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HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND GLOBAL POLICY:
A STUDY ON THE CASUAL FACTORS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

A project based upon an independent investigation, submitted
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts in Social Work.

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2009

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Abstract

Victims of human trafficking may be exploited for prostitution, sweatshop labor, domestic work, and as child soldiers for armed conflicts. Elements of human trafficking include deception, recruitment, transportation, coercion, exploitation, and forced labor. Statistics of individuals trafficked vary according to source, but it is estimated that 700,000 to 4 million individuals become new victims of human trafficking every year. The literature on policies pertaining to human trafficking demonstrates a lack of international collaboration and inattention to the causal factors associated with human trafficking. This study hypothesized that a positive relationship exists between a country's view on prostitution, tolerance of male sexual violence, and the rate of human trafficking within that country. The United States along with five of the least compliant countries and five of the most compliant countries in addressing human trafficking as evaluated in the US State Department's 2008 Trafficking in Persons Report were examined for statistics on the research variables. Research did not find statistically significant relationships between variables, but does suggest that there is a link between countries' placements within the tier system and tolerance of male sexual violence. This research demonstrates that there needs to be a deeper investigation into the causal factors of human trafficking before the goal of strengthening domestic and global policy can be addressed.

Outline-Human Trafficking: A Global Perspective

I. Introduction

- A) Human trafficking is a social issue. There is not effective attention to policy or prevention.
 - 1) What is human trafficking?
 - 2) Who is trafficked?
 - a) Poor, uneducated people usually looking for economic opportunities
- B) Human trafficking policies.
 - 1) What are the policies?
 - 2) Focus on prevention, protection, and prosecution.
 - 3) The United States Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA)
 - 4) The UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons.
- C) Trends in Human Trafficking.
 - 1) Difficult to record numbers.
 - 2) Estimates of 700,000 to 4 billion newly trafficked victims each year.
 - 3) Human trafficking is one of the largest sources of organized crime revenue.
 - 4) Profits roughly 7 billion dollars a year.

II. Main Points

- A) Experiences of Trafficked Victims.
 - 1) Who is trafficked?
 - a) What puts one at risk for being trafficked?
 - 2) Held against their will.
 - 3) Tortured, raped, beaten, threatened, and forced to take drugs.
 - 4) Hidden in brothels, homes, and businesses with frequent transportation to different locations.
 - 5) Do not receive any payment.
 - 6) Fear for the safety of family back home.
- B) Grounds for Human Trafficking.
 - 1) Globalization.
 - 2) “Supply and demand” between countries.
 - a) Victims are “pushed” out of poor (sending) countries and “pulled” into richer (receiving) countries that have a demand for cheap labor.
- C) “Tier” System of the United States.
 - 1) Ranks countries according to their anti-trafficking efforts.
 - 2) US may withhold non-humanitarian, non-trade-related assistance to countries ranked in Tier 3.
 - 3) United States itself not subjected to any type of ranking.

- D) Policy Failures.
 - 1) Lack of full implementation and enforcement of existing policies.
 - 2) Narrow definitions of who is trafficked and what for.
 - a) TVPA is an example. Signed into law by President Bill Clinton in 2000. Works to prevent human trafficking overseas, protect victims of trafficking, and prosecute offenders.
 - b) In 2003 President George Bush signed the Trafficking of Victims Protection Reauthorization Act (TVPRA). Includes enhancements to previous prevention, protection, and prosecution efforts. Reauthorized again in 2005.
 - 3) Punishing the victim rather than their trafficker.
 - 4) Incomplete victim services.
- E) Consequences of Human Trafficking.
 - 1) Violates human rights and dignity as pronounced by the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights.
 - 2) Deteriorates families.
 - 3) Hinders the development of human capital.
 - 4) Contributes to organized crime.
 - 5) Weakens governments and challenges the law.
 - 6) Threatens legal and orderly immigration.
- F) Prevention, Protection, Prosecution.
 - 1) How does one work to prevent human trafficking?
 - a) Economic development and education on trafficking in “sending” countries.
 - 2) How does one protect against human trafficking?
 - a) Recognition of victims as such rather than illegal immigrants.
 - 3) How does one prosecute human traffickers?
 - a) Breaking up trafficking rings and imprisoning traffickers.
 - b) Of these three strategies, this is the most difficult to implement.

III. Opposing Points

- A) Positives of Human Trafficking.
 - 1) Brings in revenue for countries.
 - 2) The poor classes of sending countries shrink as they are transported elsewhere.
 - 3) The poor classes of sending countries are able to migrate.
 - 4) It is inevitable.
 - a) Economic disparities between and within countries
 - b) Slavery is an entity that is and has always been a part society. Human trafficking is the 20th century form slavery.

- B) Forced Prostitution versus “Voluntary” Prostitution.
 - 1) Prostitution is a form of human trafficking.
 - a) Women are the primary victims.
 - 2) Trafficking women are no more victimized than are the women forced into prostitution by poverty.
 - 3) Not all women entering into the sex industry are kidnapped or coerced, but may still suffer the same brutalities and threats by pimps once they are there.
 - 4) Many of the policies and efforts to end human trafficking label prostitution as a social evil, even if voluntary.
 - a) Failure to recognize the self determination of women who do enter freely into prostitution.
 - b) Attention to forced prostitution has led to ignorance of the rights of “voluntary” prostitutes (Aradau, 2008).
- C) Approached to Human Trafficking.
 - 1) United States policy funding is closely tied to conservative views on prostitution.
 - 2) Women are deemed as needing saviors. The global North comes to the rescue of third world women.
 - a) Promotes stereotypes of foreign women, continues to victimize women.
 - 3) Attention to sex trafficking and not voluntary prostitution implies a group more worthy of saving.
- D) There are Policies.
 - 1) TVPA reauthorized in 2003 and 2005. William Wilberforce Trafficking Protection Reauthorization Act of 2008.
 - 2) Policies take time to development and implement.

IV. Hypothesis

- A) A positive correlation exists between human trafficking rates in a country and the tolerance of male sexual violence and the legalization of prostitution in that same country.

V. Methodology

- A) Sample
 - 1) Convenience sample
 - a) Sample frame.
 - i) 2008 TIP report.
 - ii) Five countries from Tier 1 and five from the Tier 2 watch list or Tier 3.
 - iii) Belgium, Argentina, Italy, India, Saudi Arabia, France, Spain, Costa Rica, Sweden, South Africa,
 - iv) United States added outside of the sample frame.

B) Data Gathering

- 1) Exploration of print and electronic sources containing statistical information on variables.
- 2) Variables
 - a) Dependent variable.
 - i) Rate of human trafficking.
 - b) Independent variables.
 - i) Rates of male sexual violence.
 - ii) Legalization of prostitution.

VI. Conclusion

A) Restatement of the thesis and findings.

B) Implications

- 1) Social workers need to educate themselves on human trafficking
 - a) Social workers need to have an international presence.
- 2) Social workers should advocate for a more unified global policy on human trafficking.
- 3) Social workers need to advocate for the availability of data on human trafficking in order to be able to engage in increased research around the issue.

