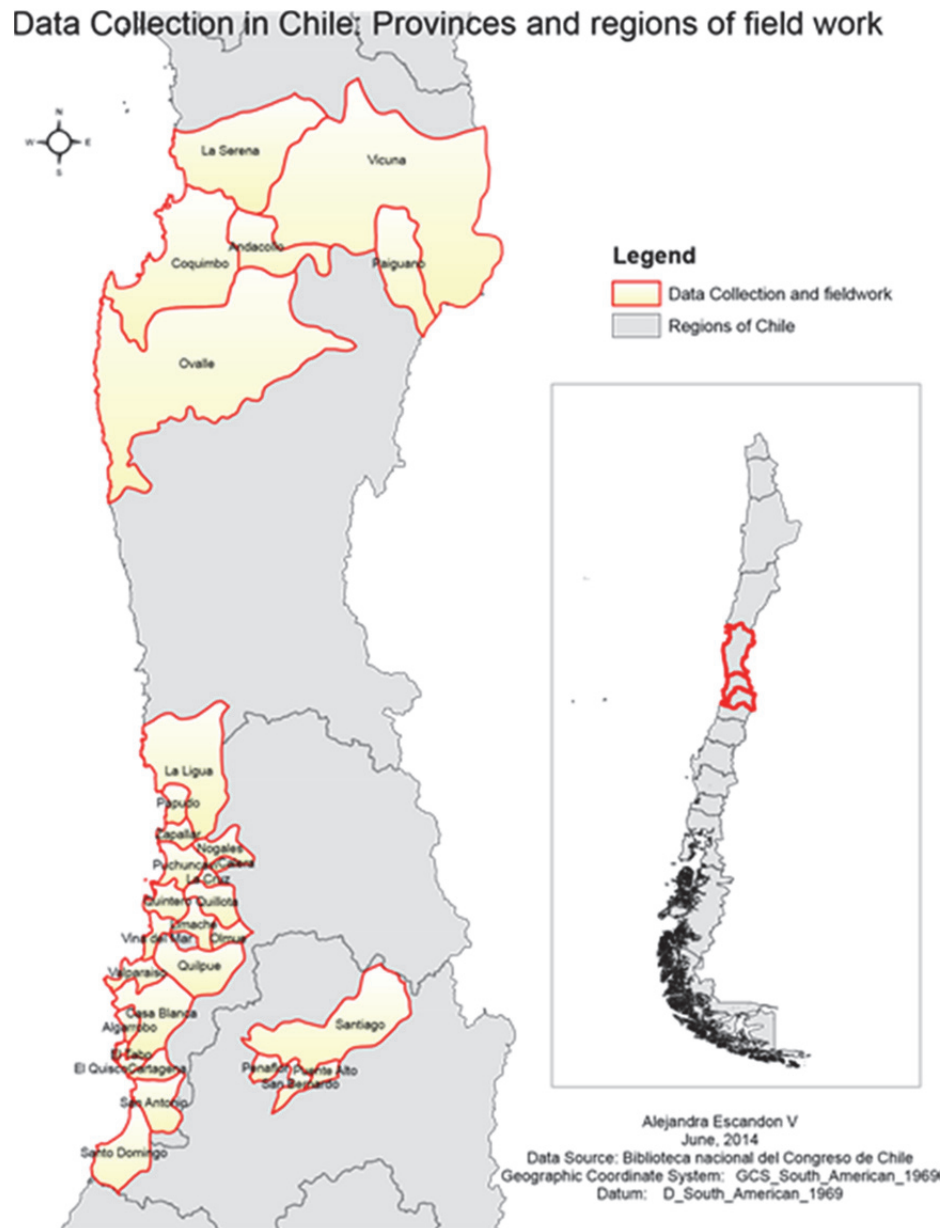
Continuing my visit in La Serena, I had the opportunity to visit Centro Aruna, a specialized center for victims of sexual exploitation from NGO Paicabi, as well as the other two victim's centers, Kalan in San Antonio and Antu in Valparaiso. I interviewed Camille Miranda, director of the center and the psychologist who treats child victims, Maggie Lorie. Through these contacts I interviewed Marta Green, a social worker who has worked with victims of sexual exploitation, maltreatment and child abuse, and abuse victims' families for over a decade. She described the environment and houses where the families live.

Finishing my visit to La Serena and Coquimbo, I spend two days of observation in each city and surrounding. In the former city, I visited the neighborhoods of Las Companias, La Antena and downtown. In the latter, the areas observed were Parte Alta, Tierras Blancas, San Juan, and Punta Mira, the Port, downtown and Tongoy.

Returning South to Santiago de Chile, I traveled back to interview the Congresswoman Maria Antonieta Saa who is the author and creator of the Law 20.507 regarding human trafficking in Chile, promulgated in 2011. Congresswoman Saa collaborated to this research by describing the process by which the law was written and the difficult road to obtain the approval from the Chilean Congress. Finishing my trip on July 2nd and after a long time waiting for the interview, I met with the Federal Police of Chile PDI. I interviewed three inspectors from BRISEXME

(Research Brigade of Sexual Abuse and Maltreatment Felony) Frank Soto, Abby Milan and Klaus Love. Figure image 3.2 displays a map of Chile. Highlighted in red are the cities and zones that I visited.

Figure 3.2 Map of cities where data collection took place.



REFERENCES

- Benoit, C., Jansson, M., Millar, A., & Phillips, R. (2005). Community-academic research on hard to reach populations: Benefits and challenges. *Qualitative Health Research, 15*(2), 263-282.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bryman, A. (2008). *Social research methods*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Cadet-Taurou, A., Reynaud-Maurupt, C., Costes, J. M., & Palle, C. (2010). Enquêtes quantitatives auprès des populations difficiles à joindre: L'expérience de l'observatoire français des drogues et des toxicomanies. *Methodological Innovations Online, 5*(2), 76-92.
- Carrington, P. J., Scott, J., & Wasserman, S. (Eds.). (2005). *Models and methods in social network analysis* (Vol. 28). Edinburgh, UK: Cambridge university press.
- Evans, S. E., Davies, C., & DiLillo, D. (2008). Exposure to domestic violence: A meta-analysis of child and adolescent outcomes. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 13*(2), 131-140.
- Evans, G.W. & Wachs, T.D. (Eds.). (2010). *Chaos and its influence on children's development: An ecological perspective*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Gallagher, A. T. (2009). Human rights and human trafficking: quagmire or firm ground? A response to James Hathaway. *Virginia Journal of International Law, 49*(4), 789-848.

- Heckathorn, D. D., Broadhead, R. S., & Sergeyev, B. (2001). A methodology for reducing respondent duplication and impersonation in samples of hidden populations. *Journal of Drug Issues, 31*(2), 543-564.
- Kleemans, E. R. (2011). Expanding the domain of human trafficking research: introduction to the special issue on human trafficking. *Trends in Organized Crime, 14*(2), 95-99.
- Lieberman, A. F., & Osofsky, J. D. (2009). Poverty, trauma, and infant mental health. *Zero to Three, 30*(2), 54-58.
- Repetti, R. L., Taylor, S. E., & Seeman, T. E. (2002). Risky families: Family social environments and the mental and physical health of offspring. *Psychological Bulletin, 128*, 330-366.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. M. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Voisin, D. R., & Hong, J. S. (2012). A meditational model linking witnessing intimate partner violence and bullying behaviors and victimization among youth. *Educational Psychology Review, 24*(4), 479-498.
- White, W. F. (1955). *Street corner society: the social structure of an Italian slum*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

CHAPTER 4
FINDINGS: DEVELOPING AN ECOLOGICAL MODEL FOR HUMAN
TRAFFICKING IN CHILE

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present the qualitative and quantitative findings of this project.

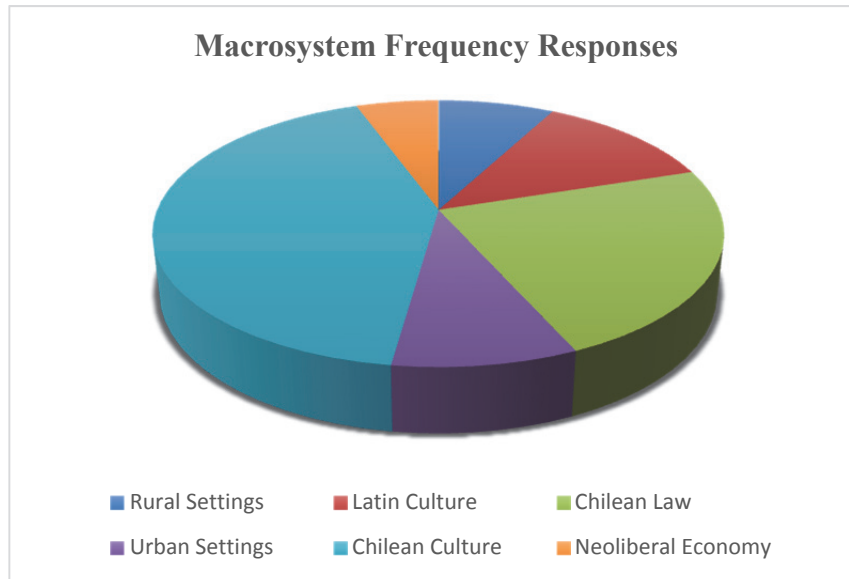
4.2 Findings

4.2.1 Qualitative Findings

This section presents a detailed analysis of each category of responses collected from Chilean experts who participated in this portion of the study. The formal description of each category can be found in Appendix C. The order of presentation corresponds to the most frequently mentioned category in the corresponding level of the ecological model. For example, Chilean culture in the macrosystem level (figure 4.1) was the most common category of response at the level of the ecological model. Categories at the macrosystem level are presented in Figure 4.1.

Macrosystem Level

Figure 4.1 Macrosystem codes: Frequencies



Chilean Culture. A majority of the participants reported that the Chilean culture was an important factor in creating the environment for child trafficking. Specifically, the informants blamed lack of awareness that trafficking occurs and is a crime. For example:

“That is another detail. In Chile, when people ask about your job and you mention trafficking, people say that this doesn’t happen in Chile that it never happens. There is no conceivable view about it, because there is no information either” (Tomas, personal communication, May 30, 2013).

