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Considering the Margins: Developing a Broader Understanding of Vulnerability to Trafficking

Abstract

Efforts aimed at combating human trafficking should be directed at protecting those most vulnerable to being trafficked. There have been substantial efforts to create national and international laws punishing the act of trafficking, directed at those individuals caught trafficking people. While these laws create means by which to punish traffickers, they have not necessarily led to a reduction in the estimated numbers of trafficked people. This implies that simply approaching trafficking as a criminal activity is not enough. Instead, trafficking should be understood by the systemic factors that make populations vulnerable to trafficking. There may always be potential markets for trafficked individuals so the challenge confronting activists must be to understand how to approach the existing “supply” of people who are susceptible to being trafficked.

Keywords

Human rights, Human trafficking, Contemporary slavery, Forced labor, International law

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Considering the Margins: Developing a Broader Understanding of Vulnerability to Trafficking

By Christopher Anderson

Efforts aimed at combating human trafficking should be directed at protecting those most vulnerable to being trafficked. There have been substantial efforts to create national and international laws punishing the act of trafficking, directed at those individuals caught trafficking people. While these laws create means by which to punish traffickers, they have not necessarily led to a reduction in the estimated numbers of trafficked people. This implies that simply approaching trafficking as a criminal activity is not enough. Instead, trafficking should be understood by the systemic factors that make populations vulnerable to trafficking. There may always be potential markets for trafficked individuals so the challenge confronting activists must be to understand how to approach the existing “supply” of people who are susceptible to being trafficked.

In order to more effectively combat the practice of human trafficking, it is important to understand common characteristics of trafficked people. Contrary to the popular perception of trafficking, it is not something solely affecting women and children. The truth is that trafficking is perpetrated on men and women, old and young, from various countries and to various countries. While some physical characteristics may make some people vulnerable to being trafficked for particular types of work, these characteristics do not necessarily make these people more vulnerable to being trafficked in general. Therefore, it is important to gain a better understanding of the economic and political conditions that make trafficking more prominent in some regions rather than others.

One of the misconceptions about trafficking is the role of gender in determining vulnerability. An initial review of the literature available on the topic of human trafficking provides an inaccurate picture of the gendered nature of trafficking. It might appear women are trafficked substantially more than men. While completely accurate data on the field is challenging to find, one study suggests roughly 58% of young trafficking victims are female and 42% are male. (Bokhari: 2008). Other reports suggest over half of all victims worldwide are male. Clearly, there is a difference in the rate at which men and women are trafficked, but the disparity may not be as great as commonly believed.

Gender, however, in part determines the type of work for which one may be trafficked. Most of the time the primary reason for trafficking men and boys is for labor, but the type of labor may vary. Young boys are usually trafficked to work in homes for domestic service while in some cases boys become child soldiers. When they get older, the trend towards labor continues, but is usually more physical and industrial in nature. With regards to girls and women who are trafficked we again see a trend towards particular types of labor. At younger ages, females work in domestic service positions, similar to young boys. As women get older, they are more likely to be trafficked for the sex trade.

Given the lack of substantial research on this issue, it is hard to clearly define the roles or characteristics that make males or females comparatively desirable to be trafficked. What is important to understand is at any age, and for either gender, it is possible to be desirable for some purpose. There is a substantial market for peoples of all genders and all ages. As long as conditions

push people to seek exits from challenging situations and there are conditions allowing trafficking to take place, it will be hard to change the existing market for trafficked peoples.

Children are particularly vulnerable to being trafficked because they rarely enter into any agreement on their own accord. Family economic weakness is a primary factor that puts these children in danger. For example, in Africa, trafficked children are commonly either given up by their families because it is too expensive to have another child at home, or because of the potential cash flow a child can send back through labor away from home. In Russia, the most vulnerable children are those who are poor and homeless and separated from their families. While both of these cases are clearly very different, the commonality remains that children in both of these regions are in danger when there is a weak or fragile economic situation.

People who have been trafficked once are clearly still vulnerable and the issues seem even to be magnified considerably. People who are trafficked find themselves in a foreign country (often illegally), in debt to their traffickers, and without resources for assistance. Given the relative weakness of laws against trafficking and their usually singular focus on issues of sex trafficking, there is little legal recourse available for trafficked people once they are “free.” There is considerable attention in human trafficking literature devoted to this concern. Much suggests that victims of trafficking are vital to legal efforts to prosecute traffickers, but that legal systems do not protect these victims from deportation, criminal prosecution, nor are there protections against retribution from the traffickers.

