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The Dark Side of Humanity: An Empirical Investigation into Global Slavery

by

Christine Balarezo

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
Department of Government & International Affairs
College of Arts and Science
University of South Florida

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Keywords: human trafficking, sex trafficking, debt bondage, exploitation, human rights

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my *querido* Tío Lucho (13 June 1944-30 December 2006). I will always remember the tranquility and love you brought into everyone's life, and the extreme generosity and selflessness you displayed with others. It is an extreme privilege to present this to you as an ever-lasting token of my affection and admiration for having known one of the most honorable persons in my life.

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The Dark Side of Humanity: An Empirical Investigation into Global Slavery

Christine Balarezo

ABSTRACT

Global slavery includes human trafficking, debt bondage, forced labor, commercial sexual exploitation of children, and organ trafficking. Despite its official abolishment within the international community, global slavery continues to thrive in many parts of the world. The various types of slavery do not restrain themselves in a mutual exclusive manner; rather, they transcend and merge to create inter-connectedness within the illegal world of slavery. For instance, a person that is trafficked for the purpose of labor – domestic or forced – can also become sexually exploited and prostituted. This thesis discusses the nature and scope of the different faces of contemporary slavery, including human trafficking, debt bondage, and the sex tourism industry. While pervasive worldwide, human trafficking remains a major problem, especially in Central and Eastern Europe, the former republics of the Soviet Union, and Asia. Higher levels of unemployment, the demand for "exotic" women and the existence of well-organized trafficking routes and international criminal organizations has led to the development of this slavery. In short, human trafficking is said to exist in virtually every country of the world. The abundance of beautiful beaches and resorts, as well as the supply of cheap women and children in Southeast Asia and Latin America has led to a thriving sex tourism industry. In Central Asia and Africa, a high demand for manual labor, as well as certain religious and cultural factors, has given rise to the

largest type of slavery in the world: debt bondage. An empirical aggregate-level analysis using OLS regression is performed to examine why certain countries have more indigenous people (native to that country) who become enslaved than others. Overall, a lack of human development proves to be a major factor in determining the number of enslaved peoples across countries.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

> Imagine having to wake up at 5 AM to cook and clean for the entire family. This happened to 4 year old Naresh of India, who was enslaved as a domestic servant for two years. His father thought he had sent Naresh to a man that was going to "provide" for his son's future, but instead he was deceived. Naresh never saw his family again. He is one of the lucky few who managed to escape this situation, and is now in a child slavery rehabilitation center reclaiming the years he has lost. Naresh is currently trying to reconnect with his family (Free the Slaves 2006).

Slavery is a serious form of human rights abuse that exists in the world today. "[It] was outlawed in Britain and in the rest of the world in the nineteenth century" yet it continues to flourish, and in some areas, has even increased despite numerous laws (van den Anker 2004, 1). In fact, it was the first human rights issue to provoke extensive international concern (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights 1991). Although traditional slavery as one knows it was officially abolished long ago, it has continued to evolve over time to include more contemporary forms of exploitation (Kapstein 2006, 103). "Slavery is not a horror safely consigned to the past; it continues to exist throughout the world, even in developed countries like France and the United States" (Bales 1999, 3). Contemporary forms of slavery include the sale of children[1], the prostitution of children, child pornography, exploitation of child labor, sexual mutilation of female children, the use of children in armed conflicts, debt bondage, trafficking in persons (human trafficking), trafficking in the sale of human organs, exploitation of

[1] For clarification's sake, as defined by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, a child "is anyone younger than 18 years" (Gerdes 2006, 49).

prostitution, and even certain practices under apartheid and colonial regimes (Office for the High Commissioner for Human Rights 1991). Forced labor, sex tourism, forced or arranged marriages, contract slavery, and mail-order brides also constitute additional forms of slavery (Skrobanek et al. 1997, 149; Bales 2005, 148-150). Even traditional [chattel] slavery still exists in many parts of the world, including Africa.

A country may have internal problems which serve to exacerbate conditions that encourage exploitation. Such problems include unemployment, poverty, development (or lack of it), income inequality and corruption, conflict and political instability, and a lack of enforcement of anti-trafficking legislation (Bales 2005, 148; U.S. Department of State *Trafficking in Persons Report*). In addition, external factors (e.g., travel/migration, war/conflict, and natural disasters) can also play a role in fostering of slavery. It is important to evaluate which problems serve as catalysts in creating the necessary environment for people to become enslaved. Without properly identifying and then addressing the internal factors within each country that contribute to slavery, the challenge to fight it at the transnational level remains a significant problem.

Slavery does not only render itself to just one type of exploitation, nor does it limit itself within the scope of illegal activity. It is often intertwined with other illicit industries, including the trafficking of arms and drugs, as well as organized criminal networks. Different forms of slavery can occur simultaneously or in a sequential order. In other words, the various forms of slavery are not mutually exclusive. Someone who has been bonded (debt bondage) can concurrently be trafficked to another country for sexual and/or labor exploitation. A young girl can be lured into a false job opportunity by a perpetrator, enslaved (taken control of), trafficked (exploited and moved within or even across borders), and then told she owes a “debt” for the entire process. Thereafter, she is prostituted or sexually exploited in some way to repay the “debt” (debt bondage).

Even people who initially set foot to try to smuggle themselves across a border in search of economic opportunities risk the chance of becoming trafficked and enslaved. Opportunities for enslavement present themselves in the world today at any given moment.

Today, slaves are being seen and used as commodities, like economic tools of trade within the global market. The exploitation of such people brings in an estimated yearly profit of $13 billion (based on an estimated population of 27 million slaves) (Bales 1999, 23). The breakdown of each type of slavery will be discussed at greater lengths later in the research.

The Importance of Slavery

Slavery is a very important transnational (and domestic) issue to pursue further study in because it includes virtually every country in the world, and it targets the most vulnerable people. Anyone is susceptible to its deceptions. While women and children remain the most commonly targeted victims, men are also involved in the largest type of global slavery known: debt bondage. Perpetrators prey on exploiting individuals repeatedly in a manner that is not unlike an economic transaction. People are being used as commodities – traded, sold, and exploited in unimaginable ways. Sometimes they are literally disposed of when they are done being exploited. The global slavery industry is pervasive and spans across countries in an organized but illegal, underground criminal network.

Population pressures also create an unnecessary burden on the limited amount of resources available, leading to financial, social, and political strains. Space becomes limited, jobs scarce, and economic security almost impossible. Population growth only further exacerbates living conditions thereby creating an environment from which slavery

can flourish. Countries are already facing these problems, as evident in China and India, where the former country has enacted not only a one child policy, but also a one dog policy (due to rabies though). While drastic in nature, these measures realistically reflect the world today, and the effects factors, like population, can have on the living conditions of people.

Reports convey that slavery is not decreasing, but is growing at a rapid pace (Obokata 2006, 173). It ranks among the top three illicit international industries (alongside the arms and drug trade) in profits generated. Slavery, particularly human trafficking, intermeshes with other types of international crime, creating a greater threat to the security of a country, and the safety of its people. It also threatens the governance and political foundations of countries because “traffickers, especially organized crime groups resort to violence and corruption as a means to advance business” (Obokata 2006, 173). It is necessary to study global slavery in order to understand why and how this industry has flourished so much, and to prevent it from further becoming enmeshed alongside other dangerous industries.

The internal and external root/causes of slavery also pose significant problems within each country, as well as at the transnational communal level. If governments do not properly address the factors that foster the growth of slavery within a country, then it cannot be deterred or contained at the international level. It is imperative to study and understand the causes of slavery so as to effectively formulate policies for curtailing its spread worldwide.

Women and young girls are extremely susceptible to the sexual exploitation and indentured servitude industry. Men are vulnerable to the forced labor and agricultural sectors of slavery. Children are also becoming victims in many areas of the world for enslavement, including the lucrative sex tourism industry in Southeast Asia and Latin

America, camel jockeying in the Middle East, and forced labor all around the world. Innocent people are losing their free will and their spirits, and unfortunately, many live without the hope of ever regaining their complete freedom.



Photo: "One of the youngest camel jockeys encountered during the investigation. The distinctive Dubai skyline can be seen in the background. This Pakistani child, probably no more than four or five years of age, wears racing body armor and helmet while working in blistering heat at the Nad al Sheba." Source: Daoud Khan. 2005. "Riding for their Lives." Photo essay on the use of children as camel-racing jockeys in the United Arab Emirates. July. New Internationalist, Issue 380. <http://www.newint.org/columns/essays/2005/07/01/camel-jockies/.>

Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research is to illuminate what causes slavery to flourish in some countries and not in others through the use of an empirical analytical technique. To date, the majority of the research has focused on selected countries – particularly in Asia and Europe - with an overall lack of qualitative analyses and models of the different types of slavery. Slavery scholar, Kevin Bales' statistical model does provide some

understanding of the field; however, his empirical research leaves much to be desired. Only a number of factors are discussed within his model, and do not provide for a holistic approach to explaining slavery worldwide.

By using available data – the estimated average number of slaves in each country – it is possible to provide for a better understanding of the slavery field. This provides the researcher the tools needed to perform a quantitative analysis, and allows the construction of possible solutions to the problem. The use of such estimates therefore offers a glimpse into the slavery industry by allowing researchers to create methods for designing models that could better predict slavery, and the factors that give rise to it.

The author's contribution to the field of contemporary slavery is to assess what is known to be important in predicting slavery, and using available data to create a statistical model capable of analyzing multiple factors at once. OLS regression analysis allows the researcher to evaluate the impact of several explanatory variables simultaneously (Johnson and Reynolds 2005, 372). Although qualitative research can be rich in detail, empirical analyses allows the researcher to determine which of the explanatory variables (factors) are important (statistically significant) in explaining instances of slavery. Through a statistical analysis, factors more likely to contribute to the growth of slavery are illuminated. By introducing new variables into a model, possible discoveries are made, which can result in positive changes in policymaking.

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis will focus on the nature of contemporary global slavery. The emphasis will be on indigenous (native) people becoming enslaved within their own country or out of their country – not foreigners brought into a particular country. For

example, when looking at Thailand, only Thais will be discussed in terms of their enslavement, whether in Thailand or in Japan.

Chapter 2 discusses how slavery is defined, the slave population, the evolution of contemporary slavery, and the main differences between traditional versus contemporary slavery. In addition, certain factors (not limited to these) that foster slavery are discussed, including: political instability, travel/migration, poverty, corruption, and human deception. Despite numerous socioeconomic, political, cultural, and religious factors that contribute to the growth of slavery around the world, these factors are identified throughout the literature as primary catalysts through which people become enslaved. A statistical analysis carried out by Kevin Bales also highlights how certain factors, especially corruption, play a role in the enslavement of people.

A literature review is conducted on the existing research of contemporary global slavery including (but not limited to) human trafficking (Chapter 3), debt bondage (Chapter 4), the sex tourism industry (Chapter 5), and other types of slavery (Chapter 6). Chapter 3 defines human trafficking, discusses the vast estimates of the number of people trafficked worldwide, the differences between human trafficking and smuggling, the processes and stages of trafficking, and finally, where this form of slavery exists. Chapter 4 also discusses the nature of debt bondage, the total bonded population in the world, the countries where it primarily exists, and the interconnectedness of debt bondage and sexual exploitation. Chapter 5 discusses sex tourism in terms of both adults and minors, the estimated number of people trapped within the industry, and the major countries it exists in. In addition, due to the sexual nature of this form of slavery, the sexual exploitation of children is also discussed within the sex tourism chapter. Finally, Chapter 6 discusses other forms of slavery in the world today, including organ trafficking, the exploitation of children for forced labor, cult slavery, and illegal adoption.

The literature review serves to make the reader aware of the nature and scope of the three major types of slavery discussed in the thesis, as well as other forms.

In Chapter 7, the dependent variable and the six independent variables – human development, unemployment, poverty, corruption, compliance with the anti-trafficking act, and political instability – are discussed in detail, including how each is coded, what data is used, and the statistical techniques employed.

Using the estimated average number of slaves per country as the dependent variable, six hypotheses are tested in relation to the factors that create the most hospitable environment for the enslavement of people all around the world. Of particular interest is discovering whether human development, unemployment, poverty, corruption, the adherence of a country's government to the *TVPA of 2000* guidelines, and/or political instability contribute to the creation of an environment for enslavement. According to the literature review, these are identified as important factors in understanding why some people become enslaved, and it is important to determine if these factors have the same impact on the growth of slavery worldwide. Following is a summation of the hypothesized relationships:

> H1: As the human development index increases (measured as the well-being of a person's life) within a country, the number of people from that country who are enslaved decreases. In general, the greater the well-being of a person's life (higher life expectancy, higher educational attainment, and greater income), the less likely he/she is to become a victim of slavery.
>
> H2: As the level of unemployment increases within a country, the number of people from that country who are enslaved increases. When people are without employment and are desperate for income, they are highly susceptible to become victims of slavery.
>
> H3: As the level of poverty increases in a country, the number of people from that country who are enslaved increases. When conditions of poverty arise -whether people cannot afford to eat, receive medical treatment, or pay their household bills – it creates the susceptibility to become enslaved. Sometimes in extreme situations, people take drastic measures and unexpectedly enslave themselves or become enslaved.
>
> H4: As government corruption increases within a country, the number of people from that country who are enslaved increases. The more

governmental officials are involved in the slavery industry – whether to procure, buy, sell, or assist traffickers – the more likely that respective country's people are to become enslaved. Instead of deterring and fighting slavery, government corruption fosters such an industry and creates the necessary environment for slavery to flourish.

H5: As the effectiveness of combating trafficking increases in a country, the number of people from that country who are enslaved decreases. A negative relationship is expected because a country's recognition of trafficking or any type of slavery does not necessarily yield a decrease in the number of people those enslaved.

H6: As political instability increases within a country, the number of people from that country who are enslaved increases. When a country is unstable, or its governing structure weak, there is a greater vulnerability for people to become targeted for slavery.

An empirical aggregate-level analysis (state-by-state) is performed and then evaluated to discover which factors are statistically significantly related to the enslavement of people all around the world. Ordinary least squares (OLS) regression is utilized in the cross-national model. Data in this investigation is derived from the CIA World Factbook, the U.S. Department of State's *Trafficking in Persons Report 2002*, Transparency International, the Human Development Report 2000 (United Nations Development Programme), and Kevin Bales' *Understanding Global Slavery* (2005).

Chapter 8 then examines the results of the statistical analysis in detail, and looks at which variable(s) proved to be statistically significant and which did not. In addition, a section on diagnostics brings to light several complicating factors this model faces (e.g., lack of linearity between the dependent variable and independent variables and multicollinearity), limitations within the statistical research (e.g., missing cases and a non-normal distribution), and why the analysis yields the results that it did.

Chapter 9 explores the limitations the thesis faces in terms of scholarly research, including a lack of comprehensive data, a lack of universal consensus on defining slavery, and the problem with unidentified populations (those individuals that remain concealed within the illicit industry of slavery). Finally, Chapter 10 concludes the research with the author's contribution to the existing literature, a summary of the

findings, and possible avenues for future research.

In the next chapter, slavery is introduced, with a definition, the number of people enslaved in the world, the evolution of contemporary slavery, and the differences between traditional and contemporary slavery. Five factors which have been proven to foster the growth of global slavery are also discussed: political stability, travel/migration, poverty, corruption, and human deception. Although this list is not limited to these five factors, time constraints do not permit for further detail. Previous research on the four factors that have statistically been proven to foster the growth of slavery will also be discussed briefly.

CHAPTER TWO

EXPLAINING GLOBAL SLAVERY

Numerous socioeconomic, political, cultural, and religious factors have contributed to the growth of contemporary slavery around the world. Several important ones include: poverty, lack of employment, an uneducated population, civil unrest, political instability, internal armed conflicts, government corruption, natural disasters, population pressures, and human deception (Skrobanek et. al 1997, 139; Kempadoo 2005, 7; Gerdes 2006, 133-134; Parrot and Cummings 2006, 115). In addition, "…illiteracy, the lack of access to economic and political power, discrimination toward girl child[ren]" greatly contribute to slavery, particular human trafficking (Survivor's Rights International). Apart from poverty and violence, certain regions like Latin America, may have a tendency to experience gender inequality and a general indifference towards woman and children that fuel such slavery as human trafficking (Langberg 2005, 133). Countries experience these factors to a greater or lesser extent; some factors are more prevalent in certain regions than others. Following is a brief discussion of five significant factors that create a hospitable environment for slavery to thrive. Note that the demand side of factors that foster slavery is not discussed due to limited scope and available literature. First, slavery will be introduced, with a definition, the number of people enslaved in the world, the evolution of contemporary slavery, and the differences between traditional and contemporary slavery.

