

IDENTIFYING FACTORS IN HUMAN TRAFFICKING

By

Patrice M. Broderick

A Thesis respectfully submitted

To

Dr. Hal Campbell

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Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

-Emma Lazarus

Inscription on Statue of Liberty

ABSTRACT

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This thesis reviews the transnational problem of human trafficking, a form of slavery. Women and children are trafficked within and between countries at an alarming rate and it has become a prime agenda for the Bush Administration and the Department of State to call for action and solutions to. This thesis opens with a defining of this problem and overview of the scope of the problem on a global scale. It reviews social, political and economic factors which play a role. It describes laws enacted and police responses and describes what research has been conducted to get a grasp of what is involved and what might be done.

This author decided to explore factors that other researchers have suggested are “compelling factors” in victimization. This research hypothesis for this thesis explores the economic factors. Comparisons are made between countries of origin where victims originate from and destination countries where they are trafficked to.

The research findings reveal some significant differences in economic factors exist between the origin and destination countries. The findings lend support in why victims

feel compelled to seek entrance to countries like the U.S. and Australia or U.K. and might be easy prey for traffickers. This author makes it clear that the research here does not mean that this is why they are victimized. Further research with victim surveys and victim interviews will be helpful. Furthermore, it will be valuable to conduct more exploration of the economic factors, but more accurate data sources are needed. It is recommended that countries attempt to establish more standardized criteria for reporting economic data.

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I would like to express praise to Almighty God for his gracious abundance of his love for giving me the gift of writing, to use me as an instrument to convey information to others of this hurtful pervasive crime against His people. Secondly, I wish to express my gratitude to my parents for their genes related to compassion and writing abilities. I am thankful to my thesis advisor, Dr. Hal Campbell, PhD, for all his advise and assistance throughout this difficult and sometimes trying project as I encountered first hand what the thesis process is supposed to teach about the “how to” of conducting research properly and how one relinquishes control when one uses secondary sources and or uses sources requiring permissions. Along those same lines, I owe thanks to Sarah Harrison of the InterUniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research for helping me as I tried to obtain restricted victim data, even though it wasn’t possible for me to obtain it. I at least learned the process that is involved for students and for other researchers. I am grateful to my fellow classmates for their support and encouragement along the way.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The poor, homeless, wretched immigrants that the inscription on our landmark Statue of Liberty invites here to our land, are the focus of this thesis that reviews the transnational problem of human trafficking, a form of slavery that is quickly growing throughout the world. Women and children of other countries become victims unwittingly, simply because they sought to better themselves by seeking a job, believing what they were told, and became entrapped in a smuggling ring. They become trafficked for the purpose of agricultural labor, prostitution, sex tourism, pornography and other sexual services. The current estimate on the number of trafficking cases indicate that there are close to a million women and children trafficked annually around the world, with roughly 50,000 of these trafficked into the United States (Hughes, 2000; McGill, 2003; OVM, 2000). The actual rate may be much higher since this is an illegal activity and data is difficult to obtain. The problem of human trafficking is not race specific and anyone may become a victim.

This paper will define and explore the nature of human trafficking to attempt to educate those who have or will have contact with the victims and/or their traffickers

and/or are in a position to have an effect on current interventions for this disturbingly pervasive crime. There is a need for better identification of the trafficking victims. Some researchers have identified economic factors as contributing “vulnerability factors” that make these women and children more at risk, as well as other demographic and sociological factors (Bales, 1999; First World Congress, 1996; Hennick & Simkhada, 2004; Hughes, 2000; Rachawong, 2003). This paper probes into the economic features further. Factors about how our global economy works may provide some clues to how changes within economic structures can influence abatement in human trafficking crimes.

CHAPTER II

NEED FOR THE STUDY

Purpose

The purpose for this research study is twofold; informative and exploratory. My first purpose is to educate others employed in criminal justice fields and the community about the nature and extent of the human trafficking problem so that it is possible for others to recognize who the victims among them are and what the risk factors are that can make them more vulnerable. This information should help to enhance the collaborative efforts of law enforcement and social services to bring better help to the victims. It can provide clues as well about how the traffickers operate, using the vulnerable.

The second purpose of this thesis and reason for the selected hypothesis is to further explore how economic factors can play a significant role in why such slavery continues in the world today and how trafficking in human beings helps the global economy. This enlightened grasp of the situation will help readers understand the intricacies that make it tough to correct, but can give a new direction to focusing solutions that aim at correcting the economic imbalances.

Research Hypothesis

Other researchers have identified that economic factors play a key role in why women

and girls may be victimized by traffickers. Information in the way of interviews and surveys showed victims came from more economically deprived countries. For this thesis, this hypothesis was tested: There is a statistically significant difference between victims' countries of origin and receiving countries on economic factors of poverty, unemployment, gini index, income, and the factor of literacy.

Theoretical Framework

Theory is a very important underpinning to any research conducted. It supplies the answers to our questions, like why criminals, such as traffickers, behave as they do, and why victims behave as they do and are targeted. Theory gives insight into what is occurring in a research study. A couple of popular crime theories and two victimization theories can give clarity as you proceed through the literature review and research conducted here.

The well-known conflict theory of crime seems applicable to this research topic. In this particular framework, “deviance is conceptualized not as abnormal behavior brought on by faulty socialization or normative ambiguity, but as a normal political process brought about by intergroup struggle for dominance (Keel, 2003)”. This theory has been further expanded by George Vold, who discussed the nature of group struggle. He reminds us how we are naturally social beings, and groups are formed out of our interests

and needs. The interests and needs of groups interact and a competition results in order to maintain or to expand a person's social position "relative to others in control of necessary resources (money, education, employment, etc). This competition is expressed in a political struggle (Keel, 2003)". Applying that to this issue, this can be seen in how sex traffickers interact with corrupt government officials and provide a supply for another country's demand.

Another theory regarding criminal personality, that can be tied to this type of criminal, is that of Yochelson & Samenow. Their theory is grounded in the idea that the criminal acts with free will, he/she is self-centered and self-seeking, driven by fears and anger (the anger can explain how the pimps abuse victims who don't comply), and choose a lifestyle "freely in his quest for power, control, and excitement (Barger,1980)".