Introduction

There are insufficient policies and preventative measures being executed to protect the most vulnerable of the global population: those who are victims of human trafficking (Haynes, 2004). Elements of trafficking include deception, recruitment, transportation, coercion, exploitation, forced labor, and slavery-like practices (Cameron & Newman, 2008). Defined, human trafficking is the

Recruitment, transportation, transfer or harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of giving or receiving payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation (UN Protocol, 2000, as cited in Desyllas, 2007, p.63).

Human trafficking exploits its victims for prostitution, sweatshop labor, domestic work, agricultural work, and child soldiers for armed conflicts, to name a few (Jones, Engstrom Hilliard, & Diaz, 2007). It is a crime that can be perpetrated against men, women, and children, all of whom are usually poor and uneducated (Jones, et al., 2007). With the promise of a better life and increased economic opportunities, traffickers lure their victims into exploitative agreements (Jones et al., 2007).

Human trafficking is a large international market that profits close to \$ 7 billion a year (Haynes, 2004). After drugs and guns, human trafficking is the largest source of organized crime revenue (Rodríguez, 2004). It is estimated that 700,000 to 4 million individuals become new victims of human trafficking every year with some being constantly sold and resold (Haynes, 2004). Others such as the International Labor Organization have approximated that there are close to 12 million victims forced into labor around the world (Jones et al., 2007). Women are considered to be the largest trafficked population, constituting almost 80% of all victims (UNODC, 2006, as cited in

Jones et al., 2007). Often times these victims are beaten, raped, forced to take drugs, and face many other brutalities as their traffickers or owners work to keep them compliant (Haynes, 2004).

One of the contributing factors to human trafficking is globalization which allows goods, services, and labor to easily move across border. This in turn creates a sense of interdependence among countries (Jones et al., 2007). Because of this, large traffic rings are not only a domestic problem for the United States alone, but for the global world at large, thus necessitating attention and action across borders.

Measures that would help prevent human trafficking should focus on the education of trafficking ploys as well as the economic development of the deprived countries involved (Jones et al., 2007). Policies that protect rather than punish the victims are also imperative. Too often victim protection needs are unmet (Jones et al., 2007).

Only recently have global partnerships to stop human trafficking been created among countries and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) (Jones et al., 2007). Nevertheless, anti-trafficking laws have been ineffective in ending trafficking rings by failing to implement and enforce those laws (Haynes, 2004). For example, the United States' Trafficking Victims Protection Act focuses on the sexual exploitation of women and neglects acknowledging the men and/or children who are also victimized (Desyllas, 2007). Other countries such as Bosnia and Serbia fail in their anti-trafficking efforts by punishing trafficked women for prostitution or unlawful immigration rather than punishing the traffickers forcing them into these activities (Haynes, 2004).

Global data collection on human trafficking by the US and the unification of global partnerships have been complicated by discrepancies in the methodology and

analyses of the three other international organizations that the United States works with. International Labor Organization (ILO), International Organization for Migration (IOM), and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) all maintain global databases on global human trafficking along with the US government (United States Government Accountability Office, 2006). While this global collaboration helps the US who has yet to discover an effective means for estimating the number of trafficked victims, each organization continues to analyze human trafficking “based on its own mandate” (United States Government Accountability Office, 2006). Logically, IOM analyzes human trafficking from a migration and human rights stance while ILO looks at its terms of forced labor (United States Government Accountability Office, 2006). This data may not be reliable for usage by the US because of other weakness as well. For example, the data that IOM finds is only from countries where IOM “has a presence” (United States Government Accountability Office, 2006). ILO, who works to provide the number of globally trafficked victims, uses a tool that heavily relies on observations and assumptions that have not necessarily been validated (United States Government Accountability Office, 2006).

Although it has long been recognized that human trafficking is an issue, “dynamics of globalization are fueling its growth” (Jones et al., 2007, p.118). Therefore, while each country needs to become aware and responsible for their own domestic policy, global collaborations are just as necessary. Global and regional coalitions between countries and NGOs have begun to take shape, but as evidenced by the ILO, IOM, and UNODC, the differing views of human trafficking can create ineffective or unreliable data. Furthermore, these global coalitions remain in the early stages of development and

thus roles and responsibilities are continuing to be defined as the work comes to the organizations (Desyllas, 2007).

Social workers have an ethical responsibility to the overall welfare of society, including global social welfare (National Association of Social Workers, 1999). Furthermore, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights grants every person freedom for the *choice* of employment and acknowledges the human dignity of all people (Jones et al., 2007). Therefore it is important for social workers to become knowledgeable about human trafficking, conducting research and collaborating together for interventions within the domestic and international scenes (Jones et al., 2007). It is not enough to tailor practice to include working with trafficked victims. Instead, social workers need to be internationally united to increase their awareness and pressure for international initiatives to be taken against the trafficking of beings in order to stop it before it begins. Taking notice to the causal factors of human trafficking is perhaps one of the most heavily needed efforts from social workers as getting to the root of the problem will not only prevent human trafficking, but will essentially protect the larger society.

Literature Review

Victims of human trafficking often times become a victim because of their already present victimization in other aspects of society. For example, individuals from impoverished countries and poor families are at risk of falling prey to traffickers' coercion to a better life (Jones et al., 2007). Other victims can include ostracized minorities, those without employment, and individuals with little education (Haynes, 2004). Locations that targeted victims are most often from include Asia, the former Soviet Union, Africa, Eastern Europe, and Latin America; "originating countries" tend to

be those that have experienced some instability, either politically, economically, or both (Hodge, 2008). Primary receiving countries have been found to be Italy, followed by the United States, Germany, and the Netherlands (Hodge, 2008). Besides being prosperous and industrialized, receiving countries share the commonalities of possessing a large sex industry or having either accepted or legalized prostitution (Hodge, 2008).

Victims experience a range of brutalities that include rape, torture, beatings, physical threats to their family, and forced drug use (Haynes, 2004). Victims of trafficking almost never see any type of compensation for their work and are frequently told that they in fact owe their traffickers for travel documents or employment papers (Haynes, 2004).

The context of human trafficking is one that involves the phenomenon of globalization (Zhang, 2007). Globalization is the process of linking countries together in a way that promotes participation in one larger global society (“Globalization Issues”, 2001). Generally, the term globalization is used to consider the integration of global economies as “capital, goods, and services” easily make their way into and out of virtually every continent (Jones et al., 2007, p.107). The global arena that has allowed for the simpler transfer of goods has consequently allowed for the simple transfer of human beings as well (Zhang, 2007). Both the ease of international travel and the ability to locate work outside of one’s own country have given human traffickers the opportunity to easily and inconspicuously transport their victims (Zhang, 2007). Furthermore, the close relationship that countries now have with one another has shown many individuals the economic gap that exists between regions. Individuals of impoverished nations are more aware of the financial opportunities that exist elsewhere (Zhang, 2007). This gives human

traffickers leverage when luring victims across borders with the promise of better employment.

