The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

School of Public Affairs

PREDICTORS OF ANTI-TRAFFICKING INITIATIVES: A CROSS-NATIONAL, TIME-SERIES ANALYSIS OF THE TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS REPORT

A Thesis in

Criminal Justice

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Master of Arts

May 2009

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ABSTRACT

At the apex of the slave trade, an estimated 20,000 lives were uprooted yearly from Africa. While the African slave trade has ended, involuntary servitude has not. Human trafficking is a form of modern-day slavery that, while mainly hidden from the public eye, numerically rivals antebellum slavery. Anti-trafficking efforts have been adopted globally to curb this growing phenomenon, yet many international communities have failed to put these initiatives into practice. To this end, the U.S. Department of State implemented the Trafficking in Persons Report to monitor and increase anti-trafficking efforts worldwide. The current study employs an interrupted time-series design to determine the efficacy of this policy initiative. The research also identifies predictors of anti-trafficking initiatives and U.S. targeted grants to foster an evidence-based approach to fund efforts that reduce the trafficking in persons. Limitations and policy implications are discussed.

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Acknowledgements

Throughout this project, I have been exceedingly fortunate to have had the guidance and support of an outstanding thesis committee. My thesis chair and confidant, Dr. Don Hummer, has been a guiding voice on my scholarly work. He has contributed a significant amount of his time to assist my research, much more than is expected of any thesis advisor, that he deserves to be my co-author. Dr. Toni DuPont-Morales has been my mentor and friend. I will never forget 'Mexican Thursdays' with you and Favian. Both of you have been the greatest influence in my decision to pursue higher education. For all the confidence you have in my potential, I thank you. Special thanks to Dr. Shaun Gabbidon for contributing time and providing me valuable feedback over the course of my undergraduate and graduate studies. I would also like to thank several others that have helped make my time at Penn State Harrisburg more enjoyable, both faculty and staff. I am particularly grateful to my academic advisor and friend, Dr. Barbara Sims, for her intellectual support and direction that she has provided over the years. Last, I would like to thank Penn State Harrisburg's School of Public Affairs for the generous financial support during my graduate education.

Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DOJ	U.S. Department of Justice
DOL	U.S. Department of Labor
DOS	U.S. Department of State
G/TIP	Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons
GAO	U.S. Government Accountability Office
HHS	U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICE	Immigration and Customs Enforcement
ILO	International Labor Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
TVPA	Trafficking Victims Protection Act
TVPRA	Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act
UN	United Nations
U.S.	United States
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

Silvia, a single mother, migrated to Lebanon in response to a housekeeping job advertisement. Arriving for work, her passport was confiscated, and she was confined to her trafficker's residence (TIP Report, 2005). To escape captivity, she jumped out a window, and was paralyzed from the fall. Silvia now travels the country to advocate anti-trafficking initiatives.

In Cambodia, Neary was raised by her older sister after her parents died when she was a young child (TIP Report, 2005). In hopes of her having a better life, Neary's sister married her off when she was 17. In celebration of their marriage, the newlyweds rented a room from a guesthouse in a nearby fishing village. Neary awoke the next morning to be abandoned by her husband, who sold her to the owners of the house, or as she soon came to find out, a brothel. For the next five years, Neary suffered severe physical and sexual abuse. She was released from the brothel when the HIV she contracted progressed to AIDS. Neary died shortly after.

While they often remain out of sight, there are many faces of trafficking victims. The preceding stories are merely two of an estimated 700,000 victims that are globally transported each year through force or deception for the purpose of labor or sexual exploitation (Hoffman, 2002; Kangaspunta, 2003; Schauer & Wheaton, 2006). Of these victims, 18,000 to 20,000 are trafficked into the United States (Horn, 2003; Schauer & Wheaton, 2006; DOJ, 2005). Every victim's narrative adds to our understanding of human trafficking, yet there remain several obstacles in successfully combating human trafficking. To overcome these barriers, the DOS' implemented the TIP Report to increase global anti-trafficking efforts. This research explores the efficacy of this policy initiative, and uses its analyses to identify predictors of anti-trafficking initiatives and U.S. grants aimed to combat human trafficking.

The Rise of the Anti-Trafficking Agenda

The globalization of markets affords employment opportunities, economic prosperity, worldwide communication, and a vector of new technologies. The experience of modernity, however, brings about unfavorable changes in the methods of criminal activity that create new challenges for law enforcement (Schloenhardt, 1999; Williams & Savona, 1996). Moreover, the rapid growth of transnational organized crime poses a unique threat to national and international security as "[c]riminal organizations carry on their activities in what for them is, in effect, a borderless world, while law enforcement is significantly constrained by having to operate in what is still a bordered world" (Williams & Savona, 1996,viii). In response to this impasse, the United Nations World Ministerial Conference on Transnational Organized Crime convened in 1994 in the interest of drafting UN protocols (UN General Assembly, 1995a).

The UN Conference brought together 142 States to discuss the threat posed by the globalization of organized crime (UN General Assembly, 1995a). The "Political Declaration and Action Plan against Organized Transnational Crime," a product of the conference, was adopted in an effort to identify, prevent, and control transnational offenders (UN General Assembly, 1995b). During the next few years, these measures gained momentum with the creation of an intergovernmental ad-hoc committee for the purpose of drafting a comprehensive policy to counter organized crime. In October 2000, the UN General Assembly ratified the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UN General Assembly, 1998). This gave rise to "[...] the first serious attempt by the international community to invoke the weapon of international law in its battle against transnational organized crime" (Gallagher, 2001, p. 976). In ratifying the Convention, States made a commitment to adopt practical measures to combat transnational organized crime. This included the criminalization of participating in an

organized crime group, money laundering, and corruption (United Nations, 2000a). The Convention was later supplemented by three protocols, two of which relate to the smuggling and trafficking in persons.

In 2000, the UN adopted the "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children." This signified a major development in international anti-trafficking efforts. With the drive behind these protocols surely being an issue of human rights, its adoption placed human trafficking high on the political agenda (Gallagher, 2001). It also serves as the first legally binding instrument to unify national approaches to combat the crime and to establish a common definition on the trafficking in persons (UN General Assembly, 1999). Despite these provisions, several countries have failed to ratify the protocols or have adopted their own stand-alone approach to curb the trafficking in persons (TIP Report, 2008).

To date, many countries have adopted the definition of human trafficking set forth by the UN protocol (UN, 2000b); the United States, however, is not one of these. The U.S. has adopted a different and detailed definition which dichotomizes human trafficking into two categories: sex trafficking and labor trafficking (Free the Slaves, 2006; TVPA, 2000). More specifically, the U.S. deems human trafficking as an individual induced by force, fraud, or coercion to engage in the sex trade, as well as, the harboring, transportation, or obtaining of a person for labor service (TVPA, 2000). The United Nations has expanded this definition to include the removal of organs – a circumstance that remains unacknowledged in the United States definition (UN, 2004). The fact that individual countries often adopt their own definition of human trafficking leads to an international inability to measure its occurrence. This, on its own, conveys the perception of a lack of trafficking activity. While the definitions of the crime may vary, the

elemental factors they describe remain the same: the purposeful transportation of an individual for the purpose of exploitation.

The Trafficking Scheme

To more effectively address the phenomenon, the country must have a policy that discerns smuggling from the trafficking of migrants, a distinction which is often misunderstood or ignored (Clawson, Dutch, & Cummings, 2006). The ambivalence between legal statutes, or the lack of trafficking statutes altogether, has lead to trafficking cases being prosecuted under anti-smuggling statutes in countries such as Azerbaijan, Turkey, Gambia, Guatemala, and Macedonia (TIP Report, 2008). Force, fraud, and coercion are the elements encompassing the trafficking of persons; they define, and distinguish, the act from human smuggling. The trafficking and smuggling of migrants are comprised of four successive elements: (1) recruitment, (2) emigration, (3) transit, and (4) immigration. While both smuggling and trafficking may share common elements, their differences are established in the latter phases of the crime. The process, along with the key distinctions between smuggling and trafficking, are outlined below.

Methods of Recruitment in the Origin Country

Origin countries serve as source countries for trafficking victims. They are often developing nations in areas such as Asia, the former Eastern Bloc, and Africa (Kangaspunta, 2003). Recruiters seek migrants through various mediums such as the Internet, employment agencies, the media, and local recruiters (Bruckert & Parent, 2002). Middlemen often try to dupe trafficking victims into believing that they are being recruited for a job opportunity, whereas those that are smuggled are aware of and agree to the terms of transportation. In both instances, the services of a smuggler are seen as an opportunity to emigrate from the origin country to a

more stable, developed state (Ejalu, 2006). Many migrants do not need to be lured by prospective opportunities; living conditions in the origin country are incentive alone.

Creating Transnational Routes in Transit Countries

Traffickers transport migrants through intermediary countries known as transit countries. En route to countries of higher development, migrants are voluntarily smuggled and trafficked across transit countries which tend to most often be Central and Eastern Europe (Kangaspunta, 2003; Schauer & Wheaton, 2006). Transporters assist migration through various modes of travel: land, air, and sea. Migrating under these circumstances makes it difficult to obtain legitimate travel documents, thus smugglers may supply the migrant with fraudulent passports or visas and coach migrants to avoid detection by border control agents (Schloenhardt, 1999). Smuggled individuals consensually agree to the terms of transportation and are not under duress. Despite trafficking victims often leaving the source country voluntarily, this is not always the case. They may be kidnapped, coerced, or bribed by false job opportunities, passports, or visas.

Commodification of Migrants in the Destination Country

Trafficking victims may enter the destination country legally or illegally. Traffickers assist migrants in gaining legal migration status, such as by means of labor or marriage visa (Beare, 1999). If a migrant violates the terms of their visa status, or overstays on a temporary visa, the migrant will now be considered in the destination country unlawfully. Legal methods of entry are most frequently used in trafficking schemes in comparison to smuggling migrants (Shlyk, 2007). The form of legal entry allows leverage over the victim in the ability to seize immigration documents once arrival takes place within the destination country. Traffickers may also illegally transport migrants by supplying the migrant with fraudulent passports or visas, or by evading border detection (Beare, 1999). These migrants may change their immigration status after

arrival. Illegal means of entry is more prevalent in smuggling schemes, in where the migrants remain within the host country illegally without any assistance from their smuggler (Shlyk, 2007).

The distinction between smuggling and trafficking can only be determined once at the destination country. Once arriving, the smuggler's involvement ceases after helping the person cross the border illegally, whereas the trafficker's participation does not (Haque, 2006). Generally, all transporters involved in trafficking victims from the origin country are compensated only after bringing them to the responsible party in the destination country (Bruckert & Parent, 2002).

Trafficking victims are not free to leave. Arriving in a new country with the search of better living conditions, they now find themselves in debt bondage, being held by retorts of predatory nature without the sanctuary of law. These victims are subject to physical and sexual abuse, and to pay off their migratory debt, are exploited for labor or forced into the sex trade. Traffickers use threats as a means of control over their victims, and demonstrate their power through the threat of deportation, or the threat of violence against the migrant or their family in the origin country (Ejalu, 2006).

Predictors of Human Trafficking

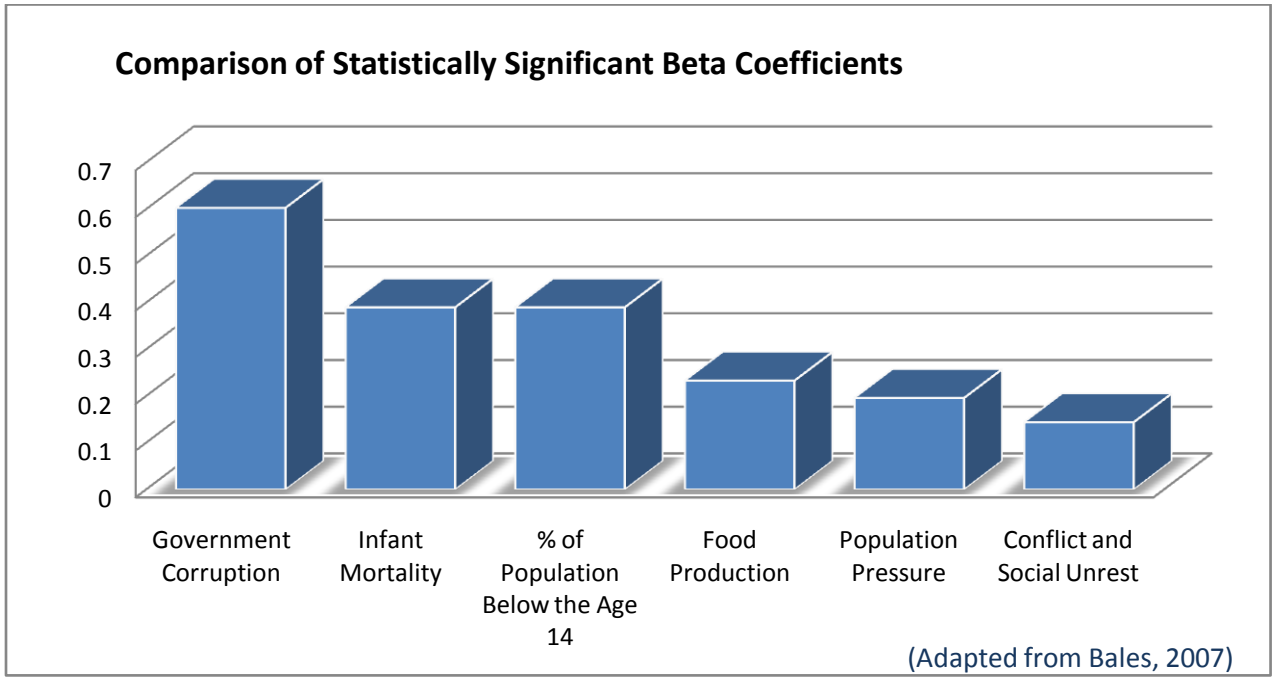
There has been an increase in research and data on human trafficking; though, as of yet, it is still premature to determine its causes (Lackzo, 2005). Despite a lack of inferential statistics, added inquiries assist in refining the push and pull factors that explain and predict the supply and demand for the trafficking in persons. Economic pressures, environmental conditions, political instability, and socio-cultural considerations are causal factors unique in geographical context. The factors of both push, driving migrants to leave the origin country, and pull, attracting

migrants to the destination country, have been characterized as "relating to two separate decisions made at two separate points in time[.] [O]ne focus[es] on whether to go, [and] the other on where to go" (Klenosky, 2002, p. 385).