The victim precipitation theory appears to fit with trafficking, specifically in terms of passive precipitation. Passive precipitation relates to power imbalance. It is owing to some personal characteristics of the victim that they are singled out for attack and manipulation. Attaining economic power is one significant gain. (Siegel, 2003).

We could also apply the victim theory known as routine activities theory because three components are present and these are: the availability of suitable targets, absence of capable guardians (families may sell them off, police may be corrupt, and victims are

taken far from home), and presence of motivated offenders (trafficking rings). Predatory crime is more likely when all these components exist. (Siegel, 2003).

We will see how economic disparity is involved in the trafficking crimes. The idea of passive precipitation would suggest that it is owing to their powerless position in society where they originate from countries of economic oppression, that women and children can become easy prey for traffickers.

A new field of criminal profiling is developing in which the profilers look at long term patterns of behavior and utilize such information to guide an investigation that will help to get justice for society and its victims. Features of psychopathic behavior can be seen in some criminals that can aid us in understanding traffickers and their selection of victims. Not all criminals are psychopaths however, as Hare (1993) has pointed out. Psychopaths can be found occupying positions of trust in society and they use such positions to manipulate and prey upon unsuspecting, innocent victims for their own personal gain. They can be glib and charming and difficult to spot, but they bring devastation upon many lives. They can and do ignore society's rules as impediments to fulfilling their desires for personal and economic gain. (Hare, 1993).

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Concepts Defined

Before delving into this topic, it is essential to define key concepts for the reader. It is according to the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, that human trafficking has been defined as “the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery (OVW,2000).”

Specifically, sex trafficking is expressed as “the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act (OVW, 2000)”. Furthermore, it is classified as a severe form when “a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age (OVW, 2000). Other important terms such as coercion, debt bondage, involuntary servitude, and peonage were defined by the act.

“Coercion means (A) threats of serious harm to or physical restraint by any person; (B) any scheme, plan, or pattern intended to cause a person to believe that failure to perform an act would result in serious harm to or physical restraint against any person; or (C) the abuse or threatened abuse of the legal process (OVW, 2000)”.

“Debt bondage means the status or condition of a debtor arising from a pledge by the debtor of his or her personal services or of those of a person under his or her control as a security for debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied toward liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined (OVW, 2000)”.

“Involuntary servitude includes a condition of servitude induced by means of (A) any scheme, plan or pattern intended to cause a person to believe that, if the person did not enter into or continue in such a condition, that person or another person would suffer serious harm or physical restraint; or (B) the abuse or threatened abuse of the legal process (OVW, 2000)”.

“The term peonage means holding someone against his or her will to pay off a debt (OVW, 2000)”.

It is important to note that it requires that severe forms of trafficking of persons be committed in order for TVPA to enact criminal penalties against traffickers or to offer victim services.

Facts

Here are some findings that Congress made. With regard to this current manifestation of slavery, there are an estimated 700,000 persons, mainly women and children, who are

annually trafficked across and within international borders. Each year, an estimated 50,000 women and children are trafficked into the U.S. There are a high number of trafficking victims related to the international sex trade. The sexual exploitation of girls and women are concerned with prostitution, pornography, sex tourism, and other commercial sex services. In this report, the low status of women is linked with contributing to this trafficking problem. According to this report, girls and women are primary targets and it is those “disproportionately affected by poverty, the lack of access to education, chronic unemployment, discrimination, and the lack of economic opportunities in the country of origin (OVW, 2000)”.

Scope of the Problem

Slavery and bondage of women and children are by no means a new problem, but dates back to Biblical times. Most familiar to us is the slavery of Israelites in Moses day with the killing of many Hebrew children. The book of Isaiah promised that “the Lord will end the bondage of his people. He will break the yoke of slavery and lift it up from their shoulders (Isaiah, 10, 27)”. Yet, many men, women and children still live in slavery and bondage today.

According to journalist Craig, McGill, in the year 2001, an estimated one million legal immigrants arrived in the United States; and in this number 411,059 obtained their visas

from U.S. consuls overseas and another 653,259 obtained Green Cards here in our country through Adjustment of Status. Everyone wants to come to America. A large number of arrivals had relatives residing in the U.S. and about 179,195 came in search of jobs. McGill reports that asylum seeking accounted for the second lowest number of arrivals, with 108,506 refugees being allowed in. (McGill, 2003). The smallest number, 42,015 immigrants, are accounted for due to America's visa lottery scheme. The following states receive more than half of the immigrants—California (282,957), New York (114,116), Florida (104,715), Texas (86,315), New Jersey (59,920), and Illinois (48,296). Most of the immigrants come from Mexico (206,426), India (70,290), China (56,426), Philippines (53,154), and Vietnam (35,531). At least in regard to the immigrants going into Europe, McGill says that in the report for the Director-General for Justice and Home Affairs at the European Commission, it was observed that 'push factors' like war and repression are higher driving factors for asylum seekers than are 'pull factors' defined as economic hardship or Europe's benefit systems. Germany has been an appealing spot for Kurdish and Turkish Immigrants. Since September 11th, Afghanistan immigrants fled the Taliban. (McGill, 2003).

Worldwide, men, women and children are trafficked for the purpose of performing forced labor of all types, including agriculture, domestic service, construction work, and

sweatshops, in addition to trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation. (Trafficking in Persons Report 2003, McGill, 2003, Bales, 1999). Even human organs are sold in the effort to enter another country. (McGill, 2003). It should be pointed out that this is not a race specific problem. Anyone's sister, mother or little brother can be trafficked from all corners of the globe.

The problem of sex slavery has been of ever increasing concern around the globe. (Bales, 1999; Hughes, 2000; Klueber, 2003; McGill, 2003; Office of Violence Against Women, 2000). Klueber's thesis reports that recent estimates by the Department of State reveal there are roughly 700,000 to one million women and children trafficked annually worldwide and of this number, 50,000 of these are trafficked into and within the USA. Klueber stated that in addition to this estimated 50,000, there are between 100,000 to 300,000 children that are sexually exploited through prostitution and pornography in the U.S., as conveyed by the organization End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography, and the Trafficking of Children for Sexual Exploitation (EPCAT, 1996). A deplorable reality is that young children are preferred for the sex industry due to a belief that they are less likely to carry the HIV virus. See Disposable People, Chapter 2, Thailand: Because She Looks Like a Child. (Bales, 1999).

