



Understanding Human Trafficking an introduction



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Preface

This manual provides a foundation of knowledge for those interested in expanding their familiarity with human trafficking and the anti-trafficking movement. The manual is specifically directed toward individuals involved in non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The information covered will be varied, in order to cover different aspects of a complex problem.

To begin, the manual will cover the definitions of key terms like *human trafficking*, *exploitation*, and *modern slavery* and how they are distinguished from each other. The methods and ends of human trafficking are further differentiated, as are the ways victims are initially trafficked and the exploitative ends for which they are used thereafter, respectively. Then, human trafficking is subdivided into labor and sex trafficking, and further defined and explored. Lesser-acknowledged types of human trafficking that do not fit neatly into the previous two categories will also be covered.

The third section will explore supply and demand aspects of human trafficking – what drives and compels both exploiters and future victims to fall into their corresponding roles. Five factors are examined as indicators of susceptibility to human trafficking: poverty, gender/age bias, migrant statuses and statelessness, refugee status/war situations, and religious minority associations. Then, prostitution and pornography are analyzed for their connection with human trafficking and the controversial discussion around the legalization of sex work is explained.

The manual also delves into the question of why the practices of trafficking and modern slavery are not yet eradicated; despite the many NGOs and stakeholders working tirelessly to combat it. The current issues of quality research, collaboration, public understanding, and legal implementation are taken in turn to help answer this question with perspective and context.

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Starting with Definitions

Defining Human Trafficking

A simple way to think of *human trafficking* is: the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of people by means of force or deception for the purpose of exploitation.¹²

The *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children*, or the “Palermo Protocol” expands on this definition. One of the three “Palermo Protocols” adopted by the United Nations in 2000, provides one of the most standard and legally-accepted definitions of human trafficking today. Article 3(a) of the Protocol says,³

“Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. . .

The Palermo Protocol does not require the purpose of the trafficking to have been achieved. Thus, if a person is rescued or has escaped before exploitation has occurred, the *prima facie* case of trafficking still exists.⁴ Also, the Palermo Protocol establishes children may be trafficked if they are 1) moved and 2) exploited. This is because a child is legally incapable of consenting to exploitation, even if he or she is aware and/or agreeable to being transported.

While other definitions of *human trafficking* exist, this is the most commonly accepted and widely used. Some definitions of *human trafficking* do not require the transportation of the victim from one location to another.⁵⁶

Defining Exploitation

Generally, *exploitation* is a situation where one person labors for another under harsh and unhealthy conditions, typically for very poor rates of pay or no pay at all.⁷ The main characteristic of such a situation is that the exploiter unfairly benefits from the efforts or labor of the exploited.

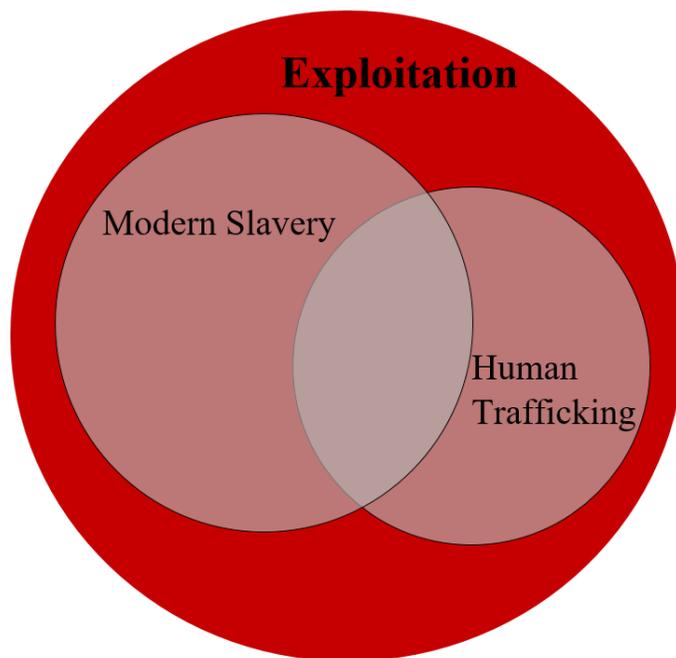
Defining Modern (Contemporary) Slavery

No universal, legal definition of *modern slavery* exists. However, the term has been defined as the situation when one person completely controls another, and he or she uses violence and coercion to maintain that control. This exploitation can be sexual, economic, or both.⁸ Despite variations in definition, it is widely accepted that the three elements of slavery are (1) loss of free will, (2) appropriation of labor power, and (3) violence or the threat of violence.⁹

How Human Trafficking, Exploitation, and Modern Slavery Relate

Much confusion and conflation exists within the anti-trafficking community regarding the definition of key terms, likely due to the history of the movement.¹⁰ At times this causes discord among the various declarations and legislations passed, resulting in issues of law, theory, and practice. For example, the transportation elements of *human trafficking* versus long-term exploitative characteristics of *modern slavery* strongly distinguish one term from the other. Consequently, the confusion may result in different prosecutions entirely.

