

Deportation of Central American women victims of trafficking*

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Resumen

La industria estadounidense del entretenimiento adulto demanda mujeres migrantes indocumentadas porque trabajan más horas, reciben salarios más bajos, y son preferidas por los clientes porque son más dóciles que las autóctonas. En esta industria, tan importante como el reclutamiento de mujeres es el mecanismo de expulsión de aquellas que no son rentables. Esta investigación, sustentada en una metodología cualitativa que incluyó la realización de entrevistas en profundidad a setenta y cinco mujeres centroamericanas víctimas de explotación sexual en Estados Unidos, concluye que los patrones hacen uso de la ley migratoria para desprenderse de mujeres embarazadas, mujeres mayores poco rentables o mujeres conflictivas. Asimismo, los clientes utilizan la ley migratoria para hacer que las mujeres foráneas satisfagan sus caprichos. En conclusión, la ley migratoria favorece la trata de personas al empoderar a patrones y clientes y hacer más vulnerables a las víctimas.

Palabras clave: Prostitución, Trata de personas, Mujeres centroamericanas, Ley migratoria, Estados Unidos.

Abstract

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The United States adult entertainment industry demand undocumented migrant women because they work more hours, receive lower wages and are preferred by customers as they are more docile than native women. In this industry as important as the recruitment of new women is the expulsion of those that are not profitable. This study, based on a qualitative methodology that includes in-depth interviews with seventy-five Central American women victims of sexual exploitation in the United States, concludes that procurers use immigration law to get rid of pregnant, older, non-profitable and conflicting women, and customers use the law to force foreign women to fulfil their whims. In conclusion, immigration law promotes human trafficking because it empowers procurers and customers, and makes victims more vulnerable.

Key words: Prostitution, Human trafficking, Central American women, Immigration law, United States.

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INTRODUCTION

The demand for undocumented migrant women by the American sex industry¹ is high because these women work longer hours and receive lower wages than the natives; moreover, owing to their migratory status the former are more easily cowed and more complacent than the latter. This has led to a transformation of people-smuggling networks. Many networks that years before transported Mexican male migrants now that specialized in sex traffic. These networks smuggle very young women with great economic need, who bear sexual exploitation for years.

Central American women are more vulnerable than Mexicans as they fall into larger debt to reach the United States. Moreover, traffickers are less at risk with the Central Americans. Many Mexican families know the traffickers who took their daughters, so they can denounce them if these girls are underage or if they disappear on the road. On the contrary, Central American families do not know the traffickers; therefore, in spite they smuggle underage girls or women die or disappear, there are no consequences.

On October 28th, 2000, the United States passed the Torture Victim Protection Act of 1991 (TVPA) and on November 15th, the same year, the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime was held and the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons was approved. TVPA and UN Protocol define human trafficking from three elements (the act, the means, the purpose). The act refers to recruitment and transportation. TVPA defines the means as use of force, fraud or coercion; while the UN protocol speaks of abuse of a vulnerable position. Finally, TVPA defines four specific purposes: involuntary servitude, peonage, indebtedness servitude and slavery; while the UN Protocol refers to a situation of exploitation that at least includes sexual exploitation, forced

1 In the United States, sex industry is protected by the First Amendment. This multimillion industry comprises commercial establishments (clubs, bars, taverns, saloons, strip clubs, etc.) where topless or nudist dancers perform; adult cinemas or bookshops; sex shops; hotels, massage rooms and others. Local governments, supported on the doctrines of the secondary effects of sex industry, intend to protect the communities from the exposition to this industry by means of restrictions in licenses, locations, schedules, etc. However, banning this industry would violate the federal constitutional guarantees to freedom of speech, which holds the cinema and literature for adults, or the expressive behavior of strip dance (Christiansen, 1988).

labor or servitude, slavery and removal of organs. However, in the case of underage prostituted girls, the absence of force, fraud or coercion do not preclude the crime of human trafficking.

Albeit, TVPA and the migratory law have contradicting objectives. The first pursues the offenders, while the second, victims. Undocumented migrant women victims of trafficking are protected by TVPA, but persecuted by the migratory law.

This article has the objective to assess how and why alien women victims of sexual exploitation are deported from the U.S. Firstly, the methodology is examined and the sample described, then, the conflict between the migratory agenda and the fight against human trafficking is analyzed. And finally, the causes and circumstances of the deportation of seventy-five Central American women who suffered sexual exploitation in the United States are examined.

METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLE DESCRIPTION

This research is supported on a qualitative methodology. The technique utilized to gather information was open interview and the procedure to select the respondents was snowball sampling.