McGill, too, gives a similar estimate of 50,000 females arriving in America for such

exploitation, according to the CIA. Most of the prostitutes in the USA are not from this country. The UK has also seen a tremendous rise in the last few years. Close to 30,000 girls and women entered the UK from other countries, forcibly, to sell their bodies, the Home Office reported. Furthermore, greater than 5,000 are sadly girls under 16 years of age. (McGill, 2003).

Young girls and women leave their homes thinking they will be dancers or that they will be obtaining legitimate jobs in some area or believing that the international dating agencies and the mail-order bride agencies are legitimate. Traffickers con them and these women find themselves, after enduring a long, uncomfortable journey, trapped in a hell hole selling their bodies, unable to escape their keepers and forced to take drugs, or they acquiesce to drugs to numb them, since they are unable to escape their fate.

What makes these women and children so vulnerable to traffickers? The literature reveals a number of factors which place them at a higher risk. These factors include gender, low status of women, poverty, low education level, government corruption and weak legislative frameworks, function of demand for sexual services, family breakdown, family economic needs, involvement of other family member, drug use, abuse at home, cultural beliefs, materialism, (First World Congress, 1996) war and lack of a promising future (Hughes, 2000). This thesis will further examine factors both qualitatively in a

meta-analysis and quantitatively.

What is the profile of traffickers? The literature review shows that organized crime syndicates are involved and smuggling rings (Klueber, 2003, McGill, 2003) i.e. by border “coyotes”, and smaller gangster groups (Malarek, 2003), but often the principal way into the trade is through a family member or friend (Hughes, 2001, McGill, 2003). It is fairly typical that middlemen are owners of legitimate businesses, and esteemed, who also own brothels. (Bales, 1999, Klueber, 2003). Generally traffickers are males above 30 years old (Sen & Nair, 2003). Corrupt police and military contribute to aiding the problem (Bales, 1999, Malarek, 2003) and a Human Rights Watch researcher, Vandenberg, felt that, “The human rights violation of trafficking in persons cannot flourish without the complicity of indifferent and corrupt state officials (Malarek, 2003)”.

Economic Factors

Trafficking in human beings is a profitable business and it has been identified by various researchers (Bales, 1999, Hughes, 2001, King, 2004) that socio/economic factors are plainly key explanatory variables. Gilbert King referred to it as a “\$12 billion a year global industry (2004)”. It is hard to imagine how slavery continues to exist today until we familiarize ourselves with the supply and demand issues in a world context, how such trafficking is an important source of income for many countries, and see the tying with

corrupt officials. It is enormously profitable for traffickers, and police take little action, can be corrupt, or may be unskilled at recognizing it and instituting policies as Klueber's study on police departments (2003) illustrates. It has been estimated that 9.5 billion US dollars in revenue is produced annually, according to the June 2004 Trafficking in Persons Report. Other estimates have been higher.

Victims pay and then keep on paying. People are willing to pay a lot in order to come to the United States or other destination countries and they come with the belief they will find legitimate jobs promised to them. They might pay a person or group a fee of \$40,000 and then once in the country find out they aren't going to get the promised job, but are, instead, forced into prostitution. They are in a situation of debt bondage, in which they must work until their debt is paid, at which time they may be released or they may find that the debt is never paid off. More debt can be incurred for non-compliance.

Tupman (Pearce, 2000) identified push and pull factors connected with immigration and provide incentives for trafficking of humans. Factors that push people away from their country toward another have consisted of: escaping war or persecution, violence, poverty, environmental disasters and human rights violations. The pull factors bringing people toward certain countries, often in the west, are related to demand for cheap labor in a variety of areas, like domestic service, agricultural work and the sex industry.

Traffickers can easily sell their human “cargo” because of this demand for cheap labor. The demand leads to involvement of more people in trafficking until they become larger operations and networks of individual or organized crime. (Pearce, 2000). People are the third largest illegal commodity traded, preceded by drugs and firearms. Often drugs and weapons are smuggled with women and children.

One point about poverty is that people do what they must to survive, and Dayo Elizabeth Akinmoyo, in her keynote address at a conference in London, United Kingdom, made the observation that in Nigerian culture of communal lifestyle, people can cease to think in terms of “we” or think of neighbors, and would focus on “I”. She explains how poor families would begin “to release their children (even at cost) to anyone who promised to migrate them to the city or overseas. She explained how it can occur that criminals would seize this opportunity to exploit the vulnerable because of their economic hardship and their level of illiteracy.

Just think of the ways people get rich by owning slaves, without official acknowledgement of ownership and its subsequent responsibility, albeit minimal, as in the slavery days of the Old South. Kevin Bates, in *Disposable People* (1999) brings it so shockingly to our attention just how profitable and how cheap human life has become. He says, “People become completely disposable tools for making money (1999)”. Having

ownership doesn't involve any owning of papers necessarily, but they do have control over their property, and it is generally insured through violence.

Bales (1999), speaking of sex trade in Thailand, describes just how profitable contract debt bondage can be.

A girl between twelve and fifteen years old can be purchased for \$800 to \$2,000, and the costs of running a brothel and feeding the girls are relatively low. The profit is often as high as 800 percent a year. This kind of return can be made on a girl for five to ten years. After that, especially if she becomes ill or HIV-positive, the girl is dumped. (Bales, 1999, 18-19).

He expressed how slave ownership and slave trade has next to no economic control to deal with this kind of financial wrongdoing.

Population and economic growth are interrelated. With population explosions, extremes of poverty can readily be seen. When faced with the need of cash to buy medicine and food and when lacking in education, it becomes so easy to fall prey to traffickers with bogus contracts, making offers. Women and families that are destitute get into enslavement and debt bondage. In the global economy, Bales (1999) feels that, "Given the penetration of multinational companies into developing countries, that debt might mean a slave is ultimately serving a global business." Food for thought. The links

between slaves and world business can be quite pervasive. Consider that the clothes on your back, shoes on your feet, and the rug you are standing on may be a result of slave labor.