In theory, the simplest way to think about the three terms is in a Venn diagram. *Exploitation* the largest circle of the Venn diagram, enveloping both *human trafficking* and *modern slavery*. Some people who are trafficked are enslaved. However, not all slaves are trafficked. So, the circles of *human trafficking* and *modern slavery* overlap within *exploitation*, but remain distinct.^{11 12}



In practice, however, many anti-trafficking experts in the field use the terms *human trafficking* and *modern slavery* interchangeably, as loose synonyms.¹³ *Exploitation* is a wider, umbrella term that encompasses both human trafficking and modern slavery.

The Problem of Human Trafficking in the Modern World

Human trafficking is global. It exists in every country, from the least developed to the most developed.¹⁴¹⁵¹⁶

Though it is true trafficking and modern slavery are lucrative for exploiters, exploitation is not crucial for any economy itself, or even helpful for it. Modern slaves produce an approximated \$30 to \$40 billion in goods and services annually. This is the smallest percentage of the world's economy that has ever been generated by slave labor.

In fact, the more slaves there are, the weaker the economy of a nation. Slaves do not contribute to their own economies, because they wield no monetary power. Rather, they are separate from their economies, failing to contribute in productive, sustainable ways. In fact, in many developing nations, the number of working children is about equal to the number of unemployed adults, an untapped economic resource.¹⁷ The profit of slave labor is estimated at \$11 billion annually. If freed slaves made nothing more than the poverty line set at \$2 per day, they would earn and contribute \$20 billion to the global economy each year.¹⁸ Kevin Bales, an expert and leading author on modern slavery, thinks slavery may be finally suppressed to the point of near abolition within the next 25 years if anti-slavery and trafficking efforts coalesce.^{19 20}

The Types & Purposes of Human Trafficking

A common misconception is that human trafficking is comprised primarily of victims of sexual exploitation and that the main method of obtaining victims is through abduction. However, international law and anti-trafficking experts agree that the ends of trafficking extend well beyond sexual exploitation. Furthermore, the creativity of traffickers and exploiters is not limited to abduction when obtaining trafficked victims.²¹

The Types of Trafficking

Traffickers have various ways to obtain victims. The three main methods of trafficking are by bonded labor, chattel trafficking, and contract trafficking.²²

Bonded labor/debt bondage

In bonded labor (*i.e.*, *debt bondage*), the victim is bound to his or her exploiter, being compelled to work. It is when the trafficker accepts the labor as collateral against a loan. However, that bonded person's labor is *not* payment for the debt, and the value of the bonded person's productive output is *not* applied towards the debt's liquidation.²³ Until the debt is repaid, the moneylender owns the debtor, his or her family, and everything they grow or produce.²⁴

Bonded labor occurs when the labor of the bonded person is counted as liquidating the debt.²⁵ However, the perpetrator utilizes false accounting methods and excessive interest rates to make the debt virtually impossible to pay back, thus extending the loan indefinitely.²⁶

It is common in cases of bonded labor for children to “inherit” the debt of their parents and continue to work indefinitely for the moneylender. This is known as *chronic bondage*. Sometimes, in an effort to pay back the money, parents will further pledge or pawn their children to bonded labor.²⁷

(Classical) Chattel trafficking and descent-based discrimination

The formal name for this is *hereditary collateral debt bondage slavery*.²⁸ In classic (*i.e.*, *chattel*) slavery/trafficking, a person is sold or born into a life of permanent servitude. Due to such a condition, their descendants face discrimination for their slave heritage, making them *de facto* slaves, or more vulnerable to trafficking.²⁹ Slaves' descendants find it difficult to marry free-born partners or hold positions of political or religious authority.³⁰

Contract trafficking

In contract trafficking, a contract is set in place between the supposed employer and employee, wherein employment is guaranteed. However, it is illegitimate. Their legal documentation is often confiscated, they are charged exorbitant prices for food and accommodation (as debt amounts), and lack feasible opportunities to find other work. Sometimes the constant threat of violence prevents them from leaving or seeking support. Oftentimes, a recruitment agency connects a potential victim to the perpetrator.³¹

Kidnapping and abduction.