Chileans believe that their country is less corrupt than other Latin American countries, which is supported in the literature (Transparency International, 2012). The experts believe that Chilean people tend to ignore suspicious actions instead of reporting them to authorities.

Chilean Law. The previous observation is compounded by the weakness of the existing Chilean Law 20.507 about human trafficking crime in the country and the ineffectiveness of this law in providing care to victims. One of the creators of the law commented:

“The State has the obligation to shelter victims, but I think that not all the elements are there for victims to feel really safe, victimization [sic] and that they can stay in the country, make that choice. There are few financial resources for law enforcement” (Amanda, personal communication, July 1, 2013)

Even though Chile signed the Palermo Protocol in 2001, there is inadequate financial support to provide protection to victims.

Latin American Culture. Some participants state that “machismo” (chauvinism) in Latin America contributes to trafficking and victimization of children and women. In Latin culture, offenders frequently accuse their victims of being flirtatious or seductive, or “asking for it” (Fontes, 2007). According to Santos-Ortiz Munoz Vazquez (1989), the responsibility for the abuse can vary widely across cultures. In traditional Latino cultures, sexual relations are viewed as a fundamental struggle, something females should try to avoid and males should either obtain it’s willing or through trafficking. An interviewed commented:

“Culturally, from masculinity the possibility of buying sexual intercourse is validated. It is not legalized, it is not that it is legal but it is not legalized [sic]” (Maggie, personal communication, June 25, 2013)

In addition, some examinees stated that there is tendency in South America for machismo to affect socialization to gender roles. Cultural settings are closely related in the way of how boys and girls structure their identity, including gender (Francoeur et al., 1995; Golombok & Fivush, 1994).

Some researchers have offered critical analyses of sexuality and power relations between genders in the Latino context (Jimenez-Munoz, 1994; Perez-Jimenez Cunningham, Serrano-Garcia & Ortiz-Torres, 2007). Studies imply that traditional gender roles are changing (Young et al., 1996), masculine ideology (Perez-Jimenez, Cunningham, Serrano-Garcia & Ortiz-Torres, 2007), and Machismo rules (Torres, Solberg & Carlstrom, 2002). Those rules carry a historical view relevant to the roots of machismo. Researchers assert that machismo evolved from attitudes and behaviors originating in Spain towards a benevolent sexism ideology when carried over to other societies in Latin America (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

Neoliberal Economy. Some participants also stated their belief that the neoliberal economic system promoted in Latin American and Chile encourages children to hold unrealistically high consumer expectations and to engage in risky behaviors. Tomas stated:

“The socioeconomic system that we have nowadays has led children to watch television, see the latest sneakers and that consumerism makes them say hey, 'I want that too because in my neighborhood I stand out if I have an iPhone, I stand out if I have the latest brand sneakers, and that distinction also gives me protection because if I am the bravest one -they call it tapizado*- I am respected and that gives me protection and many other things. So how I do get that? Committing crimes” (Tomas, personal communication, May 30, 2013)”

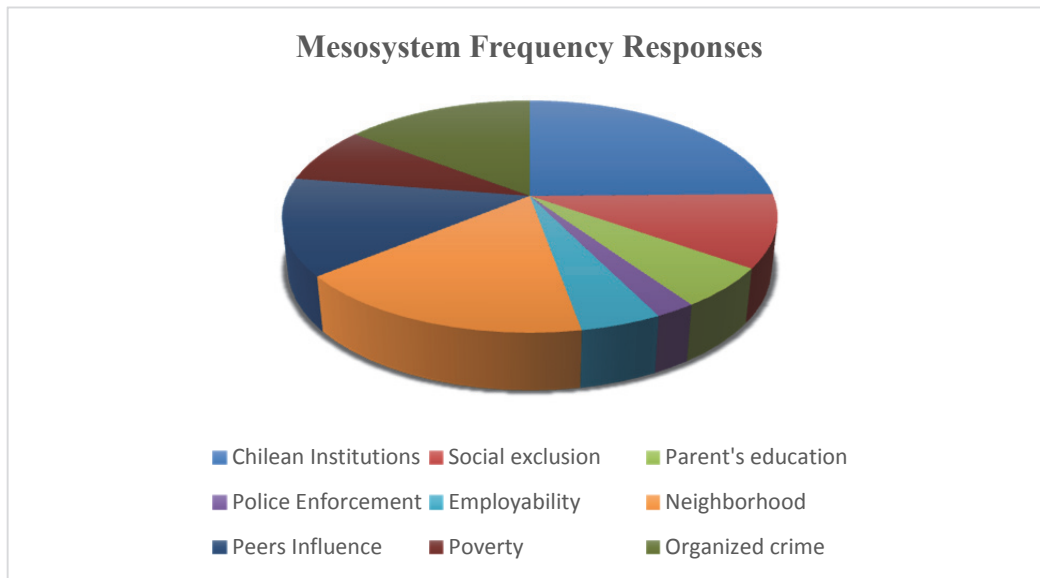
*tapizado: Chil. Slang expression for having a great deal of material wealth.

Rural/Urban settings. Rural to urban migration is occurring in Chile due to the lack of opportunities available in provinces distant from the metropolitan area of Santiago de Chile. This internal migration increases the risk of trafficking for sexual exploitation and child labor.

“There are girls that live in rural towns and are exposed to factors such marketing that shows them a faraway world that they try to build from the reality they have” (Adam, personal communication, August 4, 2013)”.

Mesosystem Level

Figure 4.2 Mesosystem codes: Frequencies



Chilean Institutions. Many experts believe that local institutions such as police enforcement, family court, SENAME and schools directly affect the way that a child is treated when victimized by trafficking. In many cases vulnerable children suffer from secondary victimization. Sofia from Center Antu says that in Chile:

“For all purposes, from family courts, criminal courts, etc. Yes, the highest good of children, but in practice they [children victims] are [treated as] whores, they are abused by institutions” (Sofia, personal communication, June 11, 2013)

Lack of childhood public policy. Participants often highlighted lack of coordination between institutions and lack of an integrative public policy about child protection, this means that each institution create protective programs without one clear mission or agreement from the Government to guide them. Pamela claims:

“There is a great lack of coordination between the institutions and the state. We need specialized training in assistance and social intervention for victims of trafficking (including our very own institution), because all types of training depend on the law” (Pamela, personal communication, July 1, 2013).

Neighborhoods and living conditions. Participants also believed that living conditions in neighborhoods can promote victimization of children. Usually they live in small apartments are shared by several families, where there is no place for intimacy for family members; in addition, the creation of these crowded housing situations create other social issues such as, social exclusion and low resource neighborhoods. Maggie says:

“These are basic homes, government social housing projects where several families live together. These girls live with their partners, with their children in the same houses as guests, houses that were rented or houses that were taken... [There is a] high level of overcrowding... They have basic utilities in these facilities, but they get cut off because resources are poorly administrated, sometimes there are no resources” (Maggie, personal communication, June 25, 2013).

Social exclusion and marginalization. The settlements for very poor people and migrants are located on peripheral areas of the big cities, marginalizing the population in ghettos where inhabitants lack a sense of belonging and experience other social and environmental problems, such as lack of amenities and landfill proximity. Marta explains:

“Living conditions are very poor, [there is] a lot of overcrowding. There is no space, for instance, for proper cohabitation. Dynamics tend to be exclusive so children spend more time and feel more comfortable outside their house, and this has to do with the fact that structurally speaking they are lacking, poor quality and in that sense, children tend to go outside to look for that which they cannot find home” (Marta, personal communication, June 25, 2013).

Peers and social relationships. According to the experts, peers become a significant influence in the life of children and adolescents. A chaotic family dynamic also pushes the child towards street life. One of the participants claims:

“The issue of peers makes sense when one understands that family dynamics leave children alone; this is what I see in San Antonio. Children like adults, 12-year old girls who behave like 16-17-18 year-old adolescents. In that sense, there are higher chances of children getting involved in [human trafficking] and of the social contagion that takes place in the summertime” (Amelia, personal communication, June 9, 2013)”

Peers as recruiters. Since peers become a significant influence, especially in cases with overcrowding and chaotic family dynamics, some participants asserted that traffickers are likely to use adolescent’s peers to recruit new potential victims:

“The girl who provided us with the testimony mentions that she intended for other acquaintances of hers to go to that place and, in this context, her role would be that of a facilitator of the situation. She was a minor at the time but these were girls recruiting other girls and that’s where the vulnerability is clear...the girls were hooked up” (Marta, personal communication, June 11, 2013).

Parent’s educational level and lack of opportunities. Parents' educational level determines their type of employment and consequently the family's economic situation. Maggie from Aruna stress:

“A marginalization circle is created because there is no level of education that allows them to apply for better jobs, thus jobs are sporadic, and employment is informal, low and temporary. A lot of them work seasonally, a lot of them work in grape harvesting which is very common in the summertime, but the rest of the year is more complicated” (Maggie, personal communication, June 25, 2013).