Case Studies and Survey Research

The sexual exploitation of children was explored in a case study by Kusumal Rachawong (2003), which focused on the context in which abuse occurred in Thailand. Ethnomethodology was employed. Thailand is one of the main receiving countries in which women and children are trafficked, largely by syndicates and organized crime, but also children are frequently trafficked by their own families to earn money to survive. There are many street children, who are vulnerable to sexual exploitation and trafficking, due to their homelessness and being without any status. They have low self-esteem. The cross-border street children are a more at-risk group, easily deceived and coerced. Consider that they don't have citizenship, adult protection, identity or legal protection. Whatever safety there is on the streets are peer related. The children may be forced into brothels where they may not even speak the same language and they are held captive and in debt bondage. These desperate children resort to using drugs, glue, and alcohol to numb themselves. They can be trafficked through organized crime networks, and in rising numbers, particularly in border areas like Mae Sai, they may be engaged in the child sex

tourism industry. The case study points out an eerie reality that, “The same men who would protect their children in their own environments will exploit children for sex in different countries because their situation offers anonymity (Rachawong, 2003)”. Once children are involved in the cycle and when maturing girls no longer have the same financial value as they did, they begin themselves to recruit younger vulnerable children and the cycle continues.

The lack of education of these children was noted by ECPAT to place the children at a higher risk of commercial sexual exploitation for the short term as well as long term. Health issues are another concern as these children, whose bodies aren’t fully developed, suffer repeated sexual abuse, become pregnant and have abortions, contract STD’s and HIV infection.

The needs have been recognized for cross-border cooperation with law enforcement and government agencies. There is a need for prevention and intervention with a holistic approach. This report noted that achieving child participation can best be obtained through having a genuine understanding of the needs and issues of these exploited children because the children’s definition of the problem is what must be understood. (Rachawong, 2003).

In a report 20 to First World Congress, Stockholm 1996, 20 organizations

internationally were solicited to prepare case studies for a significant geographic spread to gain insight based on their work with children. When the 1996 World Congress convened, it was presented with information from 20 case studies researched by non-government organizations (NGO Groups). While poverty is identified as a key factor in the sexual exploitation of the children, a number of other “vulnerability factors” were gleaned as playing a significant role. The information points a direction for specific approaches for services and activities for the child victims. In terms of incidence, we simply have no statistics on how many children are currently victimized through sexual exploitation, but what is known is that the incidence is ever growing.

As a critical factor, the report names poverty, both absolute and relative, at the top of the list. (This is supported also by Hennick & Simkhada, 2004). It becomes an issue of survival for the disadvantaged, where even families would sell their children into a brothel. Consumerism and materialism can be a motivating factor as well. It can be easy to trick or coerce children to the sex trade who are from poorly educated or marginalized sectors of society.

The societal issue of having a low regard for females (also identified by Hennick & Simkhada, 2004) contributes to their being treated as if they were property and this leads to abuse and trafficking. The government and the legal system play a role. For example,

“weak, confusing, contradictory legislative frameworks that may contain provision for the protection of children, but where the sexually exploited child may be viewed as a criminal rather than a victim (First World Congress, 1996)”. Corrupt governments and weak political will are in complicity with the traffickers because of financial benefit as with sex tourism. In some societies the cultural/religious practices can be involved. An illustration of this is with a society that has the belief in restorative and healing powers from having sex with a virgin. This leads to a demand for younger children.

The report names demand for sexual services as a factor and gives military instillations and construction operations as populations of unattached men who create this demand. Further, it states, “The AIDS pandemic has created a demand for younger children for sexual services, in the belief that they are less likely to carry the HIV virus (First World Congress, 1996)”.

Individual and family factors are also named as risk factors. The report names family breakdown, inconsistent parenting patterns, domestic abuse, drug abuse, out of school children and recruitment by another family member under this umbrella.

The consequences of such abuse and exploitation of children are distressing and are outlined in the report with varied responses and initiatives discussed. Holistic approaches with children in a multidisciplinary perspective are considered the most effective to deal

with the consequences. To raise local and national awareness, it is vital to acquire and disseminate information on the nature and extent of this abuse and the characteristics of the perpetrators.

Data on trends of trafficking can be supported by the work of Sen & Nair (2003) in the way of case studies and interviews carried out in 13 states in India involving the violation of human rights of women and children. The study revealed age groups of victims as: age 13-15: 1.9%, age 10-17: 2.8%, age 18-20: 14.7%, and age 22-35: 68.5%. When considering the report of Hennick & Simkhada that revealed rescue as the most frequent route out after police raids for under age (under 18 years) sex workers, it seems odd that this study found a greater number of older sex workers for their data. However, among the interviewed survivors, they informed interviewers that they were below age 18 at the time of employment in brothels in 61.7% of the cases. Those who were 10-15 years old at the time of their first sexual experience were 7.6%. Those in total below 18 at age of first sexual experience were 73.7%. The study showed 70% of all respondents were in the lower socioeconomic strata (not quantitatively defined). Two specific modus operandi were identified: promise of job- 68% and promise of marriage- 16.8%.

In her thesis, Klueber (2003) identified the need to understand the response of law enforcement to the issue of human trafficking. Her exploratory research was by way of

survey to look at police attitudes and perceptions, training, and investigative activities. It appears that a multistage sampling method was applied to get a sample of 163 police departments across the U.S. A mail survey was conducted and questions that were posed were forced choice and open ended.

Klueber's survey findings were that most (61%) police agencies didn't consider human trafficking as a current issue concerning local police. It was only an important operational issue for 12% of the police departments surveyed. For the majority (72%) of respondents, it was believed that federal law enforcement was the most appropriate to address the trafficking problem. It was a widely held belief that transnational organized crime networks were the perpetrators of this crime. Only 3 percent felt that individuals with no organized crime connections could be the perpetrators.

Few police departments in Klueber's research have any kind of training in human trafficking, but a majority of departments (96%) do have training in the area of domestic violence. Within in-service training programs, such content as immigration issues, laws and departmental policies are conducted but it may be quite limited. 64 % of the police officers who are engaged in trafficking investigations and arrests never received specific training for this. Most (98%) of these departments have no specific policy that addresses human trafficking. Training was found by Klueber to be a crucial issue to be rectified as

well as increasing collaboration with federal law enforcement and other organizations. She recommends that a model policy for human trafficking interdiction and prevention be developed by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP). (Klueber, 2003).