It is important to briefly note that kidnapping is *not* a common method used for obtaining trafficking victims. This is because traffickers understand that cooperation of the victim improves the ease with which they may be trafficked.³² When traffickers do abduct a victim, they may use force alone or couple the action with threat, deceit, or the use of drugs.³³

The Purposes of Trafficking

Traffickers have various uses for their victims. The ends of trafficking include primarily labor trafficking, but also consist of sex trafficking. Various sub-categories of both exist.³⁴ The following configuration seems to be the most appropriate for introductory purposes, though differing organizations abound too.

Various types of labor trafficking.

Recent estimates from the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the Global Slavery Index (GSI) suggest that 40.3 million people are currently trapped in exploitive situations. Among these, 24.9 million people are in forced labour and 15.4 million people are in forced marriage. North Korea, Uzbekistan, Cambodia, India, and Qatar currently have the highest prevalence of modern slavery.³⁵³⁶

³⁷The various industries that have been reported as involving exploitation or trafficking include the fishing, mining, brick, and domestic work (which often involves child labor) industries. Beyond these industries, agriculture, construction, food processing and packaging, care and nursing, hospitality, and even the restaurant trade are tainted by trafficking. In the modern world, it is essentially impossible to avoid purchasing a cup of coffee, bar of chocolate, brick or diamond, that has at some point, not been manufactured by the hands of a modern slave.

Other types of forced labor.

Some states force people to labor for them. It is called *labor for the state*. In China, there are *laogai*, which are state-established labor camp prisons. Over recent decades, several million people have been held for terms of up to four years in laogai. They allegedly reform convicts, but the government detains political opponents in them as well. The prisoners work for up to 16 hours a day without pay. They suffer from sleep deprivation and malnutrition, producing consumer goods for the internal market and export.

In North Korea, between 150,000 to 200,000 prisoners endure forced labor. Through collective punishment, whole extended families are imprisoned in these labor camps. The imprisonment is typically lifelong, and has the same characteristics of the laogai or other labor camps. This practice is also prevalent in Myanmar (Burma) and Eritrea.³⁸

Sex Trafficking/Forced Prostitution/Sexual Slavery.

“Forced prostitution” is defined as when a person is forced, through violence or intimidation to engage in sexual acts in return for money or some other payment.³⁹ About 22% of human trafficking is sexual in nature.⁴⁰ A market exists for commercialized sex of all identities, and traffickers respond to the demand without discrimination. Women, men, girls, boys, and transgender peoples are trapped in sex trafficking and forced prostitution.

The forced sex industry is certainly an industry for traffickers. Perpetrators are the buyers and victims are the commodities. It is a highly profitable industry for traffickers. Though sex work is technically labor, it is generally considered by NGOs and legislation as a category of human trafficking separate from labor trafficking.

Women and girls

The majority of the recruitment and enslavement in the global sex trafficking industry is of women and girls. They are forced to have sex for money and most, if not all, of the income goes to the traffickers who control them. Typically, they are tricked or deceived into slavery, responding to advertisements and solicitations for proper work (*i.e.*, contract trafficking), only to discover they are forced prostitutes after it is too late. Some are physically held against their will in brothels, but many are also kept in place by debt bondage.⁴¹ Others are sold by their impoverished families, particularly in Southeast Asia, to traffickers.⁴²

Those who are fourteen to seventeen are the most vulnerable for entering sex trafficking and exploitation.⁴³ They are typically thrown out on the streets within a few years, as they may be impregnated and/or infected with HIV or AIDS.⁴⁴

Men and boys

Seventy million boys (7% of children) are sexually abused each year globally.⁴⁵ The numbers are conservative estimates,⁴⁶ as the problem is largely hidden and misunderstood, resulting in poor service provision and inadequate responses at all levels.⁴⁷ Men and boys are viewed as strong figures, defying the cross-cultural feminine archetype of a victim. However, the stereotypes have no weight in light of the statistics.

The major components that make men vulnerable to sex trafficking are often familial obligation, poverty, and limited education or abilities. Many come from minority ethnic groups. Some cultures hold a strong preference for the youth to support their families, despite low education or language skills. Additionally, the perception that cities are sites for economic opportunity and freedom leads young people to urban environments, without work or housing.⁴⁸ These aspects leave them vulnerable to sexual exploitation and trafficking.

Transgender individuals

Many people within the transgender communities around the world also suffer from sex trafficking. These populations are often socially stigmatized facing fear, prejudice, and discrimination. Much of this being born from a lack of understanding among the larger cisgender majority about their identities and lifestyles.⁴⁹ Some cultures have names and social structures for their transgender populations, which appears to influence sex trafficking situation among these groups. For Example, the “lady-boys” (*kathoey*) of Thailand and Cambodia, as well as the *hijra* of India and South Asia are at risk subcultures due to societal power differentials.