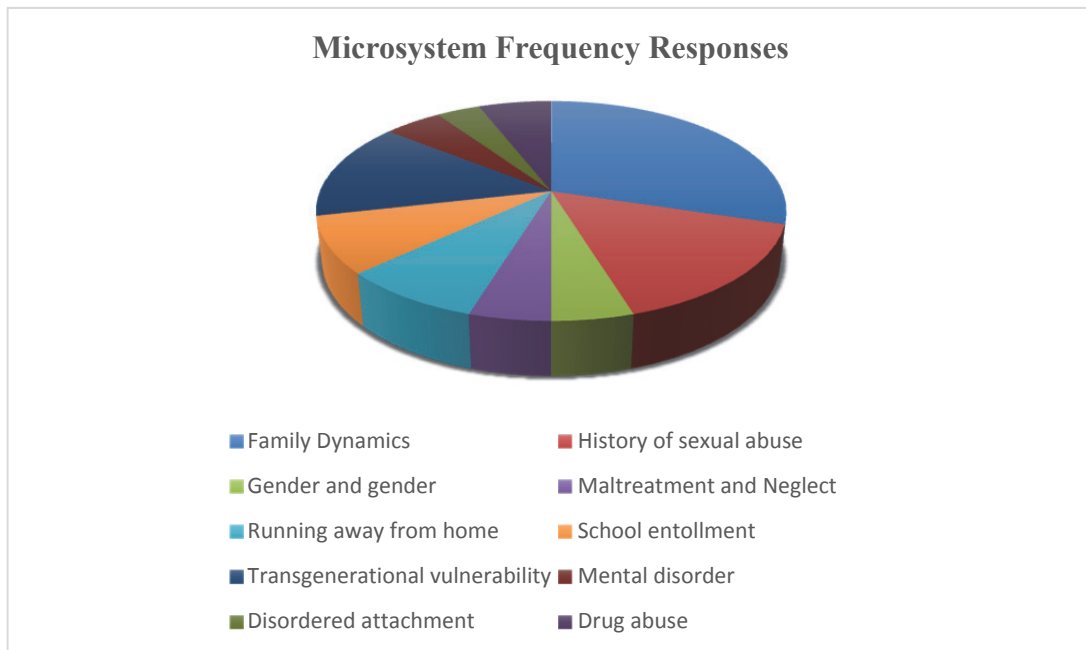
One parent family structure. Families are mostly composed by one parental figure. Many participants stated that mother headed families produce vulnerability:

“Generally, these are single-parent families where the mother is in charge. In terms of their structure, there are many siblings, who take on the role of

caregivers of other siblings, a mother or father-like role” (Maggie, personal communication, June 25, 2013).

Microsystem Level

Figure 4.3 Microsystem codes: Frequency



Family dynamics. Family dynamics (see above in Mesosystem) can also influence a child’s life by facilitating exposure to dangerous peers, traffickers, or in some cases, potential clients. The experts described characteristics of dysfunctional family dynamics (see Bowen, 1966) identifying common features in their activities.

(1) Family participant and witnessing of the crime. According to participants, sometimes family members agreed with offenders expecting a compensation for the trade.

“There is some sort recognition from the family, as if they were partners, they validate it, normalize it, and even idolize it a little bit” (Pauline, personal communication, June 9, 2013).

(2) Lack of intimacy inside the family. They belong to families where crowdedness

is high, the house shelters strangers and there is not space for personal use.

“These children live with their mothers who have had several partners, so there is a certain turnover and rotation of people, or their moms allow other people to come live at their house. They tend to serve as lodging or shelter for other families, and in that sense this is why the concept of intimacy is also modified” (Amelia, personal communication, June 9, 2013).

(3) Emotionally disconnected parental figures and child loneliness. Expert’s claim that the children are lonely and their parents does not show affection or appreciation.

“These children are generally very lonely, despite the fact that they have a family and a home, they spend a lot of time alone. They are alone in terms of affection, control, supervision from how are you to whether they are attending school or not” (Camille, personal communication, June 25, 2013)

(4) Vague definition of roles in family members or confusion of these roles. Many family providers do not cover basic necessities for children, and children are forced to supply for himself and sometime her/his sibling.

“As for dynamics, these families are chaotic and roles are largely dysfunctional, [there are] few limits, few rules, moms are childish and children act like adults; the role of supplying for the family can be shared between members including children, children feel an obligation to contribute financially to the household or to cover their own expenses, so this is where the risk of exploitation comes up, in the sense that children need to take responsibility, at a very young age, of their own basic needs (Maggie. June 25, 2013)”

Transgenerational vulnerability. In addition to this family dynamics characteristics, participants assert that there is a transgenerational vulnerability that appears in the majority of the child cases that they have had treated or seen. Pauline describes:

“I believe that the transgenerationality of the phenomenon is decisive. If there is a grandmother who was a victim of exploitation and ever since she became

involved in sex trade, and this situation was never dealt with, a review of the family history will show a repetition of that story with these girls” (Pauline, personal communication, June 9, 2013).

History of sexual abuse. It was stated by participants in the study that victims had a history of sexual abuse and it was a clear risk factor for being trafficked and sexually exploited.

“In 90% of cases where there’s a history of sexual victimization during early childhood, there is always a record of abuse in their history, there is a lot in common (Sofia, personal communication, June 11, 2013).”

Age and gender. Participants agree that females between the ages of 14 and 17 years are more likely to be trafficked than males of the same.

“We have a growing number of referrals of boys, more than girls, it’s still 80% and 20%, but that 20% we are getting is drawing our attention, because it means that now we can identify situations of exploitation despite the cultural risk of the accusation of being a homosexual, for example” (Sofia, personal communication, June 11, 2013)”

Mental disorder. Participant’s described that due to lack of affection and sometimes disordered attachment during their childhood, children likely tend to develop a mental illness.

“The profile for girls is very clear, girls with important attachment deprivation and cognitive damage” (Sofia, personal communication, June 11, 2013).

Physical and/or psychological maltreatment and neglect. The children that attend to the centers commonly are victims of maltreatment and neglect. The experts highlighted the role of physical abuse:

“In my own experience, many of the girls that are admitted to the Aruna Center have a life history of sexual abuse or rape and physical abuse” (Maggie, personal communication, June 25, 2013)”

Disordered attachment behaviors. Some participants believe that disordered attachment behaviors directly influence a child's vulnerability to human trafficking.

“It has to do with a break in affection or with a violation of the recognition that [children] could have, of course, it makes sense that someone exploits me, someone else does I don't know what and I feel that the streets are more meaningful, not protective but more meaningful, than what my grandma can offer. I think that the perversion of exploitation has to be with the fact that the exploiter can identify that break in affection and they use it to drag the child into an unreal relationship” (Elisa, personal communication, June 4, 2013)”

Double Bind. According to experts, one of these disordered attachment behaviors is the “double bind” described by the following quote:

“The maternal figure is incompetent and blames her daughter for many situations in where she is involved (her daughter), with father that is weak and ambivalent, same than the case of the younger girl” (Adam, personal communication, August 4, 2013).

Running away from home. Running away from home has been previously identified in the literature as a risk factor for trafficking (Reid & Jones 2011). Alex stated:

“The combination of factors which are associated to territorial characteristics where cultural and material needs are not met and push [children] out to the streets, an environment where they compensate for those recreational, emotional and material needs” (Alex, personal communication, August 4, 2013)

Drugs and substance abuse. Children who have ran away from home or are alienated from their parents are vulnerable to substance abuse. Some participants mention drug use as a catalyst for involvement in human trafficking networks that are associated with drug dealers and cartels*. Experts explain that drugs are a door of escape for these children who have many other risk factors. In addition, drug addiction aggravates the child's situation, increasing the probability of transitioning from being

a victim of sexual exploitation to becoming a trafficked victim, or even a perpetrator of trafficking encouraged by traffickers who provide drugs such pasta base de cocaina* in exchange for these new recruited victims.

“I think that the use of drugs has been terrible; it puts children immediately at risk because they look for money, and in the end it’s the same because it’s a circle” (Pauline, personal communication, June 9, 2013).

Educational system and school enrollment. The expert’s viewed education and school enrollment as major protective factors.

“Known victims of human trafficking, child labor and sexual exploitation are very likely to be school dropouts with lower educational attainment for their age. Education levels are not very high, there is a tendency to avoid or to drop out of school; there is an important pattern of lack of schooling. 5th, 6th and 7th grade” (Marta, personal communication, June 25, 2013).

I also asked the experts to rank the critical factors that place children at risk for trafficking as well as protective factors. Two sets of major risk factors were mentioned (1) sexual exploitation and (2) child labor.

(1) Sexual exploitation. Risk Factors

(1.1) Damaged bond and disordered attachment with parental figures and a child surrounded by a chaotic family system act as pushing factors for sexual exploitation.

“The family group is highly destructed, highly dysfunctional and lacking responsible or important adult figures, quite worse than other cases. There is no support or basis for establishing a healthy relationship with the girls or any kind of project” (Adam. August 4, 2013).

(1.2) Self-esteem and body image. Child victims validate themselves through their body image. Their relationship to their bodies makes them extremely vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Some experts claimed that victims can associate the exchange of

sexual favors with validating their self-esteem, something that victims do not receive at home.

“It is damaged (body image) because of this very history of abuse. Culturally, an extreme importance is also given to the body, on every level, I think that from the advertisements on television to the magazines you buy, the fact of being skinny, whatever Shakira looks like. Globally the body has a huge value, an excessive value; and if you link that to the fact that your value depends on how you look and you don’t feel valued on any other level, then you will probably associate your body with validation and you will try to make the most of that. Obviously the circuits are damaged and this is not normal, but the body becomes relevant: this is what matters about me, this is what I have to offer, and this is what is important about me” (Maggie, personal communication, June 25, 2013).

(1.3) Susceptibility to become a victim. This perverted body image, low self-esteem and lack of affection is detected by a trafficker, peer or a direct client in case of commercial sexual exploitation.

“I believe that the perversion of exploitation is related to the fact that the trafficker is able to distinguish that broken affective bonds in the child and transforms that into an unreal relationship with him” (Sofia, personal communication, June 11, 2013)”

(1.4) Socially excluded child. Victims are often expelled from school and face exclusion from other protective systems such as family or even in victim centers, children are shifted from one program to another and treated by overworked professionals who have inadequate resources.

“Our institutions are a reflection of society in the sense that we also operate from survival, trying to make it through the day with very few economic resources, and with a poor administration of those resources” (Issa, personal communication, June 24, 2013)”.

(2) Child Labor. Risk Factors.

Acknowledging that child labor is not a category extensively identified in Chile as a type of human trafficking, experts asserted that abuse associated with child labor increases the risk of child exploitation.

(2.1) Family dynamics that force a child to cover their own necessities.