We interviewed a total of seventy-five Central American women, victims of sexual exploitation in the United States, who were deported to their origin countries. Almost a half of the respondents were introduced to the country by sexual trafficking networks when they were underage (table 1) and 57 percent did not have experience working in prostitution before reaching the U.S. (table 2). Most of the respondents knew or suspected that the work they would perform in this country was related to prostitution; however, some ignored the sort of job they had to do. For many it was difficult to become used to this job and the long working hours; but almost all ended up accepting the activity due to high wages. Only three of the respondents were forced to prostitute themselves for years with no resting days receiving very little or no money. Albeit, it can be concluded that all the respondents were victims of trafficking. The owners of the establishments where they worked seldom had to resort to violence; nevertheless, they always abused of the position of vulnerability from the women's migratory status. Everyone had to work at least six days a week, the shifts always lasted more than ten hours and they were not allowed to reject any client.

Table 1. Age of the respondents when they began to work in prostitution in the US

Age	12	13	14	15	16	17	Underage	18 y +	Total
n	1	3	6	7	8	9	34	41	75
%	1.3	4.0	8.0	9.3	10.7	12.0	45.3	54.7	100.0

Source: own elaboration from data gathered in the interviews.

63 women were transported by sex traffic networks to work in prostitution and 10 women were transported by people smugglers to work in other activities (agriculture and domestic service). Of the last ten, nine decided later to work in prostitution as they obtained higher incomes and one was deceived and forced into prostitution.

Table 2. Country where the respondents worked for the first time in prostitution

	Country of origin	Mexico	United States	Total
n	19	13	43	75
%	25.3	17.3	57.4	100

Source: own elaboration from data gathered in the interviews.

The respondents had been exploited, but longed for going back to the U.S. to carry on working in sex industry since wages are higher. As expressed by E25: “yeah it was a lot of work to do, it was labor exploitation, even so I want to go to work because they paid well”. This is why they work in Mexico in adult entertainment establishments, so that they can save money to reenter the U.S. fieldwork was carried out between 2012 and 2015 in various localities in seven Mexican States: Veracruz, Tamaulipas, Mexico City, Nuevo Leon, Chiapas, Coahuila and San Luis Potosi (table 3).

The respondents' mean age was 26.9 years. They started working at early ages, on average at 10.7 and held a mean of 3.5 years of schooling. The respondents were introduced in the sex industry at an average age of 17, between 12 and 24 years, and had worked in such sector a mean of 9.9 years. Everyone had worked in prostitution for some months in Mexico and 19 had already worked in the same trade in their countries of origin, however, most of their experience in this activity came from working in the U.S., where they worked for a mean of 8.4 years (table 4).

The interviewed women were victims of sexual exploitation mainly in three states: Texas, California and Florida (table 5). Nevertheless, these data cannot be extrapolated because this research analyzes a hidden population that cannot be studied with probabilistic samples. The large number of women who were prostituted in Texas might be because fieldwork was carried out in states of eastern Mexico (table 3). Most of the women

Table 3. Places where fieldwork took place

	n	%		n	%
Veracruz	30	40.0	Chiapas	4	5.3
Tamaulipas	16	21.3	Coahuila	4	5.3
Mexico City	14	18.7	San Luis Potosi	1	1.3
Nuevo Leon	6	8.0	Total	75	100.0

Source: own elaboration from data gathered in the interviews.

Table 4. Sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents

	Mean	Mode	Median	Mini- mum	Maxi- mum	Standard deviation
Age	26.9	30	27	18	41	4.42
Age when they began to work	10.7	7	10	5	19	3.33
Years of schooling	3.5	0	4	0	9	2.79
Age at which they began prostituting	17	15	17	12	24	3.16
Years working in prostitution	9.9	8	9	2	18	3.63
Years working in prostitution in the US	8.4	7.9	7.9	1.3	18	3.32

Source: own elaboration from data gathered in the interviews.

Table 5. Places in the US where the respondents experienced sexual exploitation

State	n	%	State	n	%	State	n	%
Texas	26	34.7	Arizona	2	2.7	Minnesota	1	1.3
California	16	21.3	North Carolina	2	2.7	New Mexico	1	1.3
Florida	11	14.7	Illinois	2	2.7	New Jersey	1	1.3
New York	5	6.7	Oklahoma	2	2.7	Oregon	1	1.3
Colorado	3	4.0	South Carolina	1	1.3	Virginia	1	1.3
Nevada	3	4.0	Georgia	1	1.3	Total	75	100

Source: own elaboration from data gathered in the interviews.

The addition of "n" is over 75 because some women worked in more than one state.

wanted to return to the place they used to work before being deported and took the shortest route: the gulf route. Had the research been carried out in western Mexico, perhaps we would have found more women heading for western American states.