These abovementioned effects of globalization create a supply and demand dynamic among countries. Members of developing nations are attracted to wealthier foreign nations, but with stringent immigration laws individuals seeking employment outside of their country must turn to alternate methods of migration. This leaves them at risk for exploitation (Jones et al., 2007). In this sense it is often said that people, usually those with little wealth, are “pulled” to places where they believe they can advance financially and “pushed” out of their poor home countries. Human traffickers acknowledge this trend and use it to their benefit. Uneducated and impoverished people are easily deceived into believing the empty promises traffickers make of the economic opportunities that exist overseas and across borders (Jones et al., 2007). With the existence of globalization so heavily influencing the ability of these traffickers to exploit their victims, it is therefore necessary that global legislation and mandatory global participation of anti-human trafficking efforts be implemented.

However, this is not to say that there have not been any efforts to do so. The United States, for example, has taken such initiatives through the creation of the “three-tier system”. As part of the 2000 Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA), the US State Department has created a “set of ‘minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking’” (Kempadoo, 2005, as cited in Sudbury, 2005, 43). This tier system is used to rate countries on their efforts and progress in combating human trafficking and creates annual TIP (Trafficking in Persons) reports (Kempadoo, 2005, as cited in Sudbury, 2005).

However, what may seem like a progressive act on the part of the United States is actually problematic in many ways. For one, the United States itself is not ranked or evaluated nor does it face the responsibility of having to answer globally for its anti-trafficking participation (Kempadoo, 2005, as cited in Sudbury, 2005). Secondly, the distinctions of compliance and noncompliance are inconsistent and lacking legitimate analyses (Kempadoo, 2005, as cited in Sudbury, 2005). Well informed and respected experts of human trafficking were also absent from the construction of the included sanctions, implying a lack of effort on the United States' part to be fully educated in the matter before applying global expectations. Even years after its first creation, the American government has not created an effective method for estimating the number of trafficked victims nor has it reliably used the system for developing anti-trafficking programs (Zhang, 2007). A recent report from the US Government Accountability Office (GAO) has highlighted that rationalizations and clarifications for the tier system remain incomplete with no apparent plan for addressing human trafficking overseas (Zhang, 2007). These efforts should perhaps be reconsidered as this implemented system appears ineffective and unfair.

Conveniently, those countries in Tier 1, which are considered to be most compliant with the standards, are mostly 'developed' or 'consumer' countries (Kempadoo, 2005, as cited in Sudbury, 2005, p.44). Not surprisingly, those that are placed in Tier 2 and especially Tier 3 are considered less compliant and can be subjected to sanctions by the US that could end 'non-humanitarian, non-trade related assistance' and even assistance from critical international associations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Kempadoo, 2005, as cited in Sudbury, 2005,

p.44). In the past, low ranking countries have been Burma, Cuba, North Korea, and Iran, even when there has been little information available for evidence of law enforcement. On the other hand, in the past the US has also reclassified the evaluations of countries such as Russia and Israel to avoid imposing sanctions on them (Kempadoo, 2005, as cited in Sudbury, 2005). Such actions suggest little concern for a true cohesive form of global participation and more of a focus on foreign relations in a political sense (Kempadoo, 2005, as cited in Sudbury, 2005).

Similarly, the TVPA holds a limiting definition of what trafficking is and who is affected by it (Desyllas, 2007). The Bill that was initially drafted heavily focused on the “sexual exploitation” of women and children and failed to acknowledge men and those trafficked for labor. Such a narrow definition of human trafficking is problematic in that it risks awareness and social support for victims other than those in sex trafficking (Ditmore, 2005, as cited in Kempadoo, Sanghera, & Pattanaik, 2005). Agencies and grassroots groups that do not share this specific focus are also at risk, as their efforts are viewed as politically varied from the US administration. If considered inconsistent with the goals of the US trafficking agenda these organizations can be left without support from the US government (Ditmore, 2005, as cited in Kempadoo, Sanghera, & Pattanaik, 2005). If men are failed to be seen as victims this not only cuts their access to services, but it can also result in feelings of shame and embarrassment as they are given no reassurance that they are not alone in their experiences. Victims of trafficking commonly feel humiliated, guilty, and nervous about going back to their families where they will face questions about their abuse (Pizarro, 2008, as cited in Cameron & Newman, 2008). Generally there remains to be few victim services that adequately help and empower

these victims (Pizarro, 2008, as cited in Cameron & Newman, 2008). Thus, those who are overlooked as victims, such as men, receive even less support and are left to cope with these feelings alone. This inevitably leads to a difficulty in addressing men's experiences and recognizing them as victims, especially when such an emphasis on women continues to be the focus of legislation. The very title of the UN's Protocol for trafficking, the United Nations Optional Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially in Women and Children, exemplifies this (Ditmore, 2005, as cited in Kempadoo et al., 2005).

Other failures in policy include the stigma associated with the victims of trafficking and the way in which this leads to their own imprisonment. Victims are often caught in a foreign country without the right documentation which puts them at risk for immigration laws (Haynes, 2004). Despite new laws and international policy some countries, such as Bosnia, continue to arrest and deport victims of trafficking "as a matter of practice" (Haynes, 2004, p.239). Some have implied that prosecutors find it easier to prosecute a victim for immigration violations, prostitution, or document fraud rather than address the much more difficult task of prosecuting a trafficker (Haynes, 2004).

Corruption of law enforcement officials is an additional factor that perpetuates this problem. In South Korea, police work with traffickers by helping to forge documentation and locate run away victims (Hughes, Chon, & Ellerman, n.d.). Such occurrences deter victims from seeking protection of the law and help promote their criminalization. By running away from their traffickers, victims appear to be misbehaving in a way that requires the involvement of law enforcement which can

enhance feelings of guilt for victims. With this type of involvement and reaction from law officials, victims have little places to turn to for help.

The TVPA of the United States has worked to protect victims and prosecute traffickers by offering a “T-visa” to victims with non-citizen status. This comes with the stipulation that they work with federal and law enforcement officials in the investigation and prosecution of human traffickers (Desyllas, 2007). The T-visa allows victims to receive services and benefits along with the opportunity to “rebuild their lives” (Desyllas, 2007, p.67). However, this protection implies a sense of guilt on the victim as he/she is forced to “prove their innocence and coercion” in order to receive said benefits (Desyllas, 2007, p.67).

Human trafficking first and foremost is a direct violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which “specifies that every person has ‘inherent dignity’ and ‘freedom’” (Jones et al., 2007, p.115). The enslavement of individuals for the purposes of sexual and labor relation exploitation is an act that dehumanizes victims by taking away these inherent rights to freedom. Social institutions like that of the family are also harmed as a result of human trafficking since victims are unable to remain in contact with and receive or give emotional support to family members (Jones et al., 2007). Victims are additionally prohibited from educational and employment opportunities, thus they are also denied the option of promoting their own “human capital” which can in turn lead to a lack of development on the national level as well (Jones et al., 2007).

Because organized crime is a leading factor of human trafficking, the continued existence of this act works to strengthen criminal activity. Many traffickers that exploit human beings for profit are also involved in other forms of trafficking, such as drugs and

weapons (Haynes, 2004). These individuals use the trafficking of humans to financially support the “riskier traffick in drugs and arms” (Haynes, 2004, p.227). Essentially, then, human trafficking is used not only to make a profit, but to support other forms of crime that will also bring in revenue. Such a connection puts governments and entire societies at risk since rings of organized crime are allowed to continue to grow (Jones et al., 2007).