Human trafficking outside of labor and sex trafficking

Though the main two types of human trafficking are labor and sex trafficking, there are a few outliers, which bear mentioning. Forced marriage and mail-order brides, cyber trafficking, wartime trafficking and slavery, including child soldier issues, organ trafficking, and adoption trafficking are all forms of human trafficking as well.

Understanding the Supply and Demand

NGOs and the greater anti-trafficking movement cannot fully stop the problem at hand unless they address the root causes of trafficking. NGOs must address the basic economics of human trafficking, the supply and demand of it, instead of the mere symptoms. Otherwise, there will always be countless other victims to take the current victims' places.⁵⁰

Where there is demand, supply will meet it. Typically, the international flow of trafficked persons goes from poorer (supply) countries and regions to richer (demand) countries and regions.⁵¹

Labor Trafficking

The supply chain of many consumer goods nowadays begins with the subcontracting of larger, richer companies to smaller, less influential companies and factories. The larger companies apply pressure to cut overhead to pass on savings that increase sales and net profit. The smaller companies bear the burden of finding cheaper labor, and unethical practices are bolstered.^{52 53}

Trafficked labor has been recognized and documented in the productions of cocoa, cotton, sugar, timber, beef, tomatoes, lettuce, fruits, fish products, coffee, steel, gold, tin, diamonds and other gemstones, jewelry, shoes, sporting goods, clothing, fireworks, rope, rugs, carpets, bricks, and tantalum (a mineral used in electronics), as well as others.⁵⁴

Sex Trafficking

On the whole, men compose the majority of commercialized sex consumers. They can be broken into three main types: the sensation-seekers, those with intimacy and relational issues, and those who are caught up in peer pressure. These are not completely independent categories, but they provide some structure for understanding the pertinent factors.

Sensation-seekers, the first type, are not lonely or sexually unsatisfied. Rather, they are looking for sex acts their female partners will not perform, or seeking excitement from buying a person for a short period. They seek control, and desire thrills without obligation.⁵⁵

The second type are men with intimacy and relational issues who seek companionship.⁵⁶ Sometimes they feel "elected" when a prostitute approaches them.⁵⁷ From a psychological perspective, this may be rooted in feelings of inadequacy and deeper hurt after failed romances or childhood abuse.⁵⁸ Men and the Sex Trade (MST) Project, a group based in Thailand that focuses on reaching out to the men who frequent red light districts, report that these men desire acceptance and value, qualities they lack in their own relationships.

The third type are those who succumb to peer pressure. Particularly in Europe, there is a culture and societal acceptance of young men who go to legal prostitution zones, such as the one in

Amsterdam, as a sexual rite of passage. If they do not participate, they face social criticism.

Regarding child sex tourism, the niche's demand comes from pedophiles. There are two types of pedophiles – the preferential ones and those who are situational.⁵⁹ The former group receives the most attention, primarily because their sexual preference for minors is seen as ethically abhorrent. Preferential pedophiles often travel to areas in Southeast Asia or elsewhere with the express intent to have sex with children. Pedophiles may be of the “preferential” sort due to superstitious beliefs they can cure their HIV/AIDS or secure good luck in their business endeavors by having sex with a virgin child. The situational pedophiles, on the other hand, stumble upon the opportunity to have sex with a child and essentially ask themselves, “Why not?” Studies have shown that the majority of offenders are *situational* pedophiles.

The relevant legislation in the US has recently changed to recognize situational, as well as preferential pedophiles. To add another dimension, anecdotal research has indicated that child sex tourists are often natives of the same nations as the children they abuse.⁶⁰

Generally, men who buy sex express that the experience was ultimately unrewarding. They report feelings of emptiness and desire to quit. Yet, many compulsively repeat the act of buying sex. Governments have recognized the need to support these men in their decisions to quit unhealthy sexual habits.

Contributors to Demand

Exploiters

Since trafficking is a process rather than a singular event, trafficking operations are divided into several subunits that specialize in particular parts of the operation and complete different services, from recruitment to logistical support. They range from management and supervision, escorting (transporting victims), the corrupt public officials, recruitment, support (provide food and safe houses), debt collectors, exploitation, and re-escorting (transporting victims from place to place).⁶¹ Exploiters who engage in trafficking normally do so because it is a high-profit and often low-risk venture. People, unlike other “commodities,” can be used repeatedly. Additionally, trafficking does not require a large capital investment.⁶² These factors contribute to the lucrative nature of the business of trafficking and modern slavery.