“These are cases where families, faced with the absence of money, teenagers, faced with the need of finding their own sources of income, accept to work in these circles, thinking along the lines of child labor. We see a mixed pattern, both rural and urban” (Patricio, personal communication, June 27, 2013)

(2.2) Family groups that have short-term view of the future.

“Their decision in life is very concrete, to live day by day, to have money to pay for breakfast, lunch, dinner and that’s it. There is no future beyond that, because there are no opportunities for investment. Economic issues and ignorance matter a lot in these families” (Issa, personal communication, June 24, 2013)

(2.3) Lack of awareness from the caregivers about how to assure the well-being of a child.

“We have several cases associated with neglect in child labor, not because children actually work but because they are taken out at 5am, they always have a cold and the doctor’s office notifies you, they don’t show up at school and it’s because they are with the other kids” (Issa, personal communication, June 24, 2013)

(2.4) Differences between child labor in rural and urban areas. Child labor cases in rural areas are related to agricultural labor such farming and ranching. Observations in the rural areas demonstrated that, in majority of the cases, parental figures take children to work in an effort to protect them; children are not forced to work.

“Children help and they are happy to help, I can see a direct connection with the land, nature and how they appreciate the job with great value. Children are not necessary working all day, they play around close to their parents who are working” (rural area of La Serena, June 16, 2013).

On the contrary, experts observe a different reality in the urban settings. Risky

child labor is usually related to drug trafficking.

“I can see a significant number of individuals who use children or are in fact children trafficking drugs in the corner of the streets, they are dressed with flashy branded clothes” (Downtown area of Tongoy. June 26, 2013). “Most cases are incorporated through networks or circles of micro trafficking, of pasta base* or marijuana which is the most common” (Patricio, personal communication, June 27, 2013)”

*Pasta base: Derivative product from cocaine.

Nonsuitable parenting skills. Misguided parenting also plays a part.

“It would be unfair to deny their concern, but the ways in which they practice their parental skills sometimes promote risky situations because they become more normal, and we can clearly see that this always used to happen. But this, together with the cases of drug trafficking that are taking place, generates a rather twisted combination that makes it easier for kids to end up in these networks” (Patricio, personal communication, June 27, 2013).

Participants also identified protective factors against falling victim to sexual exploitation and child labor:

(1) A significant other relevant and positive to the child. A person that can play a supportive roll in the child’s life.

“This person can be a parental figure, a member of the family or those options are not available, a teacher, a coach or a therapist. Safe relationships and family support, regardless of family structure, even a foster family, probably. And when I speak about a support network I mean in a broad sense, not only in terms of a family, but also of people who can show children that this not the best alternative. That can be a sports club, teachers, friends or any person who can bond with them at some point” (Emma, personal communication, June 24, 2013)

(2) Parental control and established house rules. Clear dynamics of protection and discipline for the entire family group.

“I feel that it has to do with parental control and, above all, with a healthy attachment to parents” (Amelia, personal communication, June 9, 2013)

(3) Individual resources, resilience, and survival. Individual protective characteristics that the child developed during the childhood.

“These children, due to their personal history of being castaways, are very skilled in using their own personal resources to solve very concrete social situations like where to live, which clothes to wear, without necessarily exposing themselves to being exploited, but going through this unnoticed, because they are very young, using what we call survival practices” (Sofia, personal communication, June 11, 2013)

(4) Participation in a preventive program.

“I believe that we need to start working on prevention and trying to break these family patterns that are deeply ingrained, such as the acceptance of exploitation practices as a way of survival since children are young, so that other social inclusion practices can be validated which are more normative, like education and the opportunity of finding a job with higher compensation in the longer term” (Maggie, personal communication, June 25, 2013)

Summary

According to expert opinion, it is necessary to consider multiple factors in order to understand the causes of child trafficking. Previous research corroborates the causes and factors described by the experts.

One of the most surprising additions to the existing research model is transgenerational vulnerability. This factor is also relevant to preventive interventions. Preventing trafficking among children and grandchildren of those who have been trafficked is a prime target for intervention. Similarly, early attention to child abuse cases and appropriate treatment of child abuse could also be a target for the prevention of human trafficking. For example, the revision of treatment protocols for sexual abuse in the Chilean health system might play a key role in discouraging trafficking. Teaching children effective preventive skills may arm them against victimization.

4.2.2 Quantitative Results

Data were collected in six Chilean centers for victims of sexual exploitation and

Children Rights protection centers. The centers were located in the cities of Santiago, San Antonio, Valparaiso, La Serena, Coquimbo y Tongoy, corresponding to some provinces in the capital of Chile, central zone and a portion of the north region of the country.

Number and characteristics of children in the centers

Between May 2012 and May 2013, a total of 1,087 children attended the six centers. These children were identified as victims in the categories of sexual exploitation, child labor or associated crimes. Among these 1,087 cases, twenty-two children were fully identified as victims of human trafficking in the categories of sexual exploitation and child labor. The remainder of the cases were treated for commercial sexual exploitation, pornography, or local child labor with or without transportation.

It is likely that a number of children in these institutions have been subjected to trafficking at one time, but they were categorized under different or related diagnoses. It is also the case that many of these children had histories that are similar to children who have been trafficked. I calculated descriptive statistics for the children reported to be in these institutions (a weighted average value was obtained based on the number of children in each center.) No firm conclusions about characteristics of trafficking victims can be drawn from this sample.

The following tables (4.1, 4.2 and 4.3) describe the children characteristics, family characteristics and location of child residents of these centers.

Table 4.1

Results of gender and age groups. Gender and age distribution of children in the six centers.

Variables name and categories	Total percentage of cases detected in all centers
Age	
0-6 years old (no cases registered)	0% (no cases registered)
7-13 years old	34.5%
4-18 years old	64.5%
Gender	
Female	56%
Male	43%
Total of missing data	0%

Table 4.2.

Education and family of origin characteristics for children in the six centers

Variable name and categories	Total percentage of cases detected in all centers
Education level of the victim	
No education	5%
Elementary school completed	25%
Middle school completed	30%
High school incomplete	38%
High school completed	2%
Education level of victim's parents	
No education	11%
Elementary school completed	32%
Middle school completed	25%
High school incomplete	31%
High school completed	0.9%

Type of victim's care	
Parents	55%
Extended family	33%
Other	11%
Average Family Income	
Less than 260.000 pesos	46.5%
Between 260.000-390.000 pesos	51%
Between 390.000-560.000 pesos	2%
Between 560.000-890.000 pesos	0.16%
Up to 890.000 pesos	0%
Victim's type of housing	
Family owned house	43.4%
Rented	33%
Car/tent	5.2%
Institution/shelter	8.3%
Street/ homeless	10%
Total of missing data	0.4%

Table 4.3: Nationality and Urban/Rural Origin

Variable name and categories	Total percentage of cases detected in all centers
Nationality	
Chilean	97%
Not Chilean	3%
Area	
Urban	70%
Rural	30%
Total of missing data	

Risk Factors. A section in the questionnaire assessed the directors' opinions about what risk factors are associated with becoming a victim of human trafficking. Table 4.4 summarizes their responses (N=6). Findings are very consistent with reports from the semi-structured interviews with experts.

Table 4.4
Matrix of responses on risk factors of human trafficking in Chile.

Center ID	History of maltreatment	Neglect	History of sexual abuse	Drug abuse	Mental health diagnostic	Running away from home
1	100%	80%	100%	60%	30%	100%
2	100%	100%	80%	50%	20%	40%
3	30%	30%	50%	60%	20%	20%
4	80%	60%	90%	40%	50%	60%
5	60%	60%	60%	70%	10%	70%
6	50%	80%	60%	60%	40%	70%
Total of average responses	70%	68.3%	73.3%	56%	28.3%	60%
Total of missing data	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Data on child trafficking from official Chilean sources

SENAME provided data on registered cases of child human trafficking from 2012 through May 2013. The sources detected a total of 47 cases of which 85 were female between 14- and 18-years-old. The majority of the child victims (79%) had attended middle or high school

The number of detected cases was very low. It is likely that some of this low

detection is due to a poor understanding of human trafficking by professionals. The lack of awareness and education about the phenomenon may explain why so few cases are registered.

Summary

The quantitative data showed similar risk factors to those from the qualitative data; history of sexual abuse and maltreatment were found most deleterious to children, highlighting the need for human trafficking prevention programs. However, it is also very important to understand individual protective factors that help combat victimization. For example, a bioecological model of resilience would consider biological and genetic risk factors such as child weight at birth, mother's pregnancy history, and mother and child IQ as predictors of resistance to victimization. At present, data such as these are not available in Chile to address the role of individual biological differences.

Finally, the presented qualitative and quantitative findings paint a consistent picture of vulnerability to child trafficking in Chile. These data may be used to develop a more comprehensive case registration of the child victims in the Chilean protective system.

REFERENCES

- Bowen, M. (1966). The use of family theory in clinical practice. *Comprehensive Psychiatry*, 7(5), 345-374.
- Fontes, L. (2007). Sin Verguenza: Addressing shame with Latino victims of child sexual abuse and their families. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 16(1), 61-83.
- Francoeur, R. T; M. Cornog, T. Perper, and N. A. Scherzer. 1995. *The complete dictionary of sexology*. New York: The Continuum Publishing Company.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2001). An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality. *American Psychologist*, 56(2), 109-118.
- Golombok, S., & Fivush, R. (1994). *Gender development*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Pérez-Jiménez, D., Cunningham, I., Serrano-García, I., & Ortiz-Torres, B. (2007). Construction of male sexuality and gender roles in Puerto Rican heterosexual college students. *Men and Masculinities*, 9(3), 358-378.
- Reid, J. A., & Jones, S. (2011). Exploited vulnerability: Legal and psychological perspectives on child sex trafficking victims. *Victims and Offenders*, 6(2), 207-231.
- Santos-Ortiz, M. D. C., & Vazquez, M. M. (1989). An exploratory study of the expression of female sexuality: The experience of two groups of Puerto Rican women from different social backgrounds. In Coll, C. T. G. (1989). *The psychosocial development of Puerto Rican women* (141-165). Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Publishers.