Slavery Defined

Slavery is "the total control of one person by another for the purpose of economic exploitation" (Bales 1999, 6). According to Anti-Slavery International, a slave is "forced to work – through mental or physical threat; owned or controlled by an 'employer' usually through mental or physical abuse or threatened abuse; dehumanized, treated as a commodity or brought and sold as 'property;' physically constrained or has restrictions placed on his/her freedom of movement" (van den Anker 2004, 18). The Slavery Convention of 1926 (article 1(1)), defines slavery as "the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the power attaching to the right of ownership are exercised" (Obokata 2006, 12). These definitions demonstrate a key component of slavery: control and the use of violence. Historically, traditional slavery entailed complete ownership and legal control over a person; contemporary slavery does not. Today, slavery is illegal everywhere, yet people continue to enslave others. Contemporary slaveholders do "not have legal ownership [which] is an improvement because they get total control without any responsibility for what they own" (Bales 1999, 5). In other words, in what can be compared to renting an apartment, if your name is not on the lease, then you do not have any responsibility for damages incurred while living in the apartment. With slavery, if there is no legal document detailing ownership, than the slaveowner is not held responsible for the slave. It is for this reason that a leading expert on slavery, Kevin Bales, has coined the term slaveholder instead of using slaveowner.

The Slave Population

Today, estimates of the number of slaves in the world are at 27 million (Bales 1999, 8; Bales 2004, 4). Other slavery and human rights advocates believe the estimate to be as high as 200 million (Bales 1999, 8; Bales 2004, 4; van den Anker 2004, 18;

Bales 2005, 4; CAST 2005). Debt bondage (bonded labor) accounts for the largest form of slavery, with about 15-20 million people, concentrated mainly in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal. Although sexual exploitation receives greater attention, debt bondage is more widespread. The majority of slaves work in the agricultural sector, not in the sex industry (Bales 1999, 9). Approximately "…80% of today's slaves on the global market are female, and up to 50% are under age 18 […] spanning 127 countries to be exploited in 137 countries" (Kapstein 2006, 105). Both types of slavery will be discussed at greater lengths later in the research.

The Evolution of Contemporary Slavery

Kevin Bales theorizes that three primary factors have led to a shift from traditional to contemporary slavery. First, following Word War II, the world population "has almost tripled, increasing from about 2 billion to more than 5.7 billion …" (Bales 1999, 12; Bales 2004, 7-8). The countries that received the most growth are also where slavery most often exhibits itself, including Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent, Africa, and the Arab countries (Bales 1999, 12). Tremendous growth has only exacerbated the socioeconomic conditions of these countries, where resources are already limited. Children under the age of fifteen make up nearly fifty percent of the population of some of these countries, including Uganda, Chad, Mali, Niger, Yemen, and Burkina Faso. However, this should not distort the fact that slavery exits in virtually every country.

Second, these regions simultaneously experienced "rapid social and economic change," which only further aggravated inequality among the wealthy elites and the impoverished segments of society (Bales 1999, 12; Bales 2004, 7-8). The abundance of available people makes slavery a cheap and short-term investment, almost "like buying

an inexpensive bicycle or a cheap computer" (Bales 1999, 14). Slaveholders do not have to think much about investing in people, while at the same time increasing their potential earnings with this new disposability. "Today slaves cost so little that it is not worth the hassle of securing permanent, 'legal' ownership. Slaves are disposable" (Bales 1999, 14).

Finally, government corruption has played a central role in the emergence and evolvement of contemporary slavery (Bales 2004, 7-8; Bales 2005, 16). Those who hold the power – government officials, police, security, law enforcement officials, and judiciary officials – are often involved in the slavery industry, essentially encouraging the trade to develop and continue.

There are varying reasons why slavery has persisted through time, and why it has evolved into so many disparaging and repulsive forms. "Being poor, homeless, a refugee, or abandoned can all lead to the desperation that opens the door to slavery, making it easy for the slaver[holder] to lay an attractive trap" (Bales 1999, 32). In fact, poverty creates the most favorable environment for slavery to thrive on. Five other factors will be discussed in Chapter 2 to illuminate how they play a role in fostering the growth of slavery.

Traditional versus Contemporary Slavery

The main difference between traditional (old) and contemporary (new) slavery is that legal ownership is no longer necessary. People today are cheaper and available in greater abundance than they have ever been. Individuals can be purchased for as little as $10.00 (and free for those kidnapped) (Bales 2004, 5). Moreover, they are usually no longer kept in long-term exploitative positions; rather, they are seen as short-term and disposable tools. Lastly, while traditional slavery emphasized ethnic differences,

contemporary slavery does not discriminate against anyone. There are exceptions in particular cultures, however, where religion and culture play a role (Bales 2005, 9).

In addition to these differences, contemporary slavery also includes three key factors: violence, length of enslavement, and control. Violence is present in all forms of slavery, and is essentially used to maintain control of the slave (Bales 2005, 9). It ranges from physical abuse and hitting, to outright rape and even murder. Second, the length of employment is usually short-term, lasting anywhere from ten weeks to ten years. Some victims, if lucky, can escape their slavery. Finally, people completely lose the ability to act according to their free will when they are enslaved. They no longer have the freedom to make their own decisions and are subservient to the slaveholder (Bales 1999, 19; Bales 2004, 4-5; Obokata 2006, 13).

Factors that Foster Global Slavery

Political Instability

Recently, political conflicts have helped to foster the growth of slavery, particularly the use of child soldiers and the sexual exploitation of women. When a government breaks down or fails to thrive, the infrastructure to support the people no longer exists. Without law and order, the security and safety of the country is at high risk for insurgencies, terrorism, and crime. When something like this occurs, women and children are usually the first to leave the country. They make up a large proportion of refugees around the world, and are easily targeted by criminals (Survivor's Rights International). While political instability does not necessarily cause slavery, it does foster the industry because it allows perpetrators to target vulnerable people far from their homes, and to either traffic or smuggle them for exploitative purposes.

Travel/Migration

The ease and fluidity of travel (despite increased security along areas, such as the U.S.-Mexican border and even required passports for U.S. citizens for all international travel) has made it even easier for migrants to leave their homes. It is strongly predicted that as migration increases, so will the number of people being trafficked (Survivor's Rights International; Skrobanek et al. 1997, 98; Kempadoo 2005, 11). In fact, the International Office on Migration estimates that 150 million people migrate each year in search of better economic opportunities [employment], "or to escape gender discrimination, armed conflict, political instability, and poverty" (Survivor's Rights International). Of these, two million will become trafficked victims (Survivor's Rights International; McGill 2003, 80). Traffickers transport nearly four million illegal migrants each year, revealing just how closely intertwined migration is with that of trafficking (Renzetti et al. 2001, 473). The industry does not discriminate between legal or illegal migration, and decreasing international migration will not put an end to human trafficking. Migrants are especially vulnerable to being trafficked apart from other forms of slavery.

Poverty

Kevin Bales asserts that "…it is poverty that makes people vulnerable to being enslaved in present times" (van den Anker 2004, 19; Bales 2005, 10). With the majority of populations in Africa, Southeast Asia, and Latin America living under impoverished conditions, many women are forced to migrate from rural areas to urbanized centers in search of better socioeconomic opportunities for themselves and their families (Altink 1995, 2). Currently, most nations in Latin America and Africa have more than 40 percent

of the population living below the poverty line (CIA World Factbook 2005).[2]

"To traffic women means to work upon their desire or need to migrate by bringing them into prostitution under conditions that make them totally dependent on their recruiters in ways which also impair their rights. It exists where poverty has forced women to seek different methods of survival for themselves and their families" (Altink 1995, 1). In many nations, especially in the developing world, women often travel beyond their homes to acquire economic security and freedom. The lack of employment and/or the little to no income received usually encourages women to travel within or outside of their countries in order to survive.

Certain types of slavery, like the lucrative sex industry involving the trafficking of people, and the sex tourism industry, flourish in areas where there is greater poverty. Due to this, "sex tourism draws men from wealthy countries … where they can take advantage of economically vulnerable women and children and weak criminal justice systems" (U.S. Department of State 2005, *Trafficking in Persons Report*). Thailand and Brazil serve as examples of a thriving sex tourism industry where poverty is exposed.

Corruption

Corruption is the number one factor in fostering global contemporary slavery, given that the "rule of law" is severely disrupted and altered (Bales 2005, 139; Agbu 2003).[3] It occurs at various points in the processes of certain types of slavery - including human trafficking - during documentation, exploitation, border-crossing, transportation,

[2] CIA World Factbook 2005 figures for the percentage of the population living below the poverty lines for the top 10 nations (whose poverty rate was report and was not missing) in the world: Zambia (80%); Liberia (80%); Haiti (80%); Moldova (75%); Guatemala (75%); Bolivia (70%); Sierra Leone (68%); Venezuela (67%); Zimbabwe (60 %), and; Georgia (60%). Four of these nations are in Africa, four in Latin America, and two in Eastern Europe.

[3] Kevin Bales found corruption to be the leading factor fostering global contemporary slavery through a multiple regression analysis, in which the variable proved to be the most significant among others he tested. For greater detail on this analysis, please refer to: Kevin Bales. 2004. *New Slavery*. 2nd ed. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc.

and/or recruitment. By convening with traffickers, governmental officials, police, customs, immigration services, embassies and consulates, law enforcement officials, intelligence/security forces, influential people, and domestic agents,[4] corruption repeatedly allows the movement of victims between countries (Bales 2005, 140; Agbu 2003). "From a trafficker's point of view, the perfect destination country would be a relatively rich country [like the United States and those of the European Union] with just enough corruption to allow low-risk passage through its borders" (Bales 2005, 140). Without corruption, human trafficking would not be as extensive as it is today (Malarek 2004, 135).

Many trafficked victims who are lucky enough to escape, "risk being sent back to traffickers" when obtaining police assistance (Bales 1999, 59; Jordan 2002, 29). This has been reported in Brazil for example, when young prostitutes seek police assistance, and are instead abused or further exploited (Awake 2003, 5). Some victims choose not to seek police assistance fearing such occurrence. Although corruption can best be illuminated through the sex-related industries, it is pervasive and occurs and promotes many other types of slavery. For example, in the sex tourism industry, brothel owners might provide money or free "services" to government and police officials in exchange for the continuous support and operation of the industry.

According to the *West Africa Review*, corruption can exist in varying degrees in different countries, and take different forms (Agbu 2003). Systematic or entrenched corruption "occurs where bribery [large or small scale] is routine" (Abgu 2003). Usually the norms of the specific institution are broken, and informal rules start to abound by a certain official. This particular form of corruption is widespread among slavery, particular human trafficking and any sex-related industry given the large profits that are generated.

[4] This includes travel agencies, the transportation sector, banks, and financial institutions.

In Thailand, for example, bribes made to police officials are not overly expensive; rather, these officials stop by to brothels and "pick up 200 to 400 *baht* [$8 to $16]" (Bales 1999, 54). This translates into approximately 6,000 *bahts* a month, or $240. Apart from the money, sometimes police officials even "receive" a girl if they are inclined (Bales 1999, 54). They continuously keep watch on theses brothels, which have the potential to bring in between $32,000 and $64,000 a year (Bales 1999, 54). Police officials are essentially paid off to keep quiet and make extra income easily (Bales 1999, 54). "Bribe income is the key reason that senior police officials are happy to buy their positions and compete for the most lucrative ones" (Bales 1999, 54).

If officials in high power receive some of the proceeds, then why would they need or want to deter the growth or expansion of slavery? On the contrary, these officials keep the slavery industry intact to receive such perks. According to the Human Rights Watch researcher for Human Trafficking, Martina Vandenberg:

> Traffickers often use bribes sometimes in the form of cash, sometimes free sexual services - to entice police and officials to look the other way, to gain protection and to circumvent supposedly impenetrable borders. Complicity not only guarantees impunity for traffickers; it sends a message to trafficked women that their traffickers enjoy impunity and that they cannot escape (Malarek 2003, 137).

Traffickers are often easily able to persuade [corrupt] government officials, police, and other law enforcement and security officials to aid them within their networks, transportations, and movement of illegal migrants, women, and young girls. It is very unfortunate that those with power, arms [weapons], and high ranking status do not always perform their duty to protect people or deter slavery; rather they try to profit from the industry (Bales 1999, 48). Instead, they continuously undermine international law and domestic law by abusing, raping, and greedily taking advantage of innocent lives (Bales 1999, 48).

Corruption feeds off of greediness and the “excessive materialism and the culture of ‘get rich quick’” (Agbu 2003). In addition, contemporary slavery adds the disposability of human beings as an attractive feature to perpetrators (Bales 1999, 54). Corruption occurs everywhere, from the wealthy United States to the poor country of Nigeria. “Corruption in the trafficking trade is so well established that it can constrict the efforts of those who work with rescued women” (Malarek 2004, 138). This exemplifies how persistent, deep-rooted, and difficult corruption can be, especially in the poorer countries of Southeast Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Eastern Europe. As long as money and sex are involved, and “as long as there are government officials with their hands out or cops with their pants down, the [trafficking] trade will continue to flourish” (Malarek 2004, 135). Ironically, the country that is trying to end slavery with the best legislation is the same one whose government and police officials are trying to keep the industry intact by contributing to its existence (Malarek 2004, 136). In other words, “the machine of the state is the machine of enslavement” (Bales 1999, 63).

Human Deception

Human deception is a common method that is used to trick people into slavery. False employment advertisements, promises of marriage, student grants, and other similar offers are large enticements for those looking to pay for school, bring in extra income to a one-parent household, or even to obtain a job due to unemployment (Altink 1995, 5). Once individuals are taken into custody by traffickers, their personal documents are taken and they are no longer free. This form of deception is not limited to females, but also occurs with males. For example, impoverished men living in the urban centers in Brazil are particularly vulnerable to this sort of deception when recruiters promise them lucrative jobs in the rural regions (Bales 1999, 126). It is

through these methods that many become enslaved.

In certain regions, particular deceptive practices make luring people into slavery easier. In Latin America, the smallest unit is the family, which often represents the closest and tightest bond.[5] Family life is one of the most important things, with children at the top of the hierarchical family pyramid. A deceptive system used to traffic women from South America to Europe involves the creation of "artificial families" (Altink 1995, 75). For example, many South American women who are trafficked into the Netherlands – a prime destination spot - gain Dutch nationality by first marrying Antillese men. The traffickers themselves then approach other women to see if they would claim them as their "daughters" according to fraudulent birth certificates and documents. Numerous women participate in such scams to create "artificial families;" some "mothers" fully cooperate with traffickers' demands, while others assisted their "daughters" to freedom out of shame and guilt (Altink 1995, 75).

It is also not uncommon for well-trusted people such as close family, friends, and relatives to contribute to the enslavement of a person. In Central and Eastern Europe, as well as Africa, this tactic is prevalent, where children are often sent to live with other relatives and then become enslaved and exploited. The next section focuses on significant factors Kevin Bales found in predicting the factors that give rise to slavery.

Previous Research of Factors Contributing to Global Slavery

Through a multiple regression analysis, Kevin Bales discovered four statistically significant factors that contributed to the overall growth of global slavery. Detailed in his book, *Understanding Global Slavery* (2005), the four main predictors of global slavery

[5] While this is true for most countries of the world, the emphasis on family is particular strong in Latin America and Asia, where several generations often live together under one household. This is not to say that family is not viewed as being important elsewhere; rather cultural factors help to reinforce this notion of a close-knit family in those regions.

are (ranked in order of significance): government and police corruption, a high level of infant mortality rate, a high proportion of the population that is below the age of 14 years, and a low GDP per capita (Bales 2004, 99).

Given the extensive theoretical and Bales' statistical support for corruption, this variable is included in the statistical analysis. Infant mortality rate is not used in the analysis because it is not discussed at great length in the literature as a significant factor contributing to the growth of slavery. However, a similar element is captured by the human development index, which measures the life expectancy at birth. In addition, although the population below the age of 14 years is not stressed in the literature as a main factor contributing to the growth of slavery, it has been cited as being conducive to the child sex tourism industry. Finally, low GDP per capita is illuminated in the human development index, where the standard of living, as measured by real GDP per capita, is taken into account as part of the overall index.

Other major factors discussed in this chapter that are included in the statistical analysis include poverty (which goes alongside unemployment) and political instability. Those factors that are excluded include travel/migration and human deception. Travel/migration is known to cause a greater movement of peoples across borders because of the ease and fluidity in which people can migrate. This is agreed upon by most scholars, and is therefore not included in the analysis. Although human deception is widespread and contributes to people becoming enslaved, it is a variable that is hard to quantify. For this reason, it is excluded from the statistical analysis. Countries' compliance with the anti-trafficking act is not discussed in this chapter because it is not the most critical factor contributing to the growth of slavery; but it is included in the statistical analysis because it provides for the inclusion of a legal framework that was adopted at the international level. In short, human development (which highlights life

expectancy at birth and real GDP per capita), unemployment (which complements poverty), corruption, political instability, and the compliance with the anti-trafficking act are the six variables discussed in the statistical analysis.

The next chapter discusses human trafficking, mainly in terms of sexual exploitation, where it exists, and the factors prevalent in different countries around the world that give rise to this type of slavery.