As argued above, economic vulnerability is one of the factors that can “push” people into a situation where they can be trafficked. The regions from which people are trafficked are generally countries experiencing significant economic troubles, however there is no one single economic indicator that can point to the likelihood of trafficking. People are not necessarily rounded up *en masse* and transported to distant locations where they are forced to work. The trend is that people in different countries look for a way to make a living either for themselves or as a way to support a larger family. Adults make rational choices to consider working abroad based on the promise of earning better money than is available at home. They often know something about the nature of the work that will be performed (i.e. physical labor, sex industry, etc.), but do not know exactly what their future employer/trafficker has in store for them. Once they leave their home, they find themselves in a position that is very difficult to escape.

Weak political institutions can make trafficking more prevalent as well. When a government is not able to provide adequate policing mechanisms, the poor and disenfranchised have fewer resources and recourse. While many countries have signed international protocols against human trafficking, and many have created domestic laws prohibiting such action, many states simply do not have the ability to enforce these protocols and laws. Without the ability to enforce the laws already on the books, the laws are altogether meaningless. This creates an environment where traffickers are relatively free to operate with little fear of punishment for their illegal activities.

It would not be prudent to conflate economic and political weaknesses. On some levels, a weak government can be linked to creating a situation of economic vulnerability. When there are significant numbers of people living in poverty and there is no governmental body that is able to be of assistance, the economically vulnerable look for a way out of their poverty away from the government. A weak economic situation and fragile political institutions can mutually reinforce one another in creating conditions that make someone vulnerable to be trafficked.

Humans are trafficked from all corners of the globe with all sorts of characteristics to a variety of locations. Until it is possible to do more detailed research on the differences between different genders, ethnicities and ages, it will be difficult to decipher more specific generalizations. In almost any part of the world where there exists particular conditions where people are vulnerable, there is likely going to be someone who is willing to take advantage of that vulnerability. At the same time, there are many other parts of the world with the economic resources to create a market for trafficked individuals.

Trafficking creates conditions that continue to make citizens vulnerable. Countries where people are trafficked from see continual decreases in human capital and social networks as more people are removed from society creating weaker economies and weaker domestic institutions. In the recipient countries, organized crime is able to make inroads into civil society and thus promulgate more trafficking. Trafficking is insidious on a societal scale, not just for individuals. It creates a continuing downward spiral leading to more trafficking by creating entrenched factors that allow for vulnerability and new markets to thrive.

Trafficking is not simply a problem for one country or region to deal with, nor is it an issue that solely faces one gender, ethnicity or age group. This is not to imply some groups do not see higher occurrences than other groups, but rather to suggest that limiting our understanding to a few variables does the study of trafficking and those who suffer from it a disservice. The best indicators for the potential of trafficking then do not seem to be one's gender, ethnicity or age. Instead, the primary factors that we need to consider are on a larger level. An impoverished or fragile economic situation combined with weak political institutions make for an incredibly vulnerable population.

By identifying who is vulnerable we can start to identify the conditions that make them vulnerable. It is not enough to merely enact anti-trafficking laws and prosecute traffickers if we hope to adequately address the issues of human trafficking. As long as a lucrative market for trafficked persons exists alongside poverty and weak political institutions, traffickers will step in to fill the void. The answer to combat trafficking does not reside solely in the realm of prosecution and protocols; it resides with effective efforts to identify who is vulnerable to trafficking in the first place and addressing the issues that make those people vulnerable.

Annotations

Allred, Keith. 2006. "Peacekeepers and Prostitutes." *Armed Forces & Society* 33 (1):5-23.

Annotation: This article examines the correlation of prostitute trafficking to areas where international peacekeeping forces have been deployed. The United States and NATO have made policy changes to address concerns over these issues. The author suggests the United Nations needs to make similar reforms. The concern over such trafficking is that it is antithetical to the work that troops are doing. The author covers U.S. and NATO responses to these cases and suggests the U.N. enforce tighter control on soldier movements, create off-limits areas, and establish required training for troops.

Ariyo, Debbie. 2007. "The 21st Century Slaves Here in the UK." *Community Care* (1703):24-25.

Annotation: Ariyo identifies a trend in which children are trafficked to the United Kingdom from Nigeria. This practice is referred to as “fostering”: Nigerian families send their children to family and friends in the UK with the prospect of better schooling and employment. These young people end up being forced into labor under assumed identities and are denied access to education and other social services. The article is short, its purpose is clear: to identify the lack of prosecution for child slavery in the UK, which allows the practice to continue with little public awareness.