Torres, J. B., Solberg, V. S., & Carlstrom, A. H. (2002). The myth of sameness among Latino men and their machismo. *The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 72(2), 163-81.

Transparency International (2012). *The 2012 corruption perceptions index*. Retrieved February 15, 2014 from <http://www.transparency.org/cpi2012>

Young, T., Hutton, R., Finn, L., Badr, S., & Palta, M. (1996). The gender bias in sleep apnea diagnosis: are women missed because they have different symptoms? *Archives of Internal Medicine*, 156(21), 2445-2451.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE WORK

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I draw conclusions from this research and present some implications for the development of an ecological model (Figure 2.4). I also propose guidance for prevention and treatment programs and make policy recommendations.

5.2 Discussion

In the past decades, the use of social ecological models in the formulation of intervention strategies have increased because simple interventions are unlikely to work on their own and the growth of effective interventions requires strategies that affect multiple settings, simultaneously (Niederer et al., 2009) The results of this research indicate that multiple factors interact to perpetuate child human trafficking crime. Many of these factors are highly correlated and, at this preliminary stage, it is not possible to estimate the incidence of these factors. I hypothesized and sought expert advice about factors that operate at different levels of the system: these include community and social environment, family dynamics and cultural background, and child victim's individual characteristics.

My first research question was to identify environmental and demographic characteristics surrounding child victims of human trafficking in Chile. I found that experts on trafficking and child exploitation in Chile believe that vulnerability to human trafficking is related to secondary victimization by treatment institutions and lack of organization. Victims are not necessarily perceived as victims by some

working in child protection institutions in Chile. Child victims can be blamed rather than protected. Institutions such as the police, family court, schools and the health system sometimes stigmatize children victims. Re-victimization refers to the blame and stigmatization victims experience from the criminal justice, legal, and medical systems, as well as from friends and family. It also refers to the trauma, distress, and alienation that victims may experience after the assault as a result of the responses of the criminal justice, legal, and medical systems (Madigan & Gamble, 1999 as cited in Patterson, 2011). In an unresponsive model of case processing, victims are often blamed for the assault and denied help, which further traumatizes survivors and slows recovery (Campbell & Raja, 1999). Martin & Powell (1994) demonstrated that insensitive treatment, stemming from institutional practices, exacerbates the ignorance of victims' needs.

In addition, the weak Chilean law against human trafficking facilitates the crime. The lack of Chilean social policy regarding human trafficking increases the invisibility of the crime in the local culture.

Latin American cultural influence may also promote tolerance of trafficking through traditional beliefs about gender roles. Not all Latino men and women conform to proscribed gender roles. Nonetheless, their sexual risk taking may well be influenced by traditional beliefs concerning these roles. (Fernandez-Esquer, Diamond, & Atkinson, 2010).

Lastly, neoliberal economic and social policies have been associated with a dramatic sharpening of social inequalities, increased income polarization, and the persistence of widespread poverty in Latin America (Green 1995; Roberts, 2002 cited

as in Portes & Hoffman, 2003). According to Seekle (2012), Chuang (2006), Amnesty International (2005) and UNICEF (2001) globalization is identified as a cause of increased unemployment and economic and educational gaps in Latin America, leading to high rates of migrants traveling for better opportunities. Illegal migration increases the risk for trafficking in general.

In addition to income polarization in the 1980s and 1990s, globally there was a dramatic deterioration of social conditions, which drastically reduced and privatized health, education, and other social programs. In Chile, the current Gini coefficient¹ of 52.1 indicates high levels of income inequality (Human Development Report Office 2012). Thus, more unequal social classes where poor have less access to health, education and employment of quality.

I also examined the proposed hypothesis that lack of awareness about child human trafficking by the Chilean population and Chilean institutions helps perpetuate this crime in Chile. Although I cannot affirm that lack of awareness is related to increased occurrence of the crime, my interviews with experts suggested that lack of awareness promotes re-victimization of at-risk Chilean children.

The second research question was aimed at establishing the psychosocial characteristics that make victims vulnerable to exploitation. Analysis of mesosystem factors showed that vulnerability to human trafficking may be related to chaotic and dysfunctional family dynamics. Expert interviews showed that family interaction characteristics such as, family roles, communication patterns, and emotional climate

¹ Income Gini coefficient. Measure of the deviation of the distribution of income (or consumption) among individuals or households within a country from a perfectly equal distribution. A value of 0 represents absolute equality, a value of 100 absolute inequality. (World Bank 2012)

affected vulnerability to trafficking, as predicted from past research on how these factors influence individual development and functioning (Anderson & Sabatelli, 1992; Bagarozzi & Anderson, 1989; Callan & Noller, 1986; Constantine, 1986; Galvin & Brommel, 1991 as cited in L 'Adate, 1998). According to the experts who took part in my study, victims of trafficking have a common pattern that involves dysfunctional of relationships, roles and rules (see chapter 4).

Moreover, expelling family dynamics could be associated with peers and their participation in recruitment and involvement in human trafficking crime. Blackson and Tarter (1994) studied peer affiliation in dysfunctional family contexts, concluding that family conflict raised the probability of child deviance. Also, affiliation with deviant peers is a strong predictor delinquent behavior (Haynie & Osgood, 2005). This was affirmed by interviews with experts for this research.

Single parent families, parent's employment, education and family income are other factors that influence victimization for trafficking. Single parents have fewer resources (including economic resources, time, and energy), associated with less control over children including monitoring and discipline (Amato & Cheadle, 2005; Lareau, 2000; McLanahan & Booth, 1989; McNulty & Bellair, 2003; Rankin & Kern, 1994; Roscigno, 1998).

In the case of Chile, experts reported that the majority of child victims come from homes where only the mother is present and family income is low. As observed in the quantitative sample, between 31% and 32% of parents completed only elementary school or did not finish high school and 11% never received formal education. In the questionnaire data, reported family income in the center sample shows that the

children there came from families with very low income.

Finally, peer and family influences may be shaped by cultural and neighborhood forces (Cantillion, 2006; Sampson & Groves, 1989). Experts recognized that high-risk neighborhoods in Chile expose children to deviant peers and drugs. When parental control is weak or attachment to parents is disordered, children are likely to become involved in risky neighborhood activities.

Microsystem factors that also increase the likelihood of becoming a child victim of human trafficking in Chile were identified. Vulnerability to human trafficking at an individual level is related to gender, age, history of mental illness, and sexual abuse history. I observed a very high rate of female cases (56%), the majority of children in the sample were between ages 14 and 18 years, 28% of children of the sample were diagnosed with a mental health illness, and 73% of children in the sample had a sexual abuse experience not treated or treated during their childhood. Child sexual abuse has been found to be a major risk factor for many mental health disorders, most commonly noted are post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, suicide, alcohol problems, and eating disorders (Briere & Runtz, 1993; Finkelhor, 1986; Solomon & Heide, 1999; Reid & Jones, 2011).

History of maltreatment and neglect was another detected risk factor. Seventy percent of children from the sample experienced physical and psychological maltreatment and neglect.

Another identified factor was substance and drug abuse. Fifty-six percent of children in the sample had a drug dependency. According to experts, some of them continue their involvement in sexual exploitation or human trafficking crime because

it helps finance their addiction.

Additionally, I found that transgenerational history of sexual abuse, child labor or sexual exploitation was commonly observed in the mother and/or grandmother of victims.

Lastly, a factor that is a consequence of family chaos and environmental processes is running away from home. Sixty percent of children in the quantitative sample had ran away from home. Experts consider this behavior, the single greatest risk factor for children.

The study hypotheses (see chapter 3) are consistent with the results, with some notable exception. It was hypothesized that children at risk of human trafficking will be in the care of others such as, extended family or other. Results in the quantitative analysis show that 55% of the children in the sample were cared for their parents. . Even though the results are taken from a sample that included other types of child victims, due to the impossibility to obtain precise statistical data, the data suggest that more research is needed on parental status and trafficking. Taking into account that potential victims are often in care of their families, a group family intervention might be key in prevention and treatment for human trafficking in Chile.

Finally, with the available data, I am not able to respond to the last research question “Considering the same environment, what are the characteristics that differentiate a victim and non-victims of this crime?” In order to reply to this question, we would have to develop a bioecological model (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994) and analyze the possible individual genetic and biological characteristics that may account for the individual differences in children who live in the same environment. An

interesting method would be to collect data among known child victims and compare it to children who are institutionalized for other types of exploitation or delinquency in Chile. The data collection could include birth weight, pregnancy history of the mother, premature birth and child and maternal IQ, as well as the other social and family factors that have been identified in my research as risk factors for trafficking.

Overall, we can conclude that child human trafficking is a growing issue that can be portrayed from an ecological perspective represented by the micro- meso- and macrosystems. In this research, I was able to characterize those systems and describe how they are associated, conforming to a general ecological explanation for this phenomenon in Chile. Despite the findings, I was disappointed by how poorly professionals of the Chileans institutions understood trafficking of children.

Limitations of the study

There are two important biases that may affect findings in the quantitative study.

1. Sampling population and coverage. Human trafficking tends to be a hidden or clandestine crime that is difficult to measure precisely in the population. For these reasons, it is challenging to capture and analyze the entire population of victims. In terms of sampling for qualitative data, snowball sampling proved to be useful and it might be applied in the future to collect more quantitative information from victims. Geographical and financial constraints made it infeasible for this project to collect information from every Chilean city. The selection of research sites was narrowed to the north-central cities. The majority of Chilean population lives in sections IV, V and the capital city. According to an estimated number of INE, 2011 (Chilean National Statistics Institute) 4.2%, 10.3% and 40.3% of Chileans are located in these north central regions, respectively.

2. *The lack of information about human trafficking crimes in Chile.* Not all Chilean professionals working with victims of child labor or sexual exploitation were aware of the UN Palermo Protocol or 20.507 Chilean law against human trafficking crime. Thus, many crimes have not been registered or some have been registered improperly. For example, a child victim of internal human trafficking could be registered in a sexual abuse or maltreatment treatment program by default, without receiving the proper treatment that addresses the trauma of trafficking.