Denisova's (n.d.) study of this problem in the Ukraine, by content analysis and interviews, brought to light four primary reasons as contributing to trafficking: political instability, economic factors, the unfortunate ecological situation, due to Chernobyl nuclear disaster, that produced many disabled citizens, and a low level of public morality. 48% of respondents interviewed connected economic factors as a primary driving force for the increase in trafficking. The author stated that "an overall decline in the standard of living have caused many women to sell themselves or their children in order to survive. (Denisova, n.d.)".

This Ukraine study (Denisova, n.d.) gave a worthwhile perspective of the victims and their traffickers. For example, it revealed 70% of victims were enticed with promises of work, participation in beauty contests, modeling careers, affordable vacations in foreign countries, study-abroad programs, and marriage services. The rest of the story is that many trafficked victims ended up in clubs, bars, strip clubs, massage parlors and similar places being sexually exploited. One thing brought out was that victims had a shared desire to leave their countries to work abroad by any means, and "many were enticed by

romantic notions of living abroad, and perhaps getting married and attaining a better life (Denisova, n.d.)”.

The most intriguing finding in Denisova’s study (n.d.) was the profile of traffickers. The criminal groups are large and small organizations and surprisingly 60% of the leaders are women. They are “usually 30 to 50 years old; many of them are former prostitutes, but they may be economists, teachers, and even lawyers. Typically, recruiters are fairly well-educated and must possess certain characteristics to communicate effectively and to be persuasive to gain some level of trust from their victims (Denisova, n.d.)”. Remember that criminal psychopaths are adept at deceiving and exploiting others for their own personal gain.

The case studies above provide valuable insight into the entire picture of trafficking in the context of the society where it takes place and social processes involved. While only qualitative in nature, the case studies allow us a more in-depth look at the context and content of such victimization. With the approach of ethnomethodology employed, the researchers could proceed fairly unhampered by stricter scientific methodology to view people and societies going about their everyday lives and report what they saw. It is a helpful research approach when the researcher is studying private behaviors and illegal events, as trafficking is, where it is difficult to gather information.

The above interviews and surveys contribute further to our knowledge of trafficking in that larger samples are involved which makes generalizations possible to all trafficked victims around the globe. . Having larger numbers through survey data is helpful for quantifying data and having, through randomization, a greater ability to generalize findings. The survey has the potential for being able to replicate in future studies. Personal interviews that allow open ended questions enhance understanding. Surveys have their drawbacks in terms of the sensitive nature of much of the information where researchers must be ethically responsible in doing what they can to protect respondents' confidentiality, at least. The surveys above can be replicated, and there is an advantage here of being able to observe trends. This information from the case studies, interviews and surveys contribute to supporting the research hypothesis, as well as enhancing our overall understanding of this grave human rights issue.

Media Portrayal

An article by Lynggard (2002) addressed how media portrayal and the language of journalists can influence public perceptions. Think, for example, of the negative image of the word "prostitute". The discourses on trafficking can in effect blame the victims depending on how it is represented. Media portrayals can influence the public's fear of organized crime, fear of contamination, fear of moral and social collapse, and

stigmatization of women and children. Even by speaking of “these women” Lynggard, (2002) tells us it is “contributing to the invisibility and victimization of women and girls. They are what we are not: humiliated, oppressed, and dependent on the pimps and... passive, helpless, wordless and pathetic.” There should be ethical guidelines to protect vulnerable trafficked victims.

Internet Pornography

A New York Times contributor, Peter Landesman, speaks to the issue of pornography and has the perception of “a clear spike in demand for harder-core pornography on the Internet (2004)”, a situation being traced by Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents at the Ciber Crimes Center in Fairfax, Va. The Web pages are flooded with thumbnail images depicting young women who are bound, gagged, contorted—in obvious anguish. I.C.E. agents could determine probable injuries as a result of torture, from these images. More live molestation of children is also prevalent in Web cams. Operation Hamlet was a triumph for I.C.E. agents when they were able to break up “a ring of adults who traded images and videos of themselves forcing sex on their own young children (Landesman, 2004)”.

Tsunami Tragedy

Subsequent to the Tsunami disaster, news broadcasts were carried with stories of

children, orphaned by the disaster, being trafficked to fight in wars and for sexual exploitation. In January 2005, UNICEF confirmed that this was taking place in Indonesia, when a situation occurred in which a boy was taken to a hospital by a couple stating he was their son, but inconsistencies in their story brought the true facts to light. On January 7th of 2005, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) received a report of seven cases of child trafficking from an unnamed Indonesian agency. The Human Trafficking Update (2005) speaks of how parents in Thailand have a tendency in difficult times to abandon their children in orphanages. Such situations, sadly, give another opportunity that traffickers seize to take advantage of the vulnerable and to make a profit.

Law Enforcement Responses

Klueber's survey research (2003) revealed that a significantly high number of police departments (82 percent) did not believe their departments had policies for responding to human trafficking cases and many (73 percent) believed it was a matter for federal law enforcement to investigate. A recent article carried in Police Chief Magazine addressed the seriousness of the human trafficking problem, outlining what the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA) entails and how the role of police is envisioned. In this article, Braun addressed the need for law enforcement to be able to identify those they came in contact with as victims of human trafficking. Victims might be identified while

in jail or during the fingerprinting process and at this point police are in a pivotal position to offer their expertise to service providers for the victims in terms of training in how to protect victims from traffickers looking for revenge, and also letting providers of services know what is required of the trafficked victim regarding investigation and prosecution. Braun emphasizes the importance of law enforcement working collaboratively with service providers to provide adequate aid to the victims and more effectively combat the trafficking problem. (Braun,2003).

A Moscow Times article (Schreck, 2005) presented information that a low number of 25 cases of human trafficking and slave labor were registered, which is felt is only “the tip of the iceberg”. This story also stated that police were unfamiliar with trafficking law. Prevention can be difficult because victims are apt to be hesitant to report, if they can even find the opportunity to do so. Human Rights Watch (2002) provides an unpleasant picture of why reporting can be a problem and why the mistrust. This publication tells of police involvement with brothel owners and traffickers. Police may also engage in sex with victims, receive freebies and bribes, may engage in financial transactions, overlook brothel activity, overlook falsified passports and warn brothel owners of planned raids. From a UN News Center report, there were 25 Bosnian police officers under investigation for prostitution. (Human Rights Watch, 2002).