THE MIGRATORY AGENDA AND STRUGGLE AGAINST HUMAN TRAFFICKING

The struggle against human trafficking intends to demolish transnational criminal organizations engaged in this activity; by contrast, the victims' protection and compensation come second. The UN Protocol does not impose the obligation to compensate victims on the countries, i.e., one that does not provide victims with material, medical or other sort of assistance is not breaking the protocol (Gallagher, 2010: 83). TVPA provides, by means of the issuing of a "T visa", a temporary legal status to victims of severe forms of exploitation who help authorities to stop criminal organizations. On the contrary, those who did not experience severe forms of exploitation or do not help authorities are deported (Chapkis, 2003: 927). Likewise, in the European Union, the persecution of criminals is the main objective and only the victims who help can receive temporary residence (Haynes, 2004: 242). In Mexico, alien women detained in raids in red-light districts are deported with not further investigation whether they were victims of trafficking (Martínez, 2010: 96).

The TIP (Trafficking in Persons) Report is the main diplomatic tool used by the United States so that countries over the world fight this evil. This country defines it self as one fully compliant with the minimal standards to suppress trafficking (USDS, 2014: 397). However, TIP Report points out that many victims of trafficking are accused of criminal offences (USDS, 2014: 399). This way, the Global Slavery Index, which seeks to quantify the number of people who experience trafficking in each country of the world, it points out that the U.S. did not obtained the "A" rank owing to criminalization and risk of deportation of trafficking victims (Walk Free Foundation, 2014: 24).

According to TVPA, by the turn of the century, 50 thousand women and children were trafficked annually to the United States. However up to 2009, only 1 696 trafficking victims, eligible for T visas, had been recognized (Farrell *et al.*, 2010: 203). This is due to the fact that migrants who experience sexual or labor exploitation are generally labeled as people who violated the migratory law, not as victims. After the raids, they are arrested and deported without assessing if they suffered exploitation (Hepburn and Simon, 2013: 27). By granting T visas for a reduced number of victims willing help the authorities to persecute traffickers, the U.S. shows compassion and justifies the persecution and criminalization of most migrants. TVPA, via the distinction between innocent (women who denounce the

trafficking networks) and guilty victims (those who do not) hides behind a veil of human rights defense the priority goal of border control and enforcement of migratory law (Chapkis, 2003: 925; Hua, 2011: 42). Victims of trafficking who do not match the profile of severe exploitation are doubly criminalized from the violation of migratory laws and those which persecute prostitution (Schauer and Wheaton, 2006: 153; Murphy, 2014: 104).

A number of studies have underscored that the conflict between the migratory law and the struggle against trafficking people favors the proliferation of the latter. Hepburn and Simon (2013: 38) have documented how the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) has helped employers to deport troublemaking victims of trafficking. Likewise, the possibility of not being eligible for a T visa and being at risk of deportation make many victims avoid looking for help (Brennan, 2008: 54; Chacón, 2010: 1651). Moreover, the risk of victim deportation helps the traffickers as it prevents the victims from escaping (Haynes, 2004: 242; Riegler, 2007: 241) and increases their dependency on the former (Pheterson, 2000: 75).

The role of corruption in the proliferation of human trafficking has been underscored in numerous researches. Pimps are helped by governmental agents so that the victims instead of receiving help from authorities are ignored or arrested and deported (Riegler, 2007: 240). However, in most of the studies corruption is described as an endemic problem in less developed countries of origin and transit for the victims (Schauer and Wheaton, 2006: 152; Hughes: 2000: 638; Hua, 2011:65); but it is not so in the developed, recipient countries, such as the U.S. Bales and Lize (2005: 135) in a study on human trafficking point out that the United States “experiences neither the internal corruption nor the lack of resources other countries face”. In like manner, Kara (2009: 263) speaking of sexual trafficking underlines that “law enforcement in the U.S. is relatively less corrupt than in eastern Europe countries or in Asian countries”.

CAUSES FOR THE DEPORTATION OF VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING

A half of the respondents were deported from the United States owing to two reasons: raids in the places of work and accusations made before the migratory authorities by the boss or a client. Possession and consumption of drugs is a fact that lead to the deportation of several of the respondents. Thirteen were detained after leaving work, when they were at a public space, generally because of a disorderly conduct with a client under the influence of alcohol or drugs. Three were detained by the crime of possession and consumption of drugs; three for driving a vehicle under the influence

of alcohol or drugs. This was not strange, for prostitution is an industry characterized by heavy consumption of drugs (Burnette *et al.*, 2008). In almost all of the cases, they started doing drugs from the insistence of coworkers or clients, and they did in order to endure the long and demanding working hours. Other women sought repatriation as they wanted to reunite with their families; this situation is very unusual, however. Central American women do not want to return to their countries as it is very expensive to return to the U.S. they only look for repatriation to respond to a family emergency. Four asked for repatriation to see a relative, generally their mother or a child, from a terminal or very serious illness or attend to their funeral. Finally, other women were deported after being involved in domestic or labor violence, possessing forged documents, accusations of robbery or fraud, or while looking to regularize their migratory status (table 6).