Human trafficking also undermines immigration laws and causes panic about countries’ ability to control domestic immigration (Haynes, 2004). It also creates unease between citizen and foreigners, which can perpetuate already “popular” stereotypes and fears of immigration (Jones et al., 2007). An increases awareness of a link between migration and human trafficking is difficult, however, as policy officials work to tighten immigration laws in order to curb human trafficking (Cameron & Newman, 2008). By doing so, the already unnoticeable act is pushed further underground (Cameron & Newman, 2008). Thus, while human trafficking creates problems of immigration, by viewing it in these terms alone fails to address the root of the problem.

With a better understanding of human trafficking, there is hope that initiatives to stop it will be more abundant. Three means of addressing human trafficking to do so include prevention, protection, and prosecution. Prevention efforts should include educating those most vulnerable to this form of victimization about traffickers and their schemes (Jones et al., 2007). Methods of prevention also need to look at one of the biggest causes of victims being swayed into trafficking ploys in the first place, poverty. Poverty reduction and increasing the economic opportunities for individuals in their own countries can help prevent victims from risking migration in order to help themselves financially. (Marshall & Thatun, 2005, as cited in Kempadoo et al., 2005). However, it is

important to acknowledge additional causes of human trafficking and thus other preventative measures that need to be recognized (Marshall & Thatun, 2005, as cited in Kempadoo et al., 2005).

Protection of victims is another point for policy and government officials' attention. This first and foremost necessitates recognizing and identifying victims as victims, not as perpetrators. The immigration piece of human trafficking can lead to the imprisonment and criminalization of victims as they are often charged with unlawful immigration and document fraud (Haynes, 2004). In such instances the third critical aspect to effectively combat human trafficking, protection, is difficult since it allows the true criminals to remain invisible. In order to prevent human trafficking, it is necessary for prosecution efforts to include the disassembly of trafficking rings with the imprisonment of the true criminals, traffickers (Jones et al., 2007). However, prosecution of human trafficking is complicated by the corruption of police and military officials (Jones et al., 2007). Traffickers need the aid of corrupt officials to help get the proper papers for travel and work. Many times officials are compliant with traffickers because prostitution and sex trafficking are seen as "victimless crimes" (Hughes, Chon, & Ellerman, n.d., p.13). This makes prosecution the most difficult of the three measures, which can in turn affect both the prevention of and protection from human trafficking (Jones et al., 2007). It is crucial, then, for these three anti-trafficking efforts to not only be considered, but to be considered together as requiring consecutive implementation and awareness.

However, despite its illegal nature, human trafficking provides huge revenue for countries. It is estimated that every year human trafficking profits 7 billion dollars, with

victims such as women being sold for 250,000 dollars each in the United States (Haynes, 2004). With the exception of drugs and guns, human trafficking may be one of the biggest incomes that countries benefit from. Despite the little compensation, if any, that most victims of human trafficking receive, they are given the ability to send some amount of earnings back home to help family members that remain there (Hochschild, 2002, as cited in Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2002). Even if wages are lower than the “prevailing rates in the receiving countries,” illegal workers are still able to earn more than they would be capable of in their home countries (Jones et al., 2007). Thus, although work may be exploitive and unfair in compensation, it can still allow for better income possibilities for immigrants, both legal and illegal.

The push and pull between countries with economic disparities is an inevitable force that will remain present in the face of globalization. As Third World countries continue to struggle for the ability to support families and maintain a decent standard of living, countries considered to be developed will always be seen as a better alternative or a means to survive back home (Zarembka, 2002, as cited in Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2002). In fact, global relationships between these countries explicitly allow for and to some extent instigate this. Often times, developed countries and international loan organizations such as the IMF or World Bank stipulate that wage freezes be implemented or that basic social services be cut (Zarembka, 2002, as cited in Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2002). It is expected and almost inescapable, then, that migrant workers would be easily lured to First World countries that do not have these demands prescribed to them. Strict immigration laws, however, can make relocation difficult for already poor individuals which can lead to a reliance on traffickers (Obokata, 2006). For example,

specific measures in Western Europe, such as visa requirements and carrier sanctions, have limited the opportunities for many possible immigrants, which has in turn increased “economic opportunities for traffickers”(Obokata, 2006).

Often times, analyses of human trafficking yield distinctive conclusions about prostitution, women as victims, and the invisibility of men. Indeed human trafficking does include prostitution, but it is important to remember that “not all victims of trafficking are prostitutes, nor are all prostitutes victims of human trafficking”(Sanghera, 2005, as cited in Kempadoo, 2005). Equating these two concepts has serious consequences. One is the politicized roles that combating human trafficking takes on as countries such as the United States target prostitution “under the guise of combating human trafficking” (Haynes, 2004, p.231). Human trafficking is illegal and therefore should always be punishable by law, while prostitution is not (Batsyukova, 2007). Equating the two can mean that the severity of one is either ignored or extended. Sex workers like those of the small town Sosúa located in the Dominican Republic choose what bars they will go to, who their clients will be, what hours they will work, and what they will charge for their services (Brennan, 2002, as cited in Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2002). With this apparent control and autonomy, these women hardly classify themselves as victims requiring protection by global policy.

As it has been pointed out, US policies under the Bush administration have attempted to closely relate human trafficking with prostitution, which fails to help the individuals involved. Some feminist writers have suggested that anti-trafficking measures have in fact been harmful toward sex workers because of the attention it brings to them (Aradau, 2008). For example, after a police raid in Soho, a group of women whom were

believed to be victims of human trafficking were held for an extended period of time (Aradau, 2008). In terms of prostitution, a close eye on human trafficking has “privileged the rights of victims of trafficking at the expense of those of sex workers” (Aradau, 2008, p. 31.). These rights include the ability and right to choose work for oneself. “Voluntary” sex workers are denied having social agency and self determination as they too are labeled victims despite not considering themselves as such (Aradau, 2008).

Approaches to human trafficking in the US are also supportive of a Western colonizing view. The TVPA speaks of victims requiring protection and requires that other countries meet their standards, implying a belief that America knows best and is to be closely imitated (Desyllas, 2007). “The overrepresentation of Arab and Muslim nations” at the bottom of the tier system associated with the TVPA further supports Western superiority and a racial separation of perpetrators from saviors (Kempadoo, 2005, as cited in Sudbury, 2005, p.45). America takes on the role of a “global policeman” and at the same time reinforces stereotypes of women from underdeveloped countries as being weak and needing the aid of the US (Enloe, 2000, as cited in Desyllas, 2007). Even more, this can divert attention from victims trafficked domestically within their own country.

Anti-trafficking initiatives may have other politicized motives as well, such as border control. Creating policy based on border control or helping to improve Third World countries may address the problem, but it also creates an environment that restricts and endangers women who wish to migrate (Desyllas, 2007). Thus, the possibility of violence can become a “justification for restraining women’s movement” (Miller, 2004, as cited in Desyllas, 2007, p.69). Even more, such an approach may only increase the

violence against illegal immigrants as it pushes it further from the public eye allowing traffickers to avoid critical standards for labor migration (Desyllas, 2007).