Laws Enacted

The Mann Act was proposed as a possible action that might be taken in regard to trafficking of persons. This act was to suppress vice and immoral behavior. It was enacted by Congress to regulate interstate commerce as a way of dealing with the issue of prostitution and immorality. Actually, two Mann Acts were passed in 1910. The first was to deal with immigrant women, and the second focused on American women. Both made it a felony to transport women into the U.S. or across state lines “for the purpose of prostitution or debauchery or for any immoral purpose, or with the intent and purpose to induce, entice, or compel a woman or girl to participate in such an act (Mann Act, 1910)”. Ostensibly, the purpose of these laws was prevention of trafficking in women and girls by prostitution rings in what was called “white slavery trade”, but there was a tendency to use this law to punish immoral behavior.

The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA), which became law in October 2000, is the grounding for the United States government response to this criminal activity. The intent of it was to increase penalties for trafficking. The TVPA necessitated that U.S. federal agencies work in collaboration with other nations in order to find solutions internationally. President Bush reaffirmed the current administration’s backing of this issue with the signing of the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act in 2003.

The essence of this act is that it calls for prosecution and punishment of traffickers, protection and rehabilitation for victims, and the prevention of this type of criminal activities. (U.S. Consulate, 2004).

Our government’s anti-trafficking policies and programs are overseen by the President’s Inter-agency Task Force, chaired by the Secretary of State, currently Condoleeza Rice. Ten agencies and departments are involved, notably the Department of Justice (DOJ), Health and Human Services (HHS), and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). HHS involved with certifying a person is a trafficking victim and eligible for various forms of assistance. Under Department of Homeland Security (DHS), is the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), which ensures “the enforcement of federal immigration laws and the investigation of human smuggling, trafficking in persons, and child exploitation offenses (U.S. Consulate, 2004)”.

Each year a Trafficking in Persons Report is issued that highlights worldwide what countries are doing in terms of laws, policies, and practices to combat trafficking. In this document, 3 tiers are used to report the levels of compliance with standards for different governments. Those countries listed as tier 1 are countries in which the governments fully comply with the TVPA Act’s minimum standards. Those that fall into tier 2 are countries that don’t fully comply with the minimum standards but are making significant efforts in

order to bring themselves within compliance. A country like Turkey, considered a hotbed of slavery, is classified as tier 3, because it doesn't make efforts to come into minimum compliance and they face potential sanctions. (King, 2004).

At a local level, effective September 1, 2003, Texas HB 2096 established it as a first degree felony for anyone trafficking or transporting persons under age 14, at the time of the offense, or if the commission of the offense results in death for the trafficking victim. In other circumstances, the offense is considered a second degree felony. Additionally, truck drivers who aid traffickers will face federal charges. According to Texas Criminal Justice Policy Council, for a first degree felony offense, the punishment range is between 5 and 99 years of imprisonment. A sentence of 2-20 years imprisonment is expected for a second-degree felony charge. This law came about in response to the appalling incident which occurred in the vicinity of Victoria, Texas, where 19 undocumented immigrants were found dead in a tractor-trailer. This was the worst case of human smuggling known in the U.S. to date. (HB2096, 2003).

Another law born in Texas was related to the Amber Alert Program that Governor Rick Perry signed into effect in 2002. SB 57 put the policy into state law. This enabled an effective program that deals with children who have been abducted and it mobilizes state agencies and businesses as soon as a child goes missing. (SB57, 2002).

Examination of the literature reveals a number of significant prosecutions for cases of trafficking and I will briefly mention a few. Perhaps one of the most notorious of human traffickers in the world is Dilaver Bojku, who was arrested and imprisoned in Macedonia for the crime of forcing hundreds of young women into sex slavery in Eastern Europe. He originally received a sentence of a mere six months, and he escaped at that. Later, with some U.S. intervention involved, he was recaptured in Brazil and returned to Macedonia, where he was sentenced to three years and eight months, which hardly seems adequate for such destruction of so many human lives. (King, 2004).

In *United States v. Jimenez-Calderon*, two women, Librada and Antonia Jimenez-Calderon, were sentenced to prison for conspiracy and sex trafficking. These women lured young Mexican girls, aged 14-18, to the U.S. with promises of legitimate jobs, when in reality, the girls arrived in New Jersey to be confined in brothels and subjected to threats, while forced to perform acts of prostitution six to eight times daily at a rate of \$35 per act. Some of the accomplices were also arrested and charged. (Center for Women Policy Studies, 2004).

Another case involved trafficking of women from Uzbekistan into the States and forced then to work in bars and strip clubs in El Paso, Texas. Such was the case of *United States v. Sardur and Nadira Gasanov*. This couple was also found to be in possession of

documents belonging to the women victims. The Gasanov couple received a 5 year sentence, followed by 3 years of supervised release and a fine of \$516,152. (Center for Women Policy Studies, 2004).

International Responses

All over the world, U.S. embassies routinely monitor and report on trafficking cases wherever men, women and children are forced into labor, whether it be agricultural or domestic, for construction work or in sweatshops or for commercial sexual exploitation. Internationally, the U.S. is involved in many anti-trafficking and development programs to assist and train people of other countries. One example is start up programs for new anti-trafficking police units. (Human Trafficking.org, 2003).

The Salvation Army is one of several faith-based agencies involved in assistance to meet the needs of survivors of human trafficking. Other faith-based organizations are World Vision, United Way, a number of Catholic coalitions, grass roots movements like Polaris, and other non-governmental organizations. Antislavery International is the oldest organization for human rights, founded in 1839, working against trafficking in persons. International Justice Mission is another.

Due to the global nature of this problem, the United Nations has various avenues and activities in effect. In December 1998, the UN drafted an Ad Hoc Committee to deal with

Transnational Organized Crime that established a trafficking protocol. Other offices involved in combating trafficking are: the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the International Organization for Migration. (Human Rights Watch, 2000). IOM operates under a mandate "to curtail migrant trafficking and to protect the rights of migrants caught up in the practice (IOM, 2001)". The International Labor Organization is also engaged in activities to combat trafficking in human beings.