CHAPTER THREE

HUMAN TRAFFICKING

"[Human] Trafficking[6] is the fastest growing means by which people are forced into slavery" (Farr 2005, 5; Anti-Slavery International 2007). It is also the third most profitable trafficking trade after drugs and weapons (Altink 1995, 2; Miko 2003, 1; Malarek 2003, 4; Farr 2005, 21; U.S. Department of State 2005, *Trafficking in Persons Report*; CAST 2005; Survivors Rights International). While the majority of those trafficked is done so for non-sexual purposes, a quarter of the entire [trafficked] population is exploited sexually, a figure that is currently on the rise (Obokata 2006, 28). "…Female prostitution has become a worldwide epidemic as part of the global sex trade of flesh [where] an increasing number of women are entering prostitution involuntarily through deceit, coercion, kidnapping, or sexual slavery" (Flowers 1998, 165). Apart from sexual exploitation, human trafficking also involves forced labor in areas such as domestic servants, farm workers, factory workers, and other laborers (Farr 2005, 3-4; Kempadoo 2005, 7, 11; Gerdes 2006, 25; Parrot and Cummings 2006, 136; Possley 2007).

There are a number of economic, social, and political factors that contribute to the existence of human trafficking within a country. Some of these factors include the ease and fluidity in which people can travel/migrate, human deception, poverty, lack of employment opportunities, corruption (oftentimes in conjunction with international criminal networks), and political instability. Within each of the five regions discussed in

[6] Human trafficking will be used interchangeably with the term "trafficking."

terms of where this slavery exists (e.g., Latin America and the Caribbean, North America, Europe, the Middle East/Asia, and Africa), additional factors endemic to that country or region also illustrate how individuals are trafficked. The focus of this chapter is primarily on human trafficking for sexual exploitation. However, forced labor remains an important component of the trafficking industry, and will be mentioned briefly throughout this chapter. What follows is a discussion of what human trafficking is, the trafficked population worldwide, profits generated by this industry, the differences between human trafficking and smuggling, the processes and stages of human trafficking, and finally, where this form of slavery exists around the world.

Human Trafficking Defined

The concept of trafficking in persons (and slavery in general) predated even the concept of writing; however many denote this form as a modern slavery given the evolvement and changes it has undertaken.[7] It is "the oldest, most traditional form of procuring for prostitution" (Barry 1995, 165).

There are several competing definitions of human trafficking, with little agreement among scholars, researchers, policymakers, and human rights activists about the exact nature of the industry (Kempadoo 2005, vii). Concretely defining the term has remained problematic, particularly at the national level (that is, within a country). The U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement simply defines trafficking in persons as "modern-day slavery, involving victims who are forced, defrauded or coerced into labor or sexual exploitation" (2004). Some organizations and researchers even define trafficking as the "systematic buying and selling of women and girls" (Sleightholme and Sinha 1997, 34). This definition, however, would not serve victims exploited in the non-sexual industry.

[7] For a brief, but concise chronology of slavery, see "Chapter 2: Chronology" (Bales 2005, 55-69).

The definition which is universally recognized is that of the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children* of 2000.[8] Specifically in Article 3a, trafficking in persons is defined as:

> The action of: recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of persons
>
> By means of: the threat or use of force, coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of power or vulnerability, or giving payments or benefits to a person in control of the victim
>
> For the purposes of: exploitation, which includes exploiting the prostitution of others, sexual exploitation, forced labor, slavery or similar practices, and the removal organs (Altink 1995, 9; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2006, 51).

Trafficking is almost synonymous with "transporting and forcing women into prostitution," as well as smuggling (Bales 2004, 4; Bales 2005, 126; Survivor's Rights International). Both can lead to being trafficked, and often, trafficked victims are exploited through prostitution. It should be mentioned, however, that human trafficking is not just about the movement of people, but rather the exploitation and the "denial of freedom" (Gerdes 2006, 25).

Despite numerous definitions of human trafficking, the thesis adheres to that of the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children* of 2000 (Article 3a). This definition holistically describes how people are

[8] Since 1815, there have been more than 300 international slavery treaties (which include human trafficking) signed; yet rarely did they all use a universal definition as to what constituted slavery or its counterparts (Bales 2004, 3 New Slavery). The first tool that was used to condemn slavery was the *1815 Declaration Relative to the Universal Abolition of the Slave Trade,* or *the 1815 Declaration* as it was known (Bales 2005, 41). The *Rome Final Act* created by the International Criminal Court in 1998 "deemed [slavery] a crime against humanity…" (Bales 2005, 49; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2007, 3). This was instrumental in elevating the issue of slavery to a crime and making people accountable. It was the *United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and its Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children,* created 15 November 2000 that universally sought to "standardize terminology, laws, and practices" (Bales 2005, 50; Survivor's Rights International; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2007, 3).[8] This addition was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and was the first step within the international community to come into agreement on what human trafficking was, and what it constituted (Kempadoo 2005, 10; Goodey 2005, 269; Obokata 2006, 173; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2007, 7; Survivor's Rights International). Moreover, at the end of 2006, 117 countries had signed the protocol, and 111 ratified it, making it an international success (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2007, 3; Rosenthal 2007). This protocol provides countries an excellent universal framework to criminalize those involved in the trafficking trade, and to assist and protect the victims.

trafficked, through what means, and for what purposes. It is especially important to note that trafficked persons within this definition are included in both the sexual and non-sexual sectors of slavery.

The Human Trafficking Population

On the low end of the scale, an estimated 600,000 to 800,000 innocent lives are stolen each year, and some even fatally lost to this treacherous trade (Bales 1999, 39; U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement 2004; CAST 2005; U.S. Department of State 2005, *Trafficking in Persons Report*; Kapstein 2006, 105). Approximately 70 percent of these victims are female and 50 percent are children, many of whom are being forced into the commercial sex trade (U.S. Department of State 2005). Of the approximate 4 million people who are trafficked around the world each year, over one million are trafficked into the sex industry (Farr 2005, 3; Gerdes 2006, 35). Within these one million who are trafficked for sexual exploitation, approximately 225,000 come from Southeast Asia, 200,000 from the former republics of the Soviet Union, 150,000 from South Asia, 100,000 from Latin America and the Caribbean, 75,000 from East Europe, and 50,000+ from Africa (Farr 2005, 4). The International Organization of Migration (IOM) estimates that between 700,000 and 2 million women are trafficked across international borders yearly (Masika 2002, 10; Gerdes 2006, 35). The United States Department of State estimates that threshold at 4 million people (Miko 2003, 1; Goodey 2005, 271; Parrot and Cummings 2006, 135). In 2005, the IOM increased their estimate to 2.4 million people (Anti-Slavery International 2007). One non-governmental organization, Survivor's Rights International, estimates that 1 to 2 million people are trafficked around the world each year (2006). In general, since the mid-1970s,

approximately 30 million women have been sold into prostitution (Flowers 1998, 165).[9]

These figures illuminate the fact that human trafficking remains hidden, and accurate statistics are difficult to assess. In addition, they also highlight the fact that traffickers move with ease within and across countries, and that permeability between borders is rather fluid. Figure 1 (page 26) clearly highlights this challenge in the varying estimates of trafficking. As illustrated by various NGOs and institutions, the true figure for worldwide human trafficking remains elusive; estimates range from 500,000 to 4 million people being trafficked annually.

Profits Generated by Human Trafficking

Profits in the industry are estimated to range form $5 to $7 billion (Skrobanek et al. 1997, 151; Renzetti et al. 2001, 474; Gerdes 2006, 35; Parrot and Cummings 2006, 135). The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime estimates that worldwide, the trafficking industry yields $7 billion annually. The United Nations Children's Fund[10] estimates this figure at $10 billion a year (Feingold 2005, 28; Kapstein 2006, 106; Possley 2007). Current estimates report that the trafficking in human beings is worth $30 to $40 billion (Rosenthal 2007). Essentially, it is a "multi-billion dollar industry" involving the trafficking of people for forced labor or sexual exploitation (United Press International 2007).

[9] It should be noted that these human trafficking figures do not necessarily reflect those trafficked against their free will. In fact, such clarification was not made and should not be presumed.
[10] Formerly the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

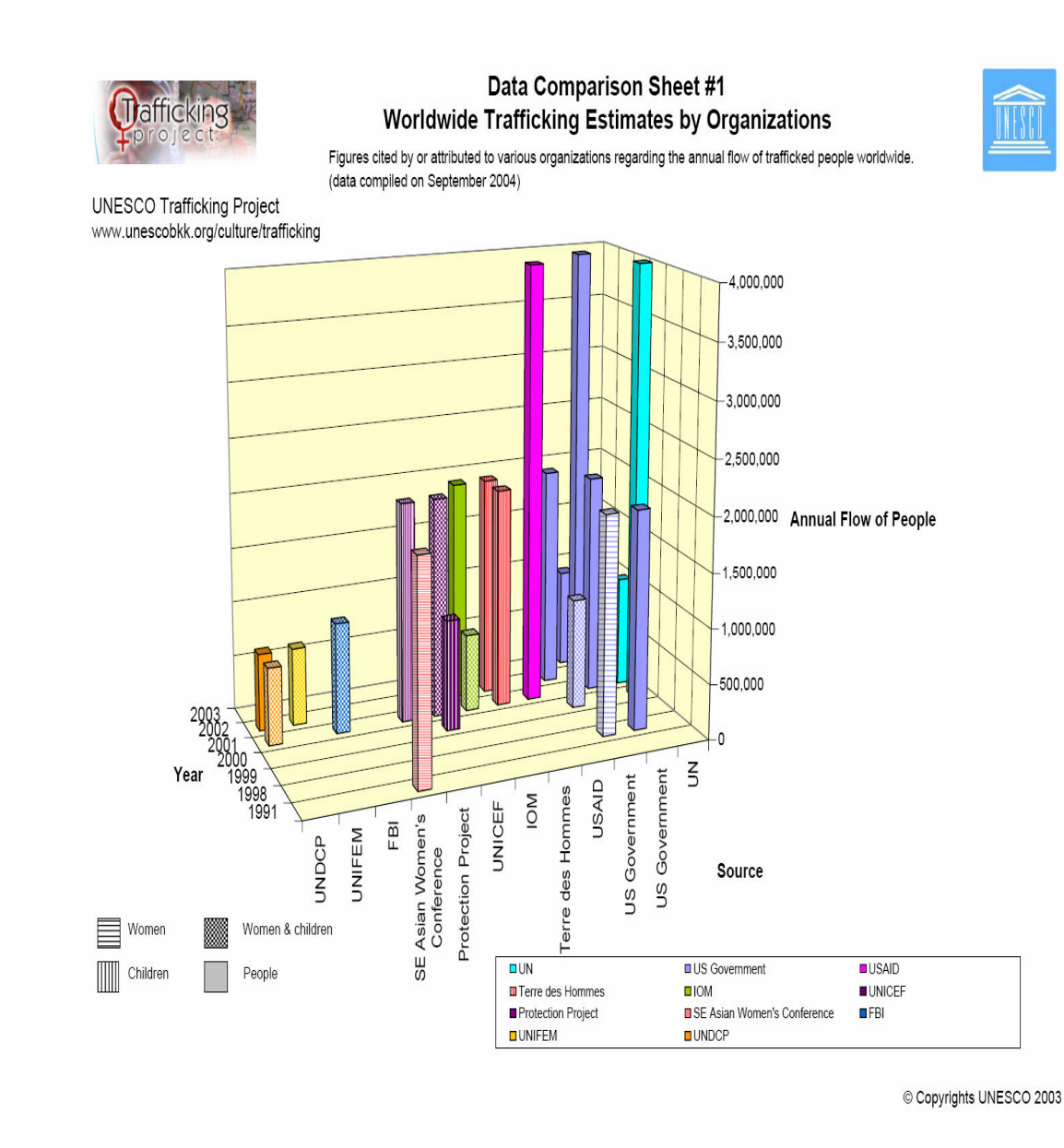
Human Trafficking and Smuggling[11]

Human trafficking and human smuggling are often thought of as being the same, or synonymous with one another. According to the *Smuggling Protocol*, Article 3, smuggling is "the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or permanent resident" (Obokata 2006, 20-21; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2006, 6). According to the U.S. Department of State in 2005, human smuggling involves overall cooperation from a person; whereas those trafficked are usually done so against their will by "force, fraud, or coercion" (2005).

Smuggled persons are treated as violating the law, such as when they cross international borders without proper documents; trafficked persons are seen as victims due to the exploitative nature of the work they are being forced to perform, although they are often treated as criminals when captured or detained. An important difference between smuggling and trafficking is that the former have the choice and freedom to leave their current situation at any time. Victims of trafficking do not have that opportunity and are enslaved and subjected to exploitation (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2006, 52). Moreover, trafficking does not have to involve crossing an international border or the movement of the victim; but smuggling "facilitates the illegal entry of person(s) from one country into another" (U.S. Department of State 2005; Obokata 2006, 21; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2006, 52). It should be noted that trafficking can involve the illegal entry of a person as well. When the situation becomes exploitative, then the person is said to be 'trafficked' (Goodey 2005, 270). Therefore crossing an international border is a prerequisite for smuggling.

[11] This section on "Human Trafficking and Smuggling" is relevant, as the author believes, because it will help to differentiate between the two, since they are often confused, used interchangeably, and regarded by some countries to be the same (when in fact they are not). Smuggling, in many instances leads to human trafficking, which is a reason why both are often thought of to be similar in nature.

Figure 1. Worldwide Trafficking Estimates by Organizations



Source: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). 2003. "Data Comparison Sheet #1 Worldwide Trafficking Estimates by Organizations." UNESCO Trafficking Project. Bangkok, Thailand: United Nations <http://www.unescobkk.org/fileadmin/user_upload/culture/Trafficking/project/Graph_Worldwide_Sept_2004.pdf>.

A final note on the differences between smuggling and trafficking - one sometimes follows the other. For instance, if someone willingly enters the United States from Colombia illegally (that is to say, without proper documents such as visas, a passport, or permit) to look for work or start anew, he/she would be considered to have been smuggled, and thereafter an illegal citizen. If upon arriving into the country he/she is captured by a predator and forced to do laborious or sexual work without consent, then he/she becomes trafficked. While the two are different in scope, they are interconnected in many ways and often migrant workers in many impoverished nations seeking a better life are forced to perform work against their will. For example, consider the many *maquiladoras* or *maquilas* present in the United States, particularly in the larger cities (e.g., New York and Miami) and those along the U.S.-Mexican border. Many migrants work long, arduous hours in a variety of sectors ranging from agriculture and factory-work, to manufacturing and construction. Depending on the locale, they are exploited in terms of labor and violence, and women sometimes subjected to sexual exploitation.

Smuggled persons are not taken into account in the statistical analysis, since they are not considered victims of slavery. However, should they be deemed trafficked, they will then be included as part of that population. It should be noted that the statistical model does not distinguish between different types of slavery, and the distinction between smuggled persons and trafficked persons serves to specifically illuminate how trafficked victims are identified.

The Processes and Stages of Human Trafficking

The process of human trafficking is very deceptive and brutal, yet organized and sequential. What follows is an example of how individuals become trafficked.

First, the victim is abducted or recruited under false premises, whereby he/she is transported and moved within a country, or into other countries. Human deception is very widespread, and is a common tactic used to procure individuals worldwide. This deception will be detailed within the discussion of where human trafficking exists. Second, the exploitation phase accustoms the victim to the brutality of the business by forcing him/her into labor or sexual servitude. Last, the traffickers "may find it necessary to launder criminal offenses as well, such as smuggling of weapons or drugs" (Bales 2005, 135). A good number of trafficked victims complement the drug and weapons industry, as well as organized criminal networks.

According to the Kevin Bales, there are eight stages that define the human trafficking process (Bales 2005, 141-148):

1. The Context of Vulnerability
2. Recruitment
3. Removal
4. Transportation
5. Establishment of Control
6. Arrival
7. Exploitation
8. Resolution

Stage 1 is the juncture at which traffickers carefully choose their victims. Poverty and poor socioeconomic conditions are key factors in determining the victims. While the most vulnerable populations, such as the elderly, disabled, very poor, or sick seem likely candidates given their conditions, they are the ones most often avoided (Bales 2005, 141). It is their frail condition that makes them less valuable to the industry. For this, the young, strong, and healthy are considered prime targets - however, not necessarily from the poorest regions. Bales asserts that victims have "a level of education that seems incongruent with their enslavement" (Bales 2005, 141). Many young women seek financial support for college, other schooling, or additional income to help support family and children. For this reason, level of education does not seem to have a significant

correlation to becoming trafficked. Most are falsely deceived, and thereby become trafficked. However, children who have not yet attained a high school-level of education are vulnerable to the deceptions and tricks employed by the large span (and types) of traffickers.[12] Overall, poverty, high levels of unemployment, and human deception create greater susceptibility among people by allowing traffickers to more easily target them. Apart from their age and general naïveté, children without an adequate education (in terms of literacy) face this vulnerability as well.

Stage 2 or recruitment, varies from victim to victim, but generally involves certain characteristics. In West Africa, Thailand, and Central America, "older women are known to recruit young people of the same ethnic and language group" (Bales 2005, 142). To do this, they lure them with attractive goods. In addition, older women and people in general are viewed as more trust-worthy and respectable. In Eastern Europe, false and deceptive unemployment schemes draws in vulnerable people. Again, human deception plays a major role in trafficking human beings, especially when a greater level of trust is built or already in existence, such as between friends, family, or significant others.