Funding for anti-trafficking efforts is also closely tied to conservative values and views on prostitution (Desyllas, 2007). With the passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2003 (TVPRA), Christian NGOs like the International Justice Mission (IJM) have received monetary support from the federal government for its trafficking efforts. However, groups like the Sonagachi Project in India which addresses problems faced by sex workers, such as exposure to HIV, are not given this same funding (Desyllas, 2007). Once again, this echoes the idea that a fight against prostitution has begun in the disguise of combating human trafficking.

Perhaps most importantly, an approach that so heavily emphasizes forced prostitution ignores the critical issues of prostitution in general and implies a group more worthy of saving. Debates remain about the freedom of sex workers who have not necessarily been trafficked, but are controlled by their pimps and suffer from violent clients (Aradau, 2008). Because many believe that no normal woman would freely enter into this work, the ability to “choose” to become a prostitute does not seem very feasible. The social and economic structure of one’s country and personal experience can be a variable which can be seen just as coercive and controlling as a human trafficker or pimp (Aradau, 2008). Therefore, women may never have the capacity to freely decide how they may earn their living as many just need to find a way to survive. While automatically connecting human trafficking with prostitution is problematic, distinguishing the former from the latter as a form of “forced prostitution” is just as detrimental. Differentiating between forced and voluntary prostitution suggests reason for

guilt or innocence and therefore an entitlement to protection and rights depending on where one falls (Aradau, 2008).

What's more, laws that make it illegal for anyone but prostitutes to profit from their work, like those in Hong Kong, may actually put sex workers in further danger and complicate how they are to use their wages (The Economist, 2008). The recent murders of prostitutes have led some to wonder whether this law does more harm than it does to protect. With such strict laws on who may profit from sex work, prostitutes are unable to hire any type of pimp who clients would be accountable to which means that prostitutes may be further reducing their security. The sentencing of an individual who was advertising prostitution online confuses the matter further (The Economist, 2008). Charged with trying to "live off of prostitutes' earnings", this case asks who else could be considered to be profiting from the work of prostitutes (The Economist, 2008, ¶5). If prostitution is the sole income for an individual, virtually everything she was to buy would be done so through her wages. Doctors, landlords, and even electric or water companies could be seen as profiting from her work (The Economist, 2008). While the law's foundation speaks from an anti-trafficking perspective, the consequences that it has for prostitutes supports claims that anti-trafficking efforts give rights to trafficked victims at the expense of sex workers.

Despite criticism that there needs to be more anti-trafficking efforts, prevalent policies in both the United States and around the world are actually increasing. Firstly, the Trafficking Victims Protection Act has been reauthorized in the years 2003 and 2005 to enhance the original Act in ways such as funding to increase public awareness of human trafficking (Desyllas, 2007). Recently, the William Wilberforce Trafficking

Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2008 (The Wilberforce Act) has passed and is seen as a success by anti-trafficking coalitions like that of Rhode Island. The Bill is said to be more effective in that it provides domestic and international provisions, prosecution of human traffickers only, and services to victims (The Rhode Island Coalition Against Human Trafficking, n.d.). Most importantly, “Wilberforce alleviates the burden of testimony on the victim to prove force, fraud, or coercion for ‘sex trafficking,’ using this as an enhancement for ‘aggravated sex trafficking’ charges but not a requirement for ‘sex trafficking’” (The Rhode Island Coalition Against Human Trafficking, n.d., ¶15). The distinction between the charges extends from the Mann Act which was implemented in the early 1900’s, making transportation of individuals across state lines for the purpose of prostitution illegal (Hughes, 2008). The Mann Act did not require proof of fraud, force, or coercion which has always been a complicated stipulation for charging traffickers under the TVPA’s “severe form of trafficking.” The Wilberforce Act combines the two statutes by eliminating the Mann Act’s transportation-of-victims requirement, instead substituting the TVPA’s ‘in or affecting interstate or foreign commerce’ and removing the use of force, fraud, and coercion requirement of the TVPA (Hughes, 2008).

The UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children also demonstrates the ongoing efforts to recognize and stop human trafficking. Created in 2000 as a supplement to the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, the UN Protocol addressed the vagueness of the term trafficking and sought to establish a concrete definition of what constitutes the crime (Sanghera, 2005, as cited in Kempadoo et al., 2005). Successes of the UN Protocol are

the inclusion of “forced labor” as a form of exploitation domestic workers are to be protected from and the foundation that it gives for national legislation among signed states rather than simply recognizing it as an international crime (Chew, 2005, as cited in Kempadoo et al., 2005). With the UN Protocol has come increased awareness of and action against human trafficking. Following its enactment, new, wide ranging anti-trafficking laws were created, government participation and funding increased, with individuals and groups alike beginning to devote more attention to trafficking issues (Konrad, 2008, as cited in Cameron & Newman, 2008).

Swedish law has also addressed the problem by prohibiting prostitution as a form of male sexual violence against women and children (Hodge, 2008). Unlike neighboring Scandinavian countries that have legalized prostitution, Sweden has not only criminalized the act, but has also made it extraterritorial so that citizens traveling to other countries must still continue to obey the law (Hodge, 2008). Since its creation, prostitution and trafficking in Sweden have seemed to decline or remain the same, rather than increasing (Ekberg, 2004, as cited in Hodge, 2008). Such a law in other countries would help combat human trafficking and the exploitation of its victims by military stationed abroad (Hodge, 2008). With the recent passage of the William Wilberforce Reauthorization Act, the United States has attempted to follow Sweden’s lead. One key provision of the Act is the extension of federal jurisdiction to US citizens who attempt to engage in any type of forced labor or sex trafficking while traveling overseas. Thus, even if trafficking crimes were not to occur in US territory, offenders would still be prosecuted by US courts (The Rhode Island Coalition Against Human Trafficking, n.d.).

Recent advancements, both internationally and domestically, have demonstrated that awareness is not only increasing, but that it has also led to greater political involvement. The Wilberforce Act includes key provisions to the original Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 that were once reason for concern. Such stipulations include revisions to the tier system that previously allowed “politically sensitive countries” to avoid sanctions by remaining on the Tier 2 Special Watch List rather than being deservingly placed on the more appropriate Tier 3 (The Rhode Island Coalition Against Human Trafficking, n.d., ¶7). While these advancements certainly deserve praise, how the Act will continue to be implemented and addressed will be worth watching. For example, provisions that authorize increased funding of maximum amounts, such as a new program dedicated to serving US citizen survivors of trafficking, do not necessarily mean that the total allowed funds will be utilized. Stipulations that have accompanied past trafficking legislation have complicated the fight against it and, at times, have been somewhat ineffective. For these reasons recent legislative successes, such as the Wilberforce Act, should be recognized, but also critiqued in a way that does not allow politicians and other leaders to consider human trafficking as anything else but urgent.