Push Factors Driving Migration

The trafficking in persons remains legal in many source countries. For those that have criminalized the act, there remains an inability, or unwillingness, to enforce anti-trafficking directives (TIP Report, 2008). Moreover, migrants are increasingly at risk due to a lack of awareness of the issue. The pool of victims in the origin country is influenced by a complex interaction of push factors, such as governmental corruption, unemployment rates, population pressure, social conflict, and political unrest. All of these are positively correlated with migration pressure (Ebbe, 2008; Kelly, 2002). Bales (2007) conducted a regression analysis to determine which variables serve as the strongest predictors of human trafficking. The author relied on existing data from several sources, but primarily the researcher used resources of the UN including measures of economic activity, health measures, population profiles, and levels of conflict and social unrest. Bales (2007) compared 76 variables against estimates of trafficking from origin countries. The data yielded multiple statistically significant variables ($p > .05$), with 57% of the variance between countries explained (See Figure 1.1). While every case of trafficking in persons is unique, Bales (2007) found that government corruption, poverty, and population pressure are important push factors in trafficking. If countries fail to address these issues, the variables stated in the outset make a migrant susceptible to being trafficked. As a result, migration push factors function as predictors of origin countries for the trafficking in persons.

Figure 1.1: Strongest Push Factors Driving Trafficking in Origin Countries



As they face mass unemployment and a high cost of living, many migrants want to move to other countries in search of employment and a better quality of life. This is especially the case with women, since the availability of legal employment has also disproportionately affected them in underdeveloped and developing countries (ILO, 2002). Due to inequitable labor opportunities in developing and underdeveloped countries, women are often left to work in the unregulated section, making them vulnerable to the false promises of employment offered by traffickers (ILO, 2002). Another consideration, in conjunction with opportunity, is poverty in that it plays a significant role with the spatial analysis of the trafficking of persons. Quite simply, the degree of proximity to those engaged in the illegal migration determines the likelihood that an individual, or group, will be victimized by traffickers. The disadvantaged are more likely to seek the services of a smuggler than those living with favorable situational factors that promote legal pathways of migration. Environments that contain indigent and malnourished individuals are significantly at higher risk for victimization. In effect, a country's economic

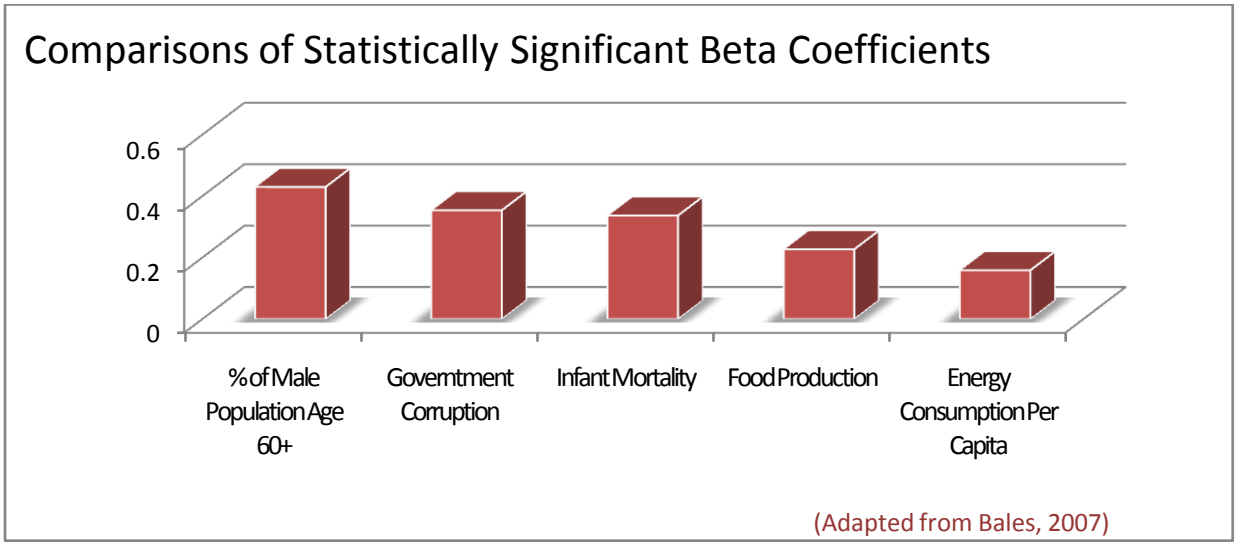
well-being, or lack thereof, is negatively correlated with the number of victims exported and positively correlated with the number victims imported through trafficking (Bales, 2007). This relationship creates a one-way flow of victims from underdeveloped countries into developed countries.

Contributors to the migrant trade that are unrelated to economic structures in the origin country also impact the migrant's quality of life and the decision to relocate. Culturally, it is frequently acceptable for a family member to work abroad with the purpose of to helping out financially (Ejalu, 2006). Likewise, young women may flee their country to get away from the cultural traditions of the country, such as an arranged marriage or to escape from domestic violence (Ejalu, 2006). Migrants also may decide to migrate simply just to be close to family or friends living in destination countries (ILO, 2002). Illegal migration may also occur if they have difficulty obtaining a visa.

The Trafficking Market in the Destination Country

Push factors in the origin country provide a supply of individuals with a desire to migrate, and the presence of pull factors attracts migrants and traffickers, to another country. The decision as to which host country is dependent upon the strength of a variety of pull factors relative to the destination country, such as a higher standard of living, religious freedom, education, or simply, enjoyment (Bales, 2007; Ebbe, 2008; Kelly, 2002). Bales (2007) found that several variables predict trafficking to a country (See Figure 1.2). The data indicate that government corruption and a country's economy are the strongest predictors of trafficking to a country, with only 16% of the variance explained.

Figure 1.2: Strongest Pull Factors of the Destination Country



While the reasons people migrate to a country may be a function of multiple and potentially dissimilar factors, the desire for higher standards of living is a major determinant of migration. The shortage of workers for low-skill jobs in destination countries suggests a potential demand for immigrant workers. This provides higher paying job opportunities than the source country (Borjas, 1989). When a country has a high demand for labor that its workforce cannot meet solely within its borders, workers may be internationally recruited to reduce the pressure placed on the job market. To regulate this competition, immigration policies in the destination country restrict the number and type of visas available, that results in a labor market comprised of a nonrandom pool of migrants (Borjas, 1987). Restrictive immigration policies place barriers between the high demand for employment and the strong supply of workers. This sets the stage for a lucrative market with the purpose of bringing the supply to the demand (ILO, 2002). With an abundance of qualified international workers, an immigration market in the host country emerges. This immigration market theory provides a framework for explaining the demand of trafficking persons, or what shall be termed, a trafficking market. Industrialized countries and numerous developing nations remain a pole of attraction to migrants guided by aspirations

deemed, by themselves, achievable in the destination country. A country with migrants competing for employment often has a market auspicious for recruiting unskilled labor or work within the sex industry that can be easily exploited. Due to limitations on the number of those who are legally able to migrate into the host country, migrants tend to rely on illegal methods of entry, which places them at this risk of victimization.

Similar to a migrant using a cost-benefit analysis to select a country for potential employment, a trafficker selects a destination country in relative proximity to the origin country that is optimal for the commercial exploitation of migrants. This is a threshold several countries cannot meet. While it may require a mode of transit that is more expensive, dangerous, and pose a higher possibility of detection, a trafficker may incur the risks and extra expense to travel to a sustainable trafficking market. These considerations have become less of a concern, however, through the increase of transnational migration routes which have come to make long-distance trafficking schemes much more possible (Kelly, 2002; Savona, Di Nicola, & Da Col, 1996).

Globalization has catapulted developing countries into the world's market. This increases the standard of living and contributes to the overall growth of the global economy. Globalization, on the other hand, is a double edged-sword in that it has created transnational terrorist networks (Schloenhardt, 1999; Williams & Savona, 1996). These roots are often used to transport illicit goods, as is the case of drug trafficking, the most lucrative form of organized crime. Similarly, migrant trafficking is one of the fastest growing criminal enterprises with profits only being surpassed by drug trafficking (Aronowitz, 2001; Schloenhardt, 1999). The trafficking of narcotics and humans are often intertwined, using the same actors and routes into a country where both will be sold as commodities (Bruckert & Parent, 2002).

As this phenomenon changes in the face of technology, it has transformed large criminal enterprises into manageable, diversified groups (Aronowitz, 2001). These "[c]riminal groups are adapting to the environment, new opportunities and markets" (Aronowitz, 2001, p. 176). Globalization has afforded criminal organizations the ability to expand their networks, to create transnational routes that link origin and destination countries. The transnational aspect of this crime creates a new complexity that requires the consideration of its international context (Williams & Savona, 1996). A comparative perspective of the issue reveals major variations among anti-trafficking agendas, especially concerning the criminalization of the act (Finckenauer, 2000). Further challenges in comparative research arise with differing legal definitions, varying proscribed punishments, and divergent methodological platforms.

Quantifying the Phenomenon

The clandestine nature of human trafficking creates a large disparity between the number of reported and unreported victims. This high dark figure is attributable to challenges in measuring a hidden population. Moreover, the transnational element of the crime requires a global initiative to collect and analyze trafficking statistics that many countries have yet to undertake. Methodological weaknesses and varying criteria for data collection threaten the validity and quality of current data. The extent of human trafficking remains unclear as estimates are limited by the availability, reliability, and comparability of statistics (GAO, 2006).

While human trafficking is recognized as a growing transnational phenomenon, a uniform definition has yet to be globally adopted (U.S. DOS, 2006). Ambiguous legal definitions, and a lack of anti-trafficking statutes, result in prosecuting trafficking offenses under anti-smuggling statutes. This creates an inability to distinguish incidents of trafficking from smuggling (TIP Report, 2008). Several trafficking statistics are conflated with smuggling and prostitution

incidents, making the number of cases involving human trafficking unclear (TIP Report, 2008). A country may also lack integrity in the trafficking statistics if it has either fallen short of adopting a comprehensive definition of it or failed to actively investigate trafficking allegations (TIP Report, 2008). These countries have few, if any, prosecutions of traffickers.

The inherent challenge of quantifying those victimized rests with the validity issues of data drawn from victim estimates. Many origin countries lack the resources to investigate and monitor trafficking and often have poor information management systems. Estimates of the destination country are often based on victim interviews, therefore there tends to be incalculable sampling biases of special populations that needs to be considered. In spite of these issues, a study funded by the U.S. Government estimates that between 600,000 and 800,000 victims are trafficked across national borders annually (TIP Report, 2004). This remains the most cited figure, despite the study's methodological shortcomings and unreliable data (GOA, 2006).

Chapter 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Before the establishment of U.S. laws specifically targeting crimes of human trafficking, traffickers were prosecuted under softer and less germane statutes. For instance, the White-Slave Traffic Act, also known as the Mann Act, was enacted to prevent the use of interstate commerce to facilitate prostitution or other forms of immorality (Free the Slaves, 2006). The Thirteenth Amendment established anti-slavery laws while providing the individual's right to freedom from involuntary servitude. While the Thirteenth Amendment and the Mann Act were effective in combating slavery, it could not anticipate modern-day slavery. In combining both the amendment and the act, this legislation "did not penalize the range of offenses involved in the trafficking scheme," and inadequately deterred traffickers (Stoltz, 2007, p. 317).

In the United States, legislative efforts to investigate trafficking schemes, punish traffickers, and offer restorative services to the victims resulted in the enactment of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA). Its primary purpose is to provide protection and assistance to trafficking victims. It also was meant to encourage international anti-trafficking legislation, and seeks to achieve these goals by employing a three-pronged strategy – prosecution, protection, and prevention.