Today, Central and Eastern Europe loom in the trafficking industry, with disillusioned women and young girls looking for better socioeconomic opportunities and stability. After the fall of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, political instability (as a government disbanded) threatened the well-being of people, by allowing traffickers to

[12] While many countries have some sort of mandatory educational requirements, they are not rigorously enforced. Kevin Bales cites education as the most "fundamental basis for economic growth and social development" (Bales 2005, 15). While education fares well in many European countries, major Asian countries (e.g., China, Japan), and North America, rural populations in those countries, as well as many developing ones face little opportunities to engage in a primary education (or even higher). Most of the developed world focused on establishing these developing countries into trading partners, than investing in education. As a result, "…as the guns flow south, the money gushes north. Every year, the countries of Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America spend about $22 billion in the international arms market" (Bales 2005, 15). Less than half that amount could be used to provide a primary education to every child on Earth that does not have one (Altink 1995, 18). What is distressing is that the top industrial nations, United States, Russia, France, Britain, and China, sell nearly 90 percent of all weapons to less-developed countries (Altink 1995, 18).

prey on their vulnerabilities. As unemployment rose, people migrated out of the former Soviet Union, increasing their susceptibility to become targets of traffickers in the midst of traveling through unfamiliar countries. In should be noted that country differences will not be distinguished in the statistical analysis.

Stage 3 or removal, involves, as the name implies, the removal of the victim from his/her home or local setting. For a small percentage, this involves force or violence during abduction/kidnapping; most are convinced or coerced into going with the traffickers as per the recruitment methods previously discussed (Bales 2005, 143).

Stage 4 or the transportation phase, involves the trafficking of the victims, and upon arrival to their destination, total exploitation. Given that large numbers of people are trafficked through many countries, the human trafficking process is quite organized. A. Bajretarevic, a researcher who studies the horizontal design of trafficking organization (as well as smuggling), asserted that "they are divided into several subunits that specialize in a particular part or sequence of the operation" (Bales 2005, 144). One could almost compare the human trafficking process to a military's chain-of-command or bureaucratic hierarchy. Apart from allowing the process to function, each subunit provides additional services including the following:

> Management/Supervising
> Escort
> Corrupted Public Officials
> Recruitment
> Guiding/Navigating
> Supporting/Logistics
> Debt Collecting
> Exploiting
> Reescorting (Bales 2005, 144-145).[13]

Stage 5, or the establishment of control, immediately begins upon transportation of the victims. Typically the victims' travel documents are confiscated and "…placed immediately in the control of the trafficker" (Bales 2005, 145). Without their passports,

[13] The units generally imply what services are taken care of. For additional details as to what each subunit specifically does, please refer to Bales 2005, 144-145.

travel or identity cards, many have no way of leaving their situation safely. Victims are introduced to the other victims at this point, and usually realize their enslavement and deception. "The aim of the trafficker will be to disorient the victim, to increase his or her dependence, to establish fear and obedience, [and] to gain control" (Bales 2005, 145). Brainwashing and psychological and mental trauma further disorient the victims.

Stage 6 or arrival, sees the complete control over the victim being carried out and the exploitation phase begins. Deception becomes clear at this point to the victim once at their destination. After reaching their destination, victims enter complete exploitation.

Stage 7 or the exploitation phase, victims are forced to perform any job that the "owner(s)" see fit, be it prostitution, domestic service, agricultural work, sweatshop work, mining, land clearance, selling in the market, or begging" (Bales 2005, 146). While some victims initially protest or oppose their work, after subsequent violence, they are forced to perform their "duties" without much protest. After time, with repeated abuse and violence, the victims begin to accustom themselves to this treatment, both mentally and physically (Bales 1999, 58). Those that protest, risk the chance of murder and/or death. In the end, some even begin to identify with their "owner(s)" and do not even require constant enslavement given the mental brainwashing and conditioning. In nearly every case of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, more than one type of crime is involved, including fraud, kidnap, assault, rape, and sometimes even murder (Bales 1999, 48). Table 1 further highlights the crimes associated with the trafficking process, particularly the exploitative portion. Human trafficking includes a multitude of crimes, which many countries do not even recognize.

Stage 8 or resolution, the final part of the trafficking process, involves the outcome of the victim's case. While many victims end up dying from violence, sickness, or suicide, others become injured, sick, infected with sexually-transmitted diseases such

as HIV/AIDS, or impregnated (Bales 1999, 59). These victims become “useless” in the eyes of the traffickers and are discarded and replaced with new victims. Those that unfortunately become pregnant are sometimes sent for an abortion. In many countries, this procedure is done illegally, such as in Thailand, further increasing complications and risks to the life of the mother and baby (Bales 1999, 60). Disgustingly, “a few women are kept working while they are pregnant [in Thailand], as some Thai men want to have sex with pregnant women” (Bales 1999, 60). In some rare circumstances, when a woman gives birth, the baby is taken and sold by the owner of the brothel; the woman then returns to work almost immediately.

The final state, while involving physical freedom, may not help the majority of victims to recuperate, rehabilitate, and assimilate back into society. Many are left “untreated,” which could lead to psychological and emotional distress, disorders, depression, and even suicide attempts. What is more, many are left with major health issues, such as infections, reproductive issues, pregnancy, sexually-transmitted diseases, HIV/AIDS, or injuries caused by violent attacks. Rehabilitation of the victim is an area that needs further refinement and attention in order to prevent such people from becoming victims of trafficking again, or from exploiting themselves.

Overall, people are trafficked in much the same way a new product is manufactured -- put on the assembly line, shipped out throughout various transnational (or sometimes domestic) networks and points of shipment, and then used. Victims are quickly “broken” into the industry through immediate sexual exploitation, rape, and sexual assault. Thereafter, once the “product” is ready, groups of usually women and young girls are then shipped to various destination points where they live as enslaved

sex workers.[14] In essence, "the women have to be brought to the target country, distributed, watched over and housed by the traffickers, who can't operate without contacts in the women's home countries" (Altink 1995, 4). Traffickers have extensive

Table 1. Crimes Related to Trafficking in Human Beings

Recruitment of Victim	Transportation of, or Entry with, Victim	Exploitation of Victim	Disposition of Criminal Proceeds
Document forgery *Fraudulent promises* *Kidnapping*	Document forgery Immigration law abuse Corruption of officials Damage to property *Withholding of documents*	*Unlawful coercion* *Threat* *Extortion* *False imprisonment* *Kidnapping* *Procurement* *Theft of documents* *Sexual assault* *Aggravated assault* *Rape* *Murder* *Forced abortion* *Torture*	Money laundering Tax evasion Corruption of officials

Source: This table was compiled and created by Bales 2005, 134. Italics indicate that the offenses are perpetrated against the individual victim.

networks at all levels, from taxi drivers to aid in the transportation of their victims, to top-level security officials to aid in the smuggling and falsification of documents. This chain assembly line is what helps to distribute the trafficked victims in an organized and orderly manner to their chosen destinations. It is no wonder then that most organized

[14] Apart from the sexual exploitation, women and young children can also be involved in labor intensive work, domestic servitude, and the like apart from their main duty as a sex slave.

crime groups, such as the Italian and Russian mafia, the Japanese yakuza, and Chinese triads, are all heavily involved in this highly profitable trade (Altink 1995, 5). Corruption heavily encourages this trade because of the strong connections that are made between powerful officials and traffickers. "Trafficking in persons is smuggling *plus* coercion or deception at the beginning of the process and exploitation at the end" (Bales 2005, 132).

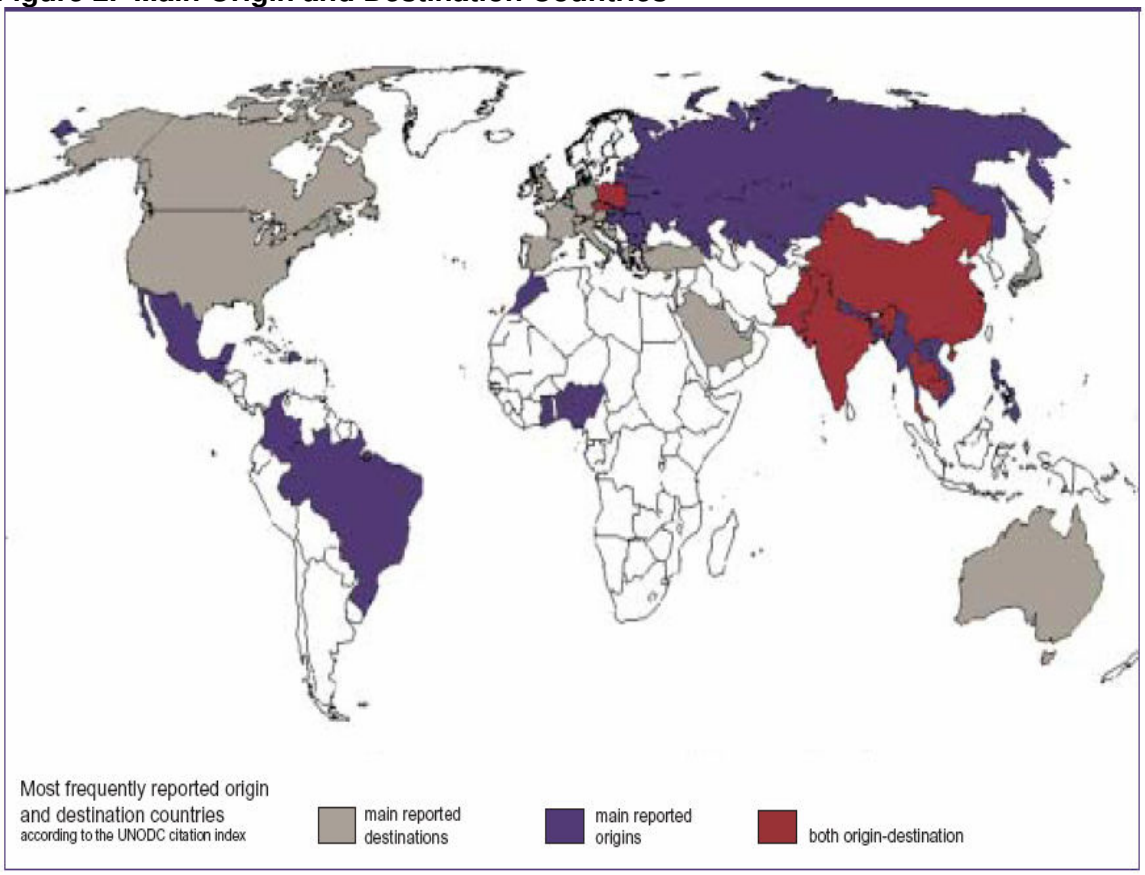
Where Human Trafficking Exists

Human trafficking exists everywhere – from wealthy Beverly Hills, California, to the poorest cities in Peru, Belarus, China, and Ghana. Trafficking may occur internally (within a country) or internationally (across countries) (Barry 1995, 165; Renzetti et al. 2001, 473; Masika 2002, 11). Certain countries serve primarily as source or origin countries,[15] those where individuals are trafficked out of; others serve as destination countries, where individuals are trafficked to; and finally, some as transit countries, where trafficked individuals are en route to their destination country via that particular country (Skrobanek et al. 1997, 112). Transit countries usually serve as midway points where traffickers conjure up false documents, including marriage certificates and visas. Destination countries usually include developed or developing economies with entrenched sex industries, such as Japan, the United States, the Netherlands, Thailand, Germany, Taiwan, South Korea, and India (Renzetti et al. 2001, 473; Masika 2002, 11). Origin countries are mainly poor and experience little development, and include much of Africa, Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe, and Southeast Asia. More often than not, countries can serve as more than one type of host in the trafficking industry (Renzetti et al. 2001, 473; Masika 2002, 11). A prime example is Thailand, which serves as a major origin country in Southeast Asia, as well as a transit and destination country

[15] The remainder of the thesis will acknowledge such countries as "origin" countries to avoid confusion.

for neighboring trafficked victims (Masika 2002, 11; Obokata 2006, 39-40). Figure 2 highlights the major origin and destination countries around the world. What follows is a brief examination of the Latin American and Caribbean, North American, European, the Middle East/Asian, and African regions, and the impact and nature the human trafficking industry has had in these areas.

Figure 2. Main Origin and Destination Countries



Source: This figure was created by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). 2006. *Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns*. Anti-Human Trafficking Unit (AHTU), Global Programme against Trafficking in Human Beings (GPAT). New York: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 17. <http://www.unodc.org/pdf/crime/trafficking_persons_report_2006-04.pdf>.

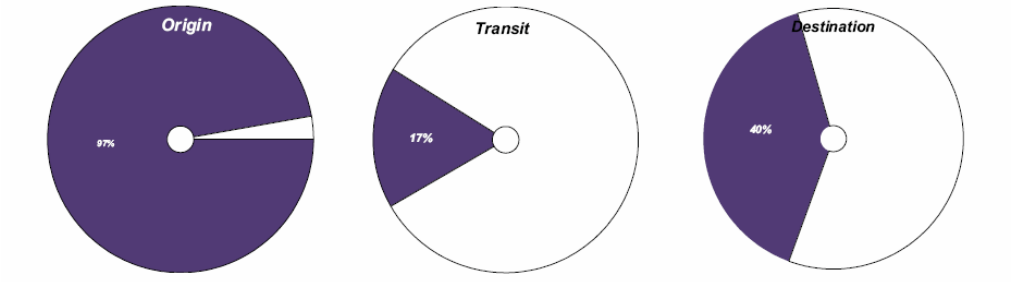
Latin America and the Caribbean

Numerous studies suggest that trafficking to, from, and within the Americas is a major problem (Masika 2002, 11). The region has long been marked by a history of trafficking, especially in countries like the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico,

Brazil, Ecuador, Suriname, Venezuela, Uruguay, Peru, Argentina, and Paraguay (Masika 2002, 11). Approximately 100,000 women and children are trafficked each year across Latin America and the Caribbean; 80 percent are women who are mainly trafficked for sexual exploitation (Survivor's Rights International; Amnesty International 2005). Roughly 14,500 to 17,500 women are trafficked into the United States annually (Ribando 2005, 5). In fact, Latin America ranks as the region with the "…highest *out-migration* rate in the world" (Ribando 2005, 5). There are more people trafficked out of the region than there are coming in. Travel/migration plays a significant role in the enslavement of people because of the vulnerability they face when they are away from home and in unfamiliar areas. Language and cultural barriers also add to this vulnerability during travel/migration.

Figure 3 clearly highlights the Latin American and the Caribbean region to be mainly origin in terms of trafficking. More individuals are trafficked out of the region than are brought in.

Figure 3. Latin American and the Caribbean Region as Origin, Transit, or Destination for Trafficking Victims[16]



Source: This figure was created by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). 2006. *Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns*. Anti-Human Trafficking Unit (AHTU), Global Programme against Trafficking in Human Beings (GPAT). New York: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 30. <http://www.unodc.org/pdf/crime/trafficking_persons_report_2006-04.pdf>.

[16] Note that these United Nations figures on "origin, transit, or destinations for trafficking victims" are derived from source institutions that report according to region. For the Latin American and Caribbean region, a total of 35 source institutions reported the region as one of origin, transit, or destination for trafficking victims. The percentages in the figures refer to the total amount of 35 source institutions.

Political instability, social unrest, and even environmental destruction have created the necessary driving forces for trafficking to occur in this region (Survivor's Rights International). When governments break down or there is a lack of law and order, people become easily targeted amidst the chaos. Other individual factors contributing to human trafficking in the region include poverty, lack of economic alternatives, illiteracy and/or minimal education, physical or sexual abuse, family dissolution, homelessness, drug abuse, gang membership, and sexual orientation (Langberg; Inter-American Commission of Women 2001; IHRLI 2002, 40). Females, in particular, are subject to the *machismo* attitude prevalent throughout Latin America, which has only aggravated gender inequality. Gender bias/discrimination against women is a deeply-ingrained cultural norm that has long existed in the region.

"Since Asia's crackdown on sex tourism [in the late 1990s], trade in the Americas has increased at an alarming rate …" (Survivor's Rights International; Flowers 1998, 178-179). Experts believe that tougher laws in Asia have led to a wave of trafficking in Latin America. Ironically, many Latin American women are trafficked back into Asia, most notably to Japan (apart from Western Europe and the United States) (Masika 2002, 11). About 1700 are sexually exploited; of these, most are from Peru, Colombia, or Brazil (Ribando 2005, 9; Inter-American Commission of Women 2005). Apart from Japan serving as a major destination country, Spain, Italy, Canada, the Netherlands, Great Britain, and the United States also serve as primary destination countries for Latin American women (Ribando 2005, 5; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2000, 97). Latin America has also become "a transit point for trafficked women en route to Europe, North America, and Australia" due to the possible lucrative jobs abroad (Survivor's Rights International).