Askola, Heli. 2007. “Violence against Women, Trafficking, and Migration in the European Union.” *European Law Journal* 13 (2):204-217.

Annotation: Askola argues the gendered, ethnic and social components, which are significant in shaping the dimensions of trafficking, have been ignored. Instead, the focus has been on organized crime and irregular immigration. The author provides a detailed examination of trafficking laws in the European Union and blurs the distinctions between smuggling and trafficking, suggesting that both involve coerced action based on particular circumstances. Askola concludes that efforts to combat trafficking need to be focused on issues within Europe and need to address the conditions in countries from where people are trafficked.

Baker, Katrina Lynne. 2007. “Don’t Forget the Family: A Proposal for Expanding Immediate Protection to Families of Human Trafficking Survivors.” *Fordham International Law Journal* 30 (February).

Annotation: The true number and nature of human trafficking is difficult to grasp because it is hard for victims of trafficking to come forward and work with the authorities to prosecute traffickers. Baker suggests victims do not come forward in the United States because they fear retribution against their families. She suggests a number of ways to provide family members and trafficking survivors protections including use of the Witness Security Program and granting humanitarian paroles. The United States is a good model for developing prosecution of traffickers, but it could do better by addressing the possibility of retribution against family members.

Batsyukova, Svitlana. 2007. “Prostitution and Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation.” *Gender Issues* 24 (2):46-50.

Annotation: Batsyukova seeks to differentiate sex trafficking from prostitution. She argues prostitution itself does not create sex trafficking, but the exploration of prostitution by particular individuals creates markets for sex trafficking. She considers the policies of European countries and how the different levels of prostitution regulation have impacted the ability to create markets for trafficking. The article concludes by noting the conflation of these two topics means there is greater likelihood of not punishing traffickers and providing necessary social services to those trafficked.

Bokhari, Farrah. 2008. "Falling Through the Gaps: Safeguarding Children Trafficked into the UK." *Children and Society* 22 (3):201-211.

Annotation: A lucrative trafficking market for children exists in the United Kingdom. Children trafficked to the U.K. usually come from countries where "poverty, gender and ethnic discrimination, and the resulting lack of education and work opportunities make promises of a better life abroad sound appealing." Most children trafficked are girls, but studies show that about 42 percent are boys. The lack of enforcement of laws allows many children to slip through the cracks of social service systems. The author concludes by suggesting children need to be granted asylum and residence permits so they can effectively work with the government to prosecute traffickers

Breuil, Brenda Carina Oude. 2008. "Precious Children in a Heartless World? The Complexities of Child Trafficking in Marseille." *Children & Society* 22 (3):223(12).

Annotation: The author provides a meaningful and detailed approach to understanding the nature of child trafficking. She discusses the international legal definitions of children and the social conceptions of "home." The article also includes information from interviews with 15 trafficked children in the city of Marseilles. The author suggests child trafficking irreparably harms young peoples' abilities to ever find security in life, and legal definition of child trafficking denies children faculty and agency by always placing them as subordinate to parental control.

Buckland, Benjamin. 2008. "More Than Just Victims: The Truth About Human Trafficking." *Public Policy Research* 15 (2):42-28.

Annotation: Buckland provides a critique of the current language and discourse surrounding human trafficking. He argues that trafficked individuals have been portrayed as helpless victims and such a portrayal denies agency to the victims and tends to disregard the economic reasons why people may choose to leave their homes. The current focus on victims and organization crime has led to a decline in the resources available to alleviating conditions that push people into trafficking situations. The author disputes the emphasis on women and children by pointing out that over half of those trafficked are actually male.

Calandrucio, Guiseppe. 2005. "A Review of Recent Research on Human Trafficking in the Middle East." *International Migration* 43 (1/2):267-299.

Annotation: The Middle East is a unique region for trafficking due to the high volume of internal migration that takes place. Women from the former Soviet Union, Southeast Asia and the horn of Africa are brought to the region for prostitution. Men are often brought from Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia for labor. Trafficking victims from the region are overwhelmingly female and to a lesser degree children. The author provides a thorough analysis of the available research and proposes more intensive study to account for the highly migratory nature of the population.

Desyllas, Moshoula Capous. 2007. "A Critique of the Global Trafficking Discourse and U.S. Policy." *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 34 (4):54-79.

Annotation: The author approaches human trafficking from Third World and post-modernist feminist perspectives, in an evaluation of how Northern male discourse has impacted efforts to combat trafficking. She develops a historical context of U.S. perspectives that are rooted in dominant racist, heterosexist and hegemonic frameworks, and discusses these frameworks from a feminist point of view. Special emphasis is given to U.S. law and to the language used to portray women in developing countries as helpless. She concludes with a variety of options for creating a more appropriate approach.