It is imperative that economic alternatives are developed for not only the at-risk populations, but those who may turn into exploiters themselves. Some NGOs work to remove the pressures that tempt people to exploit the vulnerable.⁶³

Slaveholders and other exploiters are usually family men who think of themselves as businesspersons. They are well-integrated socially, legally, and politically. For the most part, they are well-respected in their communities for their wealth and savviness in local customs of labor. Most exploiters do **not** consider themselves “evil,” and they certainly do not enslave others for the sole purpose of evil. In fact, they often view themselves as altruistic, and taking on the role of parental figures. They, especially long-term slaveholders, fulfill the basic human needs for food, clothing, and shelter to their bonded workers, and

take their freedom of movement, expression, and so on in exchange. In response, laborers display characteristics of Stockholm Syndrome by accepting their roles and identifying with their masters. In turn, it reinforces the often distorted parent-child relationship (with elements of abuse of power and control) to which both sides can sometimes attest.⁶⁴

States

The destination countries themselves may be considered forces that drive and pull trafficking victims. Two of the most notable factors that play into the equation are the states' economies and their stances on prostitution.

The most significant characteristics predicting human trafficking into a destination country are the proportion of the male population over age sixty, the level of governmental corruption, the level of food production, and low infant mortality rate.⁶⁵ For the most part, these characteristics indicate prosperity and stability, and reflect the notion that human trafficking flows from poorer to richer countries. From a trafficker's point of view, the perfect destination country would be a relatively rich nation with just enough corruption to allow low-risk passage through its borders.

Beyond states' economies and their actual complicity in human trafficking, their stances on prostitution are relevant to the demand for trafficking victims.

Take the current and ongoing debate in Germany regarding this topic. The nation legalized prostitution and brothels in 2002. The decision has been criticized for having an adverse effect on trafficking. Specifically, dissenters cite the strong attraction of legal commercial sex on foreign male tourists. Critics argue it furthers demand for the sex industry in general, and consequently drives traffickers to seek out more female prostitutes. Allegedly, in turn, this merely propels sex trafficking.⁶⁶ It bears remembrance, though, that human trafficking occurs in regions regardless of the legalization of prostitution, and reliable statistics on the connection between legalization of prostitution and sex trafficking are difficult to obtain at this time.

Culture

A culture or subculture that tolerates human trafficking places vulnerable people at particular risk. Bales describes this concept as the moral economy of marketing people as commodities. It allows exploiters and consumers, as well as the greater public, to rationalize their behavior. Such moral allowance takes form in different arguments and attitudes.⁶⁷

One such argument is based on tradition. It is the idea that slavery has existed for as long as recorded history, so it must be part of the natural order. In India, those in hereditary slavery (or bonded labor) have a clear sense of their roles in life as "belonging" to their masters. They often reference familiarity and history as explanation, with statements such as, "We have always lived here."⁶⁸

Another argument is priorities, or that idea that one's own family depends on exploitation, so the victim's suffering is not of concern.

One wide spread rationale stems from the practice of dehumanization. This is the idea that slaves and those trafficked are, for various reasons or attributes, considered sub-human

and thus do not need to be treated with the same respect as one. Arguably, one type of dehumanization is the hyper-sexualization of “othered” persons, racially or otherwise, reinforcing superiority and inferiority aspects of different people groups and making exploitation more justifiable⁶⁹

The normalization of prostitution and pornography does not only affect sex work as a concept separate from sex trafficking – but also influences a country’s cultural frame. As mentioned before, trafficked persons are often pimped as prostitutes.⁷⁰ This is a cultural concern because pornography has been statistically linked to prostitution.⁷¹ It has been described as a window or gateway into the acceptability of purchasing sex.

Other cultural aspects that connect with human trafficking include religion, history, and legislation.⁷²

Contributors to Supply: Push and Pull Factors

Trafficked persons are “pushed” and “pulled” by various circumstances to place themselves in situations in which they may be trafficked.⁷³

Why is Vulnerability a Characteristic of Certain Places and People?

For both labor and sex trafficking, many of the factors that brought victims to slavery are the same factors that keep them in slavery. This mainly consists of lack of opportunity,⁷⁴ which always reflects differences in socioeconomic power.⁷⁵ Some factors that contribute to such differences are: poverty and low education, statelessness (no legal status in any country), gender bias, refugee or war situations, prior sexual abuse, migrant statuses, LGBT identities, religious minority associations, and disabilities. Some of the more prevalent factors are taken in turn below.

Poverty.

Class differentiations (race, tribe, gender, religion, caste, etc.) may make one more vulnerable to being trafficked, but the main factor is economic, not racial. Contemporary slaves are drawn overwhelmingly from impoverished communities.⁷⁶ Poverty is the primary factor, any other discriminated-against minority status are secondary factors.