The United States' Response

The practice of trafficking humans is not new; however, modern efforts to curtail human trafficking emerged alongside public awareness of the problem in the mid-1990s (Jahic & Finckenauer, 2005; Stoltz, 2005). The first step to addressing this issue was to persuade multiple stakeholders that human trafficking was a problem warranting government intervention. As anti-trafficking rhetoric gained momentum, "[c]oncern about human trafficking crossed ideological lines; it was not a liberal or conservative, Democrat or Republican issue" (Stoltz, 2005, p. 420). In 1999, motivated by the issue of slavery in Sudan, U.S. Senators Sam Brownback (Republican,

Kansas) and Paul Wellstone (Democrat, Minnesota) proposed the first U.S. anti-trafficking legislation (Stoltz, 2005). Similar bills concerning human trafficking were proposed in both the House and Senate. In recognizing that the existing laws inadequately protected trafficking victims, the U.S. Congress passed the TVPA to President William Jefferson Clinton of whom signed it into a law in October of 2000.

Prosecution and Treatment of Human Trafficking as Organized Crime

The TVPA relies on preexisting laws but diverge from prior legislation by providing clarity and focused definitions of contemporary slavery. The TVPA addressed the previous failed attempts by creating new definitions to crimes with the purpose of regulating the commercial sex trade and labor exploitation. The TVPA dichotomized human trafficking into sex trafficking and labor trafficking. It also defined a severe form of trafficking in persons as either one induced by force, fraud, or coercion to engage in a commercial sex act (TVPA § 108(a)) or the harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor services (TVPA 112 § 1589). The victims are often subject to involuntary servitude, peonage, or slavery. These acts are criminally defined and prosecuted under the United States Criminal Code.

The Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organization (RICO) Act further enhanced criminal penalties by enabling the prosecution of human traffickers as organized crime figures. Laczko's (2002) warning that human trafficking "has become a global business, reaping huge profits for traffickers and organized crime syndicates," paired with human trafficking being officially listed under the RICO Act (p. 1). This formalized actions directed toward enforcement to ensue. Human traffickers and smugglers have developed a multi-billion-dollar business by "creat[ing] sophisticated channels of illegal migration while exploiting those forced or willing to migrate" (Schloenhardt, 1999, p. 203). For this reason, migrant trafficking is increasingly recognized as a

form of organized crime (Bruckert & Parent, 2002; Schloenhardt, 1999). Trafficking networks may encompass anywhere from a few loosely associated freelance criminals to large organized crime groups acting in concert. Traffickers resort to other illicit activities to legitimize these proceeds, such as money laundering obtained from trafficking migrants, and also proceeds from forced labor, sex industries, and drug trade to name but a few examples.

To better reflect the severity of the offenses, the TVPA enhanced criminal penalties for constituent offenses from ten to twenty years; however, these penalties ring hollow if the prosecution of trafficking cases continues to be unsuccessful. While the number of those that have been criminally charged has shown a marked increase, the number criminally convicted has not. This lessens the deterrent effect on traffickers (Motivans & Kyckelhahn, 2006; DOS, 2006). While the TVPA (2000) has outlined criminal definitions and their sanctions, it has not established a national goal that reflects efficacy of the act or its enforcement. As recognized by the GAO (2006), "individual agency plans only address individual agency goals linked to agency missions—none of which is linked to a common government wide outcome for investigations and prosecutions of trafficking crimes" (p. 6).

The TVPA established agency goals, strategies, and organizational structures to facilitate combating the trafficking of persons. While TVPA may strengthen a particular agency's goals, it does not address the fact that different agencies are striving for a different direction. The jurisdiction for investigating and prosecuting these crimes is not the responsibility of one agency. Traffickers may be charged under several statutes enforced at both the state and federal level. As a result of this inconsistency, several agencies investigate and prosecute the trafficking of persons while others create special units to focus solely on trafficking. Agencies have coordinated efforts to investigate and prosecute trafficking crimes but recognize the need to

expand these efforts (GAO, 2007). Highlighting this deficiency, the GAO stated in its report to Congress that "the mechanisms that are currently in place to facilitate interagency cooperation on human trafficking do not address the greater collaboration needed for the expanded level of effort to investigate and prosecute trafficking crimes" (GAO, 2007, p. 20). This objective is especially important since no single agency can investigate and prosecute all human trafficking crimes.

Although the need for a multi-level approach has been recognized, it is not reflected in funding allocations. The majority of funding allocated by the TVPA is directed toward federal law enforcement. To examine the extent of the response to human trafficking, a study funded by the U.S. DOJ surveyed state and local law enforcement officers (Clawson et al., 2006). These data were supplemented with interviews of supervisors and managers at the federal law enforcement level. The survey included 22 states and the District of Columbia. Of the 292 individuals sampled, 82 were ineligible to participate because they did not have familiarity with or experience working trafficking cases. The sample included police officers (25%), state/local investigators (69%), and victim-witness coordinators (6%). The majority of the respondents reported that they first had learned of trafficking through on-the-job experience (48%), by training (27%) and task force participation (12%). In response to such training issues, the DOJ and Bureau of Justice Assistance established a program in 2004 to supplement funding to state and local law enforcement agencies. Partially funded by monies allocated from the TVPA, the Bureau of Justice Assistance has awarded over $17 million dollars to 42 task forces located in 25 states.

Task forces facilitate multiple law enforcement agency responses to trafficking in persons, as well as those involving NGOs. For example, the TVPA allocates funding to the Office of

Victims for Crime (OVC) to ensure support of service programs for trafficking victims. With the assistance of federal funding, the Coalition to Abolish Slavery & Trafficking provides education and assistance for anti-trafficking efforts to NGOs and law enforcement agencies. The Coalition to Abolish Slavery & Trafficking organized the first anti-trafficking task force within the United States, bringing together NGOs and law enforcement as one collaborative effort. In response to the high incidence of child trafficking, the Innocence Lost National Initiative was launched to provide a joint response between federal law enforcement and social services. This approach aids in personnel training, intelligence sharing, and resource allocation. Despite efforts to work collaboratively, many of these crimes continued to be investigated and prosecuted solely at the federal level.

Training for NGOs and officers at the state and local law enforcement level is essential to ensure that indicators of human trafficking are recognized. Adequate training of municipal police officers is a necessary facet of this endeavor; yet, it will pose an issue due to the sheer number of officers eligible or requiring training. When asked about their knowledge on human trafficking, more than half (57%) of those working for the Department of Justice surveyed, reported being very knowledgeable on the subject (Clawson et al., 2006). Twenty percent of the respondents did not recognize a difference between human trafficking and human smuggling. In terms of identifying and responding to cases, the majority of the respondents indicated no formal protocols or underdeveloped guidelines. The most noted barriers to trafficking cases were victim distrust (45%), lack of training (37%), lack of resources (38%), and lack of interpreters (27%). As proposed by law enforcement officers and NGOs, the five most needed training topics were (a) methods for identifying trafficking, (b) methods for interviewing victims, (c) methods for responding to trafficking, (d) understanding the TVPA and other laws, and (e) collaborating with

victim service providers (Clawson et al., 2006). Findings from this study indicate a strained relationship between law enforcement and victims of human trafficking. It also has a large portion of respondents that find it very challenging to communicate with victims (63%) and reporting from minimal to null cooperation from victims (48%).

Protection of Trafficking Victims through the Trafficking Victims Protection Act

The TVPA conceptualized traffickers as criminals, and with this realization, "the trafficked came to be viewed not as criminals, but as victims" (Stoltz, 2005, p. 423). Trafficking victims, as a group, are extremely vulnerable and remain fearful of deportation, retaliation, and incarceration (Clawson et al., 2006). In addition to an officer's need to overcome language barriers, victims remain wary of law enforcement's role in investigating trafficking cases (Clawson et al., 2006). To increase victim's assistance with investigations, the TVPA has placed conditions on victim's federally funded benefits with contingency upon their cooperation.

In spite of the TVPA's intent to focus on the protection of victims, the needs of trafficking victims are clearly secondary to furtherance of criminal prosecution. Highlighting this disparity, Chacón (2006) states that "the prosecution of those who exploited migrants frequently took priority over protecting the victims of the exploited" (p. 18). During an on-going investigation, victims are granted 'continued presence'. This allows the individual to remain in the United States to assist with prosecution (DOJ, 2005). Being temporarily a citizen, the victim is allowed to obtain legal employment and benefits; however, it is only temporary. Victims can petition for a T-visa, a newly created visa under the TVPA, which allows trafficking victims non-immigrant status. If this petition is granted, victims are eligible to apply for permanent residency, receive federally funded benefits, and petition to have family members relocate to the United States (Free the Slaves, 2004).

To qualify for this visa, the individual must (a) be a victim of a "severe form" of trafficking (sex or labor trafficking), (b) must comply with the requests of law enforcement, (c) be physically present in the United States as a result of trafficking, and (d) would suffer extreme hardship involving unusual and severe harm if deported (TVPA, 2000). The interpretation of these standards predominately rests with those who investigate and prosecute trafficking cases. While a person may be a legitimate trafficking victim, their situation may not be viewed as severe enough to merit protection under the TVPA. For instance, an illegal migrant who moves into the United States and then is forced into labor or prostitution does not classify as a trafficking victim. A downside to this process is that it is a subjective and lengthy endeavor. The process can "take years and is not suited to addressing crisis situations" (Free the Slaves, 2006, p. 32).

While it is estimated that 18,000 to 20,000 victims are transported across U.S. borders annually, the number of T-visas yearly granted may not exceed 5,000 (TVPA, 2000). As cited by Chacón (2006), "the TVPA eliminates the threat of deportation for up to 5000 'severe victims of trafficking in persons' where such persons are willing and able to assist in the prosecution of their employers" (p. 14). Despite this newly created visa, the TVPA has fallen short of providing protection to all those in need. Even though a great number of trafficking victims enter the United States each year, the number of victims receiving assistance remains negligible. In 2003, there were 453 T-visa applications submitted (DOJ, 2005). Of those applications, 41% were granted, 3% were denied, and 56% still pending. This discrepancy indicates a significant disparity between estimated trafficking victims and those offered relief by the federal government.

Regardless of the number of unknown victims, there remains a need to better assist those identified. Without knowing the crime's prevalence, and needing to rely on victim narratives, the true scope of the problem is difficult to assess and programs addressing the needs of victims are difficult to implement. The TVPA's reauthorization placed more of a responsibility on law enforcement to coordinate with victim services (DOS, 2006), yet there remain challenges in working with victims (Clawson et al., 2006). Law enforcement officers struggle with gaining the cooperation of and communicating with victims. In spite of this, many law enforcement officers feel confident with their ability to refer victims for services. While a primary goal of the TVPA relies on government agencies, there remains a need for NGOs support to obtain a comprehensive national response.

International Efforts to Prevent Human Trafficking

Since the passage of the TVPA, the U.S. has awarded over $500 million to assist the anti-trafficking programs internationally. These grants have supported 180 anti-trafficking initiatives, in over 90 countries. These programs have been funded by the following: the USAID, HHS, DHS, DOJ, DOL, DOS, ICE, UN, and the White House. Given that most countries received financial support from the U.S., the rate of anti-trafficking funds was calculated to better illustrate the allocation of monies (see Table 2.1). This data reflect funding over a six year period (2002-2007). Domestic efforts funded by the U.S. have been excluded from analysis. The countries that received the highest rate of funds per capita (13) have a tier average of 2.57, whereas the lowest rated countries (13) have a tier average of 2.45. Even though the average tier ranking between the highest and lowest funding countries are similar, the highest funded countries were more likely to be Tier 2, while the lowest rated countries were a combination between Tier 1 and Tier 3 countries.