3. *Representativeness of participants.* The data reported in this study does not represent the entire Chilean community of professionals working in the field. However, this exploratory study offers an opportunity for future research on child human trafficking and contributes to an open debate of the subject in Chile and Latin America.

4. *Limits to generalizability.* The results of this study cannot be generalized to other countries. I observed several major problems in the collection and analysis of my data. For instance, the absence of comparable statistics on human trafficking across countries and the clandestine nature of the crime bias official estimates. Legal protections for victims are weak and there is a general lack of awareness in the population about human trafficking.

However, validity within Chile was increased by partnerships with community organizations (Savona & Stefanizzi, 2007; Heckathorn et al., 2001; Stull & Schensul, 1987). Community partner organizations that are cognizant of the social worlds of the potential research participants have developed effective strategies for reaching them.

Implications of the study

Education and training. Outcomes of this research can be used in school settings to understand, from an ecological perspective, how a child victim becomes vulnerable to

human trafficking crime. I have created an informative flyer directed to teachers, health professionals and counselors to help them spread awareness to parents and the public (see appendix D). This material is available on the web page of several Chilean NGOs and was distributed among government institutions of child protection.

Policy implications. Since the promulgation of the 20.517 Anti-trafficking Chilean law, there are two major changes to note: (1) the opening of a new research team in Policia de Investigaciones and Carabineros de Chile, which unfortunately has a small number of members and limited resources; (2) the opening of several refugee shelters for victims of this crime. In general, all of these organizations are meant for adults. In Chile, there is not a general public policy that embraces the protection of children from any level, even less so an integrative one. This broader perspective should focus on resources for prevention in vulnerable neighborhoods and treatment for past child victims or children vulnerable to trafficking, addressing factors such as drugs, child abuse, and school dropout.

Consequently, I have framed a three-dimensional comprehensive intervention approach (see appendix E), which incorporates prevention and intervention strategies for child victims, their family members, and the community. The plan aims to maximize the effectiveness of our multidisciplinary method.

Future research and theory. Although Latin America may be suffering an increasing prevalence of this crime, there is a lack of awareness regarding the situation, especially in the southern countries of the region. For that reason, research and public policy this field is lacking. In countries like Chile, governmental funding for combatting human trafficking is limited.

With this research project, I aimed to demonstrate the issue and increase understanding from a social ecological perspective. For future research, I plan to analyze factors from each ecological niche to understand the different components of trafficking. This will include focusing on understanding the differences between child victims and non-victims including genetic and biological characteristics that might influence victimization for children in the same environment. In addition, the collection of data on human trafficking requires careful attention. This is key for future research on the subject in Chile and other Latin American countries.

As stipulated in the Palermo Protocol, prevention, prosecution, and protection must be the framework utilized when approaching this complex phenomenon. This study has shown the many dimensions and factors that work together to increase the threat of human trafficking. Multidisciplinary coordinated work is key to successfully address this issue.

REFERENCES

- Amato, P. R., & Cheadle, J. (2005). The long reach of divorce: Divorce and child wellbeing across three generations. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67(1), 191-206.
- Amnesty International Firefly Project (2005). *About human trafficking from the program no one signs up to become a slave*. Retrieved November, 2012 from [http://www.aifirefly.org/trafficking/about human trafficking.htm](http://www.aifirefly.org/trafficking/about%20human%20trafficking.htm),
- Blackson, T. C., & Tarter, R. E. (1994). Individual, family, and peer affiliation factors predisposing to early-age onset of alcohol and drug use. *Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research*, 18(4), 813-821.
- Briere, J. N., & Runtz, M. (1993). Childhood sexual abuse: Long-term sequel and implications for psychological assessment. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 8(3), 312-330.
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Ceci, S. J. (1994). Nature-nuture reconceptualized in developmental perspective: A bioecological model. *Psychological review*, 101(4), 568-586.
- Campbell, R., & Raja, S. (1999). Secondary victimization of rape victims: Insights from mental health professionals who treat survivors of violence. *Violence and Victims*, 14(3), 261-275.
- Cantillon, D. (2006). Community social organization, parents, and peers as mediators of perceived neighborhood block characteristics on delinquent and prosocial activities. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 37(1-2), 111-127.

- Chuang, J. (2006). Beyond a snapshot: Preventing human trafficking in the global economy. *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies, 13*(1), 137-163.
- Fernandez-Esquer, M. E., Diamond, P., & Atkinson, J. (2010). Lazos que atan: the influence of normative gender beliefs on sexual risk behaviors of Latino men and women. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 40*(12), 2969-2994.
- Finkelhor, D. (1986). *A sourcebook on child sexual abuse*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Haynie, D. L., & Osgood, D. W. (2005). Reconsidering peers and delinquency: How do peers matter? *Social Forces, 84*(2), 1109-1130
- INE (2011). *Estadísticas demográficas*. Retrieved January 15, 2014 from [http://www.ine.cl/canales/menu/publicaciones/compendio estadistico/pdf/2011/1.2demo](http://www.ine.cl/canales/menu/publicaciones/compendio_estadistico/pdf/2011/1.2demo)
- L'Abate, L. (1998). *Family psychopathology: The relational roots of dysfunctional behavior*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Lareau, A. (2000). *Home advantage: Social class and parental intervention in elementary education*. Lanham, MD: Rowman Littlefield Publishers.
- Martin, P. Y., & Powell, M. (1994). Accounting for the second assault: Legal organizations framing of rape victims. *Law Social Inquiry, 19*(3/4), 853-890.
- McLanahan, S., & Booth, K. (1989). Mother-only families: Problems, prospects, and politics. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 51*(3), 557-580.
- McNulty, T. L., & Bellair, P. E. (2003). Explaining racial and ethnic differences in adolescent violence: Structural disadvantage, family well-being, and social capital. *Justice Quarterly, 20*(1), 1-31.

- Niederer, I., Kriemler, S., Zahner, L., Bürgi, F., Ebenegger, V., Hartmann, T., & Puder, J. J. (2009). Influence of a lifestyle intervention in preschool children on physiological and psychological parameters (Ballabeina): study design of a cluster randomized controlled trial. *BMC Public Health*, *9*(1), 94-105.
- Patterson, D. (2011). The linkage between secondary victimization by law enforcement and rape case outcomes. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *26*(2), 328-347
- Portes, A., & Hoffman, K. (2003). Latin American class structures: Their composition and change during the neoliberal era. *Latin American Research Review*, *38*(1), 41-82.
- Rankin, J. H., & Kern, R. (1994). Parental attachments and delinquency. *Criminology*, *32*(4), 495-515.
- Reid, J. A., & Jones, S. (2011). Exploited Vulnerability: Legal and Psychological Perspectives on Child Sex Trafficking Victims. *Victims Offenders*, *6*(2), 207-231.
- Roscigno, V. J. (1998). Race and the Reproduction of Educational Disadvantage. *Social Forces*, *76*(3), 1033-1061.
- Sampson, R. J., & Groves, W. B. (1989). Community structure and crime: Testing social-disorganization theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, *94*, 774-802.
- Savona, E. U., & Stefanizzi, S. (2007). Measuring human trafficking, New York, NY: Springer.
- Seelke, C. R. (2012). Trafficking in persons in Latin America and the Caribbean. *Trends in Organized Crime*, *14*, 272-277.

- Solomon, E. P., & Heide, K. M. (1999). Type III trauma: Toward a more effective conceptualization of psychological trauma. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 43(2), 202-210.
- Stull, D. D., & Schensul, J. J. (1987). *Collaborative research and social change: Applied anthropology in action*, Hartford, CT: The Institute for Community Research, Inc.
- United Nations Development Programme (2013). *The rise of the south: Human progress in a diverse world. The 2013 human development report*. Retrieved February 2, 2014 from <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/CHL.html>
- UNICEF (2001). *Profiting from Abuse: An Investigation into the sexual exploitation of our children*, New York, N.Y. UNICEF Division of Communication.
- World Bank Group (Ed.). (2012). *World development indicators 2012*. Geneva: World Bank Publications.

APPENDICES

Appendix A.....	Semi-structured interview protocol
Appendix B.....	informed consent form
Appendix C.....	List of qualitative codes
Appendix D.....	Questionnaire form
Appendix E.....	informative flyer for institutions in Chile (Spanish)
Appendix F.....	Policy recommendations for approaching human trafficking in Chile (by ecological niche)

Appendix A

Semi-structured interview protocol

-Duration: 45 minutes.

-Purpose: This study proposes to explore the phenomenon of human trafficking by identifying the processes and elements involved in the environment of children victims and their psychosocial characteristics in the country of Chile. The research goal is the analysis of the elements interacting in all levels of the ecosystem of this phenomenon, and creating an explicative ecological model for human trafficking of children in this South American nation. The method is an observational and interview study with experts in human trafficking in Chile. All interviewees will be adult professionals.

-Informed consent and confidentiality protocol

(INTERVIEWER: Record the informant's general occupation, position, type of organization and location)

Q1. How long have you (worked with/been involved in agencies that serve) child victims of human trafficking? Q1a. Briefly, describe the work that you do and how you come into contact with the victims.

Q2-Approximately how many victims (have you worked with/are aware of through your agency work) in the last two years? (If necessary:

Approximately 2011 to the present)

Q3. Are numbers increasing?

Q3a. Why do you start?

Q4-Can you please describe the process of recruitment into human trafficking that (you have observed/your clients have described to you)? Q5- what type(s) of trafficking have you observed in this (center/town/state)

Next, I want to ask you about the families of human trafficking victims that you have (served/observed). You do not need to describe particular cases in depth but it would be helpful to tell me about the range of family situations you have (seen/heard about) for victims.

Family-Community Q6-Are there particular family structures that are associated with human trafficking? Probes:

Q6a. Do they tend to come from large families or small families?

Q6b. How would you describe the (dynamics/personal relationships) in the families of child victims? How do they differ from other children you serve?