Devine, Shannon. 2007. "Poverty Fuels Trafficking to Japan." *Horizons* 20.3 (Winter 2007):18-23.

Annotation: This article highlights the nature of work and life in Japan for women trafficked for forced sexual labor. Trafficking in Japan is a \$90 billion per year industry. Recently Japan revamped their domestic laws and boosted support for survivors of trafficking. The author highlights the precarious position and trapped nature of trafficked women in the country and the problems they face if they are able to escape from their traffickers.

Doezema, Jo. 2002. "Who Gets to Choose? Coercion, Consent, and the UN Trafficking Protocol." *Gender and Development* 10 (1):20-27.

Annotation: This article is a response to the December 2000 Protocol to Suppress, Prevent and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. The main concern is the language used to identify the nature of sex workers. Historically, efforts to combat trafficking have justified prostitutes in the name of protection. This has put the tone of trafficking rhetoric into a light that suggests these people cannot help themselves. The legacy of this abolitionist approach to trafficking needs to be reconsidered and instead the dialog should empower women to find their own autonomy.

Dottridge, Mike. 2002. "Trafficking in Children in West and Central Africa." *Gender and Development* 10 (1):38-42.

Annotation: This article suggests young girls are more likely to be trafficked in West and Central Africa than boys are. Gender is a major factor in this particular region; young girls are more desired for domestic labor and are considered more expendable than boys. Girls are more desirable and easy to obtain as commodities. The author does an effective job of identifying the pronounced gender disparity and encourages greater awareness of the gendered nature of trafficking.

Dyrud, Peter, Naveed Malik, and Tai Sunnanon. 2007. "Addressing the Human Trafficking Crisis through Social Entrepreneurship." *Kennedy School Review* 8 (1):21-31.

Annotation: The authors conduct a survey of national government agencies, research organizations, advocacy organizations and media to determine ways to create levels of cooperation between social organizations addressing trafficking. Most countries where people are trafficked from are poverty stricken, lawless and have corrupt governments. The authors suggest creating social networks of political stakeholders, imposing pressure on countries that do not comply with international laws, and taking the dialog of trafficking to a formal political level.

Emerton, Robyn, and Carole Petersen. 2006. "Filipino Nightclub Hostesses in Hong Kong." In Transnational Migration and Work in Asia. Edited by K. Hewison and K. Young. New York: Routledge.

Annotation: The research for this chapter was based on interviews with eighteen women who legally and voluntarily went to Hong Kong to be hostesses and ended up working as escorts. The authors discuss the U.N. Trafficking Protocol and identify the limits of the protocol to issues of organized crime. This gives women little recourse under international law when work agreements and contracts are changed. The authors conclude women are at high risk of being trafficked and the onus is on the Hong Kong government to monitor the industry.

Erokhina, Liudmila. 2005. "Trafficking in Women in the Russian Far East: A Real or Imaginary Phenomenon?" In Human Traffic and Transnational Crime. Edited by S. Stoecker and L. Shelley. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Annotation: The Russian Far East faces unique challenges to addressing human trafficking. Erokhina notes the challenges in tracking trafficking due to the highly decentralized nature of Russia's eastern provinces. The complacent attitude in Russia regarding trafficking is the result of economic and political fragility in the country. The chapter traces the recruitment of women into trafficking and the modes by which they are trafficked. Because of the relative remoteness of Eastern Russia, she pays special attention to local law enforcement in the region.

Finnegan, William. 2008. "The Countertraffickers: International Organization for Migration." *The New Yorker* 84 (12):44.

Annotation: Finnegan's article is an examination of trafficking in Moldova. He follows Stalla Rotaru, a repatriation specialist who works with the International Organization for Migration. Finnegan identifies Moldova as a particularly vulnerable country for trafficking: it is very poor, has a high number of people who work outside the country, and has weak political institutions. Because of this setting, many Moldovan women are trafficked to brothels around the world. When women are repatriated back to Moldova, they are often re-trafficked because they return to the same poverty and weak institutions that allowed them to be trafficked in the first place.

Frederick, John. 2006. "The Status of Care, Support and Social Reintegration of Trafficked Persons in Nepal, as of December 2005." *Tulane Journal of International and Comparative Law* 14 (2):317-330.