Table 2.1: International Rate Comparison of U.S. Anti-trafficking Funds

Rank	Country	Rate						
					(Ranked Highest to Lowest)			
1	Albania	839.95	51	Ukraine	31.57	101	Papua New Guinea	3.68
2	Guyana	653.04	52	Serbia	30.95	102	Nigeria	3.57
3	Moldova	607.94	53	Bulgaria	30.93	103	Malaysia	3.39
4	Montenegro	508.34	54	Honduras	30.51	104	Canada	3.31
5	Belize	319.67	55	Congo	27.96	105	Oman	3.27
6	Mongolia	308.55	56	Bolivia	27.21	106	India	3.16
7	Liberia	218.84	57	Mexico	25.74	107	Argentina	2.94
8	Togo	169.91	58	Burundi	24.47	108	Pakistan	2.57
9	Croatia	159.42	59	Philippines	24.12	109	Chile	2.47
10	Suriname	136.87	60	Rwanda	23.5	110	Sudan	2.37
11	Bahrain	132.58	61	Indonesia	23	111	Angola	2.37
12	Bosnia and Herzegovina	119.55	62	Jordan	22.68	112	Finland	2.06
13	Cambodia	112.78	63	Morocco	22.15	113	Japan	1.99
14	Macedonia	112.09	64	Niger	21.4	114	United Arab Emirates	1.96
15	Lesotho	107.37	65	Thailand	20.95	115	South Korea	1.87
16	Gabon	102.85	66	Israel	20.88	116	Iraq	1.75
17	Mali	95.13	67	Colombia	20.29	117	Slovenia	1.58
18	Estonia	93.86	68	Costa Rica	20.03	118	Myanmar	1.48
19	Jamaica	90.81	69	Singapore	19.98	119	Malawi	1.31
20	Tajikistan	85.38	70	Guatemala	18.41	120	Denmark	1.08
21	Ecuador	79.39	71	Brazil	18.17	121	Algeria	0.97
22	Cyprus	78.1	72	Uganda	17.78	122	Venezuela	0.95
23	Zambia	75.82	73	Mauritania	17.14	123	Norway	0.68
24	Azerbaijan	74.67	74	Gambia	16.48	124	Slovakia	0.66
25	El Salvador	74.56	75	Afghanistan	14.68	125	Egypt	0.64
26	Belgium	72.6	76	Lithuania	14.22	126	Ethiopia	0.63
27	Czech Republic	70.54	77	Uzbekistan	13.96	127	Zimbabwe	0.59
28	Nepal	69.27	78	Ghana	13.35	128	Sweden	0.57
29	Georgia	68.77	79	Hungary	13.22	129	Austria	0.39
30	Benin	67.01	80	Madagascar	12.43	130	Saudi Arabia	0.34
31	Cameroon	65.68	81	Russian	11.84	131	Portugal	0.3
32	Panama	65.5	82	Burkina Faso	11.76	132	Poland	0.11
33	Equatorial Guinea	60.48	83	Yemen	10.61	133	China	0.09
34	Lebanon	56.53	84	South Africa	10.59	134	Germany	0.05
35	Paraguay	54.02	85	Uruguay	10.35	135	France	0.05
36	Peru	50.79	86	Turkey	10.28	136	Italy	0.02
37	Armenia	49.40	87	Kuwait	10.12	137	Cuba	0
38	Djibouti	48.84	88	Guinea	9.58	138	Fiji	0
39	Dominican Republic	48.36	89	Central African Republic	9.16	139	Greece	0
40	Nicaragua	47.95	90	Malta	7.87	140	Guinea-Bissau	0
41	Kazakhstan	47.90	91	Cote D'Ivoire	7.75	141	Iran	0
42	Laos	47.20	92	Kenya	7.6	142	Ireland	0
43	Kyrgyzstan	46.50	93	Vietnam	7.42	143	North Korea	0
44	Belarus	44.62	94	Switzerland	6.71	144	Libya	0
45	Tanzania	41.79	95	The Netherlands	6.06	145	Luxembourg	0
46	Senegal	40.32	96	Australia	6	146	New Zealand	0
47	Sri Lanka	37.14	97	Chad	5.92	147	Qatar	0
48	Latvia	35.12	98	Mauritius	5.27	148	Spain	0
49	Mozambique	32.51	99	Syria	4.74	149	United Kingdom	0
50	Romania	31.60	100	Bangladesh	4.19			

NOTE: Figures from the table represent a rate per 1,000, over a six year period (2002 - 2007). Grant data for this table was obtained from the DOS, G/TIP website, and population estimates were used from the UN Statistical Database. Countries with a missing population figures were excluded from analysis.

The USAID, an independent federal agency that has allocated over $15 million to help over 38 countries, plays a large part in coordinating international anti-trafficking efforts by facilitating anti-trafficking programs that target at-risk groups (USAID, 2004). In India, funding allocated by the USAID supports NGOs who provide shelter, counseling services, and educational programs to trafficking victims. Vocational programs serve to increase financial security to vulnerable areas. For instance, in Nepal the U.S Department of State has funded a job skills training program that caters to women. Several countries have received aid to launch awareness campaigns (DOJ, 2006). Media campaigns during radio programming have been initiated in Mali and Cote D'Ivoire, and Benin has been granted funding to create a child trafficking documentary.

Encouraging International Efforts with the Trafficking in Persons Report

The TVPA is unlike many crime policies since human trafficking is a transnational crime with far-reaching implications. In recognizing that domestic efforts alone are ineffective in addressing the causes of human trafficking, the TVPA has adopted an international response by assessing foreign anti-trafficking efforts. This requirement placed a responsibility on the DOS to annually report on countries of which are considered to have a significant human trafficking problem in the TIP Report (TIP Report, 2008). Since its initial publication in 2001, the report serves as a diplomatic tool to encourage international action and guide anti-trafficking initiatives.

Methodology of the TIP Report

The TIP Report includes information on countries of origin, transit, and destination yielding a significant number of trafficking victims, with a threshold of over one hundred victims considered significant (TVPA, 2000). Data were collected from embassies and consulates on trafficking prosecutions, victim protection, and anti-trafficking initiatives (TIP Report, 2008).

Additional information for the TIP Report was obtained through published reports, meetings with foreign government officials, and consultations with human rights and international NGOs. Only countries with available and reliable statistics were included in the report. This information was collected and summarized by the DOS's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, a division created by the TVPAs directive. The report was written alongside the Interagency Task Force to Monitor and Combat Trafficking, a newly created task force comprised of the Director of the CIA, the Attorney General of USAID, and the Secretary of DOS, HHS, and DOL (TIP Report, 2002; TVPA, 2000).

Minimum Standards Outlined in the Trafficking Victims Protection Act

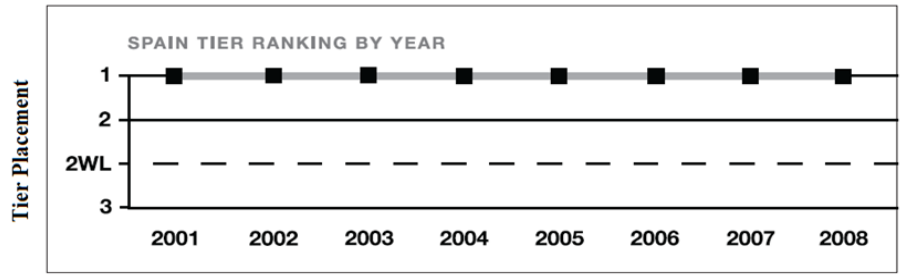
International countries of origin, transit, and destination of trafficking victims are encouraged to adopt minimal anti-trafficking standards as outlined in the TVPA. These standards consist of prohibiting severe forms of trafficking and prescribing sanctions proportional to the act (TVPA, 2000). The country must also make a concerted effort to contend organized trafficking by making a sustained effort to investigate and prosecute a trafficker, regardless of public office held, and assist foreign governments by extraditing traffickers. Additionally, the country must take initiative to prevent trafficking through such measures as public awareness and make an effort to protect and assist those who already have been victimized. Since human trafficking and migration are interrelated, the country must extend their efforts to monitor migration rates. The Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2003 expanded these standards by requiring a country to increase its anti-trafficking efforts from the previous year, or in response would be ranked under the Tier 2 Watch List. The country must also make public trafficking statistics.

Criteria of Tier Placement

The TIP Report ranks countries on a progressive tier scale based on the minimum standard requirement of the TVPA. Each year, countries meeting criteria for inclusion are placed in one of three tiers: those countries successfully complying with the minimal requirements (Tier 1), noncompliant with minimal requirements but making significant attempts to do so (Tier 2), and noncompliant with TVPA standards and not making efforts to do so (Tier 3). In 2004, the tier classifications were modified by the inclusion of the "Tier 2 Watch List." This list contains countries with decreased anti-trafficking efforts from the prior year, such as former Tier 1 countries now meeting Tier 2 criteria, or Tier 2 countries that have regressed to Tier 3 standards. The Watch List also includes countries with a significant increase in trafficking victims, countries failing to provide evidence of increased anti-trafficking efforts, or Tier 3 countries making an effort to be in compliance with the minimum standards. Another adaptation to the classification system was the addition of the "Special Case" section. This lists countries that may possess a significant trafficking issue, but are unranked due to unreliable or incomplete statistics (TIP Report, 2008).

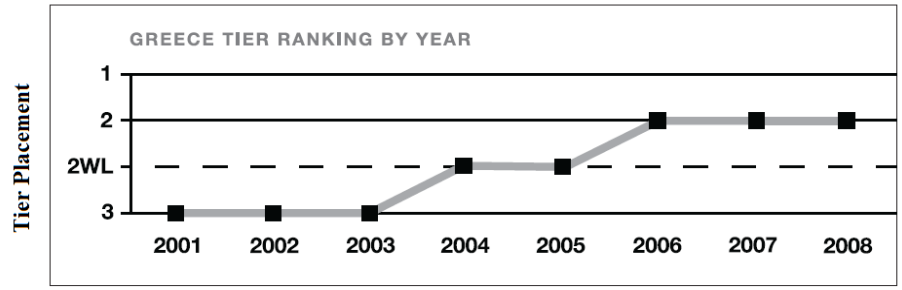
These rankings, however, are not permanent. Countries are re-ranked annually based on anti-trafficking efforts of the prior year and often maintain or increase in tier placement (See Figure 2.1 and 2.2). While the TIP Report aims to stimulate anti-trafficking initiatives, its role is not always evident in tier rankings. Failing to increase efforts from the preceding year leads to variable or declining tier placements (See Figure 2.3 and 2.4). Because of this, tier averages over an eight-year period have been calculated to result in the mean tier placement for each country (See Table 2.2).

Figure 2.1: Stable TIP Report Tier Placement



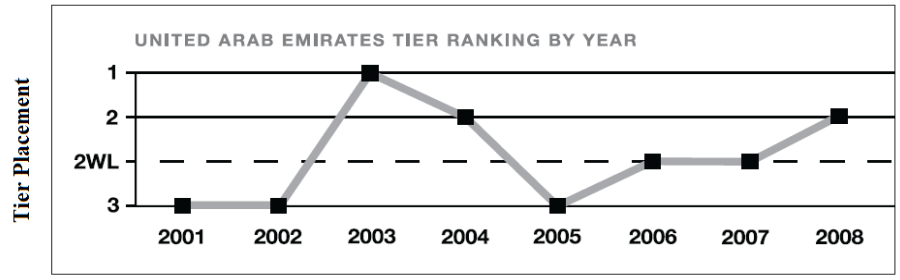
(TIP Report, 2008)

Figure 2.2: Increased TIP Report Tier Placement



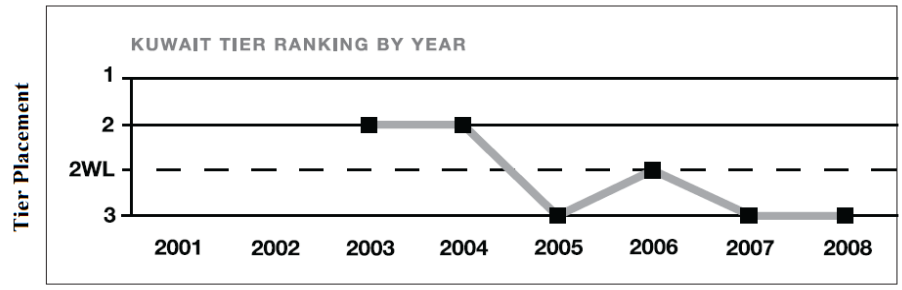
(TIP Report, 2008)

Figure 2.3: Variable TIP Tier Placement



(TIP Report, 2008)

Figure 2.4: Decreased TIP Tier Placement



(TIP Report, 2008)

Table 2.2: Average Tier Placement by TIP Rankings 2001-2008

Tier 1 (< 2.0)

Australia	Germany	Luxembourg	Singapore
Austria	Ghana	Macedonia	South Korea
Belgium	Guinea-Bissau	Morocco	Spain
Canada	Hong Kong	Nepal	Sweden
Colombia	Hungry	New Zealand	Switzerland
Czech Republic	Ireland	Norway	The Netherlands
Denmark	Italy	Poland	Taiwan
Finland	Lithuania	Portugal	United Kingdom
France			

Tier 2 (< 3.0)

Afghanistan	Cyprus	Kyrgyzstan	Peru
Albania	Djibouti	Laos	Philippines
Angola	Dominican Republic	Latvia	Romania
Argentina	Ecuador	Lebanon	Rwanda
Armenia	Egypt	Liberia	Senegal
Azerbaijan	El Salvador	Libya	Serbia
Bangladesh	Equatorial Guinea	Macau	Sierra Leone
Belarus	Estonia	Madagascar	Slovakia
Benin	Ethiopia	Malaysia	South Africa
Bolivia	Gabon	Mali	Sri Lanka
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Gambia	Malta	Suriname
Brazil	Georgia	Mauritania	Tajikistan
Bulgaria	Guatemala	Mauritius	Tanzania
Burkina Faso	Guinea	Mexico	Thailand
Burundi	Guyana	Moldova	Togo
Cambodia	Honduras	Mongolia	Turkey
Cameroon	India	Montenegro	Uganda
Chad	Indonesia	Mozambique	Ukraine
Chile	Israel	Nicaragua	United Arab Emirates
China	Jamaica	Niger	Uruguay
Congo, Democratic Republic	Japan	Nigeria	Vietnam
Costa Rica	Jordan	Pakistan	Yemen
Cote D'Ivoire	Kazakhstan	Panama	Zambia
Croatia	Kenya	Paraguay	Zimbabwe

Tier 3 (≥ 3.0)

Algeria	Fiji	Myanmar	Saudi Arabia
Bahrain	Greece	Oman	Sudan
Belize	Iran	Papua New Guinea	Syria
Central African Republic	Korea, North	Qatar	Uzbekistan
Cuba	Kuwait	Russian	Venezuela

Note: Data from the TIP Reports (2001 – 2008). Tier ranking was coded as follows: Tier 1 = 1.0; Tier 2 = 2.0; Tier 2 Watch List = 3.0; Tier 3 = 4.0. Final tier placements reflect an eight year mean. Countries not listed above are those unranked by the TIP Report.