U.S. Department of State

When President George Bush spoke before the U.N. General Assembly, he called trafficking in persons "a special kind of evil in the abuse and exploitation of the most innocent and vulnerable (Powell, 2004)". He considers this issue high priority. Secretary of State Colin Powell also expressed what we have seen in the literature, that "the lack of basic respect and economic opportunity for women" is one of several "underlying sources of trafficking (Powell, 2004)". In a June 2004 letter, Powell expressed dissatisfaction with progress in this area. It is recognized as a difficult problem to eradicate. He stated, "Up to 18,000 cases a year afflict our own country, despite the redoubling of our efforts under the Protect Act. And we are not satisfied with our progress abroad, because trafficking is linked to other problems of the gravest concern (Powell, 2004)".

Condoleeza Rice Picks up where Powell left off. In an recent State Department forum, Rice expressed concerns and opportunities for helping women in the Muslim world who are without freedom and equality. (Voice of America, 2005).

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Design and Samples

There is little, as yet, that exists in the way of quantitative research in human trafficking. This thesis involves multivariate exploration. The exploration and analysis was to be an examination of certain factors believed to place women and girls more at risk for victimization by traffickers. This researcher attempted, at first, to obtain victims data from restricted victim surveys, but the lengthy process of obtaining permissions through the InterUniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research, with signatures and support required from Florida Metropolitan University, came to an unsuccessful standstill when it was learned the University had no policy in effect for this process for students in the way of an internal review board. It was necessary then to select other “vulnerability” factors that were also identified in the literature, to use as variables to measure, and to obtain data from an alternate data source. This also meant a revision of the hypothesis. Changes, such as this, are apt to be necessary for the researcher in the course of research.

The research design selected is a non-experimental, unobtrusive measure utilizing secondary existing data from the CIA’s World Factbook. The reason for this selection

was that the literature revealed that economic factors also play a significant role in making men, women and children more vulnerable to being held in the bondage of slavery. Results of this analysis do not give a direct connection with trafficking and the victim data would have provided a more direct linkage.

A convenience sample of 5 countries of origin and 5 destination countries was selected from the well-known CIA World Factbook. Refer to Appendix A for the percentages reported by each country for economic factors and literacy. Previous research makes it clear what countries are origin countries that victims largely come from and what countries are destination countries. This analysis compares the origin and destination countries to determine if there is any statistically significant difference between the two groups of countries on the economic and literacy variables. . Let it be emphasized that this difference can only make it clear there is a difference in the countries and a meaning cannot be extrapolated about trafficking, based solely on this. This research determines medians and means as measures of central tendency, standard deviation as a measure of dispersion, and utilizes the two-group t test as an inferential test to establish a statistically significant difference exists between the two sets of data.

Statistical Analysis

The Microsoft Excel program was used for the statistical analysis. The medians and

means were analyzed as descriptive measures of central tendency. The medians are useful measures when there is the possibility that data contains outliers that may cause skewing (disproportionate distribution which occurs in response to presence of very high or very low scores) of the data. When medians and means are close, there is no evidence of skewing. Referring to Appendix B, you will notice a considerable difference between the median and mean on the gini index of distribution of family income. It would appear that the Ukraine is responsible for this skewing.

The means are most useful here for revealing, by face validity, there is a demonstrable difference between the two groups of countries for all the cells of comparison except on the factor of household incomes in the upper 10%. We see, for example, that 29% of the population of origin countries falls below the poverty line, while only 13% of the people in the destination countries are classified as that impoverished. The origin countries show dramatically lower literacy, particularly India, which made skewed results too in the origin countries.

Standard deviation was tested in order to show the degree of dispersion or how far away from the mean that scores fall. However, having a normal distribution is a requirement for standard deviation, and the data turn out to not have normal distribution. The t tests were calculated, based on 4 degrees of freedom and with an alpha level of .05.

These were calculated by hand too to confirm results. Here too, due to non-normal distribution and non-linearity, the t-test scores look unusually small and result in not having support for the hypothesis. A t-ratio of 2.78 would have been needed to support the hypothesis.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This thesis has examined the issue of human trafficking, which has been singled out by the Bush Administration and the Department of State as a high priority matter to be addressed. Terms were defined, the scope of the problem discussed and several of the socio-economic and political factors and concerns for law enforcement were studied. Much has been said and felt about the “vulnerability” factors. Secretary of State Colin Powell felt too that economic disparity played a significant role in the tragedy of human slavery in our world. The research here examined and found a difference between the countries of origin and destination countries with face validity. What we can draw from this is that the two groups of countries are different in economic factors and literacy. The countries of origin are the more economically deprived. We could try to determine by further research, if this economic difference directly connects to why certain women and children are targeted by traffickers. Finding solutions to this trafficking problem will benefit society as a whole.

CHAPTER VI

INTERPRETATIONS, CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS

This research was difficult to conduct for a number of reasons and it will be valuable for researchers to know how to avoid such problems. It will often mean loss of control of data when secondary sources are utilized and those sources can be fraught with inconsistencies and limits on reporting. The first difficulty comes from the CIA's World Factbook. Several complications were observed. Many countries did not list their population below the poverty line, placing N/A for the category. Some stated unemployment in different ways, making a statement about a percentage of underemployment. This would suggest that various countries have not defined unemployment in the same way. You can also see from Appendix A, that there are different dates given for the data reported, and some of these are estimates. What is obvious from this is that while countries are endeavoring to collaborate, they should consider standardizing criteria for reporting these facts. Furthermore, good migration information is needed at national and international level. The International Organization for Migration believe "statistics on the flows and stocks of international migrants are crucial (IOM, 2003)". They are considered to be inadequate currently. It will also be useful to have accessible statistics on human trafficking crimes, and that these be

disseminated in reports to law enforcement and social services. Numbers on prosecuted cases will be useful. The National Justice Institute is currently soliciting research in the area of trafficking in human beings, until March 31, 2005, specifically in detecting and measuring trafficking, investigation and prosecuting trafficking, and in meeting victims' needs and preventing repeated victimization. The implications for policy and practice are essential components. It is felt that more research is needed to improve understanding and aid prevention of repeat and continued victimization.