Annotation: Frederick presents an examination of trafficking in Nepal. The article critiques the role of NGOs and governmental agencies in response to trafficking victims and notes many returned victims are institutionalized because of the significant stigma attached to trafficked women and children in Nepalese society. In these cases, standard levels of appropriate care are not provided since victims do not fit the typical mold of mentally ill individuals. Frederick urges the development of a program for reintegration including specific medical facilities and post-integration follow-up.

Friman, H. Richard, and Simon Reich. 2007. "Human Trafficking in the Balkans." In Human Trafficking, Human Security, and the Balkans. Edited by H. R. Friman and S. Reich. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh.

Annotation: Globalization, regionalization and the wars that followed the collapse of Yugoslavia have resulted in a "political laboratory." International organizations have been ineffective in addressing trafficking in the Balkans due to weak institutions and contestable borders. At the same time, the lack of an effective approach to trafficking in this region has hindered these states' abilities to gain access into international organizations. Friman and Reich identify a situation in the Balkans that serves as an indicator of the role, or lack thereof, of institutions in issues of trafficking.

Groskop, Viv. 2008. "Not for Sale." *New Statesman* 137 (4899):35-36.

Annotation: Groskop introduces the Women Leader's Council, a group of female political figures, diplomats, business leaders and celebrities working to fight trafficking. This group suggests that a women's-only organization is necessary because they feel women's voices are the most credible on this particular issue. The group creates public campaigns with prominent celebrities to urge women to be cautious when promised foreign travel and work opportunities. Their political work focuses on engaging international organizations such as the United Nations.

Hanvey, James. 2008. "A New Stigmata." *Southern Medical Journal*, 464-464.

Annotation: This brief editorial highlights the significance of addressing trafficking as an issue of public health and wellness. Hanvey suggests that the nature of being a victim imposes a certain kind of invisibility to those who are trafficked. Victims lose their home and their identities, and find themselves in a place without any rights or legal recourses. Most significantly, victims do not have access to social and medical resources: this clearly has impacts on individuals but also on societies at large. Trafficking then is an issue of morality, social welfare, and public health.

Hodge, David R. 2008. "Sexual Trafficking in the United States: A Domestic Problem with Transnational Dimensions." *Social Work* 53 (2):143-152.

Annotation: The author discusses the trafficking of women and children to the United States for sexual exploitation. Hodge highlights startling statistics identifying the particular vulnerability of women and children. He notes most victims come from Asia, the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Latin America. Destination countries include Italy, the United States, Germany and the Netherlands. Source countries tend to be economically disadvantaged or politically unstable and people are trafficked to wealthy and industrialized states. The author concludes that the focus of advocacy should be on protecting victims, preventing victimization, and on prosecuting traffickers.

Jahic, Galma, and James O. Finckenauer. 2005. "Representations and Misrepresentations of Human Trafficking." *Trends in Organized Crime* 8 (3):24-40.

Annotation: The authors are primarily concerned about the lack of reliable data on the trafficking of women and the way that lack of data impacts the conceptualization of trafficking. Most research has resulted in poor data; thus, reports are based on rough estimates and do not consider the full potential scope of trafficking. Jahic and Finckenauer encourage considering different ways of perceiving trafficking by expanding the theoretical bounds of trafficking to build a more comprehensive approach to studying the field.

Jana, Smarajit, Nandinee Bandyopadhyay, Mrinal Kanti Dutta, and Amitrajit Saha. 2002. "A Tale of Two Cities: Shifting the Paradigm of Anti-Trafficking Programmes." *Gender and Development* 10 (1):69-79.

Annotation: This article studies what happens to women after they are trafficked. The authors follow the stories of women in different cities to demonstrate how rehabilitation services can affect the likelihood of women being re-trafficked. They find the more patriarchal a society is, the fewer rehabilitation and networking services will be available. Because of this, they found high numbers of women being trafficked for a second or third time in these cases.

Jones, Loring, David W. Engstrom, Tricia Hilliard, and Mariel Diaz. 2007. "Globalization and Human Trafficking." *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 34 (2):107(16).

Annotation: The authors provide a perspective on human trafficking from a sociological and social working perspective. They identify the "push" and "pull" factors for trafficking: the push factors include conditions in countries with few economic opportunities and the pull factors include economic prosperity and a demand for cheap labor. Trafficking thus becomes an intersection of vulnerability and exploitation. The consequences for countries where people are trafficked from include a weakened social structure and a loss of human capital. Destination countries see an increase in organized crime.

Jordan, Ann. 2002. "Human Rights or Wrongs? The Struggle for a Rights-Based Response to Trafficking in Human Beings." *Gender and Development* 10 (1):28-37.