Table 6. Causes of deportation of the responding women

Cause of deportation	n	%
Raid at the place of work	21	28.0
Denounced to the migratory authorities by the boss or a client	16	21.3
Detained in a public space, outside the place of work	13	17.3
Driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs	8	10.7
Asked for voluntary repatriation	4	5.3
Participation in an incident of domestic or labor violence	4	5.3
Possession or use of narcotics	3	4.0
Accused of theft	2	2.7
Accused of fraud	2	2.7
Tried to regularize their migratory status	1	1.3
Possession of apocryphal documents	1	1.3
Total	75	100.0

Source: own elaboration with data from the interviews.

Raids at the place of work

In the United States the persecution of street prostitution is active at all times; some cities opt for an informal policy that decriminalizes *de facto* prostitution in closed establishments, while in other cities there has been an increase in the persecution of this sort of prostitution (Weitzer, 1999: 90).

The respondents were prostituted in closed establishments: bars, warehouses, hotels, casinos, taverns, strip clubs, etc. They stated that they were

relatively safe in these places and established a differentiation between places of work and the outside world. In the establishments where they worked, they were protected; however if they went out they were at risk of being detained. They lived in apartments close to their places of work and were able to go outside with certain liberty, however they rarely did so. Moreover, they worked almost everyday; they only had a day off between two and four times a month. They had very little leisure time and when they did not work they were so tired that preferred to rest in their apartments. Bosses had warned them no to leave the working place and look for another job, but cannot resort to violence. The fear of being detained and deported was more powerful than any threat; this is why they never thought of leaving their bosses. As E20 stated: “I went out, but not freely; I always thought I was as an illegal and was afraid to go outside, because at work the boss protected me from the migra, but at work, if I wasn’t working he didn’t look after me”; or as pointed out by E27: “[going out] was not so easily done, because all the time you’ve got the feeling about the migra, being stopped”. In the following fragment the idea that border agents knew where undocumented migrant women worked, but they did not stopped the women, they let them work. This respondent even underscored the acquiescence of authorities, which only arrested them when involved in inadequate conducts.

I wasn’t even bothered by the migra, they let me work, and they knew that where I worked there were illegals; but the boss arranged with them, they agreed in work. The migra officers are not bad people, we do things wrong, we are there illegally in the U.S. (E18).

The respondents defined prostitution as an industry characterized by high levels of corruption, where bosses have to bribe authorities to turn a blind eye. As stated by E21: “the boss paid so that they didn’t bother (...) where I worked there were illegal women working, illegal men, doing the same, working and we weren’t detained and how often they went, but there were no detainees”. These women thought that they were able to remain for so long in the U.S. because of the protection their bosses gave them (table 7).

Table 7. Years of each of the stays the respondents had in the US before being deported (n = 75)

Mean	Mode	Median	Minimum	Maximum	Standard deviation
8	7.9	7.7	1.3	15.8	3.11

Source: own elaboration with data from the interviews.

69 women were once in the US; three, twice; one of the respondents emigrated three times surreptitiously to the US.

In the American establishments of adult entertainment, undocumented migrant women receive lower wages, work longer hours and have fewer days off than the native. Some of the respondents considered that it was fair that their boss took a large part of their money because they protected them from being deported. Because of this. When they were deported because their bosses did not pay, they blamed the latter for their situation. As stated by E19.

I was deported because there was raid, and as the boss didn't pay the migra their share they took people who worked there, they ruined him (...) I never made a thing, it was the boss' fault because he didn't pay the month.

This does not mean raids in adult entertainment places follow a patten of bribing. E22 pointed out that she was deported because there was a change of agents whom her boss was not able to bribe. "It's been years since migra went there, but that day they came because there was a change of agents, and they arrived and I was detained and deported, the boss couldn't do a thing to help us".

Other respondents told in perplexity the reason for their deportation. In the establishment where they work inspections were not infrequent, however, undocumented migrant women were always alerted in advance by the boss so that those days they did not go to work. Expressions such as; "There were days in which I didn't go to work, because migra went to check on illegal people" (E23), "we were told if there would be raids" (E24), "when there would be raids, illegal personnel didn't go to work" (E26), "the time of raids was known in advance and [the boss] got ready with fake papers for us or we didn't go to work that night" (E27), "the boss was warned about the raids; so, we didn't go to work those days" (E30), "the migra helped my boss, they let him known when they would go" (E32), or "when there would be raids, the boss knew in advance" (E33) repeat over many interviews. Therefore, they did not understand why authorities did let their boss know before starting the inspection. "The boss hadn't been told and we were caught, I had already seen checks at the place, but the boss knew

it before and took us out of the building, this time he was not told and we were detained” (E13).