The results of the statistical analysis in this study only reveal that there is face validity for concluding there is a difference between origin countries and destination countries on economic and literacy variables. We cannot extend this to making any direct connection to trafficking. It is believed that economic deprivation contributes largely to why women and girls may seek entry to countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom and why they are at high risk for victimization by traffickers. Information in the way of victims surveys would be of greater use to find a direct connection and that is why I sought, unsuccessfully, to obtain data from victim surveys. The type of questions that would be useful would ask victims how they were solicited- for job, marriage or other, their age, economic strata, whether and what kind of job they had in their country of origin and education level. This direct linkage with victim data is needed.

CHAPTER VII

RECOMMENDATIONS

More quantitative research is needed in human trafficking. Donna Hughes is one researcher who has conducted a victim survey (there are others), and it will be of use to replicate victim surveys and evaluate variables quantitatively. The economic variables will quite likely be of tremendous value to further explore quantitatively, as this study suggests. The link to the low status of women and children in many parts of the world is also worthy of further exploration in a research endeavor. The linkage between migration and trafficking needs investigating too. It has been seen that traffickers can be individuals, small smuggling rings or larger organized crime networks. More information is needed about the profile of a trafficker and how that criminal operates. The disparity in economic factors suggest there is a clear pattern of trafficking routes from underprivileged areas to more prosperous destination countries. Such patterns would suggest that law enforcement would be instrumental in following crime mapping strategies to locate traffickers. Crime mapping research for this trafficking concern can be most expedient. There ought to be further exploration into the root causes of trafficking. It could be beneficial to analyze communities that do not have trafficking for the socio-economic and demographic profiles to try to gain insight. Our recently deceased Pope

John Paul II encouraged the study of this human trafficking problem and the search for concrete solutions. Opening out spiritual eyes can aid research endeavors.

In addition to research needs, there is evidence of much need for enhancing collaborative efforts at all levels. Collaboration is important on an international level, for the dissemination of information, for reporting and for insuring the victims' needs are met, but local collaboration is also essential. Continued education of law enforcement personnel is crucial in order for them to be able to identify the trafficked victims and deal with them appropriately and to help them in their role toward insuring prosecution of traffickers.

An important footnote to this criminal activity should be added. Since the attack on our country on September 11, 2001, the migration over our Mexican border has been a concern because of possible terrorists. Legal immigration to the United States contributes to our economy and to society in general. We have an increased concern over illegal immigration. Mexico's President Vincente Fox and President George Bush have met over this shared concern over our borders, the development of U.S. and Mexican economies, and appropriate sanctions for human smuggling. We can support our president's efforts and/or contribute our feedback on proposed policies and legislation, if we want to play a part, in a substantial way, in ending human trafficking. Together we can support our

leaders to help ameliorate and remove the suffering of those enslaved and the huddled, wretched refuse who continue to come to our land to better themselves. As Pope John Paul II once expressed, "...no affront to human dignity can be ignored, whatever its source, whatever actual form it takes and whenever it occurs (Catholic Information Network, 1999)".

CHAPTER VIII

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APPENDIX A

Percentages Reported in CIA's World Factbook for Economic Factors and Literacy.

Origin Countries	Mexico	Thailand	India	Ukraine	Philippines
population below poverty line					
unemployment	40%(2003est.)	10.4%(2002est.)	25%(2002est.)	29%(2003est.)	40%(2001est.)
gini index	23.30%	2.20%	9.5%(2003)	3.7%(2003)	11.1%(2003)
household income lowest 10%	53.10%	41.4%(1998)	37.8%(1997)	29%(1999)	48.1%(2000)
household income highest 10%	1.60%	2.80%	3.50%	3.7%(1999)	1.70%
literacy	35.3%(2002)	32.4%(1998)	33.5%(1997)	23.20%	38.4%(2000)
	92.20%	92.60%	59.9%(2003)	99.7%(2003est.)	92.6%(2002)
Destination Countries	USA	United Kingdom	Poland	Israel	Turkey
population below poverty line					
unemployment	12%(2003est.)	17%(2002est.)	18.4%(2000est.)	18%(2001est.)	18%(2001)
gini index	6%	5%(2003est.)	20%(2003)	10.7%(2003est.)	10.50%
household income lowest 10%	45%(1997)	36.80%	31.6%(1998)	35.5%(2001)	44%
household income highest 10%	1.80%	2.3%(1995)	3.20%	2.40%	2.30%
Literacy	30.5%(1997)	27.7%(1995)	24.7%(1998)	28.3%(1997)	32.3%(1994)
	97%	99%	99.80%	95.40%	86.50%

***Notes**

Literacy is defined as age 15 and over can read and write.

Gini index measures degrees of inequality in the distribution of family income in a country. The more nearly equal a country's income distribution, the closer the Lorenz curve is to the 45 degree line and the lower its gini index. If income were equally distributed perfectly, the Lorenz curve would coincide with the 45 degree line, and the index would be zero; if perfect inequality exists, the index would be 100.

APPENDIX B

Statistical Comparisons of countries of origin with destination countries.

origin countries	Mexico	Thailand	India	Ukraine	Philippines	median	mean	stan. Dev.
Pop below poverty line	0.4	0.1	0.25	0.29	0.4	0.29	0.29	0.12
Unemployment rate	0.23	0.02	0.09	0.37	0.11	0.11	0.29	0.14
Gini Index	0.53	0.41	0.38	0.29	0.48	0.41	0.16	0.09
Household low income	0.02	0.03	0.35	0.37	0.02	0.03	0.16	0.18
Household high income	0.35	0.32	0.33	0.23	0.38	0.33	0.32	0.06
Literacy	0.92	0.93	0.6	1	0.93	0.93	0.88	0.16

destination countries	USA	UK	Israel	Poland	Turkey	median	mean	stanDev.
pop below poverty line	0.12	0.17	0.18	0.18	0.02	0.17	0.13	0.07
unemployment rate	0.06	0.05	0.12	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.11	0.06
gini index	0.45	0.37	0.35	0.32	0.44	0.37	0.39	0.06
household low income	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.00
household high income	0.3	0.28	0.28	0.25	0.32	0.28	0.29	0.03
literacy	0.97	0.99	0.95	1	0.86	0.97	0.95	0.06

	t test
pop below poverty line	0.12
unemployment rate	0.28
gini index	0.15
household low income	0.17
household high income	0.00
literacy	0.34