Hypothesis

There are clearly policies that address the complex and serious crime of human trafficking, but how these policies are publicized, utilized, and acted on remains questionable. Women, typically for sexual purposes, tend to be the largest trafficked population. Combined with the close connection that human trafficking has with prostitution, a correlation may exist between views on prostitution and rates of human trafficking. As Sweden’s experiences seem to demonstrate, intolerance for prostitution

and other manifestations of “male sexual violence” may be the leading factor in lowering or slowing down the practice of human trafficking. Thus indicating that, despite international policies, a country’s tolerance of prostitution may be a key correlate to that country’s level of human trafficking. Destination countries for human trafficking share the characteristics of either accepting and/or legalizing prostitution or possessing a large sex industry, suggesting that prostitution may be a negative and *casual* factor of human trafficking (Hughes, 2003). This research will examine how the legalization of prostitution combined with tolerance of male sexual violence affects the rates of human trafficking in the United States, France, Spain, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Costa Rica, Belgium, Argentina, Italy, India, and Sweden.

Methodology

Sample

Taken from the 2008 US State Department’s Trafficking in Persons Report, the tier system of the TVPA served as a sample frame for the selection of 11 countries. Five countries from Tier 1 and five from Tier 3 or the Tier 2 watch list were selected to form a convenience sample for analysis, highlighting the most compliant and least compliant nations as evaluated by the United States. As previously discussed, the United States is not subject to this same evaluation and was therefore purposely selected outside of the sampling frame to complete the sample. The following countries were chosen from Tier 1; Sweden, France, Spain, Belgium, and Italy. Countries chosen from Tier 3 or the Tier 2 watch list are South Africa, Saudi Arabia, India, Costa Rica, and Argentina.

Data Gathering

Variables of the data included countries being analyzed, views on prostitution, rates of male sexual violence, and rates of human trafficking. Using the online organization ProCon, views on prostitution were measured according to each country's stance on the issue as evidenced by their legalization of prostitution. Rates of male sexual violence were measured by the most recent number of rapes taken from the Eighth United Nations Survey on Crime Trends and the Operations of Criminal Justice Systems as cited in the online publication "NationMaster". Rates of human trafficking were taken from the 2008 US State Department's Trafficking in Persons Report. The data analyzed combined arrests, investigations, and prosecutions of human traffickers as reported by each country.

The method of data collection began with an in depth investigation of electronic sources in the Providence College database as well as print resources containing the research variables. The tools utilized, electronic and print sources, were selected based on their inclusion of statistical information of the study variables, especially those pertaining to male sexual violence and rates of human trafficking.

Data Analysis

Data was analyzed through the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) computer program. Upon the input of data, SPSS was used to determine the correlation between the independent variables of study, male sexual violence and views on prostitution, and the dependent variable of study, rates of human trafficking, along with the statistical significance of this correlation.

Findings

Table 1: Raw Numbers of Data Gathered

Country	Prostitution legal (Federally)	Male sexual violence (rapes most recent)	Rate of Human Trafficking (# of arrests, investigations, prosecutions)	Tier
Argentina	Yes	3,036	>28	2 WL
Belgium	Yes	2,436	>1,233	1
Costa Rica	Yes	633	18	2 WL
France	No	8,458	507	1
India	No	15,468	1,202	2 WL
Italy	Yes	2,543	1,460	1
Saudi Arabia	No	59	0	3
Spain	Legal status not clear, prostitution not criminal	5,664	935	1
South Africa	No	52,425	14	2 WL
Sweden	No	2,184	28	1
United States	No	95,136	75 ¹	

¹ The United States does not provide its own country narrative in the Trafficking in Persons report. Thus, this number does not imply the number or investigations, arrests, or prosecution of human traffickers. Instead it is the number of convicted defendants in all human trafficking charges filed from 2001-2005.