The following figures – all sourced from Survivor's Rights International – help to illuminate the growing concern about the trafficking of people in Latin America. According to Interpol, 35,000 women are trafficked out of Colombia each year (Farr 2005, 5). In fact, approximately 45,000 to 50,000 Colombia women serve as prostitutes abroad; many of whom are trafficked (U.S. Department of State 2005, *Trafficking in Persons Report*). Given that the nation is heavily involved in the narcotics trade, a large proportion of women are trafficked alongside the dangerous industry. A primary reason why many have migrated from Colombia between 1995 and 2000 was due to the "economic stagnation, poverty, unemployment, and the ongoing conflict [of the guerrillas and the drug war]" (Ribando 2005, 6). The country's economic and political turmoil has greatly distressed society, making the population more susceptible to drug and human traffickers. Poverty, lack of employment opportunities, political instability, and ease of travel has allowed people to become trafficked. These factors create the conditions which put people at risk to traffickers, who view them as easy prey.

In Guatemala City, Guatemala, the city police claim 2,000 children were sexually exploited in nearly 600 brothels (Flowers 1998, 178). In Brazil, 500,000 girls work as prostitutes, many of them trafficked internally into the gold mining regions in the Amazon (Flowers 1998, 178; Inter-American Commission of Women 2001). In fact, girls as young as nine years old have been reportedly forced into prostitution in the remote mining camps in the Amazon [in Brazil] (Flowers 1998, 178-179). In Brazil, 75,000 women are prostituted to the countries of the European Union (Farr 2005, 5). Environmental destruction is an avenue through which people become trafficked because of the demand for labor in rural areas. Overall, the poorest segments of society, usually women and children, face the greatest vulnerability throughout Latin America and the Caribbean to being trafficked.

The Dominican Republic ranks fourth in the world for the number of women working abroad in the sex trade.[17] Approximately 50,000 Dominican women serve the illicit sexual industry in all areas of the globe (IOM 1996; Farr 2005, 5; U.S. Department of State 2005, *Trafficking in Persons Report*; CAST2005).[18] Many are concentrated in Panama, Costa Rica, Argentina, St. Martin, Curaçao, and Europe (IHRLI 2002, 14). According to the International Organization of Migration Study, the primary causes of human trafficking in the Dominican Republic are unemployment and lack of socioeconomic opportunities due to the extreme income inequality and poverty the country suffers (U.S. Department of State 2005, *Trafficking in Persons Report*). Moreover, women and young girls are lured into false "marriages," and then ultimately trafficked (CAST 2005). Most of the victims are introduced by a friend or family member to the potential trafficker, whereby they are then lured into the trap. These women seek jobs overseas in hopes of more prosperous financial opportunities; however, this is one of the many deceptions involved in the trade. A primary feature of this trade in the Dominican Republic is that it is mainly controlled by organized crime networks (IOM 1996). "Being trafficked for sexual exploitation is a clear alternative seen by low-income, low-educated young women to leave their misery. No other main alternatives are offered to them apart from badly paid domestic jobs or work in the free-trade zones" (IOM 1996). Apart from the lack of viable economic opportunities within the country, women become victims of human deception because of the desperation in obtaining employment. Traffickers can target people during periods of such vulnerability because they are more easily deceived. The Dominican Republic remains an outlet for the highest number of women trafficked out of a country in Latin America.

[17] Just after Thailand, Brazil, and the Philippines (IOM 1996).
[18] They are highly concentrated in the following countries: Austria, Curaçao, Germany, Greece, Haiti, Italy, the Netherlands, Panama, Puerto Rico, Spain, Switzerland, Venezuela, and the West Indies (1996, IOM; (U.S. Department of State, June 2005 report).

The Latin American and Caribbean region faces numerous factors which encourage trafficking. Political instability in countries like Colombia, threaten the well-being of people. Environment destruction in the Amazon region, particularly in Brazil, creates greater vulnerability for people to become trafficked due to the high demand for labor in these rural areas. Poverty, corruption, and lack of employment opportunities have all encouraged trafficking due to existing socioeconomic conditions in most countries. In addition, deeply-rooted cultural norms, such as gender bias/discrimination towards women, and the overall ease in which people migrate within and between countries, increase susceptibility for people to become targeted by traffickers.

North America

Despite the recent wave of publicity human trafficking has been given in the United States, it still remains a growing concern. According to Sister Patrice Colletti of the Salvatorian order, "human trafficking or modern slavery is the second largest problem facing the United States" (Possley 2007).[19] It occurs not only in major metropolitan cities, such as New York City and Chicago, but also in suburban areas in Florida and even Connecticut. What follows is a brief discussion of human trafficking instances in Florida.

Florida ranks second in the United States for the greatest number of trafficked victims, largely due to its agricultural enterprises, manufacturing sector, and robust restaurant (and hotel) industry (Possley 2007; Ash 2007).[20] Despite some of the toughest state legislation targeting human trafficking in the United States, it still pervades the state. The most recent law that passed (2006) "[made] traffickers subject to the same racketeering laws used to prosecute organized crime" (Ash 2007). This example

[19] Other problems facing the United States were not stated in the article.
[20] California ranks number one in the United States for the highest volume of trafficked people.

illustrates that despite an excellent legislative framework, human trafficking still permeates through borders; greater enforcement mechanisms are needed to curtail this industry. According to Gerardo Reyes of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers - an organization promoting farm worker rights - the "conditions of workers' lives, lacking basic human rights, breeds human trafficking" (Possley 2007). Many migrants come to Florida seeking employment, whether in the agricultural sector or as a domestic servant, and then become exploited. Poverty and unemployment are factors that create the conditions for people to become trafficked because they are in search of a better life and greater economic opportunities. In South Florida, more than three quarters of people trafficked are women (Possley 2007).

The last several years have seen several crackdowns on prostitution rings, as well as forced labor in Florida. Very recently, Jorge W. Melchor of Colombia was charged with four counts of kidnapping and human trafficking. He lured women from their homes in Guatemala, and falsely promised them lucrative-paying domestic jobs in the United States. They were smuggled across the Mexican border on June 30th [2006], and then taken to Florida via Houston, Texas. In the end, the women were told they were in debt $25,000, and were forced to work in order to pay it off (Ash 2007). In yet another case, the Cadena family, a group consisting of Mexican sex traffickers, profited from nearly $2.5 million in only two years during the mid-1990s (Farr 2005, 23). This family trafficked 25-40 Hispanic women, and then sexually exploited them in brothels throughout Florida and neighboring states (Farr 2005, 23).

These two examples demonstrate how different forms of slavery can occur simultaneously, and how smuggling can lead to trafficking. The women were not only forced into domestic labor, but also bonded as well (when told they owed a debt). Although they were under the impression that they were smuggled to work in a more

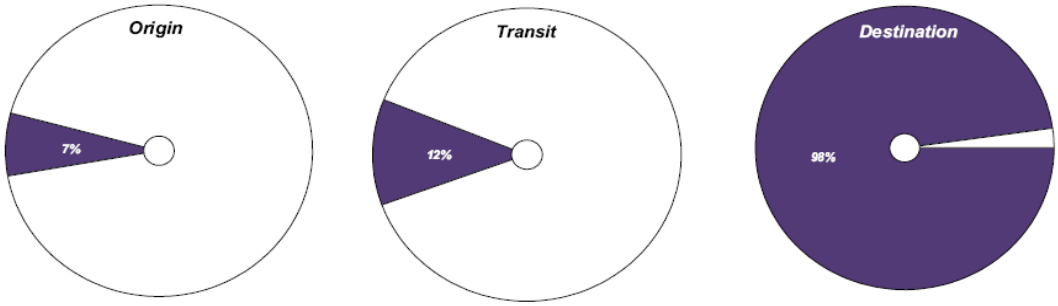
lucrative field (human deception), they were ultimately trafficked when exploitation set in. A key point to remember is that a smuggled individual becomes a trafficked one when they become exploited – sexually or non-sexually.

Approximately 45,000 to 50,000 women and girls are trafficked into the United States from around the world for the purpose of sexual exploitation (Parrot and Cummings 2006, 136). On 28 October 2000, the United States Congress passed the *Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000* (VTVPA), a "…comprehensive statute that addresse[s] the recurring and significant problems of the illegal trafficking of persons for the purpose of committing commercial sex acts or to subject them to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery" (U.S. Department of State 2005). This act assists victims of trafficking and other related violent crimes.

Canada recently released its first systematic study of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. On 27 February 2007, the Federal Standing Committee on the Status of Women published the "Turning Outrage into Action to Address Trafficking for the Purposes of Sexual Exploitation in Canada" (CNW TELBEC 2007). The main issues addressed include "measure[s] to combat child sex tourism and trafficking of persons in Canada, [and] the development of a Canadian Counter-Trafficking Office (CCTO)" (CNW TELBEC 2007). The government has taken a proactive stance in responding to the immediate concerns given the increase in the trafficking of people. On the whole, Canada (as well as the United States) continues to receive many trafficked women from Eastern Europe (Malarek 2004, 23), and serves primarily as a destination country.

Figure 4 clearly illustrates North America serving as a destination region. As evident by the literature, more victims are trafficked into the United States and Canada from all around the world because of the general affluent nature of the region.

Figure 4. North American Region as Origin, Transit, or Destination for Trafficking Victims[21]



Source: This figure was created by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). 2006. *Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns*. Anti-Human Trafficking Unit (AHTU), Global Programme against Trafficking in Human Beings (GPAT). New York: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 31. <http://www.unodc.org/pdf/crime/trafficking_persons_report_2006-04.pdf>.

Overall, poverty, unemployment, human deception, lack of legislative enforcement, and a demand for cheap labor (especially in strenuous sectors such as agriculture or manufacturing) encourage the trafficking of people to North America. Some of these victims initially meant to smuggle themselves for the possibility of finding a lucrative paying job, and then find themselves exploited upon arrival. On the other hand, others immediately find themselves on a journey to exploitation as trafficked victims.

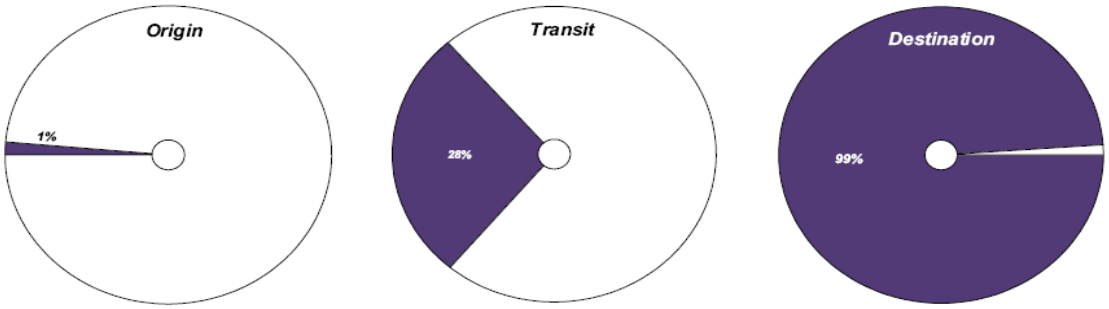
Europe

In general, it is reported that the majority of victims exploited in the sex industry come from Asia, the republics of the former Soviet Union,[22] and Eastern Europe, and end up in Europe and North America (Miko 2003, 1, 8). While Western Europe serves mainly as a destination region, it is Central and Eastern Europe where the majority of victims are trafficked from (Figure 5).

[21] In this United Nations figure, a total of 43 source institutions reported North America as a region of origin, transit, or destination for trafficking victims. The percentages in the figure refer to the total amount of 42 source institutions.

[22] The Former Soviet Union republics (FSU) are now known as the Newly Independent States (NIS) (Farr 2005, 8). However, for simplification and continuous clarity, they will remain as FSU republics in this thesis.

Figure 5. Western European Sub-Region as Origin, Transit, or Destination for Trafficking Victims[23]



Source: This figure was created by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). 2006. *Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns*. Anti-Human Trafficking Unit (AHTU), Global Programme against Trafficking in Human Beings (GPAT). New York: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 27. <http://www.unodc.org/pdf/crime/trafficking_persons_report_2006-04.pdf>.

Central and Eastern Europe remains a very vulnerable region, given its less-affluent socioeconomic conditions, higher unemployment, and greater level of poverty. After the Former Soviet Union disbanded, many of those countries' political economies declined and trafficking dramatically increased (Jordan 2002, 28; Masika 2002, 11; Miko 2003, 8; Gerdes 2006, 34). Unemployment rose, as did the poverty level, and many women were forced to look to alternative options for income abroad (Malarek 2004, 9; Gerdes 2006, 35). Victims in this region are usually deceived through supposed boyfriends, relatives, friends, and other well-trusted people, or through false employment advertisements or travel/marriage agencies (Malarek 2004, 11). Recent years have also witnessed the rise of mail-order bride agencies or "online brothels" (Malarek 2004, 13-14)[24]. Rarely is a young girl or woman kidnapped (Gerdes 2006, 35). Although almost a quarter of these women are aware of the prospect of becoming involved in sexual services, few expect outright forced exploitation (Gerdes 2006, 35). Overall,

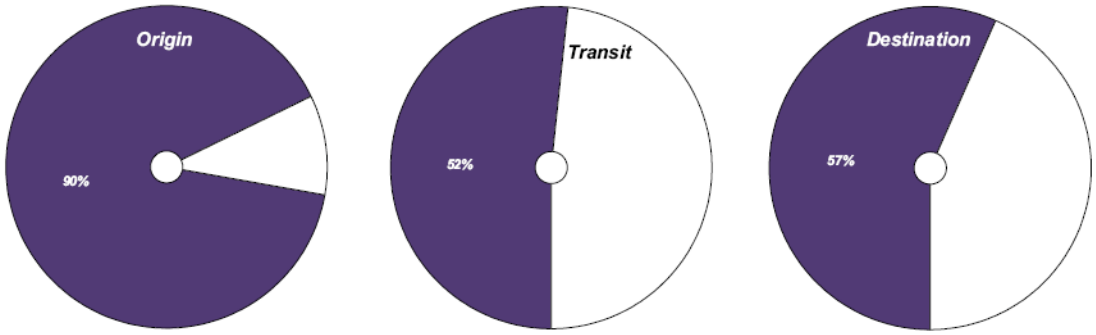
[23] In this United Nations figure, a total of 80 source institutions reported Western Europe as a region of origin, transit, or destination for trafficking victims. The percentages in the figure refer to the total amount of 80 source institutions.

[24] This constitutes a newer form of slavery, which will not be discussed in this thesis. Extensive use of the Internet provides just another venue for traffickers to target potential victims.

> the collapse of the Berlin Wall and simpler exit procedures have increased freedom of movement in Eastern Europe, but factors such as inadequate education, idealized notions of life in the West, legislation favorable to the commercial sex industry in many countries, and particularly the feminization of poverty have created excellent conditions for trafficking (Gerdes 2006, 35).

Figure 6 indicates that Central and South Eastern Europe predominately serve as an origin region, although it plays host as a transit and destination region as well. A large number of women are trafficked between neighboring countries, and the region overall tends to serve as a transit point for traffickers. About 57% of institutions reported Central and South Eastern Europe as a destination region.

Figure 6. Central and South Eastern European Sub-Region as Origin, Transit, or Destination for Trafficking Victims[25]



Source: This figure was created by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). 2006. *Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns*. Anti-Human Trafficking Unit (AHTU), Global Programme against Trafficking in Human Beings (GPAT). New York: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 26. <http://www.unodc.org/pdf/crime/trafficking_persons_report_2006-04.pdf>.

In Central and Eastern Europe, high levels of unemployment, poverty, human deception (as made evident through trusted family, friends, and significant others), and political instability, encourage the growth of human trafficking. In particular, the fall of the former Soviet Union has only exacerbated these conditions, and has led to people migrating abroad in search of viable sources of income. These factors in turn create

[25] In this United Nations figure, a total of 60 source institutions reported Central and South Eastern Europe as a region of origin, transit, or destination for trafficking victims. The percentages in the figure refer to the total amount of 60 source institutions.

vulnerability which makes people more susceptible to the deception of traffickers.

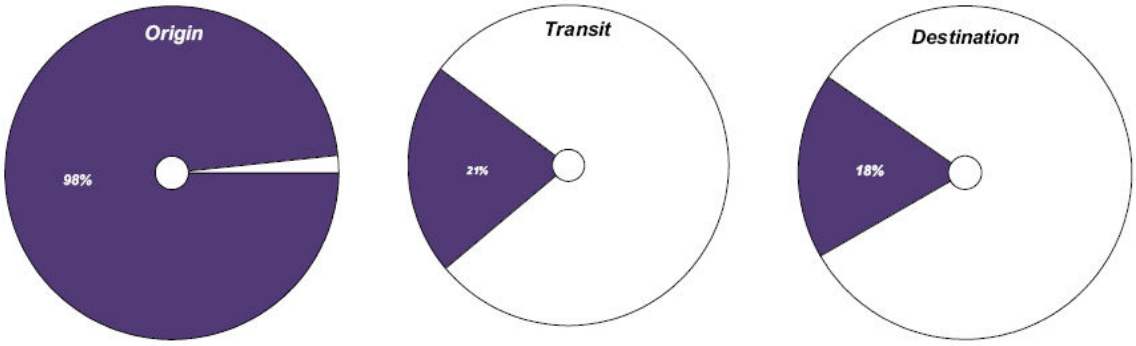
Moldova remains the poorest country in Europe. Once one of the most affluent countries prior to 1991, Moldova now fights one of the worst human trafficking records, as well as one of the highest unemployment rates in the region. It serves as an origin country for females trafficked into prostitution, the most vulnerable coming from domestic abuse households and children leaving institutional care (Malarek 2004, 14; Amnesty International 2005, 28). Girls here and in Romania and Bulgaria are kidnapped walking home from school, especially in more rural areas (Malarek 2004, 14). The "situation is so serious that in some rural areas, parents have stopped sending daughters to school to protect them from being stolen" (Malarek 2004, 14).