Annotation: Women's unequal rights are a factor leading to the surge in trafficking seen at the end of the 20th century. The authors identify the shortfalls in addressing trafficking such as the widespread denial of the problem, the objectification of the victims and the loose definitions of trafficking in many countries. The proposed remedy is to utilize NGOs to work with governments to craft clear and defined laws that adhere to international protocols and agreements. Trafficking will remain prominent where there are not clearly articulated laws and policies to address such activity.

Koff, Harlan. 2005. "Security, Markets and Power: The Relationship Between EU Enlargement and Immigration." *Journal of European Integration* 27 (4):397-415.

Annotation: Since the events of September 11, 2001, the discussion of immigration has been highly securitized. In the European Union, the discourse regarding EU enlargement has focused on combating labor migration and immigration. As the EU expands eastwards, the new members of the Union have become transit countries for trafficking. The article presents a review of EU policies, clandestine immigration, emerging markets for trafficked peoples, and organized crime. While the author does conflate trafficking and smuggling, this is a solid source for understanding EU policy on trafficking.

Konesvka, Gabriela. 2007. "Policy Responses to Human Trafficking in the Balkans." In Human Trafficking, Human Security, and the Balkans. Edited by H. R. Friman and S. Reich. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh.

Annotation: The purpose of this chapter is to identify the ways in which policies are created by the states in the Balkans to approach issues of trafficking. The author traces how United Nations conventions and protocols are interpreted and implemented in the Balkans. She pays special attention to the protection of trafficking victims and witnesses during judicial proceedings bringing traffickers to justice. The chapter concludes the best ways to craft policies is by enabling various actors and agencies to be able to work closely with other civic organizations in both domestic and international contexts.

Laczko, Frank, and Marco Gramigna. 2003. "Developing Better Indicators of Human Trafficking." *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 10 (1):179-194.

Annotation: Progress has been made in international circles to create a common definition of trafficking, but there has not been much done to address issues of data collection and sharing. Few governments collect data on trafficking specifically, and even fewer are willing to share such data. The authors suggest creating regional clearinghouses, similar to the efforts underway in the Balkans, which will then share data on a global scale. This will allow government officials to create clear indicators for trafficking and provide support for specific anti-trafficking initiatives.

Lagon, Mark P. 2008. "Human Trafficking in China." *DISAM Journal* 30 (1):40(2).

Annotation: This is the text from a speech Mark Lagon presented to the Congressional Human Rights Caucus. Lagon, the Director of the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons for the U.S. Department of State, identifies China as a source, transit and destination country for trafficking and notes the young and mentally handicap are particularly vulnerable. China has many laws against human trafficking, but they have been hard to enforce. Lagon suggests China has started to work with NGO's and other governments to address trafficking. He identifies the most serious concerns in China as the lack of the rule of law and good governance.

Leifsen, Esben. 2008. "Child Trafficking and Formalisation: The Case of International Adoption from Ecuador." *Children and Society* 22 (3):212-223.

Annotation: This article highlights the role of international adoption in trafficking of children focusing on cases from Ecuador. Leifsen suggests many international adoption agencies have been able to use legitimate state apparatuses and processes to traffic children; such agencies have coerced parents into giving up their children and thus have been able to obtain all of the legal paperwork necessary to sell children. The lesson drawn from the Ecuadorian model is that people tend to look at the external and particular factors of child trafficking instead of looking at the systemic causes at work that allow trafficking.

Medige, Patricia. 2007. "The Labyrinth: Pursuing a Human Trafficking Case in Middle America." *Journal of Gender, Race and Justice* 10 (2):269(16).

Annotation: Medige details the 2004 case of *John Does I-IV v. Rodriguez* from Hudson, Colorado to examine the effectiveness of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA). She highlights the positive aspects of the Act, including the pliable definitions of trafficking and the multi-agency approach the TVPA establishes. The author recommends streamlining law enforcement processes through multiple agency coordination and fully funding legal resources provided under the TVPA.

Mikhail, Susanne Louis B. 2002. "Child Marriage and Child Prostitution." In Gender, Trafficking and Slavery. Edited by R. Masika. Oxford: Oxfam.

Annotation: The author focuses on child marriages and child prostitution in North Africa and the Middle East. She identifies similarities in these practices: both involve economic transactions between clients and suppliers involving human beings. The author does not utilize many statistical or detailed research studies, and relies heavily on notes and anecdotal stories. She covers the cycles of these practices as a factor of economic vulnerability, but concludes that without further, more detailed research in this specific region, it will be hard to adequately understand or approach issues of child marriage and prostitution.