Q7. On average, what are the economic conditions of the families of child victims? Probes:

Q7a-are they living in poverty? Q7b-What are the housing conditions of the family of the victim? Q7c-Are the parents employed? Q7d- what is the parental education level?

Q8-Does having another victim of human trafficking in a family increase a child's chances of being trafficked? Probes:

Q8a. How many cases of multiple trafficking in a family have you seen? Q8b.

What brings about multiple cases in a family?

Peers influence

Q9-Based on your observations, are children who have peers involved in human trafficking put at special risk? Probes:

Q9a-Are the victims influenced by their peers to get involved with trafficking networks? Please explain our answer. Q9b-Do human trafficking networks use peers of the potential victims to recruit them?

Local Community-Social

Q10-What are the characteristics of the neighborhoods where child victims live?

Q10a-How are these neighborhoods located in relationship to the center of your city?. Q10b-have you detected one or more than one particular location/neighborhood where this crime is happening?. Q10c-What are the amenities and living standards of these affected communities?. Q10d- What are educational and employment opportunities like in these locations?

Cultural

Q11-What cultural characteristics of Latin America are associated with human trafficking? Probes: Please explain a bit about why you think that.

Q11a. Do you believe that human trafficking is a particular problem in Latin America? Why do you think that?

Q12- Are there particular cultural or social characteristics of Chile that

you believe are associated with human trafficking?

Q13-Are there other factors associated with human trafficking, such as crime, the legal systems, corruption? Can you give me some examples of what you mean?

Q14-Talking about Law 20.517, can you describe how this affects to children victims of human trafficking?

Q15-Can you describe the labor law in favor of the children victims of human trafficking related with forced labor. How is this country supervising that?

Q16-Could you describe how is the criminal justice taking care of the clients and perpetrators in order to reestablish the victim's human right?

Global-World

Q17-In your opinion, how well are organizations across the work responding to the problem of human trafficking? Please explain Q18-What do you think about the jurisdictional problems in the borders. Is that facilitating the trafficking of people?

Q19- Finally, after considering these issues, what would you think that differentiates a child victim of human trafficking from a non -victim child assuming that they are situated in the same environment?

Appendix B

Informed Consent

You are being asked to take part in a research study of how children become vulnerable to human trafficking in Argentina and Chile, focusing on children's environmental and personal factors. You are asked to take part in this study because you are an expert, professional, or practitioner who has knowledge of or contact with victims of human trafficking. Please read this form carefully and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to take part in the study.

If you agree, you would be asked to be interviewed. The interview will take approximately one hour. In this interview, you will be asked about your work or contact with child victims of human trafficking. This interview will be tape recorded and the interviewer will take written notes. You will be asked to provide some personal information such as your name, position and contact information.

The purpose of this study is to identify psychosocial characteristics of child victims of human trafficking and to explore the environmental and social factors that encourage child human trafficking.

I do not anticipate any risks to you participating in this study other than those encountered in day-to-day life. There are no benefits to you for taking part in this study.

The records of this study will be kept private. In any report we make public we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you. Research records will be kept in a locked file; only the researchers will have access to the records. If we tape-record the interview, we will destroy the tape after it has been transcribed, which we anticipate will be within six months of its recording. The transcripts will be kept indefinitely; however, there will be no names or other information in the transcripts that can identify you directly.

Taking part in this study is completely voluntary. There is no compensation for taking part in this interview. You may skip any questions that you do not want to answer. If you decide not to take part or to skip some of the questions, it will not affect your current or future relationship with Cornell University. If you decide to take part, you are free to withdraw at any time.

The researchers conducting this study are Alejandra Escandon and Prof. Elaine Wethington of Cornell University in Ithaca, NY. Please ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may contact Alejandra Escandon at ade32@cornell.edu or at 1-607-339-8829. You can reach Prof. Wethington at ew20@cornell.edu. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a subject in this study, you may contact the Cornell University Institutional

Review Board (IRB) at 607-255-5138 or access their website at <http://www.irb.cornell.edu>. You may also report your concerns or complaints anonymously through Ethic point (www.hotline.cornell.edu) or by calling toll free at 1-866-293-3077. Ethics point is an independent organization that serves as a liaison between Cornell University and the person bringing the complaint so that anonymity can be ensured.

You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent: I have read the above information, and have received answers to any questions I asked. I consent to take part in the study.

Your Signature _____ Date _____

Your Name (printed) _____ In addition to agreeing to participate, I also consent to having the interview tape-recorded. Your Signature _____ Date _____

Signature of person obtaining consent _____

Date _____

Appendix C

List of Codes

Macrosystem

MACRO.INTERNATLAW	International law
MACRO.LATIN	Latin culture
MACRO.CHICULT	Chilean culture
MACRO.CHILAW	Chilean law
MACRO.INSTIT	International institutions against human trafficking
MACRO.ECONOMY	Neoliberal economy
MACRO.POLICY	Policy against human trafficking
HT.SEXUAL	Sexual exploitation
HT.LABOR	Forced labor

Mesosystem

ME-CHILDRIGHT	Children's right
ME-RURAL	Rural settings
ME-URBAN	Urban settings
ME-CLIENT	Clients of human trafficking persons
ME-EMPLO	Employability
ME-EXTERNALHT	External human trafficking crime
ME-INTERNALHT	Internal human trafficking crime
ME-HTNETWORK	Human trafficking networks
ME-INCOME	Income average in the family
ME-OPPORT	Opportunities for the family
ME-NEIGH	Neighborhood
ME-PEER	Peer influence
ME-POLICE	Police enforcement acts

ME-POVERTY	Poberty
ME-PEDUCATION	Parent's education

Microsystem

MI-ABUSE	History of sexual abuse
MI-AGE	Age of the vulnerable child
MI-ATTACH	Attachment disorder
MI-DBIND	Double bind
MI-DRUGS	Drug or substance abuse
MI-MALT	History of maltreatment
MI-SCHOOL	School attendance
MI-MENTAL	Metal illness
MI-NEGLE	History of neglect
MI-TRANSG	Trangenerational vulnerability
MI-RISKF	Risk factors
MI-PROTECTF	Protective factors
MI-FDINA	Family dynamics
MI-RAHOME	History of Running away from home
MI-GENDER	Gender of the vulnerable child

Appendix D

Cuestionario de datos socio-demográficos y factores de riesgo en tráfico de personas.

Departamento de Desarrollo Humano , G77 MVR Hall Facultad de Desarrollo Ecológico, Cornell University. Ithaca, NY 14853 USA. Telefono: 1+ (607).255.7620

Principal Investigador:: Alejandra Escandón V. 1+ (607)3398829 ade32@cornell.edu

Supervisor Academico: Elaine Wethington. ew20@cornell.edu

ID# _____

Nombre		Entrevistador	
Institucion/Ciudad		Informacion de contacto	
Consentimiento informado		Fecha	

Basándose en los datos históricos que su institución tiene de Niños, Niñas o adolescentes(NNA) víctimas de trata de personas en cualquier tipo de las categorías de este crimen(explotación sexual/trabajos forzados). Por favor responda las siguientes preguntas.

Cuál es el número total de casos que involucran víctimas de trata de personas que están registradas en su institución entre Enero 2012 y presente (Junio 2013, puede aproximar el numero si no recuerda la cantidad exacta)? Número _____

Cuál es el número total de casos víctimas de trata NNA que su institución ha acogido durante este mismo periodo de tiempo? Número _____

Datos Socio-demográficos. Por favor responda las siguientes preguntas estimando el número en porcentaje de casos NNA víctimas de trata de personas registrado u observado en su institución dentro del periodo Enero 2012-Junio 2013. Por favor considere que el total de la suma adherida sea 100%.(si no sabe el porcentaje exacto puede hacer una aproximación desde su observación personal)

1- *Género de NNA víctimas de trata de personas.*

	Género	%
A	Masculino	
B	Femenino	
	Total	100%

2- *Rango de edad de NNA victimas de trata de personas.* Cuál es el porcentaje de casos ubicado en los diferentes rangos de edad?

	Rango de edad	%

A	0-6	
B	7-13	
C	14-18	
	Total	100%

- 3- *Educación de NNA víctimas de trata de personas.* La siguiente lista presenta cinco niveles educacionales. Por favor estime el porcentaje de NNA víctimas de trata de personas correspondiente a cada nivel.

	Nivel Educacional	%
A	Sin educación, no escolarizado	
B	Básica completa(5to básico)	
C	Básica completa (8vo básico)	
D	Media incompleta	
E	Media completa	
	Total	100%

- 4- *Nivel educacional de padres o cuidadores.* Por favor estime el nivel de educación de los padres o cuidadores de las víctimas.

	Educational level	%
A	Sin educación/primaria incompleta	
B	Básica completa(5to básico)	
C	Básica completa(8vo básico)	
D	Media completa	
E	Técnico/Universitario u otro grado mayor	
	Total	100%

- 5- *Presupuesto Familiar.* Por favor estime la distribución de los ingresos de la familia en que el NNA víctima vive actualmente.

	Ingreso	%
A	260.000 pesos o menos	
B	Entre 260.000 y 390.000 pesos	
C	Entre 390.000 y 560.000 pesos	

D	Entre 560.000 y 890.000	
E	Mas de 890.000	
	Total	100%

- 6- *Cuidado Familiar.* Por favor estime el porcentaje de NNA que se encuentran bajo el cuidado de (tuición legal) sus padres(uno o ambos), familia extensa o algún otro lugar alternativo.

	Tipo de cuidado	%
A	Padres(uno o ambos)	
B	Familia extensa(abuelos, tíos, etc.)	
C	Otro	
	Total	100%

- 7- *Vivienda actual.* Por favor estime el porcentaje de NNA que reside en los siguientes tipos de vivienda.

	Tipo de vivienda	%
A	Casa/depto. propio	
B	Vivienda arrendada	
C	Automovil/carpamento	
D	Residencia de protección institucional	
E	En la calle/sin vivienda	
	Total	100%

- 8- *Nacionalidad.* Porcentaje de NNA victimas chilenos y no-chilenos.