Table 2: Independent Variable Tolerance of Male Sexual Violence

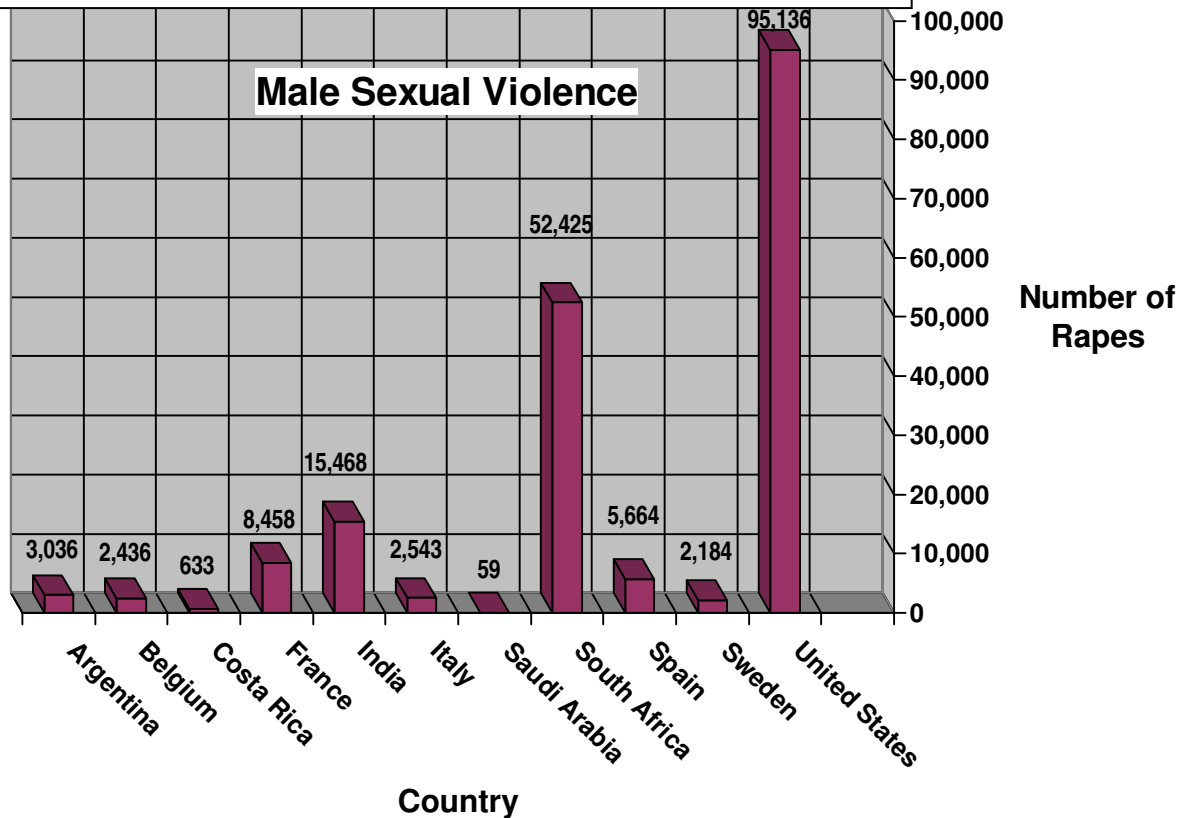
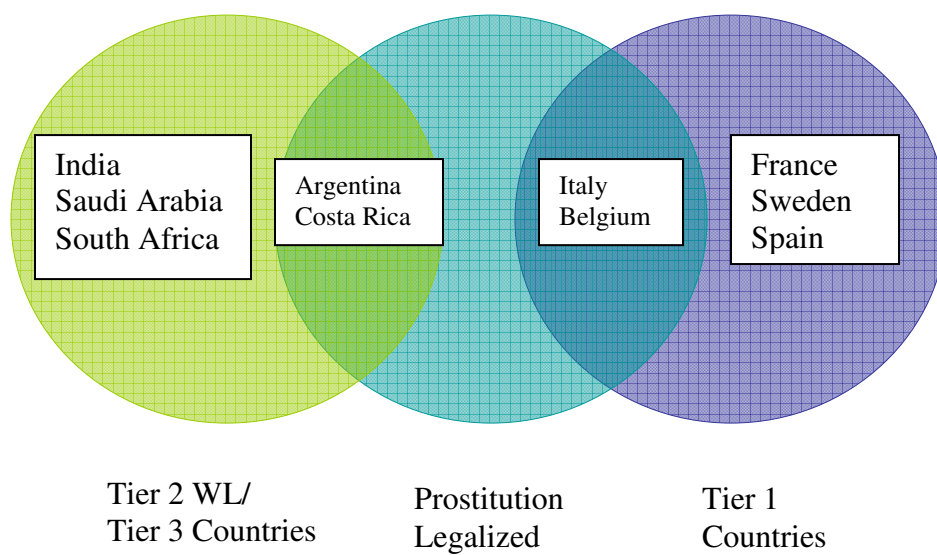
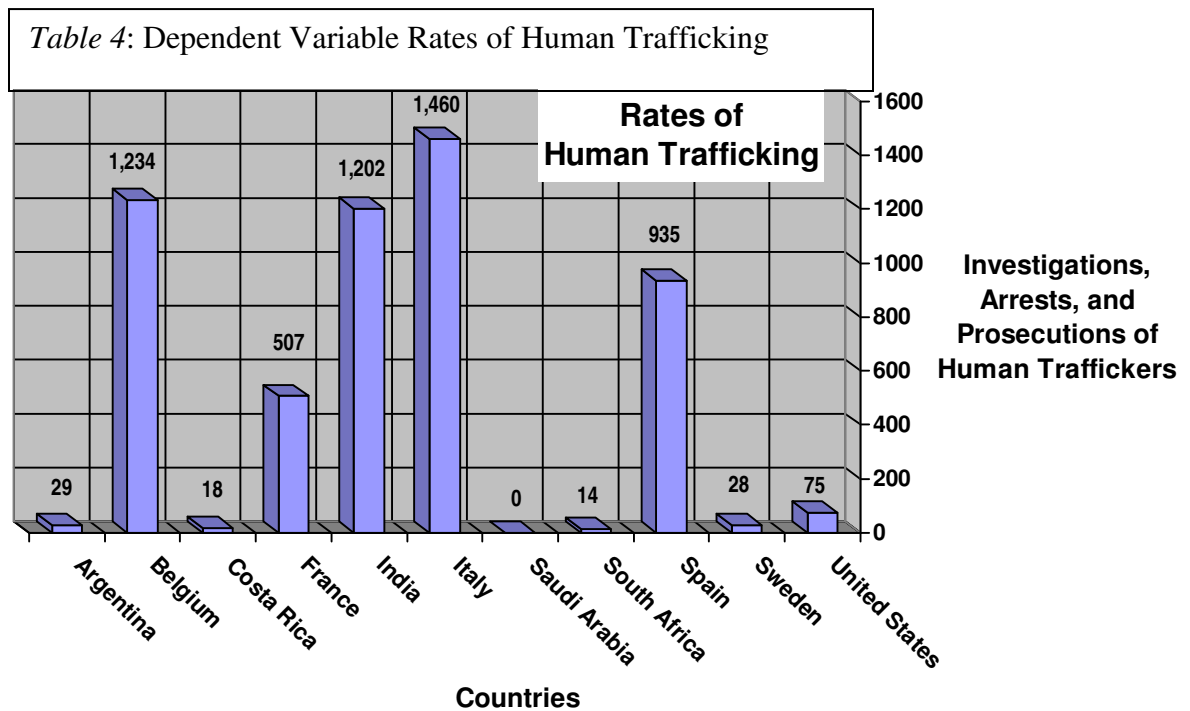


Table 3: Independent Variable Countries' Acceptance of Prostitution





Discussion of Visual Data

Countries that have the highest rate of male sexual violence as evidence by rates of rapes nationally are South Africa, India, France, and Spain. Although two of these countries are in Tier 1 of the TIP report, all share the commonality of not legalizing prostitution in their country. Similarly, the United States leads with the highest number of rapes, close to 100,000, and also has not attempted to legalize prostitution.

Rates of human trafficking demonstrate congruence, for the most part, with countries' placements within the tier system. With the exception of India, countries with the highest rates of human trafficking were those belonging to Tier 1. Because the source of this piece of data was the 2008 Trafficking in Persons Report, rates of human trafficking were taken from each country's report on prosecution specifically. Those with higher rates of human trafficking demonstrate a greater attention to the arrest and prosecution of human traffickers. Exemplifying its Tier 3 status, Saudi Arabia's rate of

human trafficking is very low with a value of zero, demonstrating its lack of attention to the investigation of human trafficking.

Belgium and Italy have the highest numbers of human trafficking, and both countries have legalized prostitution. These countries also show a high rate of male sexual violence and belong in Tier 1. Because the rate of human trafficking demonstrates not necessarily the number of individuals trafficked, but the attention of a country to combating the problem, it is not surprising to learn that these countries have a Tier 1 status. Furthermore, both countries' higher rate of male sexual violence demonstrates a possible link between the two independent variables, but not necessarily with the dependent variable, human trafficking.

The data presented suggests that the legalization of prostitution has little effect on the rate of human trafficking as there was no common relationship between these two variables throughout the data. Two countries from Tier 1 have legalized prostitution as have two countries from the Tier 2 watch list.

While there is not a clear correlation between the variables male sexual violence and rate of human trafficking, data from countries such as India and South Africa does suggest that a societal acceptance of male sexual violence may play a role in a country's attention to and policy on human trafficking. With the highest rate of male sexual violence as demonstrated from the 95,136 most recent rapes, it might be possible to hypothesize the attention that the United States has to the issue of human trafficking itself. Following the lead of the previously mentioned two countries, the United States may belong in the Tier 2 watch list.

*Statistical findings**Table 5: Tolerance of Male Sexual Violence and Human Trafficking Correlation Table*

Correlations			
		Tolerance of Male Sexual Violence	Rate of Human Trafficking
Tolerance of Male Sexual Violence	Pearson Correlation	1.000	-.170
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.319
	N	10.000	10
Rate of Human Trafficking	Pearson Correlation	-.170	1.000
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.319	
	N	10	10.000

The use of SPSS demonstrates a Pearson Correlation of $-.170$, representing a negative relationship between the independent variable “acceptance of male sexual violence” and the dependent variable “rate of human trafficking”, which does not support the hypothesis that as the independent variables decrease, so does the dependent variable. However, considering the operational definition of the rate of human trafficking—the investigation, arrest, and prosecution of human traffickers in a country—it might still be appropriate to claim that a positive relationship exists. Higher rates of human trafficking demonstrate a country’s attention to the issue, suggesting that the actual prevalence of human trafficking is decreasing. Thus, the negative relationship shown actually demonstrates that as the tolerance of male sexual violence decreases in a country, the arrest and prosecution of human traffickers increases, presumably decreasing the rate of human trafficking.