However, it is inaccurate to say the poorest of the poor are always the most susceptible to being trafficking and enslaved. In West Africa, families that can afford televisions and better technology inadvertently set their children up for higher risk of trafficking. The televisions and smart phones are windows to life outside of the village, where cities and wealth entice them toward hopes of a greater life. When recruiters and traffickers promise such a life, the villagers have already been primed for such opportunities. Poverty also tends to keep victims in positions of exploitation. Some former slaves who manage to repay their debts and escape slavery eventually return to it because they lack preparation for freedom. Emancipation does not last without sustainability.⁷⁷

Gender and age bias.

Women and children are disproportionately victimized by exploitation, likely because they have fewer socioeconomic opportunities, less social mobility, and less power overall.⁷⁸ Child laborers, in particular, are seen as being easier to control than adults.

This is compounded by the practice of families allowing the trafficking or “placement,” of their children in an attempt to lift them and the rest of their family out of poverty. Additionally, children are seen as being free from sexually-transmitted infections, namely HIV/AIDS. Some East Asian superstitions encourage sex with virgins, often children, in the belief it will give them good luck.⁷⁹

Migrant statuses and statelessness.

Migrants have an especially difficult time, while en route *and* once they arrive at their destinations. Though some migrants never reach their destinations because they may die in trafficking camps, others do. They often find themselves in slavery-like situations, owing large debts for the service of being smuggled.⁸⁰ The migrants who survive often lack documentation and often also lack legal status in their destination country. Thus, they are afraid to appeal to government officials when they encounter exploitation and abuse.⁸¹ Moreover, lack of legal documentation makes people susceptible to human trafficking because they often do not have access to education, health care, or employment.⁸² Undocumented persons may move somewhere else, lose all contact with those they know, and no one will hear from them again.⁸³

Refugee status and war situations.

War, ethnic violence, and invasion create millions of refugees whose precarious situations make them susceptible to being enslaved.⁸⁴ The Rohingya minority ethnic group have sought refuge in Thailand and Malaysia due to the pervasive persecution they face in Myanmar. Civil war and turmoil has caused people in Sierra Leon to become refugees.⁸⁵ With now legal status as refugees or asylum seekers, work in the formal sector is illegal and they have little to no opportunities for income. Refugees often take on work that is exploitative in nature, suffering the harsh conditions and little pay. They do not know the local labor law and do not have the ability to litigate since they are illegal immigrants.⁸⁶

Challenges to Ending Human Trafficking

Why Isn't Trafficking Eradicated Already?

Human trafficking and modern slavery have been legally abolished, but not yet eradicated in practice. Lack of research, collaboration, education, and implementation all contribute to the persistence of the trade in humans. NGOs may work to improve their own functions, as well as their functions with other NGOs to strengthen forces in sight of the bigger goal of abolition.

The Importance of Quality Research

Human trafficking is a complex phenomenon requiring a diverse response through quality research to identify and fill gap areas, as well as avoid repeating mistakes in approach.^{87 88 89} The TIP Report states, “Reliable baseline information, data, and research that illuminates the causes, prevalence, characteristics, trends, and consequences of all forms of human trafficking. . . is crucial for developing anti-trafficking prevention strategies and measuring their impact.”⁹⁰

No single approach to trafficking will suffice. The trafficking of women for the ends of sexual exploitation in Europe calls for a different response than the trafficking of children for mining work in Africa.⁹¹ It is also important to research current NGO approaches to aftercare, especially with the discrepancies in treatment between males and females. The characterization of females as being more victim-like has been termed the *feminization of victimization*.⁹² Unfortunately, due to this sociological contrast, males are less likely to receive support, or be the subjects of research than females.⁹³ Research is needed for both sides of NGO approach to close the difference in care for survivors of trafficking.

Furthermore, the nature of human trafficking is clandestine, and so are the statistics. Hence, it is difficult to quantify how many people are trafficked each year. The US has estimated up to 50 thousand women and children are illegally transported into and sold in the nation annually. However, the cases of *fewer than two hundred* are prosecuted.⁹⁴ The discrepancy is referred to as the “dark figure” common to the measurement of illicit activities.^{95 96} More research is needed to shine light on the this statistical “dark figure” of human trafficking.

Crucial Collaboration

An important criticism of the NGO anti-trafficking movement is that NGOs lack the very collaboration that human traffickers themselves possess and exercise. Despite the number of NGOs in existence, few cooperate with one another. Others that do network often treat it as an accessory to their work, not a priority.⁹⁷ Creating and managing collective impact among NGOs with the same core anti-trafficking goal has the extraordinary potential for positive change.⁹⁸ The TIP Report stresses how crucial it is for NGOs and stakeholders to freely share

research and information to enhance collective impact. Reliable research is the backbone of any evidence-based program and anti-trafficking stakeholders have a responsibility to ensure that sufficient attention is dedicated to it.⁹⁹

Collaboration begins with reaching out, learning what others are doing and have done, seeing what has and has not worked, and identifying gap areas.¹⁰⁰ From there, NGOs would design and implement projects with partnership in mind, which could increase their success, as well as expand “buy-in” from other NGOs. NGO workers recognize how inconvenient it is to collaborate and how personalities or ideologies may clash, but they also acknowledge the greater benefits derived from working together.