Promoting the Adoption of Minimum Standards

Intercontinental cooperation is required to address push factors from the origin country and pull factors from the destination country. Since the TVPA's initiation, the United States has invested more than $500 million in international anti-trafficking programs to assist in drafting of anti-trafficking laws, strengthen investigation, prosecute offenders, and address both push and pull factors (DOS, 2008). The U.S. government funds anti-trafficking initiatives through the awarding of grants. Such examples of previous assistance include: aiding USAID to establish Nigeria's National Agency for the Prevention of Trafficking in Persons database, supporting the creation of multi-disciplinary anti-trafficking task forces in Tanzania, and helping the IOM's study on trafficking patterns between South and East Africa (DOS, 2008).

In addition to domestic efforts, foreign governments must continue to cooperate with the international community to assist in the prosecution of traffickers and the protection of trafficking victims. If governments fail to meet the minimal standards or make strides to do so, they will be classified as a Tier 3 country. Under those circumstances, the United States will only provide humanitarian and trade-related assistance. Financial assistance of any other form by the United States is unauthorized (TVPA, 2000). Furthermore, Tier 3 countries will face opposition from the United States in obtaining support from financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Gallagher, 2006).

Criticism of the TIP Report

The TIP Report as has received skepticism over its effectiveness as a policy, with particular scrutiny of the United States' use of sanctions (DOS, 2007). According to the DOS's TIP Report (2006, p. 15, emphasis added):

> All or part of the *TVPA's sanctions* [against Tier 3 countries] *can be waived* upon a determination by the President that the provision of such assistance to the government would promote the purposes of the statute or *is otherwise in the national interest of the United States*.

The TVPA also provides that sanctions can be waived if necessary to avoid significant adverse effects on vulnerable populations, such as women and children. In 2007, the President sanctioned only five out of the fifteen Tier 3 countries, all of which were already under some form of sanctioning unrelated to the trafficking in persons (U.S. Department of Treasury, 2008). The selective application of economic ramifications contradicts the rationale for drafting sanctions, since the purpose of these is not meant to be retribution, but rather a tool to modify international policy.

The TIP Report also has received criticism over tier ranking determination (DOS, 2007; DOS, 2008). For example, some tier determinates have been suspected of being political in nature (DOS, 2006) as certain Tier II counties "clearly do not meet the minimum standard, several among them *have not* been threatened with Tier III and the loss of foreign assistance that accompanies that status" (International Justice Mission, 2007; emphasis added). As of 2008, India and China have been on the Tier 2 Watch List for four years, yet have not been listed as Tier 3 countries (DOS, 2008). This is also evident with Saudi Arabia and several other Gulf Coast countries that remain as a Tier 2 and Tier 3 devoid of U.S. sanctions (DOS, 2006). Moreover, accountability is the intention of the tier classification system, yet the United States is a country that remains unranked (TIP Report, 2008).

Chapter 3. METHODOLOGY

Rationale for Study

The objective of this research is two-fold. First, gauge the effectiveness of the Trafficking in Persons Report as policy. For the past eight years, the TIP Report has served as the primary diplomatic tool that encourages foreign governments to adopt actions against the trafficking in persons, and this goal has been measured annually. A longitudinal assessment of the TIP Report will provide comprehensive insight into its ability to incite international action. Second, this analysis seeks to identify predictors of anti-trafficking initiatives by reviewing push and pull factors as they pertain to anti-trafficking efforts. It has been found that some countries have taken measures to reduce the trafficking in persons, while others have not. Understanding contributors to low tier placement will help to foster an evidence-based approach to funding anti-trafficking efforts.

Experimental Design

The TIP Report is in its eighth year of publication (2001 – 2008). The use of an interrupted time-series design will allow for an analysis and comparison of international anti-trafficking initiatives over the time period (See Table 3.1). This quasi-experimental design will also examine the effectiveness of the TIP Report on individual nations' efforts to combat human trafficking. The experimental group for this study comprises all the countries included in the TIP Report. The study's measurement is the annual TIP Report tier rankings, and each year's ranking is independent of the prior year.

In between these yearly measurements, measures are taken to increase tier placement through such efforts as persuading governmental action through sanctions, accountability via the tier classification system, and the allocation of funding. Yet, to truly discern which factors affect tier ranking, an exhaustive list of potential stimuli would need to be created and operationationlized

Table 3.1: Design of the Study: Simple Interrupted Time Series

Experimental Group:	O	X	O	X	O	X	O	X	O	X	O	X	O	X	O
	t_1		t_2		t_3		t_4		t_5		t_6		t_7		t_8

Time →

O = Observation / Measurement (Tier Ranking)

X = Experimental Stimuli

T_x = Time Point (Annually)

– a task that goes beyond the scope of this research. In light of this caveat, the U.S. government funded anti-trafficking programs will serve as the experimental stimulus. The amount awarded to each country, which is publically available from the DOS, D/TIP's website, will be totaled per fiscal year. Data will be used from 2002 through 2007, the most current year the data is available. Grant information FY 2001 was incomplete and excluded from analysis.

Research Questions

To evaluate the success of the TIP Report to encourage anti-trafficking initiatives and to explore predictors of these efforts, this study is guided by three research questions:

1.) What are the strongest predictors of anti-trafficking initiatives?

2.) What are the strongest predictors of U.S. anti-trafficking grants awarded internationally?

3.) Has the TIP Report increased international efforts to combat human trafficking?

Independent Variables

Potential predictors of anti-trafficking initiatives were selected based on a study conducted by Bales (2007) that found that government corruption, poverty, conflict, and opportunity are significant predictors of trafficking, and Danailova-Trainor and Belser's (2006) study that examined the effect of globalization on the supply and demand for human trafficking. While

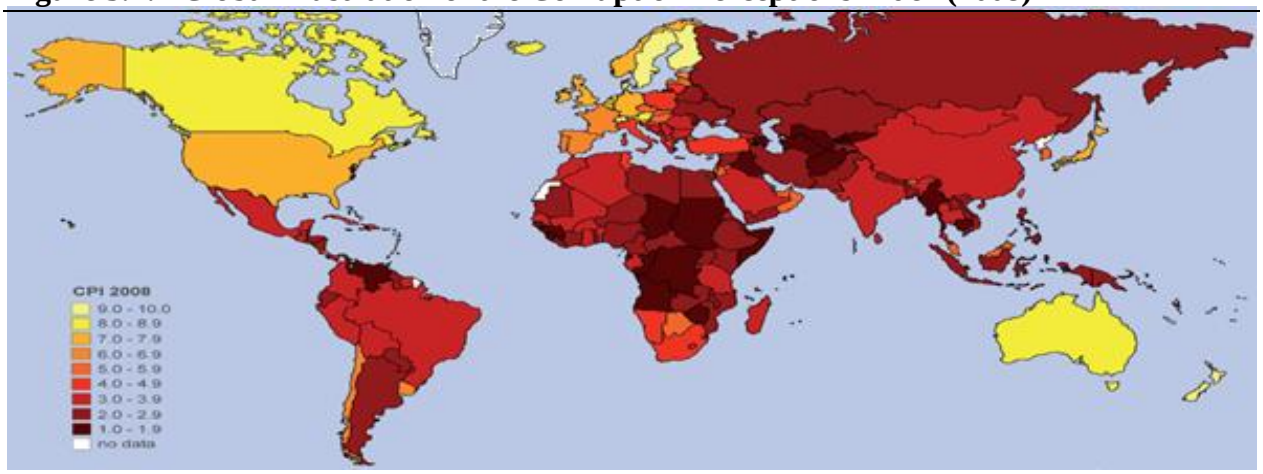
push and pull factors shape a trafficking market, they may also impact a country's efforts and ability to combat trafficking.

For this current study, ninety-two variables were selected as measures of push and pull factors from the UN database (N=92), which synthesizes existing data from multiple sources with varying methodologies and time periods of collection (See Table A-1). More specifically, the independent variables operationalized migration pressure (e.g., number of asylum applications and refugee status; net migration rate), the standard of living (e.g., unemployment rate; adult literacy rate; percentage of undernourished population; infant mortality rate; HIV/AIDS rate), gender inequality (e.g., gender-related development index; gender empowerment measure; unemployment rate by sex), economic well-being (e.g., gross domestic product per capita; export/imports of goods), government corruption (e.g., corruptions perception index), and rate of globalization (e.g., annual rate of gross domestic product growth; net production and consumption of electricity; telephone main lines, cell phones, internet, and personal computers per capita) for each country represented in the TIP Report.

The Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) score (CORRUPTIONINDEX), another key independent variable, will be obtained from Transparency International (2008). This score provides a measure of the overall extent of corruption in the political and public sectors over a two year period (2007-2008). Evaluation of the perceived extent of corruption in individual countries is done by non-resident experts, non-resident business leaders from developing countries, resident business leaders from evaluating countries, and resident business leaders evaluating their own country. In 2008, the CPI rated a sample of 180 countries on a scale of zero (highly corrupt) to ten (highly clean) (See Figure 3.1). Lastly, the incidence of reporting a country as an origin (ORIGINMKT), transit (TRANSITMKT), and destination

(DESTINATIONMKT) for trafficking victims were obtained from UNDOC, with each measured on a scale of one (very low) to (very high) (UNDOC, 2006). Data on trafficking market trends were obtained from the number of reported cases of human trafficking.

Figure 3.1: Global Illustration of the Corruption Perceptions Index (2008)

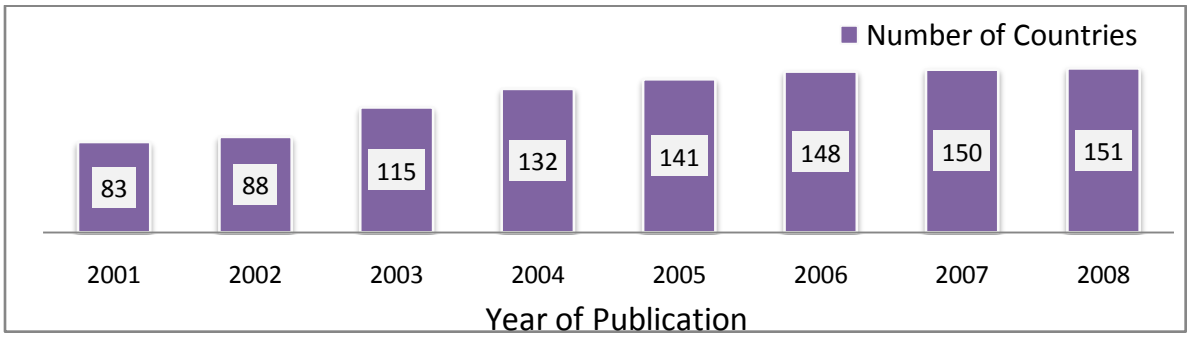


Source: Transparency International Corruption Index (2008)