Furthermore, table 6 shows a Pearson Correlation of $-.216$ when further analyzing this relationship, indicating that a country’s tier placement has affected these findings.

Countries in Tier 1 of the 2008 TIP report possessed a negative correlation between tolerance of male sexual violence and the rate of human trafficking in those countries. The correlation table shows that countries in the lower tiers did not share this same negative relationship, but instead a positive one.

Table 6: Tolerance of Male Sexual Violence and Human Trafficking According to Tiers

			Correlations	
Tier			Tolerance of Male Sexual Violence	Rate of Human Trafficking
Tier 1	Tolerance of Male Sexual Violence	Pearson Correlation	1	-.216
		Sig. (1-tailed)		.364
		N	5	5
	Rate of Human Trafficking	Pearson Correlation	-.216	1
Sig. (1-tailed)		.364		
	N	5	5	
Tier 2	Tolerance of Male Sexual Violence	Pearson Correlation	1	.028
		Sig. (1-tailed)		.482
		N	5	5
	Rate of Human Trafficking	Pearson Correlation	.028	1
Sig. (1-tailed)		.482		
	N	5	5	

Table 7: Correlation Table of Independent and Dependent Variables

		Correlations			
		Rate of Human Trafficking	Tolerance of Male Sexual Violence	Tier	Acceptance of Prostitution
Rate of Human Trafficking	Pearson Correlation	1.000	-.170	.335	.388
	Sig. (1-tailed)		.319	.172	.134
	N	10.000	10	10	10
Tolerance of Male Sexual Violence	Pearson Correlation	-.170	1.000	-.506	-.203
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.319		.068	.287
	N	10	10.000	10	10
Tier	Pearson Correlation	.335	-.506	1.000	.000
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.172	.068		.500
	N	10	10	10.000	10
Acceptance of Prostitution	Pearson Correlation	.388	-.203	.000	1.000
	Sig. (1-tailed)	.134	.287	.500	
	N	10	10	10	10.000

Table 7 demonstrates a Pearson Correlation of .388 between a country's tolerance of prostitution and a country's rate of human trafficking, showing a positive relationship between these variables. Furthermore, data results demonstrate that a relationship exists between the two independent variables of research, acceptance of prostitution and tolerance of male sexual violence. With a Pearson Correlation of -.203, the negative correlation between the independent variables suggests that acceptance of prostitution influences a country's rate of human trafficking, since it may affect a country's tolerance of male sexual violence.

Correlations are significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed). Thus, despite the relationship found between variables, the correlation tables demonstrate there is little statistical significance behind these numbers.

Limitations

The sample size for the research is small in regards to the conclusions sought to be drawn from it. Furthermore, countries examined were selected based on their placement within the tier system and the availability of information related to the selected variables which may or may not have slanted the results of the data. In addition to these factors, the limited information available about the actual number of trafficked individuals was problematic for the research's independent variable, calling for it to be measured in different terms than the actual number of victims, which may have complicated interpretations of data. Additionally, because these numbers were based on reports that countries have issued themselves, they may also be unreliable due to over reporting, etc. The same may be true for the independent variable, tolerance of male sexual violence, as rape is often underreported.

Conclusion

Human trafficking is a social issue on an international scale that can no longer be ignored. The phenomenon of globalization has created a supply and demand among countries for trafficked individuals, luring them from their impoverished homelands to nations better known for their wealth (Jones et al., 2007). As human trafficking occurs within an international market, protection and legislation against it need to as well. While countries such as the United States have attempted to take a stand against human trafficking through legislation directly addressing the problem, other countries such as Sweden have taken action by addressing those variables seemingly linked to increased

numbers in human trafficking. While international policy is critical to the management of human trafficking, perhaps the real solution is locating the casual factors of human trafficking and focusing efforts at the root of the problem.

Sweden's low tolerance for male sexual violence, including prostitution, has been positively correlated to the rate of human trafficking found within its country (Hodge, 2008). These experiences suggest a route for addressing human trafficking and point to a positive relationship between the variables male sexual violence, prostitution, and rate of human trafficking in a country.

Data analyzed in this research continues to suggest the relationship hypothesized, but still does not demonstrate casual factors of human trafficking. If countries were to follow this hypothesis, there would not have been any countries with legalized prostitution in Tier 1 nor would their rates of male sexual violence be as high. However, data does not demonstrate this. Rather than pointing to positive correlations between the independent variables and the dependent variable, negative relationships were indicated. Nevertheless, this may still suggest that tolerance of male sexual violence is related to higher rates of human trafficking and should therefore also be considered when addressing possible policy and governmental action. It is not unreasonable to believe that countries with a high tolerance of male sexual violence would also have a high tolerance for human trafficking, leaving it at the bottom of its political priorities. Thus the research suggests a starting point for strengthening countries' policies on human trafficking, hopefully leading to greater collaboration in addressing the issue on a global scale.

Human trafficking is a growing issue that social workers involved at both micro and macro levels of practice cannot ignore. More focused research is necessary, but that

does not seem possible without concrete statistics on the rates of human trafficking being available to the public. From this arises the need for increased advocacy around the importance of investigating human trafficking. Without these key first steps, the process of increasing and strengthening global policy seems impossible.

This research also highlights the need for social workers' presence in international politics and social problems. Professionals in the field need to be well equipped to comfortably enter the international arena and address the issues that affect human dignity on all levels. As social workers are called to protect and advance the overall welfare of *all* of society, they are presented with the responsibility of attending to the problems that threaten the social welfare of the global population as well. Because education at the Bachelor's level does not necessarily introduce this type of participation, social workers should be mindful to become aware of the social problems that exist on a larger scale, especially because this is often where the root of domestic social problems lie.

Along with increased international participation and education, social workers it is critical that social workers educate themselves on those populations most at risk to become victims of human trafficking, understanding the experiences of those who have been trafficked and the services most appropriate for their re-introduction into healthy social systems such as the families and communities in which they previously participated. Education is an important piece to service delivery as victims of human trafficking have a range of needs requiring special attention not necessarily introduced in the social work curriculum at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Methods to address this could include identifying victims of human trafficking as an "at risk" population with special needs as the profession has done with other groups in society. Furthermore,

special topic courses concerning international social work should introduce the issue of human trafficking and discuss social workers' responsibilities' in addressing social problems on an international scale.

Lastly, the difficulty in studying the casual factors of human trafficking implies that not only should social workers be better aware of the social problems of the global population, but that social workers from all over the world should be collaborating with one another to ensure this. Advocacy calling for a stronger and more unified global action against human trafficking will not be heard if social workers are not internationally unified as well.

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