Albania also suffers from similar conditions, with "poverty, lack of education, family breakdown, and crime networks at home and abroad" contributing to women and children becoming trafficked for sexual exploitation and forced labor (Amnesty International 2005, 38). An estimated 14,000 Albanian women serve as prostitutes in various European countries (Farr 2005, 5). Given its close proximity, Italy serves as one of the most popular destinations for Albanian women, where the number of trafficked victims more than doubled between 1998 and 2000 (Farr 2005, 6). The case of Albania clearly demonstrates the ease in which people are trafficked into other countries, due to high levels of unemployment, and the existence of international criminal networks.

Women from the FSU republics have been trafficked into prostitution in no less than 50 countries (Farr 2005, 9). This region is increasingly vulnerable to the supply of traffickers and remains as one of the largest origin regions of trafficked women and young girls (Figure 7). In certain areas of Russia "women represent 70% to 95% of the unemployed" (Gerdes 2006, 35). It is for this reason that many Russians, Ukrainians, Moldovans, Romanians, and Bulgarians seek alternative employment abroad, and "risk

almost everything" in search of employment (Gerdes 2006, 36). For example, Russian and Ukrainian women largely supply the sex market in Israel. About 1,000 to 2,000 women are trafficked for prostitution into Israel each year (Farr 2005, 5). Police report the problem to be "out of control" and rampant, due to the enormous profits generated by the sex industry. In fact, Haifa has become a prime point of entry into Israel for trafficked women. Israeli police estimate that "there are about 25,000 paid sexual transactions in [Israel] daily" (Farr 2005, 24). Due to their exotic appearances – many of them light-haired, light-eyed, and lighter skinned – women from this region remain in heavy demand in Israel. As late as 2000, Israel was reported to have around 250 brothels and escort agencies just in Tel Aviv alone (Farr 2005, 6), illuminating the city as a major metropolis for the sex industry. Poverty is a significant factor contributing to the trafficking of women from Moldova, Albania, and the former Soviet Union republics because of the lack of employment opportunities in their countries. Travel/migration abroad also acts as a means through which traffickers can more easily target their victims.

Figure 7. Commonwealth of Independent States[26] as Origin, Transit, or Destination for Trafficking Victims[27]



Source: This figure was created by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). 2006. *Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns*. Anti-Human Trafficking Unit (AHTU), Global Programme against Trafficking in Human Beings (GPAT). New York: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 28. <http://www.unodc.org/pdf/crime/trafficking_persons_report_2006-04.pdf>.

The Balkans is yet another region strongly characterized by high incident rates of rampant human trafficking and exploitation. Kosovo, Macedonia, and Serbia and Montenegro serve as major destination countries within this region; Bosnia ranks number one (Mendelson 2005, 9). During the Yugoslavian War, criminal organizations helped to establish the infamous Balkan route, weaving through Serbia, Croatia, Albania, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Kosovo (Malarek 2004, 21). This route continues to see trafficked women, and stationed United Nations Peacekeeping troops served as the "demand" for local brothels, which were set up with trafficked women (Malarek 2004, 21). In this particular region, political instability and internal conflict, as well as government corruption, creates a breeding ground for the sexual exploitation and trafficking of people since many became refugees and were in constant movement.

[26] The Commonwealth of Independent States, international organization that was established 21 December 1991, comprises of eleven former Soviet Republics: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. Turkmenistan broke off from the organization as a permanent member on 26 August 2005, and now serves as an associate member (Commonwealth of Independent States 2007).

[27] In this United Nations figure, a total of 61 source institutions reported the Commonwealth of Independent States as a region of origin, transit, or destination for trafficking victims. The percentages in the figure refer to the total amount of 61 source institutions.

Overall, most of the trafficked women and young girls originate from the FSU republics, as well as Central and Eastern European countries such as the Czech Republic and Poland. Many are ultimately destined for exploitation in Western European countries (Masika 2002, 11). Experienced traffickers "vary routes to keep one step ahead of the law by moving women across borders with relative ease" (Malarek 2004, 20). Traffickers have well-established systems of "green borders" or unguarded boundaries, such as the "Eastern Route" that curls throughout Poland and into Germany (Malarek 2004, 20). Women from Russia, Ukraine, Romania, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia are commonly trafficked along this route, and found in increasing numbers in Italy, Greece, Germany, Belgium, Austria, and France (Malarek 2004, 21). The trafficking network in this region remains tightly organized, cohesive, and well-run, making it one of the most difficult to permeate.

In general, high levels of unemployment, poverty, pervasive corruption (especially alongside international criminal networks), widespread human deception, and political instability, encourage the growth of trafficked people in Europe.

The Middle East[28] and Asia.[29]

Literature concerning trafficking in the Middle Eastern region is limited. Women and children are usually trafficked into the Middle East (Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates) from other regions, including Asia (Thailand, the Philippines, and Indonesia) (Miko 2003, 8-9). South and Southeast Asia serve as major origin regions. "Economic problems in source [origin] countries have fueled expanding recruitment of women and girls for global sex trafficking in the 1990s and early 2000s … [and the

[28] Note that there was not a United Nations figure available for the Middle East.
[29] These regions were grouped together given their regional proximity, and also due to the fact that overall, the Middle Eastern region lacked in existing literature in countries such as Iran and Iraq.

presence of] fledgling, unstable market systems […] have increasingly become linked to the powerful global market dominated by Western powers" (Farr 2005, 138). Main destination countries for trafficked Middle Eastern individuals are the United States, Canada, Japan, and Western Europe, given their "advanced market economies" (Miko 2003, 7; Farr 2005, 4). However, destination countries thrive across regions as well, both poor and rich. For instance, about 200,000 Bangladeshi women have been trafficked into neighboring Pakistan over the last ten years, increasing the trafficking rate to 200 to 400 per month (Barry 1995, 167; Farr 2005, 4). These victims are held in slavery, bonded labor, marriage, and prostitution, and "depending on market demand for age, beauty, and race, these women are sold for $1000 to $2000 to brothels in Pakistan" (Barry 1995, 167).

Economic instability is a significant factor for the trafficking of Middle Eastern people into more stable economies perhaps because they are in search of better employment opportunities. In addition, the close proximity of Pakistan and Bangladesh has contributed to the ease in which people are trafficked between the two countries.

Trafficking from Pakistan to Bangladesh is a very congested route, as it is popular. In Bangladesh's capital city, Dhaka, an estimated 18,000 to 20,000 women and children serve in prostitution (Barry 1995, 167). Some researchers even push these estimates to 25,000 to 30,000 (Barry 1995, 167). However, the large majority of prostitution in major cities is often concealed within brothels or "'floating' with streetwalkers whose rickshaw drivers are the middlemen between them and customers" (Barry 1995, 167). Usually, Bangladeshi women are deceived through false marriages or lucrative job offers in Pakistan (this also occurs in India) (Barry 1995, 167). Similar to Latin America (with "artificial families"), human deception plays a role in the trafficking of Bangladeshi women.

In Nepal, the carpet industry serves as the largest sector in the country, utilizing thousands of women and girls. They are not only exploited by long hours in this industry, but may also be sexually abused and raped by the managers and even coworkers. Some of the carpet making industries run "underground" brothels, which further increases the demand for women (Parrot and Cummings 2006, 140). Also, thousands of Nepalese girls are repeatedly lured and then abducted into India for sexual exploitation annually (Miko 2003, 7). India-Nepal trafficking has existed for many years, and remains a pressing problem despite national legislation in both countries.

Regardless of some excellent legislation that Thailand has passed, including the *1996 Act for Prostitution Prevention and Suppression Act*[30] (which replaced the 1960 Act), not much has been done to address the main causes that foster human trafficking. The government, despite acknowledging the seriousness of the situation, continues to tolerate the industry due in large part to the extensive profits generated (Obokata 2006, 52). In 1992, the Prime Minister, Chuan Leekpai admittedly reported that "the problem [of sex slavery] would be less if those who have the weapons and enforce the law were not involved [and] if the problem cannot be solved, I won't order the authorities to tackle it" (Bales 1999, 64). Nevertheless, police have instead increased their involvement in the trade – directly or indirectly. Furthermore, the extensive tourism the country receives only exacerbates trafficking and other related sexually exploitative industries. Estimates report that as many as 500,000 foreigners travel each year to Thailand to partake in sexual activities (Obokata 2006, 52). Enforcement remains a key issue in curtailing the growth of human trafficking.

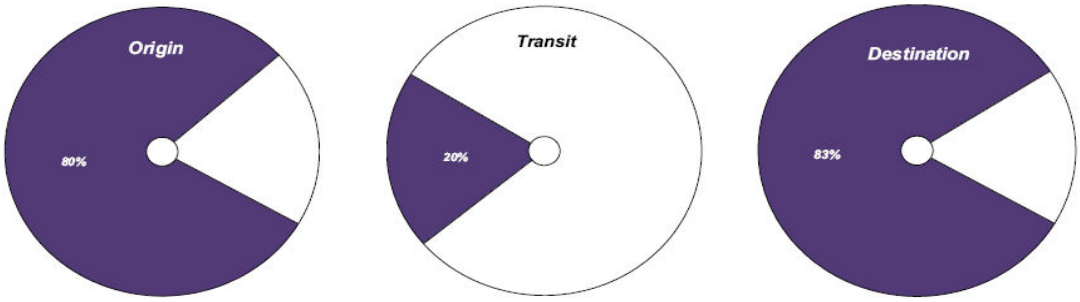
Japan also has a bustling sex industry whose demand cannot be met at the local level. Women are trafficked from neighboring countries such as Thailand, South Korea,

[30] This act "treats prostitutes more as victims and concentrates on punishing procurers, owners of brothels, and others involved in the trafficking business" (Obokata 2006, 49).

and Burma, in order to supply this great demand. Annual profits are estimated at a gross $33.6 to $84 billion (Parrot and Cummings 2006, 136). This country serves as a major destination for women and girls in Southeast Asia, and debt bondage concurrent with trafficking is common in Japan.

Figure 8 indicates that Asia equally serves as an origin and destination region. The large volume of people trafficked out of countries in the region, and into other neighboring countries confirms.

Figure 8. Asian Region as Origin, Transit, or Destination for Trafficking Victims[31]



Source: This figure was created by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). 2006. *Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns*. Anti-Human Trafficking Unit (AHTU), Global Programme against Trafficking in Human Beings (GPAT). New York: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 24. <http://www.unodc.org/pdf/crime/trafficking_persons_report_2006-04.pdf>.

Overall, economic instability in the Middle East, the ease of travel/migration between neighboring countries, such as Pakistan and Bangladesh, human deception, lack of legislative enforcement in Asia, and the overall demand for sex, are factors that encourage the trafficking of people in the Middle East/Asian region.

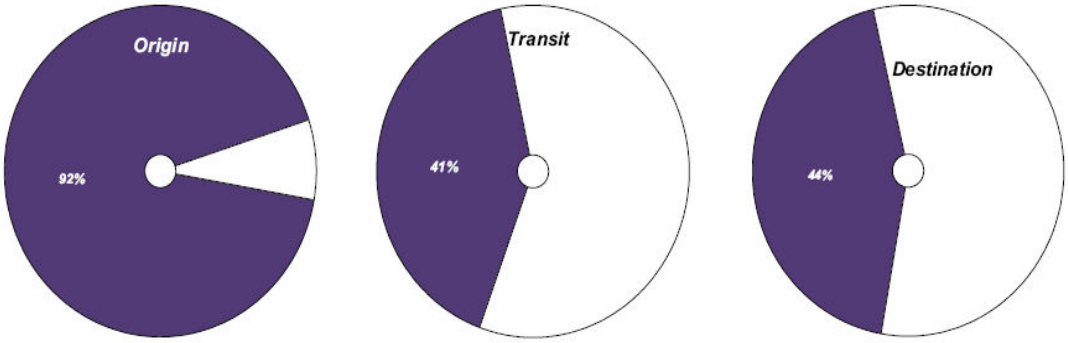
[31] In this United Nations figure, a total of 80 source institutions reported Asia as a region of origin, transit, or destination for trafficking victims. The percentages in the figure refer to the total amount of 80 source institutions.

Africa

With little data available about the ebb and flows of the human trafficking industry in Africa, it is difficult to measure the true extent of the situation. Trafficked people have reportedly increased in recent years, and are believed to be in the tens of thousands (Miko 2003, 9). Poverty and the low position granted to women are major factors giving rise to trafficking, as well as internal armed conflicts plaguing countries such as Sudan and Rwanda (Miko 2003, 9). The main origin countries include Ghana, Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Mali (Masika 2002, 11; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2006, 22). Prime destination countries include Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Western Europe, the United States, and the Middle Eastern nations of Lebanon, Libya, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia (Masika 2002, 11). The United Kingdom is also a prime destination country for trafficked victims from Nigeria, Liberia, and Sierra Leone (Obokata 2006, 41). An estimated 10,000 African children are alleged to be living with non-family members in the United Kingdom, working in the sex industry, drug trafficking, credit card fraud, or domestic service industry (Obokata 2006, 41). Human trafficking for sexual exploitation is acknowledged in the region, as is forced labor. In Central and Western Africa, women and children are trafficked for domestic servitude, including plantation, domestic, and sexual work (Masika 2002, 11).

Like most developing regions (with a few notable exceptions within each region), Africa serves primarily as an origin region (Figure 9). However, it equally serves as a transit and destination region, given the ease in which neighboring countries traffic people.

Figure 9. African Region as an Origin, Transit, or Destination for Trafficking Victims[32]



Source: This figure was created by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). 2006. *Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns*. Anti-Human Trafficking Unit (AHTU), Global Programme against Trafficking in Human Beings (GPAT). New York: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 22. <http://www.unodc.org/pdf/crime/trafficking_persons_report_2006-04.pdf>.

A strong demand for labor, gender bias/discrimination against women, political instability in countries like Sudan and Rwanda, and extreme poverty across the African continent, all help to encourage the trafficking of people.

Conclusion

Anna Diamantopoulou, the European commissioner for Employment and Social Affairs, stated that human trafficking

> is a booming industry, run with ruthless efficiency by powerful multinational criminal networks…These are not casual criminals. They are run well-funded, well-organized, influential organizations. They know their business inside out and respond to changes in the market with a speed unmatched by even the most competitive corporations. Their expertise and their ability to exploit the market are surpassed only by their disregard for human life. Women are brought, sold, and hired out like any other product. The bottom line is profit (Malarek 2003, 46).[33]

The human trafficking field remains full of challenges, including the prosecution of traffickers, the protection of victims, and the reduction of the demand for sex (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2006, 10). While the number of those criminals

[32] In this United Nations figure, a total of 39 source institutions reported Africa as a region of origin, transit, or destination for trafficking victims. The percentages in the figure refer to the total amount of 39 source institutions.

[33] Anna Diamantopoulou delivered this quote in a speech at an anti-trafficking conference in Brussels in September 2002.

being prosecuted has increased over the last several years, very few are ever convicted (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2007, 4). In addition, the majority of trafficked victims are never identified or rehabilitated. Many are too afraid to speak out against their captors or avoid the industry altogether once freed.

Also, human trafficking for sexual exploitation is ambiguous with respect to forced and voluntary prostitution. It is difficult for national governments to ascertain individual trafficking cases if precise definitions do not exist. Human trafficking intertwines itself so that differentiating between different types of slavery is difficult. A large proportion of women trafficked for prostitution are also victims of debt bondage (Farr 2005, 25). This can create problems in a country especially if national legislation does not recognize each form of slavery and/or the crimes involved.

Later this year [2007] in Vienna, Austria, the United Nations will kick off a new program to fight not only human trafficking, but also contemporary slavery around the world, entitled, "Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking and Modern Slavery" (United Press International 2007). It is their hope that through world governments, civil society, and international organizations, human trafficking can be brought to an end. Human trafficking for sexual exploitation "…is a well-established, highly profitable industry that operates not only with considerable impunity, but with very little citizen awareness of its existence" (Farr 2005, 219).