Dependent Variables

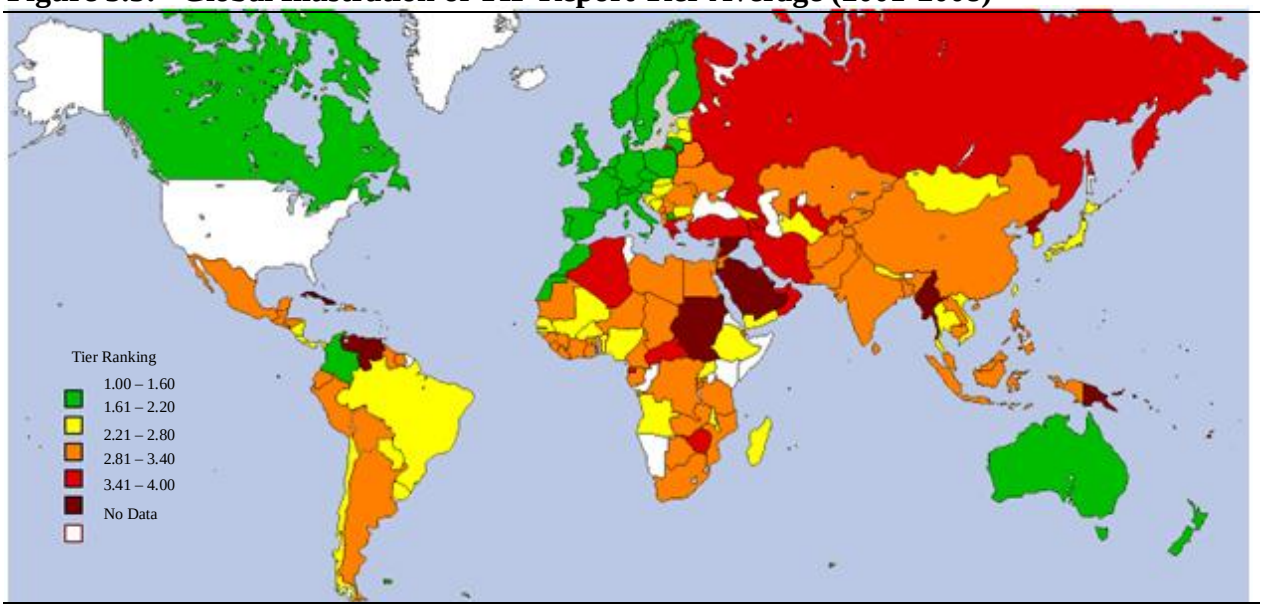
Data consist of a sequence of baseline measurements of each country, or tier rankings, taken annually by the DOS, and this number has increased each year (See Figure 3.2). Anti-trafficking initiatives were operationalized using the TIP Report (2001–2008) tier rankings: those countries fully complying with the minimal requirements are placed (Tier 1); noncompliant with minimal requirements but making significant attempts to do so (Tier 2); countries that display a high or

Figure 3.2: The Treatment Group: Countries Represented in the TIP Report



significantly increasing number victims or have failed to provide evidence of increasing efforts to combat trafficking in persons from the prior year (Tier 2 Watch List); and noncompliant with TVPA standards and not making efforts to do so (Tier 3). Tier rankings were coded as follows: Tier 1 = 1.0; Tier 2 = 2.0; Tier 2 Watch List = 3.0; Tier 3 = 4.0 (See Figure 3.3). Governmental efforts to reduce trafficking, or the experimental stimuli, are unmeasured.

Figure 3.3: Global Illustration of TIP Report Tier Average (2001-2008)



Note: Data from Trafficking in Persons Reports (2001 – 2008). Tier ranking was coded as follows: Tier 1 = 1.0; Tier 2 = 2.0; Tier 2 Watch List = 3.0; Tier 3 = 4.0. Countries in the "No Data" category are those unranked by the TIP Report. Final tier placements reflect an eight year mean.

Limitations of Data

It could be argued that the TIP Report tier rankings are a subjective assessment of a county's anti-trafficking efforts from a U.S. perspective, one which is swayed by political ideology. The fact that the United States remains unranked is also of notable concern. The number of countries in the TIP Report has increased annually, yet the dataset cannot be considered exhaustive or complete since there are numerous unranked nations. Data gathered from the UN and Transparency International suffer the same limitation. The operationalizion of independent variables also raises measurement validity issues as these measurements may be an inaccurate

gauge of social reality. Despite these limitations, tier rankings and measures of push and pull factors are the best indicators available to quantify the phenomenon.

Chapter 4. DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Multivariate Analysis

This study set out to determine if predictors of human trafficking impacted anti-trafficking initiatives. For this research question, ninety-two independent variables were gathered to operationalize these push and pull factors (See Table A-1). Next, to strengthen the predictability of the dataset, a bivariate correlation analysis was conducted to identify variables that were highly associated with one another ($p \leq .750$). The analysis revealed several variables from the multiple datasets used in this study that were tapping a similar dimension. As a result, the number of predictor variables used in the following regression models was reduced to thirty-six (N=36) (See Table B-1).

Linear Regression

From the pool of available independent variables, only continuous measures were selected for inclusion in the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression analysis. Twenty-one independent variables were measured at the ratio level; however, CONDOMUSE and PERIODICALS were excluded in the model run due to an abundance of missing values (N=19) (See Table 4.1). TIERAVERAGE, the continuous dependent variable, was multiplied by 100 to create more variability between cases, yet as to preserve the distribution. The OLS diagnostics, as indicated by the constant and R-squared (R^2=.713), demonstrate goodness-of-fit of the model (See Table 4.2). All independent variables in the model were statistically insignificant.

This analysis set out to determine if trafficking push and pull factors offset anti-trafficking initiates by identifying predictors of TIERAVERAGE. Based on the regression analysis, a country's anti-trafficking efforts are unaffected by the driving forces of its trafficking market. Intervening measures at the international level to combat human trafficking are undermined by a country's unwillingness or inability to taken on measures within its borders.

Table 4.1: Correlation Matrix for Trafficking Push and Pull Factors

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)
(1) ABORTIONRATE	1.000																		
(2) ASYLUMRATEORI	.216*	1.000																	
(3) CELLULARPHONES	-.102	-.361**	1.000																
(4) CO2EMISSIONSRATE	-.002	-.355**	.646**	1.000															
(5) EDUCATIONEXPENDITURE	.058	-.158*	.256**	.264**	1.000														
(6) EMPLOYMENTRATE	-.054	.152**	-.365**	-.341**	-.297**	1.000													
(7) ENERGYSUPPLY	-.305**	-.194**	.196**	-.016	-.060	-.060	1.000												
(8) FEMALETOMALERATIO	.146	-.033	.174**	.082	.092	-.321**	.065	1.000											
(9) FOODPRODUCTION	.095	.160**	-.329**	-.268**	-.202**	.271**	-.122	-.110	1.000										
(10) GINI	-.060	.030	-.137*	-.261**	-.193**	.115*	.153*	.021	.196**	1.000									
(11) HEALTHEXPENDITURES	-.128	-.188**	.254**	.204**	.218**	-.324**	.274**	.279**	-.284**	.035	1.000								
(12) LABORFORCEFEM	.204*	.010	-.185**	-.226**	-.054	.222**	-.056	.147**	.136*	.181**	.016	1.000							
(13) LABORFORCEMAL	-.079	.240**	-.376**	-.358**	-.235**	.754**	-.056	-.300**	.305**	.108	-.351**	.209**	1.000						
(14) POPULATION60+	.033	-.290**	.550**	.484**	.239**	-.511**	.280**	.401**	-.347**	-.110	.429**	-.088	-.564**	1.000					
(15) REFUGEEPOPRATE	.203*	.650**	-.313**	-.310**	-.150*	.055	-.184**	.034	.160**	-.051	-.175**	-.006	.095	-.198**	1.000				
(16) SCHOOLENROLLMENT	-.264*	-.334**	.331**	.348**	.137	-.193**	.244**	.038	-.257**	-.106	.200**	-.104	-.274**	.356**	-. 285**	1.000			
(17) TOURISTEXPENDITURES	-.084	-.436**	.520**	.541**	.151*	-.233**	.168*	.044	-.259**	-.046	.285**	-.145*	-.283**	.432**	-.376**	.326**	1.000		
(18) UNDERNOURISHEDTOTAL	.034	.370**	-.634**	-.641**	-.331**	.416**	-.170*	-.119*	.319**	.230**	-.350**	.246**	.429**	-.565**	.307**	-.394**	-.535**	1.000	
(19) UNEMPOYMENTRT	-.202*	.098	.008	.001	.075	-.204**	.004	-.041	.033	.000	-.049	-.286**	-.066	.023	.095	-.065	-.121	.033	1.000

Note: *. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed); **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
CONDOMUSE and PERIODICALS were not included in the analysis due to an abundance of missing values.

Table 4.2: Ordinary Least Squares of Trafficking Push and Pull Factors on Tier Average

Independent Variables	*B*	SE	Beta
ABORTIONRATE	2.151	1.780	.330
ASYLUMRATEORI	86.620	103.295	.304
CELLULARPHONES	.433	1.148	.181
CO2EMISSIONSRATE	.865	4.881	.051
EDUCATIONEXPENDITURE	-16.480	14.237	-.340
EMPLOYMENTRATE	8.869	18.705	.808
ENERGYSUPPLY	7.253	12.795	.202
FEMALETOMALERATIO	6.694	6.442	.475
FOODPRODUCTION	1.719	1.676	.304
GINI	-4.932	3.959	-.490
HEALTHEXPENDITURES	4.483	13.670	.120
LABORFORCEFEM	-3.116	2.518	-.315
LABORFORCEMAL	-7.812	18.541	-.698
POPULATION60+	-9.433	7.178	-.688
REFUGEEPOPRATE	3.371	3.985	.218
SCHOOLENROLLMENT	7.126	4.655	.552
TOURISTEXPENDITURES	-.001	.001	-.166
UNEMPOYMENTRT	2.851	6.383	.202
UNDERNOURISHEDTOTAL	5.382	5.566	.469
(Constant)	-1026.110	919.962	
R^2 = .713			

Note: CONDOMUSE and PERIODICALS were not included in the analysis due to an abundance of missing values.

Addressing the causes of human trafficking is not synonymous with increasing a country's anti-trafficking initiatives. As indicated by the regression analysis, they are separate issues which need to be addressed in a different way. This preliminary analysis indicates that supply and demand of trafficking markets do not predict tier rating.

To get a better understanding of how anti-trafficking funds are awarded, a separate OLS regression model was conducted to determine if trafficking push and pull factors are associated with U.S. funded anti-trafficking grants (See Table 4.3). For this analysis, the cumulative amount of U.S. grant dollars awarded over six years, from 2002 through 2007, served as the dependent variable (USGRANTS). The United States was excluded from the dataset. Once more, the nineteen independent variables from the prior OLS model were employed (See Table 4.1). The OLS regression yielded a statistically significant model (R^2 = .905). Of the predictors in the model, LABORFORCEFEM was significant at the $p<.01$ level, and ENERGYSUPPLY was statistically significant at the $p<.05$ level. It should be noted that as a result of the bivariate correlation analysis of the ninety-two independent variables, the measure 'employment-to-population ratio for females aged over fifteen' was removed from the analysis, as it was highly correlated with LABORFORCEFEM (r =.980; p=.000). While none of the other variables were statistically significant in the OLS model, EMPLOYMENTRATE (p=.051) and LABORFORCEMAL (p=.067) approached significance. All other independent variables were statistically insignificant.

The association between USGRANTS and LABORFORCEFEM (the labor force participation rate for females aged over fifteen) may be viewed as an effort to promote equitable labor opportunities. Since this crime disproportionately affects women and children, the trafficking of persons must be approached from a gender-rights perspective. Efforts to improve the status of

Table 4.3: Ordinary Least Squares of Trafficking Push and Pull Factors on U.S. Grant Dollars Awarded

Independent Variables	B	Std. Error	Beta
ABORTIONRATE	-7141.186	61031.668	-0.018
ASYLUMRATEORI	1911005.790	3474935.221	0.112
CELLULARPHONES	-40175.918	40303.630	-0.279
CO2EMISSIONSRATE	-149239.024	169217.058	-0.145
EDUCATIONEXPENDITURE	252255.407	458527.848	0.087
EMPLOYMENTRATE	1350184.522	632780.470	2.047+
ENERGYSUPPLY	-1006989.642	431343.673	-0.467*
FEMALETOMALERATIO	92627.100	220622.015	0.109
FOODPRODUCTION	-3226.297	56854.810	-0.009
GINI	-7417.001	139742.368	-0.012
HEALTHEXPENDITURES	-32303.830	514639.699	-0.014
LABORFORCEFEM	-288107.037	87436.964	-0.484**
LABORFORCEMAL	-1251157.310	629277.092	-1.862+
POPULATION60+	-303102.498	234337.030	-0.368
REFUGEEPOPRATE	-230809.719	140950.521	-0.249
SCHOOLENROLLMENT	-150129.382	163272.446	-0.193
TOURISTARRIVALS	-470.983	1033.252	-0.053
UNDERNOURISHEDTOTAL	-33003.510	195837.547	-0.048
UNEMPOYMENTRT	-30026.517	204881.441	-0.035
(Constant)	37368600.511	32525951.743	
R^2 = .905			

Note: CONDOMUSE and PERIODICALS were not included in the analysis due to an abundance of missing values.

* P < .05; **P < .01; + P < .10.

women and children, such as increasing job opportunities for women in countries with low female workforce participation, reduces the likelihood of victimization. Additionally, an inverse relationship exists between ENERGYSUPPLY (consumption of energy, Kg oil equivalent, per $1,000 GDP) and USGRANTS ($p<.05$), which indicates that the U.S. awards anti-trafficking grants to countries with a low consumption of energy.

Binary Logistic Regression

Logistic regression provides an opportunity to assess the impact of binary and categorical predictors on tier average. Nine independent variables whose values were rates, proportions, and scales were selected for the analysis (See Table 4.4). Since logistic regression requires a dichotomous dependent variable, tier average was recoded with a value of 0 representing all tier averages ranging from 1.00 to 2.50 and 1 represented all tier averages between 2.51 and 4.00. The logistic regression analysis yielded satisfactory model diagnostics (χ^2=23.570; *df* = 10; p=.009) (See Table 4.5).