Implementing Anti-Trafficking Laws

Since 1815, over three hundred international laws and agreements have been written and ratified to combat slavery and like practices.¹⁰¹

It is established that corruption of government officials and police is necessary for trafficking and exploitation.¹⁰² Large-scale operations require the complicity and dismissal of officials to obtain travel documents, facilitate the exit of persons from source countries, and ignore the blatant advertising of traffickers. Governmental corruption is so pervasive that, even at the village level, honest police cannot compete with armed criminals. Moreover, taking a bribe worth a hundred times more than their monthly salaries is often the safest thing to do.¹⁰³

Some governmental agencies and officials tend to blame the victims and prosecute them for trafficking-related offenses like illegal migration and labor, which worsens the situation.¹⁰⁴ The widespread governmental corruption leads to complicity with human trafficking perpetrators. In some places, like India, the situation is such that NGOs’ attitudes consist of circumventing the government altogether because it simply is not worth the trouble due to the corruption and governmental indifference. Governments do not adequately address trafficking issues because officials directly and indirectly profit from exploitation, and there are other endeavors they are occupied with that make more profit than addressing trafficking. Sex tourism also brings in money to economies, which is a strong incentive to tolerate the sex trafficking that propels it.¹⁰⁵

The key to implementing already existent anti-trafficking laws is enabling corrupt and anemic governments to fix themselves. Often NGOs take on the governments’ jobs and functions, thus inhibiting progress.¹⁰⁶ It is crucial to communicate the “freedom dividend” to governments. That is, all the benefits that come along with emancipation, like economic stimulation.

Many developing countries that struggle with human trafficking have strong cultural emphases on reputation. Officials must not “lose face” either toward the citizens or the greater global forum. Thus, the emphasis should not be on shaming the governments for what has happened, but the threat of shame for what will occur if they do not act.¹⁰⁷ NGOs may carefully document cases of trafficking and exploitation, though they may not have direct contact with anti-trafficking lawyers. Then, through collaborative means, influence policies and legislation.¹⁰⁸

Recommended Reading List

Must Read List

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Elliot Glotfelty, *Boys, Too: The Forgotten Stories of Human Trafficking.* October 2013. https://www.fairobserver.com/region/asia_pacific/boys-too-forgotten-stories-human-trafficking/

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AKM Ahsan Ullah, Yusnani Mohamed Yusof, Maria D’Aria, *How safe is Safe: ‘Safe migration’ in Southeast Asia.* UNIVERSITI BRUNEI DARUSSALAM. 2016. <http://ias.ubd.edu.bn/assets/Files/WORKING.PAPER.SERIES.20.pdf>

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Endnotes

- 1 Julia Bard and David Rosenberg. At 9.
- 2 Kevin Bales, *Understanding Global Slavery: A Reader*. 2005. 212. At 155.
- 3 *The Definition of Trafficking: The Palermo Protocol*. 2005. ECPAT UK.
- 4 Jacqueline Bhabha. At 3.
- 5 *Trafficking in Persons Report*. UNITED STATES: DEPARTMENT OF STATE. June 2016. 422. At 9.
- 6 The definition of “severe forms of trafficking in persons” from the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) does not require any transportation of the victim to constitute trafficking.
- 7 Julia Bard and David Rosenberg. At 8.
- 8 *Ending Slavery: Strategies for Contemporary Global Abolition*. At 1.1.
- 9 Kevin Bales. At 58.
- 10 *Id.* At 51.
- 11 Even with this explanation, there are differing perspectives. For instance, *exploitation* itself does not necessitate lack of freedom of movement (the inability to physically leave), but *modern slavery* does have that characteristic. Also, *exploitation* may be a one-time event, but *modern slavery* is characterized as a continuous situation for some significant period of time. Julia Bard and David Rosenberg. At 16.
- 12 For the sake of completeness, the Human Trafficking Center takes a slightly different perspective, as well, explaining *slavery* as the condition, *human trafficking* as the process, and *forced labor* as the product. *Taxonomy Project*. HUMAN TRAFFICKING CENTER. 3. At. 1.
- 13 Kevin Bales. At 126.
- 14 *Ending Slavery: Strategies for Contemporary Global Abolition*. At 3.9.
- 15 *Trafficking in Persons Report*. At 16.
- 16 James Cockayne. At 6.
- 17 *Id.* At 17-19.
- 18 *Id.*
- 19 Glenn Miles. At 16.
- 20 Kevin Bales. At 125.
- 21 Anne T. Gallagher. At 5.
- 22 Julia Bard and David Rosenberg. At 14.
- 23 Kevin Bales. At 59.
- 24 *Id.* At 2.
- 25 *Id.* At 59.
- 26 Julia Bard and David Rosenberg. At 16.
- 27 *Id.* At 60.
- 28 *Ending Slavery: Strategies for Contemporary Global Abolition*. At 1.4.
- 29 Julia Bard and David Rosenberg. At 17.
- 30 *Id.*
- 31 *Id.*
- 32 Kevin Bales. At 141.
- 33 *Id.* At 143.
- 34 Child trafficking may also be treated as its own category; however, it is more manageable when handled as a sub-category of both labor and sex trafficking. About 26% of all labor