The boss was in communication with the migra, I don't know why he didn't help me or why they didn't tell him when I was stopped. He was always warned to change places, do not take long or pay so that they didn't check the place where we were sent to work. Once he was under investigation because of two underage American girls and paid and kept working as if nothing (E31).

On occasion, the police investigates because of a call. As a result, those who cannot prove their legal status are detained and delivered to migratory authorities.

The raid came in, the FBI, they got hold of the illegals because where I was working there were drugs, and the illegals, those with no business with the police were sent to the migra, while those with problems or debts were sent to jail (E12).

Finally, some women were puzzled to have been arrested on a day off. However, the boss made them attend the establishment as there were not sufficient personnel (women) and soon after they started working the migratory authorities came in. These women suspect their bosses knew about the raid and made them go to get rid of them.

The abuse of authorities

The stigmatization of prostitution and undocumented migration produces a breeding ground which occasionally leads to abuse. Many of the women detained in the raids at the places of work complained about the treatment received. Some spoke of physical violence, other that they were taken almost naked from the places. Some were allowed to change clothes. As E33 spoke: “they let me take some trousers”. But in other cases, they were not allowed to change clothes. This humiliated women and inflicted physical harm on them, as on occasions they had to stand winter conditions with nothing to wear.

When I was caught this time I was working, it was late at night, I was dressed as a schoolgirl because I was about to dance, it was very short and I was taken that way to the police car. I was not the only one, my [female] colleagues were wearing work clothes, mini-clothes, little clothing (E5).

I was working, the way they caught me was the way they took me (...) there inside the bar it was not cold, but outside it was very cold and I was wearing light clothes, they took me so and took me prison with them (E10).

I was caught at work, I was only wearing panties and took me to the migra (E3).

They took me out as I was working, in underwear (E25).

As I was dressed working, they took me detained (E27).

As I was dressed working, they took me, I was wearing my work clothes, the show was about to begin, I was in underwear (E31).

Not only did the respondents complain about the embarrassment from being half naked in front of armed men who intently stared at them, but also about the interrogations, which occasionally turned dark and obscene. Some women stated that American authorities behaved correctly; but other testimonies expressed psychological violence and harassment. E10 pointed out: “the policemen and nosy people were looking at me almost in the buff”. Likewise, E19 said: “I wasn’t beaten, but treated badly; with the way they looked at me they told me what they thought of me, they looked at me with contempt, I was made to feel I was worthless, as trash”. The following fragments express the use of derogatory language and the opening of degrading interrogatory lines.

They called me a whore; they called me that but I wasn’t offended because it was true, it didn’t bother, what I didn’t like was that they asked me a lot of things they knew. All those questions really offended me, they knew, why to ask if I had said what my work was (...) for instance, they asked me: how many men I had sex with a day, how much I charged, how I made it, who taught me to make it, if I made it well, if I liked it, if I had been recorded, since when I did that job, why I did it, if I only made with men or also women; things they had already asked me, but one person asked and then another asked and so it went. That is why I was fed up and told them to fuck off and I didn’t say another word; they knew what a hooker does, why they asked me things done in this trade (E4).

They asked me why I worked here a lot, if I liked it, why I made it, how many clients I had a day, and then that I was all used up, if all men have a big penis or very short, how many men I could be with at the same time. Yeah they made questions that weren’t nice to answer because they asked them rudely and mockingly and they made me feel bad and ashamed (E29).

They offended me with the questions they made because they called me a bitch, prostitute, slut, they even asked me how I made it and that I was paid for being a no one; yes it offended me what they said, I felt bad (E30).

The police commander wanted me to say I was there forced, as I didn't, because it was not the truth, the police cursed at me (E33).

Prostitution is a stressful and dangerous work, but produces high incomes. The respondents received an average wage close to seven thousand USD and almost a half of that money was sent to their families (table 8). This is why they endured exploitation for years. Their families depended on the periodical remittances. They had no choice, if they stopped working their parents and siblings would live in poverty and their children would not be able to continue studying. Therefore, when the authorities insinuated they were dissolute women who enjoyed they work they performed, they felt deeply offended. This sort of interrogations intend to find out if the woman was a victim of trafficking or who the exploiter is; on occasion, however, the questions turned out lurid, which only intended to humiliate the victims and make them a laughingstock.