The results revealed one statistically significant independent variable, ORIGINMKT, at the $p<.05$ level. This variable indicates, on a Likert-type scale, the extent to which a country serves as an origin for trafficking victims, ranging from 1 (very low) to 5 (very high). The positive relationship between TIERAVERAGE and ORIGINMKT suggests that trafficking source countries are more likely to be Tier 2 or Tier 3 countries (*t*= 4.446; *p*=.035). However, while trafficking victims emigrate from origin countries to destination countries, the two classifications are not mutually exclusive, especially given that the association between TIERAVERAGE and DESTINATIONMKT is statistically insignificant. Lastly, CORRUPTIONINDEX (p=.058), EDUCATIONINDEX (p=.090), and GEM (p=.051) approached significance.

Table 4.4: Correlation Matrix for Trafficking Predictors on Tier Average

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
(1) CORRUPTIONINDEX	1.000								
(2) DESTINATIONMKT	.476**	1.000							
(3) EDUCATIONINDEX	.548**	.415**	1.000						
(4) GDP	-.309**	-.288**	-.032	1.000					
(5) GEM	.642**	.462**	.562**	-.241**	1.000				
(6) GDI	.509**	.389**	.633**	-.135	.544**	1.000			
(7) LIFEEXPECTANCY	.653**	.490**	.752**	-.176*	.648**	.613**	1.000		
(8) ORIGINMKT	-.128	.220*	.084	.177	.187*	.117	.063	1.000	
(9) TRANSITMKT	.085	.397**	.289**	-.065	.124	.024	.263*	.342**	1.000

Note: *. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed); **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4.5: Logistic Regression Analysis on Trafficking Push and Pull Factors on Tier Average

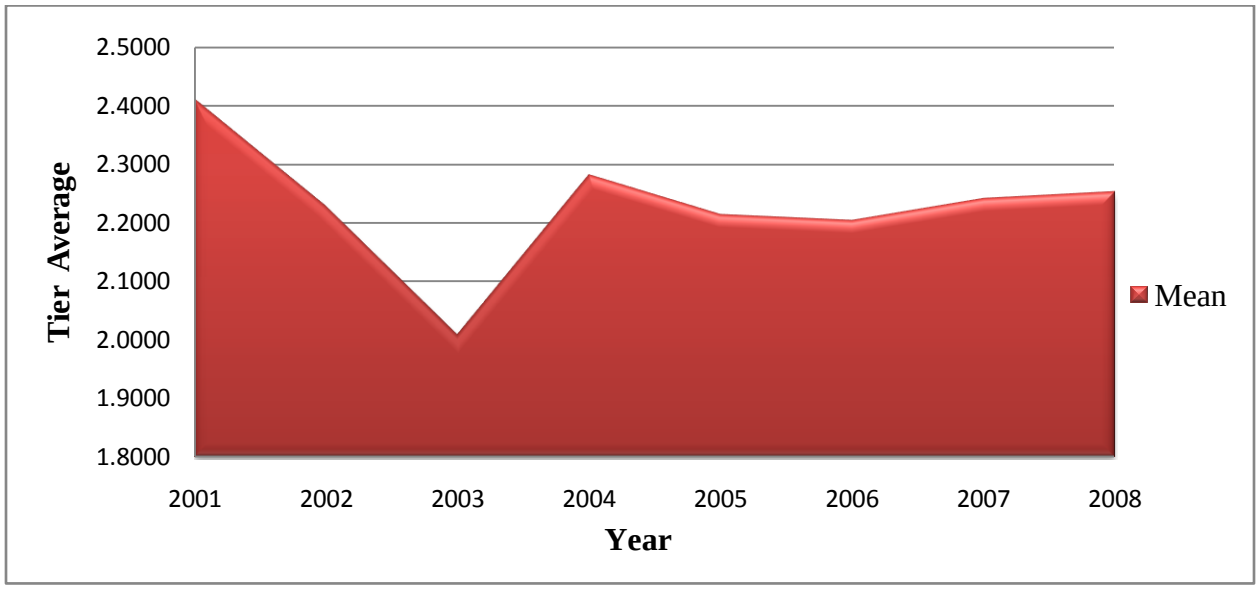
	Logit (B)	*t*	Probability
CORRUPTIONINDEX	-0.743	3.600	0.058 +
DESTINATIONMKT	0.112	0.050	0.822
EDUCATIONINDEX	6.784	2.869	0.090 +
GDP	0.338	1.672	0.196
GEM	-3.922	3.794	0.051 +
GDI	-0.562	0.057	0.812
LIFEEXPECTANCY	2.279	0.440	0.507
ORIGINMKT	-1.138	4.446	0.035*
TRANSITMKT	0.462	1.017	0.313
NETMIGRATION	0.056	0.149	0.700
Constant	-3.694	1.729	0.188

Note: Chi-squared = 23.570; *df* = 10; Probability = .009
* P < .05; + P < .10.

Time Series Analysis

A Friedman two-way analysis of variance was conducted to evaluate differences in tier average among 2001 through 2008. Only those countries with tier rankings for each year were included in the analysis. The test was significant χ^2 (7, N = 79) = 23.969, p<.01. Kendall's coefficient of concordance was .043, which indicates strong differences in tier rankings between years. Next, follow-up pairwise comparisons were conducted with a Wilcoxon test, a Least Significant Difference procedure that determines whether the observed differences between years is statistically significant. The test also controls for Type I errors across comparisons at the p<.05 level. The results indicate a significant difference in tier ranking between years from 2001 through 2004 (p<.01). While the Friedman test indicates that tier rankings varied significantly over time, this correlation is due to the drastic change between averages 2001 through 2004 (See Figure 4.1). After these years, tier average leveled off; tier rankings between years for 2004 through 2008 were statistically insignificant (FYs 2004-2005, p=.523; 2005-2006, p=.816; 2006-2007, p=.676; 2007-2008, p=.752).

Figure 4.1 Illustration of Tier Ranking Trends (2001 – 2008)



Finally, ANOVA one-way tests of variance were conducted to determine if U.S. grants influence anti-trafficking initiatives. Due to the temporal issue posed by the analysis, each ANOVA test reviewed the change in tier ranking from the year prior to the year proceeding when the grant was received. For instance, to review the impact of U.S. anti-trafficking grants in 2004, the change in tier ranking from 2003 to 2005 was reviewed. ANOVA results indicate there were no statistical differences between U.S. grants awarded and tier ranking, for all the years reviewed (See Table 4.6). It can be inferred that the U.S. grants to fund anti-trafficking initiatives are not impacting the criteria that the U.S. gauges when assigning a nation's tier ranking.

Table 4.6: ANOVA results with Grants Awarded between Years as the Dependent Variable

Year	Source	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	Sig.
Tier '02 to Tier '04	Between Groups	56.095	58	.967	.841	.718
	Within Groups	33.360	29	1.150		
	Total	89.455	87			
Tier '03 to Tier '05	Between Groups	40.924	68	.602	.727	.885
	Within Groups	38.068	46	.828		
	Total	78.991	114			
Tier '04 to Tier '06	Between Groups	60.849	88	.691	.831	.770
	Within Groups	35.779	43	.832		
	Total	96.629	131			
Tier '05 to Tier '07	Between Groups	39.587	78	.508	.542	.995
	Within Groups	77.204	62	.936		
	Total	97.617	140			
Tier '06 to Tier '08	Between Groups	26.841	45	.596	.833	.752
	Within Groups	73.078	102	.716		
	Total	99.919	147			

Chapter 5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Discussion

The study's main objectives were the following: (1) identify the predictors of anti-trafficking initiatives, (2) identify the predictors of U.S. anti-trafficking grants, and (3) determine if the TIP Report increased international efforts to combat human trafficking. Based on the linear and logistic regression, anti-trafficking initiatives were determined by the country's standing as an origin market for trafficking victims. This was the only predictor of tier ranking. One possible explanation for the finding is that those countries not making an effort to curb trafficking place individuals at increased risk of victimization. In contrast, another possible explanation may be that the determinants of trafficking source countries also hinder a country's ability to combat human trafficking. However, the latter explanation seems less probable since this research suggests that predictors of human trafficking are unassociated with anti-trafficking initiatives; rather, it is correlated with the trafficking market.

Furthermore, the findings indicate that the U.S. is more likely to award anti-trafficking grants to countries with a low female workforce. The significance of female workforce and U.S. grants may be an effort to target a vulnerable population, namely, women. For example, the Migration and Refugee Assistance funded a grant in Vietnam to support activities that reduce victimization of women at a high risk of being trafficked. With the assistance of the Vietnam Women's Union, the study provided on-the-job training for women and identified private businesses to employ these potential applicants. The findings of the study also indicate that there is a negative relationship between U.S. anti-trafficking grants and energy consumption. Previous research suggests that food production, energy consumption, and infant mortality are all correlated with a trafficking market—and are indicators of the economic well-being of a country. These trafficking predictors have guided the underlying theoretical framework of this study. As such, it

was expected that measures of push factors would be correlated with the amount of U.S. anti-trafficking grants. If the data were to support this assumption, grants would be viewed as a way to reduce vulnerable populations by increasing the economic stability of a country. Yet, this premise found only partial support. Energy consumption, an indicator of financial stability, was statistically associated with U.S. grants, whereas other indicators of economic well-being were statistically insignificant (such as food production and measures of inequality wealth distribution). The meaning of this significance is unclear. It may be an issue of the conceptualization or operationalization of economic stability. Thus, more research needs to be conducted to understand this relationship.

The final purpose of the study was to determine if the TIP Report increased international efforts to combat human trafficking. To this end, a time series analysis of the TIP Report was conducted across the eight-year span of its publication. The findings yield a statistical difference that is unlikely to have occurred by chance. When a follow-up test was conducted to review the change in tier ranking by year, the results indicate that the statistical difference was the result of changes that occurred during the initial three years of the TIP Report. The question remains of whether this difference results from a change in the DOS' measurement criteria or due to actual changes in anti-trafficking initiatives. Additionally, the purpose of this report is to encourage, and call attention to, the progress of anti-trafficking efforts in the international realm, with the expectation that global endeavors will increase yearly. This finding, however, was not the case. Overall, the data indicate that anti-trafficking initiatives have remained fairly stable, and additional measures are needed to spur governmental action.

Policy Implications

For an evidence-based approach to funding anti-trafficking efforts, a composite measure was created that combines the amount of aid awarded from the U.S., whether the country is an origin market for trafficking victims, and the scope of the country's anti-trafficking initiatives. To give the three variables equal weight, USGRANTS, one of the dependent variables in the OLS regressions, was used to calculate the rate of U.S. anti-trafficking funds per 1,000 (Refer to Table 2.1). The cumulative amount of U.S. anti-trafficking grants was obtained from the DOS, G/TIP (U.S. Department of State, 2008b). The rates were divided into five equal intervals, with a 1 indicating a high rate and 5 indicating a low rate of funds per 1,000 persons. Next, the origin market for each country will be ranked with 1 as very low and 5 as very high, a value that was based on incidents of human trafficking (UNDOC, 2006). Finally, TIERAVERAGE was used as a measure of anti-trafficking initiatives, but was altered to parallel the other measures, with 1 as high and 5 low anti-trafficking initiatives. Those countries with missing values, in any of the three measures, were excluded from analysis (N=105).

The purpose of the composite measure was to create an index of the countries in most need of anti-trafficking aid (See Figure 5.1). The higher the composite score, the more in need a country is for U.S. anti-trafficking grants. For instance, a country that (1) receives a low rate of anti-trafficking funds, (2) has a high incidence of victimization, and (3) has a low national effort to curb human trafficking will receive a composite score of 15. With the inclusion of a measure of U.S. anti-trafficking aid, the composite measure will identify source countries for trafficking victims that have received little, if any, funding from the U.S.