This chapter on human trafficking exemplifies how travel/migration, poverty, corruption, unemployment, human deception, and political instability, play a role in exacerbating or contributing to the growth of enslaved people around the world. Although these factors are present worldwide, there also exist factors endemic to each country or region which further aggravates human trafficking. In Latin America/Caribbean, environmental destruction, abuse in the home (e.g., drug, physical,

or sexual), and gender bias/discrimination, contribute to the trafficking of people. In North America, lack of legislative enforcement and a high demand for sex breeds the vulnerability to becoming trafficked. Abused/institutionalized children, pervasive and deep-rooted international criminal networks, and corruption, contributes to the trafficking of people in Europe. In the Middle East/Asia, economic instability, lack of legislative enforcement, and a high demand for sex foster this industry. Finally, gender bias/discrimination and a high demand for labor encourage this slavery in Africa. Human trafficking, in particular, is not a discriminatory type of slavery, and the same conditions – whether poverty, corruption, unemployment, or human deception – occur worldwide in fostering slavery.

The next chapter will focus on a primarily non-sexually exploitative slavery, debt bondage. While it is commonly used with trafficked victims, this form of debt bondage emphasizes on forced labor.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEBT BONDAGE

Debt bondage is the most common type of slavery in the world today (Bales 2004, 16); yet it has not received the strong attention human trafficking for sexual exploitation has. This form of slavery involves not only individuals, but can also involve an entire family, including children. Instances of debt bondage exist virtually everywhere, but this form of slavery is more widespread in South Asia and South America. Some forms of bonded labor are very lucrative – such as those working in the charcoal camps in Brazil – while others produce a scant return, such as those involved in the brick making process in Pakistan. In addition, debt bondage does not contain itself only within the forced labor sector, but is also popular within the trafficking of people for sexual exploitation, such as in prostitution. Note that all forms of slavery are granted equal importance by the author; however, some have greater literature available than others. This is the primary method for selecting the three types of slavery discussed in the thesis.

Numerous socioeconomic, cultural, environmental, and religious factors encourage the growth of debt bondage around the world. Some of these include poverty, high levels of unemployment, environmental destruction and the demand for labor in rural areas, lack of education/literacy, religious discrimination, lack of legislative enforcement, and human deception. These factors help to create the necessary environment for the enslavement of people into debt bondage, especially in India,

Pakistan, and Brazil. Other forms of slavery not discussed within these three consecutive chapters (Chapters 3, 4, and 5) are grouped together within Chapter 6. Due to time constraints, an elaboration on every form of slavery is not possible. This chapter examines debt bondage and its different forms in three countries: India, Pakistan, and Brazil.

Debt Bondage Defined

According to the *United Nations Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery of 1956*, debt bondage[34] "involves a situation in which debtors pledge their personal services against a debt they owe, but the person to whom they owe it fails to deduct the value of their services from the debt, or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined" (van den Anker 2004, 118; Farr 2005, 25). Essentially, an individual or family pledges themselves against a debt, or they inherit a debt from their family (Bales 1999, 9; Bales 2004, 16). Enslavement sets in when complete control of the person occurs (van den Anker 2004, 118).

The Debt Bondage Population

In 2001, the United Nations estimated that there are 21 million people in bonded labor worldwide; most of them indigenous peoples. However, according to the International Labor Organization (ILO) report on forced labor, there are discrepancies because not all forms of debt lead to bondage (Miers 2003, 425 Ch. 24). Indebtedness is the primary distinguishable feature of debt bondage in comparison to other forms of

[34] In the southern region of the United States, Latin America, and the Philippines, debt bondage is known as peonage; in South Asia, it is known as bonded labor (Miers 2003, 112 Ch. 8; van den Anker 2004, 25). In this research, debt bondage will be used interchangeably with the term "bonded labor" when deemed necessary.

forced labor (van den Anker 2004, 118). Kevin Bales' 1999 estimate of bonded laborers worldwide also parallels that of the United Nations at more than 20 million. As previously mentioned, debt bondage along with other forms of slavery, is not mutually exclusive (Bales 2004, 17). Apart from debt bondage in the forced labor sector, it also occurs among those trafficked into prostitution or other sexually exploitative industries, and migrant workers (van den Anker 2004, 119).

Where Debt Bondage Exists

Debt bondage is widespread in South America and in South Asia, especially in India (Miers 2003, 415 Ch. 24; van den Anker 2004, 25; Bales 2005, 4). In South Asia, it is prevalent in agriculture, rural industry, service sectors, and in production of materials for industry or construction (e.g., such as for brick kilns) (van den Anker 2004, 119). Overall, there is no general consensus on the average size of this labor market in the South Asian region (van den Anker 2004, 118). In South America, it prevails with those working within the environmental sector. What follows is a discussion of different forms of debt bondage in India, Pakistan, and Brazil. These three countries are of particular interest due to the high volume of bonded labor that exists in both India and Pakistan, as well as the way debt bondage takes hold in an unconventional industry in Brazil that is not very widespread. These cases also demonstrate that poverty, high levels of unemployment, environmental destruction and the demand for labor, lack of education, human deception, and religious discrimination all play a significant role in leading people to become enslaved despite cultural, political, and socioeconomic differences within each country.

India outlawed debt bondage in 1976 (Miers 2003, 423 Ch. 24), yet this country has one of the highest volumes of bonded laborers. Debt bondage in agriculture was first reported in the Indian state of Bihar in 1858. In India, debt bondage is interchangeable with the terms *kaimaiya, kamiyah, haruwahi, kandh* (in the Bihar province), *haliah* (in the Orissa province), *harwashee* or *kamiya* (in the Madhya Pradesh province), and *hali in uttar* (in the Pradesh and Maharastra provinces) (van den Anker 2004, 120). It is no surprise the country has numerous meanings for this form of slavery, given its pervasiveness, as well as the different languages spoken in the region.

The "debtors" as they are usually called, are typically illiterate, landless, rural, and poor; within the caste system, they reflect the bottom of the hierarchy. Poverty and a lack of education greatly contribute to the enslavement of people into debt bondage, as other occupations are not feasible. They work for creditors, who are usually landlords (Miers 2003, 423 Ch. 24). If the debtor is not able to carry out his tasks, his wife and children might also be forced to work. Essentially, they become bonded as well, as might the heirs of the family. Sometimes generations remain bonded due to the inability to escape enslavement and the impoverished conditions in which they cannot seem to escape (van den Anker 2004, 25). For example, an Indian man had once borrowed $30 for his wedding; forty years later he still had not repaid the amount despite the long arduous hours of labor he toiled on a daily basis in his home country (Miers 2003, 423 Ch. 24). Similar situations occur in Pakistan, where parents bond their children in return for loans. Labor in the brick kilns presents just another example of how individuals and families are bonded (Miers 2003, 423 Ch. 24). Children are particularly vulnerable to this because they are young, defenseless, and easily targeted.

Approximately fifteen years ago, Pakistan outlawed debt bondage; yet this type of slavery continues to exist in the country (Miers 2003, 423 Ch. 24). Similar to the

process in neighboring India and elsewhere in the world, laborers become enslaved as a consequence of a pledged loan of some sort or though inheritance. Bonded labor mainly exists in the agricultural sector, as well as in the brick kilns, domestic service, and the carpet and weaving industries (van den Anker 2004, 124). Even the mining and fishing industries report the presence of bonded laborers. According to the National Commission on Justice and Peace, "… of the established 6 million bonded laborers in Pakistan, approximately half belong to religious minorities – chiefly Christians and Hindus" (van den Anker 2004, 124). In effect then, religious factors seem to play a bigger role in Pakistan in the area of debt bondage. Religious discrimination could possibly account for the large number of religious minorities enslaved. According to recent data, debt bondage has experienced a decline in the country, perhaps due to the decrease in the number of landless tenants and of share-cropping (between landlords and laborers) (van den Anker 2004, 124).

The brick kiln industry in Pakistan involves a large number of bonded slaves. These individuals or families work against a debt, one that often lingers on to future generations. Moreover, when the father dies, the wife and children inherit the debt (Bales 1999, 152). This highlights the fact that poverty and/or a lack of alternative employment opportunities has kept such people enslaved. There are approximately 7,000 kilns in Pakistan. Ironically, these ovens are "made [out] of what they make – bricks" (Bales 1999, 152). Usually a family, including children, work together in the industry, establishing a total of about 750,000 slaves (Bales 1999, 154). Children in particular play an integral role in this bonded labor. They help the family mix mud for the bricks, haul the bricks from pits to kilns, or stack them (Bales 1999, 150).

Bricks are stacked in precise and neat rows, one on top of the other, in order to form an oven, where temperatures reach well over 1500 degrees. Brick kilns pose

extreme dangers to the workers, not only because of the high temperatures, but also for the susceptibility of falling inside one. When the “fires rage in the kiln below them sometimes the top level of bricks give way. When this happens a person can fall through. If workers fall completely into the kiln there is no hope for them” (Bales 1999, 151). Within seconds, they become incinerated.



Photo: Children are seen stacking and aligning bricks. Source: Anti-Slavery International Development and Peace. 1999. “Debt Bondage: Slavery Around the World.” Photograph. June. Anti-Slavery International <http://www.devp.org/slavery/bondage.html>.

Despite the extreme dangers these people are put in, brick making is a form of slavery that it is not very lucrative. For about 100 rupees ($2), 1000 bricks can be bought, made by slaves who turn the mud into bricks. Haulers, stackers, fire workers, unstackers, and transporters are paid an additional 200 rupees ($4). Essentially the bricks themselves cost little to nothing to make, as the earth itself is used to create them. However, the fuel that burns in these kilns to make the bricks is the expensive part of the process (Bales 1999, 192). Since the kilns operate 24 hours a day, seven days a week,

a large quantity of coal is used – several hundred tons – each month. In addition to the costs of fuel (additional 500 rupees or $10 per 1000 bricks), the salary of the manager and brick making expenses such as water, rent, vehicle maintenance, etc. (additional 900 rupees or $18), the total profit yields only 100 rupees or $2 (Bales 1999, 193). This small profit is what drives the highest volume of people to become enslaved in bonded labor. It is "sexual abuse in the workplace, subsistence wages, increasing debt, the low profitability of kilns, religious and ethnic discrimination, police corruption, and unenforced laws [which] combine to create a trap of poverty and, in the worst cases, debt bondage" (Bales 1999, 194). Unfortunately, since many of these factors are deteriorating, the outlook for these enslaved brick makers, as well as those in other forms of bonded labor is not optimistic. Poverty, high levels of unemployment, lack of education/literacy, vulnerability, religious discrimination, and human deception play a role in the enslavement of people into debt bondage in both India and Pakistan.

Throughout the 1990s, attention to bonded labor was brought to light, particularly in South America. Environmental destruction has created the necessary setting for slavery to flourish, especially within Brazil's vast Amazon rainforest (Bales 1999, 121). "People caught up and forced to carry out destruction of forests live without electricity, running water, or communication with the outside world" (Bales 1999, 122). Disruption to the natural environment creates certain such factors which help slavery grow. In this country, debt bondage is considered to be a temporary form of slavery because of the limited destruction and availability of certain environmental structures (Bales 1999, 122). In other words, because forests, jungles, and rainforests can only be destroyed once, debt bondage cannot continue if these structures are not in place.

In Brazil, bonded labor has established itself due to extreme poverty, high unemployment, human deception, environmental destruction, and the demand for labor

in rural areas (Miers 2003, 424 Ch. 24). Today, the country suffers from the greatest economic disparity than any other place on Earth (Bales 1999, 124). Nearly 50,000 out of the 165 million people own almost everything especially land; at the other end of the spectrum lie 4 million people whose lives revolve around the *favelas* (slums) scattered throughout the major cities of the country. They share a mere three percent of the land, yet are the ones who become enslaved to work them (Bales 1999, 124).

More than 25 years ago in the state of Mato Grosso du Sol, "the *cerrado* was cleared to make way for eucalyptus" (Bales 1999, 122). The wood was piled into mounds and simply burned into charcoal. Today, the destruction of the forests has returned to the state and other Amazonian regions of Brazil (including Minas Gerais and Bahia), this time yielding profits (Bales 1999, 122). Despite the official abolishment of the importation of slaves into the country in 1854 (as well as the international slave trade), internal slavery has never diminished (Bales 1999, 123). In fact, Brazil became the last country in the Western Hemisphere to officially abolish slavery in 1888 (Bales 1999, 124).

Due to the great demand for labor in the rural areas, contractors (known in Brazil as *gatos*) drive into urban centers, such as Minas Gerais, and look for prospective workers, with promises of a lucrative career and advance pay (Bales 1999, 126). Once recruited, workers "[find] that they [are] charged for their transport, food, housing, and tools, and that the wages [are] too low to repay their debts" (Miers 2003, 424 Ch. 24). Human deception, lack of employment opportunities and the demand for labor has thus encouraged Brazilians to becoming enslaved. In addition, their main sources of identity and freedom in the country [are] taken away: their state identity card and their labor card (Bales 1999, 128). Both are vital to Brazilian life, as the former card proves citizenship and the latter serves as a key document for legal employment. Without either

one, it is difficult for these people to reclaim their lives once they became slaves. "From this moment the worker is dead as a citizen and born as a slave" (Bales 1999, 128). Thus begins the cycle of enslavement known as debt bondage.

Once the *gatos* recruit people, they are usually driven many miles into the mining regions, "to places they don't know and [are] cut off from friends and family [so] they have no way to pay for the trip back to their own state" (Bales 1999, 128). Essentially, these charcoal camps (called *batterias*[35]) are in desolate areas where the slaves are at the mercy and will of the *gatos*. Like those brutalized in the sexual exploitation industry, these workers become completely controlled, and violence is often employed. A prime difference in this particular type of slavery is that the "*gatos* and bosses don't want to own these workers; [they] just want to squeeze as much work out of them as possible" (Bales 1999, 129). Those enslaved at the camps in Mato Gross du Sol are reported to have only been held in bonded labor from three months to two years, but not much longer than that (Bales 1999, 129).

There are several reasons for the short-term enslavement of charcoal workers. First, the charcoal camps are only in existence for about two to three years in one location; thereafter, the forest and surrounding area becomes depleted. Second, the workers themselves also become fatigued and even sick from working in the hot temperatures of the charcoal ovens. It is easier for the *gatos* to find "fresh" and healthy labor to replace the older ones. However, when these slaves retire, "many [of them] never make it back to their homes in Minas Gerais" (Bales 1999, 129). Ironically, they linger around the surrounding areas of Mato Grosso, and are recruited back into the charcoal-making business in other camps.

[35] These camps were called *batterias* (or *batteria* in singular form) due to the fact that the charcoal camps have "a batter of charcoal ovens (*fornos*)." Each *batteria* consisted of 20 to 100+ ovens, with 8 to 40 slaves (Bales 1999, 129).

The camps themselves are extremely polluted and very hazardous. Each charcoal oven is about seven feet high by ten feet wide, and sits four feet apart from the next one in a line of 20 to 30 ovens (Bales 1999, 130). Only a small opening of about four feet in the oven allows for the slave to enter to dispose of and burn the wood. The charcoal is created by burning the wood with little oxygen; the slave then has to completely and tightly pack in the wood into the oven (Bale 1999, 130).

Working fourteen-hour workdays, six days a week - even at a temporary pace - brings about enormous health risks (Miers 2003, 424 Ch. 24). "…Most will suffer from black lung disease…" apart from other respiratory diseases and fatigue (Bales 1999, 130). Moreover, given the extreme temperatures and heat involved, many become severely burned and some even die. What follows is a personal account of slavery expert, Kevin Bales, in a charcoal camp

> As soon as you enter the *batteria* the heat bears down. This part of Brazil is already hot and humid; take away any protection from the sun that the trees might offer and add the heat of thirty ovens, and the result is a baking inferno. For the workers who have to climb inside the still-burning ovens to empty charcoal the heat is unimaginable. When I got inside an oven with a man shoveling charcoal, the pressure of the heat had my head swimming in minutes, sweat drenched my clothes and the floor of hot coals burned my feet through my heavy boots…All of the charcoal workers I met had hands, arms, and legs crisscrossed with ugly burn scars, some still swollen and festering (Bales 1999, 131).

It should be mentioned that not all charcoal camps are run by deceitful *gatos* who are slaveholders. About 10 - 15 % of the charcoal camps are honest, and treat and pay their workers well (Bales 1999, 140). Yet, the *gatos* who work the charcoal camps are merely subcontractors that report to the multinational companies that own the land (Bales 1999, 140). They only receive a portion of the profits of what the charcoal camp yields; therefore if production is slow, they will not receive full compensation. This can be both good and bad, because if the *gatos* do receive adequate compensation, they are happy; and if they do not receive adequate compensation they are more likely to withhold payment from the charcoal workers (slaves) to supplement the loss in wages.

Unlike the brick making industry in Pakistan, charcoal camps yield enormous profits. In a small *batteria* of 25 ovens and four workers, one month's work can yield an initial profit of nearly 18, 750 reais (roughly $17,000). When the transportation costs of shipping the charcoal to smelters are included, 12,000 reais are left. Once workers are paid (which is still little in comparison to the overall profit) – about 1200 reais total per month – and fed, the profits still remain high (Bales 1999, 140). Constructing a *batteria* costs about 100 reais, with about 3,000 to 4,000 reais going into production; but the costs themselves are earned back within a month of operating the camp. In about a year, this size camp can yield earnings of about 100,000 reais (or about $90,000) (Bales 1999, 140).