O'Neill, Brendan. 2008. "The Myth of 'Trafficking.'" *New Statesman* 137 (4890):54-55.

Annotation: This article is a review of Laura María Agustín's book, Sex at the Margins: Migration, Labor Markets and the Rescue Industry. The author notes the staggering statistics of trafficking and suggests most of these numbers are created to present all women working in sex industries as trafficked even if their decision to migrate was not forced. Agustín identifies the "rescue industry" as feminist social workers, police and particular journalists. These people deny faculty to women who have made rational decisions to leave particular settings and enter into this kind of work. Greater attention should be given to establishing forced from unforced migration.

Onyejekwe, Chineze J. 2005. "Influences of Global Human Trafficking Issues on Nigeria: A Gender Perspective." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 7 (2):141(11).

Annotation: 300,000 women have been trafficked out of Nigeria since the 1990's. These women have been vulnerable because of a lack of opportunity at home and an eagerness for a better life abroad. The situation in Nigeria is pronounced because of a limited capacity of customs and immigration agencies and a weak legal framework to discourage traffickers. The author notes the increasing poverty levels in the country as a concern that more women will become victims of trafficking. The article contains considerable discussion of the role of HIV/AIDS and the efforts of the Nigerian government to combat the issue.

Pemberton, Carrie. 2006. "For God's Sake Not for Sale: Trafficking and the Church in Europe." *Gender and Development* 14 (3):399-410.

Annotation: Pemberton, the founding director of CHASTE (Churches Alert to Sex Trafficking Across Europe) discusses how to work with victims of trafficking from a faith-based, capacity-building approach. Victims of trafficking often find themselves in countries with fewer religious networks and more secular settings than the countries they are trafficked from. Pemberton suggests incorporation of religious perspectives into trafficking victim rehabilitation can be an important contribution to helping women regain hope in the recovery process.

Raymond, Janice G. 2002. "The New UN Trafficking Protocol." *Women's Studies International Forum* 25 (5):491-502.

Annotation: Raymond covers the discourse that led to the signing of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children in December 2000. The article is an examination of the debates about the language that made its way into the protocol. Raymond pays particular attention to the tensions between governments and NGOs with regards to the classification of prostitution. She argues that trafficking and sexual exploitation are intrinsically linked and thus any truly effective policy must address both issues.

Skinner, E. Benjamin. 2008. "A World Enslaved." *Foreign Policy* (165):62-67.

Annotation: The author spent four years researching trafficking and modern slavery on five continents. This article is a brief description of his research designed to bring attention to the topics. He details the process of acquiring a domestic and sex slave in Haiti for about \$50 U.S. Skinner also presents a critique of the U.S. TVPA and suggests it is not being used as effectively as it could be. He notes that worldwide, for each modern slave engaged in prostitution, there are fifteen trafficked for other forms of slave labor.

Stewart, Donna E., and Olga Gajic-Veljanoski. 2005. "Trafficking in Women: the Canadian Perspective." *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 173 (1):25(2).

Annotation: Stewart and Gajic-Veljanoski provide an update on the scope and nature of trafficking in Canada for medical workers. They focus on women and suggest trafficking is difficult to quantify and that research on health issues for women is hard to do since most women are afraid to ask for help after they escape from their traffickers. Women are promised jobs as nannies, housekeepers and waitresses but are forced into labor to repay debts when they arrive in the country. The authors suggest Canada has been behind other Western countries in enacting significant and meaningful laws to combat trafficking.

Stoecker, Sally. 2005. "Human Trafficking: A New Challenge for Russia and the United States." In Human Traffic and Transnational Crime: Eurasian and American Perspectives. Edited by S. Stoecker and L. Shelley. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

Annotation: After the fall of the Soviet Union, organized crime in Russia identified a "market" for women and children in developed countries and created a global network of trafficking. The author notes Russia is an easy target for traffickers due to high poverty and homelessness amongst Russian women and children, and the country's porous borders, numerous ports, and weak law enforcement. Stoecker suggests the best way to address the problems is by attacking the demand for trafficked persons and to reduce homelessness.

Stone, Anya, and Martina Vandenberg. 1999. "How the Sex Trade Becomes a Slave Trade: The Trafficking of Women to Israel." *Middle East Report* 211 (Summer):36-38.

Annotation: Roughly 2000 women are trafficked from Russia into Israel each year. The economic situation in Russia has made foreign work attractive because of the promise of a better life. Once women sign up they are indebted to their "employment" agency for an average of \$20,000 and are expected to work off their debt in Israeli brothels. The problem is endemic in Israel because the country has no laws prohibiting the sale of persons and the legal system does not provide protections for foreign workers. Most women get out of their trafficked lifestyle through immigration raids that result in deportation to their home country.