Table 8. Wage received by the respondents in the US and remittances sent (USD)

	Mean	Mode	Median	Minimum	Maximum	Standard deviation
Monthly income	6 710	6 000	6 000	0	14 000	2 826
Remittances sent a month	2 750	3 000	3 000	0	5 000	1 172

Source: own elaboration with data from the interviews.

The intervention of bosses

The deportation of undocumented migrant women who work in adult entertainment centers represents a high economic cost for the owners of these establishments. As a consequence, they try to help women avoid their deportation. In some cases these attempts are successful; but, as the following instances indicate, some other times, the bosses were not able to help them because they would be charged with people trafficking.

I was detained in the migra, for about five days, then I was told that I would be deported, I didn't say a word, I had nothing to say. The boss couldn't help me, because if he helped he would be asked what he did and that might go wrong, that's why he didn't (E4).

The boss wanted to rescue me, but couldn't, because he was the same owner of an establishment closed down for employing illegals and underage girls (E10).

The intervention of bosses to prevent women's deportation is not an exceptional fact. As declared by E9: "the police caught me on the street

and took to the migra, and they deported me, I had already be caught some times, that's why the boss couldn't save me again, it was like a punishment and I was deported". Likewise, as pointed out by E7: "they got hold of me and deported me, I had no more time, if I had had time the boss would have saved me, he would have paid". When women are incarcerated for migratory crimes or other offences, some bosses afford the legal services to reduce the sentences of the women or their release. These women are deported to their countries of origin after serving their sentences; therefore, the bosses' attitude, who invest on the liberation of women who will ultimately be deported, apparently lacks economic logic.

I was taken to jail, I was there for two months, they looked for me and my boss could release me; but I was deported, I couldn't stay in the States (E2).

I was accused of robbery; but I didn't do that, another person did and I was blamed (...). The boss managed to help me and they gave me 48 weeks; but after doing the time, I was deported to Guatemala (E16).

However, bosses' actions seem to be motivated by profit. When Central American women are deported to their countries of origin, the bosses find a way to bring them back (trafficking) to the United States. For the bosses, the economic effort to bail a good worker out of jail and help her return surreptitiously to their country is profitable. The bosses help the women that make the most effort at work and serve the costumers better. Moreover, the women assisted by the bosses become indebted. They pay the debt working longer hours than the rest and cannot reject troublemaking clients, who native girls deny to serve.

Women denounced by bosses or clients

Alien women introduced in the U.S. by human trafficking networks and exploited in adult entertainment centers should be protected by TVPA. However, almost always the migratory agenda imposes over human rights. The clash between these agendas, in which the priority is fighting illegal migration, is advantageously used by the bosses and clients to subject undocumented migrant women and break them.

The accusations pressed by their bosses or a client is the second cause of deportation in this study. Bosses dissatisfied by the performance or behavior of foreign women or unsatisfied clients can use the migratory law to their favor to subjugate women. The irregular migratory status of many of the women engaged in prostitution in the U.S. renders them vulnerable and favors labor exploitation.

The bosses

In view of reinforcing the anonymity of the stories told by the respondents no data that allowed the identification of the places where they work nor their bosses was gathered. Many of the respondents did not have a negative opinion of their bosses; however, they did complain about the short number of days off and long working hours. Three women were retained against their will under coercion, intimidation or physical violence. Their bosses, which in at least one case, were related with international criminal organizations involved in drug trafficking, forced them to take drugs in order to break them and kept them locked. However, in most of the stories the bosses were described as businessmen, who occasionally were investigated by the police out of suspicion of hiring underage girls, drugs, scandals proper to this immoral activity, etc., but the respondents did not relate them to criminal groups. Moreover, their economic solvency gave them certain status and respectability. These bosses did not make them take drugs, nor kept them in captivity against their will. Albeit, they did not let the women look for a job at difference places and nagged them to serve a large number of clients. The establishments that people with less resources attended only hired undocumented migrant women. On the contrary, the most luxurious establishments, attended by clients with higher incomes, generally bosses hired both native and undocumented migrant women.

For the American bosses hiring undocumented migrant women has the following advantages: 1) they earn lower wages; 2) they always work and seldom have days off; 3) they are faithful, do not leave the job; 4) they do not turn clients down; and, 5) they can be easily discarded. The adult entertainment industry is eager for young attractive women as it discards them quickly, because the clients do not like seeing the same faces for long. Not only does this industry have a continual demand for foreign women, it also needs an efficacious mechanism to dispose of women who are no longer useful. A woman who stops being profitable because she is not sought by clients any longer, or because of bad behavior, can be deported to her country of origin; this strategy is also used to discipline their coworkers, who learn to be submissive, otherwise they will be deported and will not be able to send remittances.