	Nacionalidad	%
A	Chileno(a)	
B	No-Chileno(a)	
	Total	100%

- 9- *Área.* Por favor estime el porcentaje de NNA en su centro que actualmente vive en área rural o urbana.

	Area	%
A	Urbana	
B	Rural	
	Total	100%

Factores de Riesgo. La siguiente tabla muestra algunos factores de riesgo

asociados a la victimización de NNA en la trata de personas. Por favor estime el porcentaje de NNA, registrados en su centro, que hayan experimentado alguno de los siguientes factores de riesgo vinculado al tráfico de personas . (No es necesario que sume 100%)

	Situaciones	%
A	Historia de maltrato (físico y/o psicológico)	
B	Negligencia/abandono	
C	Historia de abuso sexual	
D	Uso de drogas o sustancias ilícitas	
E	Diagnóstico en salud mental	
F	Historia de abandono/escape del hogar	

Preguntas abiertas

Q1- Cuanto tiempo lleva usted trabajando o ha estado de alguna forma involucrado(a) con NNA víctimas de trata de personas?

Q1a-brevemente describa como ha establecido contacto con las víctimas.

Q4-Podria Ud. Describir como las víctimas son reclutadas? (casos observados/clientes según su Mirada/clientes como han sido descritos a Ud.

Q5-Que tipo de trata ha observado en su centro?

Familia/comunidad

Q6- Hay alguna estructura en particular observada en las familias de las víctimas? Por ejemplo,

Q8-Tener una víctima de trata de personas en la familia(con experiencias previas o presentes) incrementa el riesgo de ser traficado? Por ejemplo,

Influencia de Pares

Q9-Basado en sus observaciones, son los NNA víctimas de trata de personas puestos en algún riesgo especial? Por ejemplo,

Q9a-Son influenciados por pares en su involucramiento en una red de tráfico de personas?

Local Comunidad-Social

Q10-Por favor describa las características del barrio donde viven las víctimas.

Global-Mundial

Q14-En su opinion, Cuan bien funcionan las organizaciones alrededor del mundo enfrentando este problema a partir de la promulgación de la ley 20.507?

Q15-Finalmente, considerando todos los aspectos discutidos previamente. Piense acerca de NNA situados en el mismo ambiente/situaciones, comente acerca de las diferencias entre víctimas y no víctimas de este crimen en las mismas condiciones ambientales. Que hace un NNA vulnerable?

Appendix E

Informative flyer for institutions in Chile (Spanish)

Por "Trata de Personas" se entenderá la captación, el transporte, el traslado, la acogida o la recepción de personas, recurriendo a la amenaza o al uso de la fuerza u otras formas de coacción, al rapto, al fraude, al engaño, al abuso de poder o de una situación de vulnerabilidad o a la concesión o recepción de pagos o beneficios para obtener el consentimiento de una persona que tenga autoridad sobre otra, con fines de explotación. Esa explotación incluirá como mínimo, la explotación de la prostitución ajena u otras formas de explotación sexual, los trabajos o servicios forzados, la esclavitud o las prácticas análogas a la esclavitud, la servidumbre o la extracción de órganos.

Art. 3. del Protocolo de Palermo

Se TRATA de proteger a las víctimas, tenemos una LEY!

Desde 2011 contamos con la LEY 20.507 para la tipificación de los delitos de tráfico ilícito de migrantes y trata de personas; esta ley establece normas para su prevención y efectiva persecución criminal.

Todos y cada uno de los niños y niñas y adolescentes tienen derecho a que se respeten y cumplan sus derechos. Es responsabilidad del Estado, de la sociedad civil y de las familias velar y lograr su efectivo cumplimiento y luchar contra el delito de la trata para su prevención, persecución y sanción con el fin de garantizar la protección integral y plena de los derechos de cada niño, niña y adolescente.

La trata con fines de explotación sexual comercial como nueva forma de esclavitud, se ha extendido de modo inquietante durante los últimos años en Latinoamérica y el mundo. Esta modalidad abarca casos de secuestros de niños, niñas y adolescentes para transformarlos en verdaderos esclavos, carentes de todos los derechos, en objetos en poder de otros que dirigen sus acciones y su vida misma.

Además existe otra modalidad de la trata, la trata laboral, que se ocupa de arrastrar a trabajadoras y trabajadores, incluso menores de edad, para mantenerlos en cautiverio mientras son explotados en distintas ocupaciones.

¿Por qué hablamos de esclavitud?

La esclavitud es el estado o condición de las personas sobre las que se ejercen todos o parte de los poderes atribuidos al "derecho de propiedad" y "esclavo" es toda persona en tal estado o condición.

Convención sobre la esclavitud, Ginebra, 1926

La trata de personas es una severa violación de los Derechos Humanos. Cuando hablamos de "trata de personas" nos referimos a personas que son engañadas y a la vez obligadas por los tratantes a atravesar situaciones en contra de su voluntad y en condiciones de esclavitud. La trata siempre tiene fines de explotación (explotación sexual, explotación laboral, servidumbre o situaciones análogas, extracción de órganos, etc.). Por su parte, según el ámbito geográfico donde se realiza puede ser interna (cuando se da dentro de las fronteras de un país) o internacional (cuando la víctima cruza una frontera, de manera "legal o ilegal").

Hay que tener en cuenta que nos estamos refiriendo a un delito diferente del que se denomina Tráfico de Migrantes, aunque suelen confundirse.

Región o país de origen

Reclutamiento (forzoso o con engaños) Traslado (nacional o internacional) Explotación

Trata

COERCIÓN

reclutador transportista intermediario tratante proxeneta

Fuente: Manual de Intervención en la Trata de personas, OIT, Paraguay, 2006

¿Qué pueden hacer los padres?

Si su hijo/hija no regresó a casa después de la escuela, de un recital o de haber ido a comprar el pan...

No esperar 48 hrs. para comenzar a llamar a los amigos, compañeros de colegio y familiares para preguntar cuándo lo/la vieron por última vez. Comentar inmediatamente la situación a sus vecinos y a las autoridades de la escuela. Recuerde que la Trata existe en nuestro país y que una forma eficaz de luchar contra este ilícito es hacer público, lo antes posible, cualquier sospecha del mismo.

Convención sobre los Derechos del Niño

Art 19: 1- Los Estados Partes adoptarán todas las medidas legislativas, administrativas, sociales y educativas apropiadas para proteger al niño contra toda forma de perjuicio o abuso físico o mental, descuido o trato negligente, malos tratos o explotación, incluido el abuso sexual, mientras el niño se encuentre bajo la custodia de sus padres, de un representante legal o de cualquier otra persona que lo tenga a su cargo. 2- Esas medidas de protección deberán comprender, según corresponda, procedimientos eficaces para el establecimiento de programas sociales con objeto de proporcionar la asistencia necesaria al niño y a quienes cuidan de él, así como para otras formas de prevención y para la identificación, notificación, remisión a una institución, investigación, tratamiento y observación ulterior de los casos antes descritos de malos tratos al niño y, según corresponda, la intervención judicial. **Art 34:** Los Estados Partes se comprometen a proteger al niño contra todas las formas de explotación y abusos sexuales. Con este fin, los Estados Partes tomarán, en particular, todas las medidas de carácter nacional, bilateral y multilateral que sean necesarias para impedir: a- La incitación o la coacción para que un niño se dedique a cualquier actividad sexual ilegal; b- La explotación del niño en la prostitución u otras prácticas sexuales ilegales; c- La explotación del niño en espectáculos o materiales pornográficos. **Art 35:** Los Estados Partes tomarán todas las medidas de carácter nacional, bilateral y multilateral que sean necesarias para impedir el secuestro, la venta o la trata de niños para cualquier fin o en cualquier forma. **Art 36:** Los Estados Partes protegerán al niño contra todas las formas de explotación que sean perjudiciales para cualquier aspecto de su bienestar.

Appendix F

Policy recommendations for approaching human trafficking in Chile (by ecological niche)

Dimension/Goal	Subjects	Strategy and measurements
Macrosystem		
To impact the climate, processes and policies in a given system. Social norm and social marketing campaigns used to support community climates that promote healthy relationships. Other major efforts include: sexual health policies, education of quality, social policies to help reduce economic and social inequalities between groups in the region.	Department of Justice	National hotline with professional counseling to respond to the crisis. Increase police resources for research and law enforcement personnel dedicated to the prosecution of human trafficking crime. Trained professionals in interviewing and treating victims to avoid secondary victimization. Improve Chilean migration law.
	Latin American Institutions fighting for victim's rights.	
	Law Enforcement	
	Congress and local Government	
Mesosystem		
To showcase human trafficking on vulnerable settings promoting problem solving skills and healthy relationships in school and health centers of prevalence of the crime. In addition, reduce secondary victimization in legal and other sceneries by educating personnel related to legal processes.	Chilean institutions of child protection.	Participatory training for personnel, providing information about detection and treatment of victims human trafficking in South America and Chile. Mentoring and peer programs designed to reduce conflict at school. Promote specialized counseling for victims of human trafficking. Follows up and multidisciplinary work with all participants in order to generate a coordinate action to combat the crime.
	Teachers	
	Health system personnel	
	Legal/court personnel	

Microsystem

To promote attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that ultimately prevent associated risk factors of human trafficking. Specific approach might include education and life skills training in preventing scenarios and interdisciplinary-global treatment in intervention.

Community
Vulnerable neighborhoods
Family
Child victims of human trafficking
Vulnerable children to human trafficking crime.

General population educating campaign. Mobilizing community leaders towards prevention and intervention. Recreational programs and entertaining spaces worked and consulted as a part of the work with the community. Workshops of seminars for families promoting Children Rights and risks of trafficking in humans. Individual treatment and shelter to child and adult victims with improved conditions of care/housing and bigger number of professional resources. Promote and incorporate in detected child abuse cases the relevance of considering potential vulnerability to other abuse in the future and avoid Re-victimization and transgenerational components.