Figure 5.1: Recommendations for Anti-trafficking Grants via Composite Measures

Priority	Country	Score	*(Ranked from most in need to least in need of funding)*					
1	Belarus	14		Estonia	11		El Salvador	10
	Myanmar	14		Fiji	11		Ethiopia	10
	Russia	14		Georgia	11		Gabon	10
2	Armenia	13		Ghana	11		Gambia	10
	China	13		Honduras	11		Guinea	10
	Cuba	13		Hungary	11		Jordan	10
	North Korea	13		Indonesia	11		Lebanon	10
	Ukraine	13		Iran	11		Liberia	10
	Uzbekistan	13		Kenya	11		Malawi	10
	Venezuela	13		Kyrgyz	11		Mali	10
3	Algeria	12		Latvia	11		Moldova	10
	Azerbaijan	12		Lithuania	11		Morocco	10
	Bangladesh	12		Malaysia	11		Poland	10
	Benin	12		Mozambique	11		Senegal	10
	Bulgaria	12		Nepal	11		Singapore	10
	Cambodia	12		Niger	11		Slovenia	10
	Dominican Republic	12		Peru	11		Tanzania	10
	Guatemala	12		Serbia	11		Togo	10
	India	12		Slovak Republic	11		Uganda	10
	Kazakhstan	12		South Africa	11	**6**	Albania	9
	Laos	12		Sri Lanka	11		Chad	9
	Mexico	12		Syria	11		Egypt	9
	Nigeria	12		Tajikistan	11		Jamaica	9
	Pakistan	12		Vietnam	11		Madagascar	9
	Philippines	12		Zambia	11		Montenegro	9
	Romania	12		Zimbabwe	11		Nicaragua	9
	Thailand	12	**5**	Angola	10		Panama	9
	Turkey	12		Argentina	10		Rwanda	9
4	Afghanistan	11		Burkina Faso	10	**7**	Canada	8
	Bosnia and Herzegovina	11		Burundi	10		Chile	8
	Brazil	11		Colombia	10		Costa Rica	8
	Cameroon	11		Congo, DR	10		Paraguay	8
	Cote D'Ivoire	11		Croatia	10		South Korea	8
	Ecuador	11		Czech	10		Yemen	8
	Equatorial Guinea	11		Djibouti	10	**8**	The Netherlands	7

Note. Composite scores were calculated by adding related three measures, which were coded as follows: TIERAVERAGE*:* 1.00-1.60 (1), 1.61 – 2.21 (2), 2.22 – 2.80 (3), 2.81-3.40 (4), 3.41-4.00 (5); U.S. Funding Rate*:* 671.95-839.95 (1), 503.95-671.94 (2), 335.95-503.94 (3), 167.95-335.94 (4), 0 – 167.94 (5); ORIGINMKT –Likert-Type Scale: Low-1 (1), 2 (2), 3 (3), 4 (4), High-5 (5).

According to the composite index, the top three countries to direct U.S. anti-trafficking funds are Belarus, Myanmar, and Russia, as each county has a score of 14. The next countries in most need of funding are Armenia, China, Cuba, North Korea, Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Venezuela, with a composite score of 13. For Tier 3 countries under sanction, the U.S. has suspended all aid with exception of humanitarian and trade-related assistance. Yet, this should not include anti-trafficking grants. Even though several countries are under threat of sanction for failing to meet the TVPA's minimum standards, only five countries have continually been sanctioned. These countries are also the least likely to receive U.S. anti-trafficking aid: Cuba (U.S. Grant Rate: 0; Composite Score: 13), Iran (U.S. Grant Rate: 0; Composite Score: N/A), North Korea (U.S. Grant Rate: 0; Composite Score: N/A), Syria (U.S. Grant Rate: 4.7; Composite Score: 11), Venezuela (U.S. Grant Rate: 0.95; Composite Score: 13), and Myanmar (U.S. Grant Rate: 0; Composite Score: 14).

The United States needs to award anti-trafficking grants to those with a high incidence of human trafficking, irrespective of whether the country has taken initiative to curb human trafficking. The suspension of aid has been ineffective in motivating these countries to take initiative. Moreover, the United States can reduce the incidence of trafficking in origin countries, despite the recipients' lack of initiative, by awarding grants that target trafficking push factors. More specifically, anti-trafficking grants need to promote laws that improve the status of women and children, allow for equitable workforce opportunities, and ensure public education.

Limitations of Study

The findings of this research must be viewed in light of its limitations. First, the measurement of anti-trafficking initiatives needs to be addressed. As previously discussed, the TIP Report tier ranking may be a product of the U.S.' subjective assessment of international efforts. The U.S. has been criticized for modifying tier ranking to maintain foreign relations.

Therefore, the intersection of policy and political interest cannot be discounted. In 2004, the criteria for tier placement were modified with the addition of the Tier 2 Watch List, which posed another measurement concern. This may have contributed to the significance on the Wilcoxon test, especially given that tier rankings between years from 2001 through 2004 were statistically significant. More important, the DOS has reduced a complex phenomenon into a simplified, four-point scale. Tier rating is, in essence, an imperfect measure of anti-trafficking, given that such a nebulous scale cannot yield a valid indicator of real-world events. Additionally, the lack of variability in the dependent variable inevitably restricts the significance of the results.

Second, the limitations of the research design threaten the internal validity of the findings. With regard to the time series analysis, the experimental stimulus was assumed of the sample. This study failed to identify and control for spurious or intervening variables that may have affected anti-trafficking initiatives. Even though there was a statistically significant change in tier ranking between years, it may not be attributed to the DOS' TIP Report. The data used for this study was collected without consideration of the classical experimental design; therefore, a comparison or control group is unavailable as a basis for evaluation. Also, the sample size for the study varied each year, with some countries ranked in one year and unranked the following year.

The third concerns a criterion of causal inference - the cause must precede the effect. The figures for the potential predictors of anti-trafficking initiatives reflect those from the most recent year available, and may not necessarily coincide with the actual tier classification. This introduces the question of temporal order. As noted, this is particularly a concern in respect to the measure of covariation between the dependent variable, an average of values over an eight-year period, with a stagnant independent variable.

Implications for Future Research

Based on the findings of this research, several suggestions for future research may be proposed. The purpose of this study was to determine which factors affect global anti-trafficking initiatives. It is clear that while some countries have taken noticeable effort to reduce the trafficking in persons, other countries have not. In summation, a significant and continuous increase in international initiatives has yet to occur. This research has offered a preliminary understanding of predictors of anti-trafficking efforts. Out of all the push and pull factors reviewed, only one was found to be significantly associated with tier ranking in the TIP Report. Although, the temporal order between a human trafficking market and anti-trafficking initiatives is still unclear. To this end, more research needs to be conducted to identify factors that influence and predict global initiatives, and develop a comprehensive understanding of the causal relationship between variables. This will provide direction to spur governmental action and make an evidence-based practice to funding anti-trafficking efforts possible. Another course of action is to determine the validity of the TIP Report tier rankings. Until then, any empirical research that relies on its operationalization of anti-trafficking initiatives lacks face validity.

Appendix A: Comprehensive Index of Independent Variables

Table A-1: Comprehensive Index of Independent Variables

Trafficking in Persons Report (2001-2008)
- Country
- Tier Average

Transparency International
- Corruption Perceptions Index

United Nations Statistical Database
- Abortions per 1,000, Females aged 15-44
- Adult HIV/AIDS Prevalence Rate (Females 15-24)
- Adult HIV/AIDS Prevalence Rate (Males 15-24)
- Adult HIV/AIDS Prevalence Rate (Total Population aged 15-49)
- Adult Literacy Rate (Total Population)
- Adult Literacy Rate (Females aged 15+)
- Adult Literacy Rate (Males aged 15+)
- Agricultural Production Index per Capita
- Asylum Applications and Refugee Status Determination by Country of Asylum, 2006
- Asylum Applications and Refugee Status Determination by Origin Country, 2006
- Asylum Applications and Refugee Status Determination by Country of Asylum Rate
- Asylum Application and Refugee Status Determination by Origin Rate
- Births per 1,000, aged 20 - 24
- Births per 1,000, aged 45 - 49
- Births per 1,000, aged 30 - 34
- Births per 1,000, aged 40 - 44
- Births per 1,000, aged 15 - 19
- Births per 1,000, aged 35 - 39
- Births per 1,000, aged 25 - 29
- Cellular Mobile Telephone Subscribers per 100 Inhabitants
- Condom Use at Last High-Risk Sex, Females aged 15 - 24
- Condom Use at Last High-Risk Sex, Male aged 15 - 24
- CO2 Emissions, Average Annual Change
- CO2 Emissions per Capita
- Crude Birthrate per 1000 Population
- Crude Death Rate per 1000 Population
- Education Expenditure of Government, Total as Percentage of GNI
- Education Index
- Electricity – Consumption by Households (Kw-hours/mill)
- Electricity – Consumption by Industry & Construction (Kw-hrs/mill)
- Electricity – Net Production (Kw-hrs, mill)
- Employment-to-population Ratio, Females aged 15+
- Employment-to-population Ratio, Male15+
- Energy Supply per $1,000
- Energy Use per $1,000
- Female/Male Ratio of Pop. Women per 100 men
- Food Production Index
- Food Production per Capita Index
- GDP Annual Rate of Growth
- GDP Deflator, National Currency
- GDP Growth Rate, US$
- GDP Index
- GDP Per Capita, Current International Dollars
- Gender Empowerment Measure(GEM)
- Gender-related Development Index(GDI)
- Gini Index
- GNI per Capita-US$
- Gross Capital Formation
- Gross National Income per Capita (PPP International$)
- Human Poverty Index Value
- Infant Mortality Rate Deaths per 1000 Live Births Female <1yr
- Infant Mortality Rate Deaths per 1000 Live Births Male <1yr
- Internetusersper100population
- Labor force Participation Rate, Females 15+
- Labor force Participation Rate, Males 15+
- Life Expectancy Index
- Literacy Rate of 15 - 24 year-olds
- Literacy Rate of 15-24 year-olds Females
- Net Enrolment Ratio in Primary Education – Percent Females
- Net Enrolment Ratio in Primary Education – Percent Males
- Net Migration Rate per 1,000 population
- Net Primary School Enrolment – Ratio % Female
- Net Primary School Enrolment Ratio % Male
- Newspapers and Periodicals, # of Titles-Daily
- Newspapers and Periodicals, # of Titles-Periodicals
- Nutrition –Food Deficit of Undernourished, Calories per Capita, per Day
- Nutrition – Undernourished as Percentage of Total Population
- Personal Computers per 100 Population
- Population Annual Growth Rate (%)
- Population Proportion over 60 (%)
- Population Proportion under 15 (%)
- PPPUSDOLLRANKMINUSHDIRANK
- Telephone Mainlines in use per 100 Inhabitants
- Total Expenditure on Health as Percentage of Gross Domestic Product
- Tourism Expenditures in Million USD
- Unemployment by Sex, Rates-Both Sexes
- Unemployment by Sex, Rates-Men
- Unemployment by Sex, Rates-Women
- Unemployment Rate, Females aged 15+
- Unemployment Rate, Male aged15+
- Youth Unemployment Rate, Women 15-24
- Youth Unemployment Rate by Sex 15-24
- Youth Unemployment Rate both sexes 15-24
- Telephone Lines per 100 Population
- Tourist Arrivals By Region of Origin, Rate
- Refugee Population by Origin, Rate

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
- Origin Market (Likert Scale; 1-5)
- Transit Market (Likert Scale; 1-5)
- Destination Market (Likert Scale; 1-5)

Appendix B: Index of Independent Variable Labels

Table B-1: Index of Independent Variable Labels

ABORTIONRATE = Abortions, Per One Thousand Aged 15 – 40	**GINI** = Gini Index
ASYLUMRATEDEST = Asylum Applications and Refugee Status Determination by Country of Asylum, Rate	**HEALTHEXPENDITURES** = Total Expenditure on Health as Percentage of Gross Domestic Product
ASYLUMRATEORI = Asylum Applications and Refugee Status Determination by Origin, Rate	**LABORFORCEFEM** = Labor force Participation Rate, Females aged 15+
CELLULARPHONES = Cellular Mobile Telephone Subscribers, Per Hundred Population	**LABORFORCEMAL** = Labor force Participation Rate, Males aged 15+
CO2AVERAGECHANGE = CO_2 Emissions, Average Annual Change	**LIFEEXPECTANCY** = Life Expectancy Index
CO2EMISSIONSRATE = CO_2 Emissions, Per Capita	**NETMIGRATION** = Net Migration, Rate Per 1,000 Population
CONDOMUSE = Condom Use at Last High Risk Sex, Males aged 15-24	**ORIGINMKT** = Origin Market
CORRUPTIONINDEX = Corruption Perceptions Index	**PERIODICALS** = Newspapers and Periodicals Number of Titles Periodicals
COUNTRY = Country	**POPULATION60+ =** Population Proportion over the Age of Sixty
DESTINATIONMKT = Destination Market, 1=Very Low, 5=Very High	**PPPMINUSHDI** = Purchasing Power Party Rank Minus Human Development Index Rank
EDUCATIONEXPENDITURE = Education Expenditure of Government, Percentage of GNI	**REFUGEEPOPRATE** = Refugee Population by Origin Rate
EDUCATIONINDEX = Education Index	**SCHOOLENROLLMENT** = Net Primary School Enrolment Ratio, Male Population
EMPLOYMENTRATE = Employment to Population Ratio, Males aged 15+	**TIERAVERAGE** = Tier Average, 2001 - 2008
ENERGYSUPPLY = Energy Supply (apparent consumption; Kg oil equivalent) per $1,000 GDP	**TOURISTARRIVALS** = Tourist Arrivals by Region of Origin, Rate
FEMALETOMALERATIO = Female to Male Ratio of population, Women Per One Hundred Men	**TOURISTEXPENDITURES** = Tourism Expenditures in USD Millions
FOODPRODUCTION = Food Production Index	**TRANSITMKT** = Transit Market
GDI = Gender Related Development Index	**UNDERNOURISHEDTOTAL** = Nutrition Under-Nourished as Percentage of Total Population
GDP = GDP Growth Rate in USD	**UNEMPOYMENTRT** = Unemployment Rate, Females Aged 15+
GEM = Gender Empowerment Measure	**USGRANTS** = Total US Anti-Trafficking Grants awarded, 2002-2007, in USD

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