Some underage women soon become pregnant due to their inexperience. Underage girls produce the most incomes; however, a pregnant woman is a burden because she is not sought by the clients and does not generate incomes. The following example shows how a boss recruited a 14-year-old Guatemalan girl to work in a cabaret, he discarded her after

one year because she became pregnant. “They told the migra because I was pregnant and the boss told me to go home and he told me how to return, the migra took me and helped me and I returned” (E1).

A more troublesome situation arises when the young women becomes pregnant from her boss and rejects to abort; in this scenario, the most efficacious mechanism is deportation. This was the case of a young Guatemalan woman lead to California in 2007, when she was 13. In 2012, at the age of 18, she became pregnant from her boss. As she stated:

My boss spoke to the migra, but to deport me, because it wasn't good for the boss that I was there in California, because he got me pregnant and didn't need me in the job or to be next to me, he has married (E21).

She knew the migratory agents that detained her because she had seen them in a casino where she worked. This made her deportation process irregular. In her work she had known important clients who might have helped her, but the authorities hasten the deportation and prevented from communicating with other people. As she mentioned:

there I have friends who are attorneys and might have helped, but they didn't let me talk to anyone, they took me away from the other people that would be deported, they were speaking with their relatives or friends (E21).

On other occasions the bosses experience an economic crisis and lack money to pay the women, or do not want to pay them; thereby, it is more profitable to give them away and force their deportation than to pay their debts. As it is expressed in the following testimonial, some bosses stop paying or only pay a fraction of the wage and when women protest or demand the payment in full, they turn them in.

The boss sent the migra, he called them because I was asking the payment of past weeks, I asked him nothing but to pay me; that was all. He didn't like it, the migra came in (...). I earned a deportation, that was the prize, if I had remained silent, nothing would have happened (E20).

Deportation also is an instrument that some bosses resort to renew their workers. The women who generate the most income are the youngest. As time passes, clients do not like them any more. When new younger women arrive, bosses stop paying attention to those with more seniority because they are less profitable. Sometimes the oldest are not paid and are finally deported.

I was working there just fine, peace and quiet, but the migra detained us and I was deported. I think it was because the boss didn't have money, he hadn't paid us, or he himself turned us in, that he had talked to them, because he hadn't paid, none had been paid, it was a lot what he owed. I think it was because new people had arrived and they were taken out before the migra arrived, the new ones were not caught (E8).

Bosses do not tolerate inappropriate behavior either. They expect undocumented migrant women to be submissive and obedient, not to raise their voice or defend themselves when attacked. They fund smuggling networks to secure a supply of docile and manageable women, who do not cause trouble. Therefore, when a woman does not follow the rules of her employer she is at risk of being deported.

I was deported after a row with a partner at work; the boss didn't like that I had defended myself and fired me, he turned me in because I was there as an illegal. Too bad of him, but that's the way it is there, when the boss doesn't like something they give you away and that's it, you get deported (E17).

In this industry, the clients' demands are the priority, while the women's wellbeing is secondary. This situation becomes acuter if women are foreigner and the clients are wealthy or have political power. Women are immigrants that broke the migratory law, while the latter are respectable and influential citizens. This way, when a client is dissatisfied with a woman's performance, the boss can negotiate an exemplary punishment: deportation. Hence, the bosses pacify the anger of powerful clients and make sure they continue spending their money in these establishments. Moreover, the bosses have the means to import those women again.

I had a problem with a client, he accused me of stealing from him, something I never did, because I know it's not right. I can be a prostitute and I know it's wrong, and as the boss told me: you will be deported to appease the client. As I was telling you, here in the job there were good clients, good social status, moneyed people, I work with those. The boss told me so, you are deported, go to Mexico and I send someone to bring you here. That was the deal and that's why I' waiting for them to come for me (E11).

The clients

The respondents narrated they served a large number of clients ranging from undocumented migrants to high social class; but the bulk were middle class native people. Many of them described clients as tricky people who

tried to deceive them extending the time they spent or asking for serviced they had not paid for. This situation was more frequent when they arrived to the U.S., because they were young and inexperienced, and it is harsher for underage girls than for older women. The respondents pointed out that as time passed abuse decreased, because they learnt to defend themselves and face the clients. The most troublesome clients were those intoxicated by drugs. However, they stated this habit was not infrequent among the people who attended this sort of establishments.