traffickers are minors.

Ending Slavery: Strategies for Contemporary Global Abolition. 1.2.

35 <https://www.alliance87.org/2017ge/modernslavery#!section=1>

36 <https://www.globalslaveryindex.org/findings/>

37 Julia Bard and David Rosenberg. At 17.

38 *Id.* At 18.

39 Kevin Bales. At 63.

40 *Ending Slavery: Strategies for Contemporary Global Abolition*. At 1.2.

41 Julia Bard and David Rosenberg. At 19.

42 Kevin Bales. At 150.

43 Glenn Miles. At 19.

44 Kevin Bales. At 148.

45 *Id.* At 169.

46 *Ending Slavery: Strategies for Contemporary Global Abolition*. At 1.5.

47 *Id.* At 170.

48 *Id.* At 171-180.

49 *Id.* At 239.

50 Christina Foster Crawford. At 172.

51 Kevin Bales. At 151.

52 Julia Bard and David Rosenberg. At 20.

53 Kevin Bales. At 61.

54 Julia Bard and David Rosenberg. At 20.

55 *Id.* At 93-98.

56 *Id.* At 148.

57 *Id.* At 98.

58 *Id.* At 148, 151.

59 *Id.* At 93-111.

60 *Id.*

61 Kevin Bales. At 144.

62 *Id.* At 139.

63 Kevin Bales provides a relevant case study regarding the children in the fishing sector on Lake Volta in Ghana.

Kevin Bales. At 12.

64 *Id.* At 25-35.

65 *Id.* At 140.

66 Glenn Miles. At 114.

67 Kevin Bales. At 156.

68 *Id.* At 33, 56.

69 *Id.* At 162.

70 Zeeshan Aleem. March 2015.

71 Glenn Miles. At 95.

72 In Mauritania in 1997, an Afro-Mauritanian (*abeed*) was walking in hand with a White Moor (Berber), both dressed in matching robes. They both affirmed they were master and slave, as well as best friends. The wide range of human relationships sometimes takes form as slavery, and it is not necessarily non-consensual exploitation.

Id. At 56.

73 *Id.* At 155.

74 Julia Bard and David Rosenberg. At 65.

75 Kevin Bales. At 10.

76 Julia Bard and David Rosenberg. At 14.

77 *Id.* At 3.
78 *Id.* At 15.
79 *Id.* At 139.
80 AKM Ahsan Ullah. At 12-17.
81 Julia Bard and David Rosenberg. At 21.
82 *Trafficking in Persons Report.* At 15.
83 Kevin Bales. At 14.
84 *Id.* At 127.
85 *Forgotten Children of War: Sierra Leonean Refugee Children in Guinea.*
86 *Isolated in Yunnan: Kachin Refugees from Burma in China's Yunnan Province.* At 49.
87 Glenn Miles. At 19.
88 Kevin Bales. At 136.
89 *Trafficking in Persons Report.* At 10.
90 *Id.*
91 Kevin Bales. At 136.
92 Glenn Miles. At 175.
93 *Id.* At 171.
94 *Id.* At 138.
95 Kevin Bales. At 138.
96 *Ending Slavery: Strategies for Contemporary Global Abolition.* At 3.9.
97 *Id.* At 248-60.
98 *Id.*
99 *Trafficking in Persons Report.* At 10.
100 Glenn Miles. At 256.
101 *Id.* At 41.
102 Glenn Miles. At 92.
103 *Id.* At 16.
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107 *Id.*
108 Martina E. Vandenberg. At 16.



Understanding Human Trafficking

an introduction

Chab Dai has been building partnerships and competency within the anti-trafficking movement since 2005. Founded in Cambodia, Chab Dai means “joining hands” in Khmer and is an organization committed to working with diverse stakeholders to abolish all forms of abuse and exploitation.

To learn more, go to www.chabdai.org