Torg, Cynthia Shepherd. 2006. "Human Trafficking Enforcement in the United States." *Tulane Journal of International and Comparative Law* 14 (2):503-520.

Annotation: Torg's article focuses on what she calls the "Three P's" of anti-trafficking: prosecution of traffickers, protection of victims and prevention of future trafficking. She suggests the best single method for approaching trafficking is through prosecution. To this end, she covers the battery of U.S. laws available to combat trafficking suggesting there are many tools that U.S. law enforcement officials have at their disposal to punish traffickers. Through a multilayered approach involving local, state, federal and international actors, the anti-trafficking efforts are most effective when directed at eradicating criminal infrastructures and organizations.

Torgoley, Shaheen P. 2006. "Trafficking and Forced Prostitution: A Manifestation of Modern Slavery." *Tulane Journal of International and Comparative Law* 14 (2):553-578.

Annotation: The author provides a detailed examination of the nature of trafficking in the United States. Torgoley provides useful definitions of trafficking including detailed data. Most people who are trafficked to the U.S. come from Latin America, Eastern Europe and South East Asia, and are sent to California, New York and Florida. The article includes information about methods of recruitment and the methods of controlling victims once they arrive in the destination country. The author concludes by examining U.S. and international legal frameworks including specific court cases.

Tran, Jonathan. 2007. "Sold Into Slavery: The Scourge of Human Trafficking." *The Christian Century* 124 (24):22-27.

Annotation: The author suggests trafficking is possible not just because of poverty, but also because there is an explosion of relative prosperity in the world creating a market for trafficked peoples. Traffickers promise better jobs and living conditions but deliver a person into forced labor. Once in a new country a trafficked person usually cannot escape the situation because they are in the country illegally and fear being sent back to the conditions they tried to get away from. The most likely people to be trafficked are young, virgin females from Eastern Europe. The purpose of the article is not necessarily to propose solutions but instead to highlight that these abuses exist in modern developed countries.

Troshynski, Emily. 2007. "Sex Trafficking: An Exploratory Study Interviewing Traffickers." *Trends in Organized Crime* 11 (1):30-41.

Annotation: This article discusses the process of interviewing traffickers in London in an attempt to develop typology and theory about the nature of trafficking. The authors identify the global scope and economic impact of trafficking and then provide a thorough description of their methodology. They utilized male contacts to meet with men who trafficked women. The article does not discuss many results or findings but rather identifies potential further research possibilities. Another publication is being prepared that will carry more details about the findings from this set of interviews.

Tsutsumi, Atsuro, Takashi Izutsu, Amod K. Poudyal, Seika Kato, and Eiji Marui. 2008. "Mental Health of Female Survivors of Human Trafficking in Nepal." *Social Science & Medicine* 66 (8):1841(7).

Annotation: The authors studied the medical and psychological effects of trafficking on Nepalese women. Given the significant number of people who have been trafficked, there is a notable lack of research conducted on the mental health of trafficking victims. They studied Nepal because roughly 12,000 women and children are trafficked out of the country each year. The study reported high rates of anxiety, depression and post-traumatic stress syndrome, especially amongst those trafficked for sex work. Additional concerns were noted due to the lack of basic medical and social services necessary to care for these people.

Tyldum, Guri, and Anette Brunovskis. 2005. "Describing the Unobserved: Methodological Challenges in Empirical Studies on Human Trafficking." *International Migration* 43 (1/2):17-34.

Annotation: The lack of appropriate methodology impairs the ability of trafficking research to create meaningful models for understanding who is trafficked by seeking to create an adequate model for data collection. The article presents a case study of sex workers in Norway. The authors discuss a variety of data collection models and possibilities used in other fields of empirical research. They conclude by urging caution in data collection and stressing the tentative nature of research results by identifying potential and known biases in the data collection process.

van de Glind, Hans, and Joost Kooijmans. 2008. "Modern-Day Child Slavery." *Children and Society* 22 (3):150-166.

Annotation: The authors explore the phenomenon of child slavery including the aspects of trafficking of minors for forced labor. Children are estimated to be roughly half of all people who are in conditions of force labor in the world, and most are in these situations due to difficult family conditions such as familial debt. They note boys are trafficked for labor and work in the drug trade whereas girls are trafficked for domestic services or sexual exploitation. The authors suggest the best way of dealing with this situation is stronger enforcement of international and domestic laws, and empowering families with greater forms of economic and social assistance.