Two respondents pointed out that they had an itinerating life moving between agricultural fields where they served undocumented day-laborers who lived in remote places. Other worked in taverns where the clients were undocumented migrants. These women usually earned wages below the mean; but served clients as vulnerable as them. By contrast, eight of the women were transported by plane for free with apocryphal documents and worked in luxurious places where the clientele was wealthy. By and large, they received better wages, but served clients whom they should show greater submission for the women's vulnerability contrasted with the clients' status and economic power. Likewise, other respondents who were transported for free over land also expressed they worked in elegant places. This way, some networks move women without charge to the destination, and even pay the women of their families some money in advance; but this only takes place if the woman stands out for its beauty and youth. An older woman is not so likely to be moved without a payment for the traffickers than an underage woman. A large part of the respondents were transported over land and had to pay a part or the total cost of the trip in advance (Izcara Palacios, 2015). They worked in establishments they generally considered clean and spacious, where diverse clientele visited. These women had in common not to be older than certain age, for traffickers seldom transport women over 30, and require to be certain clothing size.

American clients demand undocumented migrant women because they are more submissive. They committed a crime when they crossed the American border. Many clients exploit this situation of vulnerability to make them do things the native women refuse to.

When a woman cannot bear more abuse and rejects a client, he has an efficacious resource to break her: denounce her to migratory authorities. In the face of this threat, most women surrender, since returning to their countries of origin means not being able to send more remittances to their families. Albeit, some resist to serve this clients and suffer deportation.

I was deported in 2011 because I was turned in (...). As I said I would leave, he called the police to bring the migra to deport me (...). I didn't like going with him, but the boss almost forced me to, I was one of the youngest and he took advantage of that (E6)

I returned because I was deported, after a fight between clients, I was deported and sent to Guatemala (E14).

I was forced to have sex with a client. But I have been with him and he had raped me (...). As I denied, he turned me in and spoke with someone he knew and I was deported, the boss didn't want to defend me, he was afraid; that man was one of the best clients (E15).

He took me and beat me and beat him back, he said I would regret, that he would send me to prison, that none beat him (E28).

The women deported for denying to serve a violent client at first feel released, as for them the place of work had become an environment in which they were permanently harassed. These women describe deportation as a salvation; they prefer it to continue suffering abuses.

For me, when I was going to be deported it was like salvation; really, I couldn't take it any more, that client harassed me and the boss didn't say a thing because he was one of the best, he was one that spent the most and that's why they didn't do anything (E6)

I preferred deportation to be with that client again. When he abused me he left me badly injured, it was very unpleasant, I rejected him, I knew what he would do to me in that hotel room (E15).

In these cases deportation is always bittersweet. On the one side, it means liberation, as it is the end of a situation of permanent violence and abuse; on the other, it is a disgrace, because that moment on their families would lose their only or main source of incomes. This paradox is expressed in the following lines: "deportation was like salvation, although a disgrace, because I was deported and my family depended economically on me" (E15).

CONCLUSION

In the United States the preeminence of the migratory agenda over human rights empower bosses and clients, renders undocumented migrant women vulnerable in adult entertainment industry and favors the proliferation of people trafficking.

The priority given by the American government to irregular migration control increases the dependency of alien women on their bosses. Women depend on their bosses to remain in the U.S. and be able to send remittances to their families. The bosses protect them from the authorities in three ways: 1) bribing; 2) providing legal assistance if they are detained; and, 3) affording their surreptitious return to the United States in case of deportation. As a counter-benefit, women have to be submissive and accept their bosses' requests, because they can turn them in and force their deportation.

The migratory law also empowers the clients. Many of them ask for undocumented migrant women, not only because they pay lower fees, but women are more docile. Native women cannot be forced to serve trouble-making clients or perform disgusting acts. On the contrary, foreign women do not have an option; clients see themselves as citizens with rights that can use whimsically foreign women with no rights, as they broke the law entering illegally into the country. Thereby, when women reject them, they deny satisfying their desires or try to defend themselves when attacked, clients threaten them to disclose their migratory status, and if they do not back down, they exercise their civil right of denouncing those who break the law.

The prevalence of the migratory law over human rights invigorates sexual traffic, as it increases the profitability of prostituting undocumented migrant women. They generate greater revenues than the native, because owing to their irregular status work longer hours, serve more clients and receive lower wages. Many proprietors of adult entertainment centers fund sex trafficking networks because the migratory law turns foreign women into people who depend on their bosses. If undocumented migrant women stopped being pursued by the migratory law and their human rights were protected, they would not be attractive for bosses and clients. As a consequence, sex trafficking networks would languish. Therefore, the struggle against people trafficking should be rooted in the implementation of policies that empower vulnerable people by means of subordinating the principle of national security or the legitimate interest of the states of defending their territories from people who try to enter illegally to the protection of the fundamental rights of those who are not citizens and are subject to deportation. These two principles are confronted in a zero-sum game in which the advance of the first over the last two decades has led to a growing violation of the migrants' human rights.

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