In Brazil, people are not only enslaved in charcoal camps, but also made to "cut down Amazon rain forests and harvest sugarcane. They mine gold and precious stones or work as prostitutes. The rubber industry relies on slavery, as does cattle and timber. Indians are especially likely to be enslaved; but all poor Brazilians run the risk of bondage" (Bales 1999, 147-148). Poverty is crucial in sustaining or fostering slavery because of the lack of other viable options for income. Brazil is a country which abounds with different forms of slavery. Human rights advocates, trade union leaders, lawyers, priests, and other involved members of society have consistently fought against slavery and exploitation in the country, but are highly susceptible to murder. In fact, eight such people fighting against slavery had their names put on a circulating "death list" in the town of Rio Maria (state of Pará) several years ago. Six of the eight are dead, and the town is now referred to as "the town of death foretold" (Bales 1999, 148).

Extreme poverty, unemployment, human deception, environmental destruction, and the demand for labor in rural areas, have greatly contributed to this slavery.

Debt Bondage and Sexual Exploitation

As mentioned earlier, debt bondage can also include those in the sexual exploitation industry (Kempadoo 1998, 67). Sometimes, women who are tricked by traffickers for employment purposes, rack up an unknown "debt" that later has to be repaid through the performance of sexual exploitation. Traffickers charge these women for the costs of transportation, international and travel documents costs (e.g., passport and visa fees), "trafficking" costs (e.g., job finding fee, broker or travel escort payment), and sometimes even room and board, medical insurance, and food. Little by little, the tab surmounts into a debt that will probably never be paid off, and that is beyond the actual costs incurred by traffickers (Farr 2005, 26-27). In other words, traffickers exploit and take advantage of these women by keeping them in a virtual cycle of bonded enslavement (and later, in one where sexual exploitation occurs simultaneously).

Widespread human deception contributes to women becoming bonded and sexually exploited as well because of the vulnerability they face when looking for employment. Many Southeast Asian women trafficked to Japan, the United States, and Canada, are more apt to have "incurred" higher debts. In a study of 171 Thai women, nearly 95% of them who had been trafficked to Japan had debts of over $24,000. In another study of Asian women trafficked to Japan as well, the average debt incurred was about $5,000; some even managed to amass debts close to $300,000 (Farr 2005, 27). It is for these reasons many of these women who are bonded into the sex industry never leave. Like the agricultural laborers in India and Pakistan, they are forever paying their debt with no end in sight.

This type of debt bondage involving the sex industry occurs similarly in other impoverished regions as well. Nigerian women trafficked to Western Europe incur debts as high as $50,000, as do other African women trafficked to Europe or within Africa (Farr

2005, 28). This continues in a similar manner all around the world. Women trafficked into debt bondage often serve twenty or more clients a day. In the prostitution ring controlled by the Cadena family in Mexico, women served 25-30 men nightly; and Ukrainian women trafficked to Brussels, Belgium were also noted as having served up to 20 men per day. In the Tropicana (an active area of prostitution) in Tel Aviv, Israel, women serve up to 15 men daily (Farr 2005, 36). This type of bondage seems not only to prolong slavery for these women, but forces them to repay fraudulent debts.

Conclusion

In general, bonded labor continues to be concentrated among the non-sexual sectors in the world today, but is progressively found tied to the trafficking of women and girls. India has the world's highest number of bonded laborers, while Pakistan's slaves are on a reported decrease. Lack of education/literacy as well as religious discrimination has played a major role in enslaving people into bonded labor in both India and Pakistan. In Brazil's rural areas, charcoal camps and bonded laborers remain hidden yet are becoming increasingly widespread. Brazil's considerable volume of rainforests – many of which have yet to be explored – have created a high demand for labor to work these regions and destroy the environment, and thus rendering vulnerability to enslavement. Today, children remain at high risk for bonded labor worldwide because they are vulnerable (age), abundant and cheap source of labor. Overall, these cases demonstrate that extreme poverty, high levels of unemployment, and human deception are major that contribute to the enslavement of individuals into debt bondage, and in some cases, the inclusion of sexual exploitation. The next chapter discusses the sex tourism industry, the final major form of slavery in this research.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SEX TOURISM INDUSTRY

The sex tourism industry thrives in many countries, including the more popular and exotic destinations of the Dominican Republic, Brazil, Thailand, and Costa Rica. It even flourishes in the red-light districts of major cities, not only in Thailand and the Philippines, but also in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Women and children, and even boys in certain countries like Sri Lanka, serve as prostitutes in the sex tourism industry. Predators usually travel from wealthier countries, such as Western Europe, the United States, Canada, and Australia in order to engage in anonymous sexual relations, especially if they include children.

Numerous political, socioeconomic, religious, and cultural factors play a role in encouraging slavery. Poverty, high levels of unemployment, government corruption, a high demand for sex[36], gender bias/discrimination (due to cultural and religious norms), and the increase of tourism, have all created the necessary environment for people to become enslaved within the sex tourism industry. With the sexual exploitation of children, poverty, corruption, a high demand of sex, human deception, lack of legislative enforcement, gender bias/discrimination, vulnerability, the threat of HIV/AIDS, sexual abuse, and family unemployment generally contribute to their enslavement around the world.

[36] Note that the demand side of slavery is not discussed in this thesis. The demand for sex is solely illustrated as a factor that encourages the sex tourism industry, and will not be discussed in detail.

This chapter examines the nature of the adult sex tourism industry, and the countries it most commonly operates in. The child sex tourism industry – although constituting a separate form of child exploitation – is presented alongside that of the adult industry. Additionally, a section on the sexual exploitation of children is also discussed due to the sexual nature. Sex tourism provides yet another example of how children are easily targeted and sexually exploited around the world.

Sex Tourism Defined

Sex tourism can be defined as "trips organized from within the tourism sector, or from outside this sector but using its structures and networks, with the primary purpose of effecting a commercial sexual relationship by the tourist with residents at the destination" (World Tourism Organization 1995). Simply put, it involves traveling to a country to engage in sexual intercourse or some sort of sexual activity with prostitutes. Child sex tourism is defined as, "any person engaging in sexual acts with children in any country other than his/her own" (Beddoe 1998, 43). Thousands of men (and rarely, women) travel yearly across oceans to engage in sex with both adults and children. A common misconception of the sex tourism industry is that it involves only children. In fact, it involves female and male (to a lesser extent) adults and children, although females comprise the majority of sex workers. Usually victims are prostituted within their own countries, but it is not uncommon for them to be trafficked into other countries to serve that sex tourism industry (Farr 2005, 166). Due to the high demand nature of the industry, brothel owners generally do not have an economic interest in enslaving women by fraudulent means or through kidnapping. When socioeconomic conditions are poor, women may sometimes seek to work in the industry due to the high profits generated. Poverty and unemployment are significant factors for individuals becoming enslaved.

The Sex Tourism Industry Population

Despite the illegality of prostitution in many countries around the world, thousands of women and children (as well as some boys) serve as sexual slaves (Bales 1999, 37). Children account for the 1.8 million victims in the child sex tourism industry (Gerdes 2006, 50; Latin American and Caribbean Community Center 2007). According to Kevin Bales, approximately 35,000 girls were enslaved in Thailand in 1999, making up a small proportion of the estimated 81, 384 prostitutes in Thailand (Bales 1999, 43). These conservative estimates pale in comparison to those made by the Center for the Protection of Children's Rights, where it is estimated that over two million children are currently working as prostitutes in Thailand alone (Bales 1999, 43). However, Bales himself deems the estimate too high due to the country's population of only 60 million. Since the 1990s, thousands of women and children from around the world have been sold into the Thai sex industry (Miko 2003, 7).

In Mexico, approximately 16,000 to 20,000 children are subjected to the industry, according to the international NGO, ECPAT (End Child Prostitution, Pornography, and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes) (Latin American and Caribbean Community Center 2007). In fact, Mexico now serves as a major sex tourism destination in Latin America.

The growth of the sex tourism industry in many Southeast Asian countries is a major contributing factor to the trafficking of people because it supplies the industry locally and within other neighboring countries. In fact, "South Asia may be the second highest source [origin] region for trafficking victims …" (Troubnikoff 2003, 7). The surge of forced child prostitution lies in the increase of tourism to the region. While it does not cause child prostitution, tourism acts as a means through which access to children is made easier. According to EPCAT, "…twenty percent of international travel is for sex

purposes [and] three percent of travelers are pedophiles" (Latin American and Caribbean Community Center 2007). The encouragement of such tourism only exacerbates already existing institutions that favor sex tourism. Also, cultural factors, such as the low status of women or submissiveness, are reasons that foster the growth of the sex tourism industry, as well as the tie between the trafficking of women and those serving as prostitutes in the sex tourism industry. This is a major problem in countries like Thailand, where women are inferior to men, and where religious factors intertwine themselves with deep-rooted cultural values. In total, the sex industry worldwide produces a reported $20 billion each year, of which $5 billion is attributed to child prostitution (Gerdes 2006, 50; Latin American and Caribbean Community Center 2007). In Thailand alone, the sex tourism industry is estimated at nearly $4 billion annually (Flowers 1998, 166).

Where Sex Tourism Exists

Sex tourism, like other types of slavery, exists in virtually every country in the world. Popular destinations for the industry include developing countries such as Cuba, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Brazil, Honduras, Nicaragua, Thailand, and Sri Lanka (Farr 2005, 231). Among these, Thailand serves as an excellent example of a thriving sex tourism industry, especially among women. All sex tourism is not identified as slavery; rather, exploitation of the victims remains a key element to defining this form. Adult individuals may voluntarily prostitute themselves within the sex tourism industry. However, there is no general consensus among scholars and researchers that such individuals are considered to be enslaved victims. What follows is a discussion of the industry as exemplified in Thailand, and a brief assessment of conditions in Cuba.



A young girl and her elderly "child sex tourist" client captured on film on the beach at Pattaya, Thailand. "Child sex tourism" draws men from wealthy countries to less developed countries where they take advantage of economically vulnerable women and children and weak criminal justice systems

Source: Barbara Kralis. 2006. "Child Sex Tourism." July 21. Renew America <http://www.renewamerica.us/columns/kralis/060722>.

While most of Thailand has been fortunate to have an abundant food supply and natural resources, its northern mountainous region has not been so lucky. Only one tenth of the land in this region can be used for agricultural purposes; however, what can be used is reportedly the most fertile in the country (Bales 1999, 37). Like many unequal societies in the world, those who have control of the land are prosperous; the landless, in this case those in the mountainous region, are not. It is for this reason many of the people struggling to live on a daily basis, have been forced to use their children as commodities (Bales 1999, 38). Inclement weather causing a failed harvest, the death of a main source of income, or any debt acquired might lead to the sale of a child into slavery (Bales 1999, 38). This is especially prevalent in rural areas, where many young women and girls are recruited (Flowers 1998, 180). Impoverished conditions and lack of revenue/income create the susceptibility for females to become enslaved.

There are numerous reasons why female children are more likely to be sold than males, including religious factors. In Thai culture, females are viewed as subservient to men; an issue that also remains pressing in many regions of the world, including Latin America, Africa, and Asia. In particular, within the Buddhist practice in Thailand, it is said that females "cannot for example attain enlightenment, which is the ultimate goal of the devout" (Bales 1999, 38). Within this religious doctrine, females are inferior to men in terms of existence, and carry with them the stigma of sexual detachment. In other words, Thai Buddhists believe that sex is an attachment only to the physical world (and thus, one of suffering and ignorance), and not into the next life. When sex does occur, it is to be done in an impersonal manner. This brings to light a reason why Thai females are often sold into the sex tourism industry by their parents and/or relatives.

Second, Thai Buddhism "also carries a central message of acceptance and resignation in the face of life's pain and suffering. The terrible things that happen to a person are, after all, of an individual's own making, recompense for sins of this life or previous lives" (Bales 1999, 39). For some children and young women, this acceptance of life's challenges includes forced prostitution in the sex tourism industry. Thai children, especially girls, feel an obligation to their parents – not monetary, but of a universal and physical kind (Flowers 1998, 180). In other words, because of the sacrifice their parents have had to make in order to raise them, children often feel indebted to them. Culture plays a major role in countries like Thailand, where young women and children place heavy emphasis on loyalty, respect, and acceptance to their parents.

In Thailand, sex is sold just about anywhere in its available sex establishments, from barber shops, massage parlors, coffee shops, and bars, to restaurants, nightclubs, brothels, hotels, and even temples (Skrobanek et al. 1997, 56-57; Bales 1999, 43). Most of these prostitutes begin voluntarily, although some start out in debt bondage.

Enslaved women generally serve the lowest of clientele, including laborers, students, and workers, who usually can afford 100 *bahts* or less. "For Thai men, buying a woman is much like buying a round of drinks. But the reasons that such large numbers of Thai men use prostitutes are much more complicated and "grow out of their culture, their history, and a rapidly changing economy" (Bales 1999, 44). Cultural factors in Thailand (and Asia in general) are similar to other regions of the world, like Latin America, where women are embraced and viewed as sexual objects.

During the 1960s, the government of Thailand actively encouraged the growth and development of the sex tourism industry in order to promote tourism and bring in revenue. Even though the encouragement of tourism based on sexual services was made illegal in 1960, the government passed a Service Establishment law that made it legal for the "entertainment industry" to continue (Flowers 1998, 166; Bales 1999, 75). It was made explicit through this law that "women in entertainment were expected to provide 'special services' [or] in other words, sex" (Bales 1999, 75). The surge of American soldiers to the region during the 1960s and 1970s allowed the sex tourism industry to flourish and solidify (Bales 1999, 75). Government sponsorship and corruption of sex tourism has allowed for the solidification of the industry, as well as its growth.

Since then, the sex industry has grown in Thailand. The country's economic surge also included an increase in sex tourism, which was supported by the government (Flowers 1998, 166). "A network of cozy relations between banks, airlines, tour operators, hotels, and bar and brothel owners and agents, all of whom extract their profits from the bodies of pitifully underpaid village Thai female prostitutes" has created the necessary infrastructure for the industry to flourish (Flowers 1998, 166). Government corruption is rampant in the country, and has only exacerbated sex tourism.

Bribes, free sexual "services," and remuneration from perpetrators to government officials have sustained this corrupt relationship.

It is worth mentioning that in Sri Lanka, the majority of those providing sexual services to tourists are young boys. They are referred to as "beach boys," given that they "initiate [their] trade on those beaches frequented by tourists" (Beddoe 1998, 44). After Sri Lanka's (formerly known as Ceylon) independence from Great Britain, tourism steadily increased. Eventually, the beach resort known as *Hikkaduwa* became synonymous with child sex tourism (Beddoe 1998, 45). The formal sector – once fishing – eventually became replaced by child prostitution. Thus, the sex tourism industry was born in Sri Lanka.

Australia, along with Western Europe and North America, serve as primary sources of sex tourists to Asia, the Philippines, Thailand, South Korea, Sri Lanka, and Hong Kong (Miko 2003, 7). Most usually travel with organized sex tours from their home country, where "sex tour promoters feed the stereotype that Asian women are submissive and have a strong desire to please men …" (Flowers 1998, 166). Nearly sixty percent of tourists traveling to Thailand visit for sexual purposes (Parrot and Cummings 2006, 136). Many host countries of these sex tourists are beginning to enact legislation, making them accountable to crimes committed abroad. For instance, in Vancouver in 2005, Donald Bakker became the first Canadian ever convicted under Canada's child sex tourism laws (CNW TELBEC 2007). Yet, prosecutors claimed this conviction to be erroneous. Still, this legislative enforcement serves as a positive step towards holding such people responsible.

The demand for sex in many of these countries has "significantly contributed to trafficking of women and kids …" (Miko 2003, 9). Since Southeast Asia has toughened anti-sex tourism laws, particularly in Thailand, many sex tourists are now traveling to

Latin America, especially Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Mexico, and Trinidad and Tobago (Miko 2003, 9; Survivor's Rights International). In fact, Brazil has one of the worst child prostitution problems in the world. These countries provide an oasis and tropical retreat for tourists looking for cheap sex and anonymity (Beddoe 1998, 42-43; Flowers 1998, 166).

A study conducted by UNICEF in 1997 found that some retirees from the United States and Europe have settled in Central America, taking full advantage of the abundant child sex services that reside there (Latin American and Caribbean Community Center 2007). Sex tourism has steadily been increasing; and wherever it is growing, so is the demand for child prostitutes (Farr 2005, 231).

Cuba is another example where prostitution was once "one of the mainstays of the Mafia-controlled gambling and tourist industry" (Flowers 1998, 170). Although Fidel Castro abolished organized prostitution and closed brothels in the capital city of Havana in exchange for employment opportunities to ex-prostitutes post-1959, the country has experienced a renewed wave of prostitution (Flowers 1998, 170). This upsurge derived mainly from the socioeconomic strains Cuba was facing. Today, everyday women – teachers, translators, and even those with university educations – look to prostitution as a source of additional income. Many women work during the weekends as *jineteras*[37], and then return to the normalcy of their life during the week (Flowers 1998, 170). These women claim they are not prostitutes; rather they earn extra income due to the shortage their regular salary provides them. For example, a doctor in Cuba makes about $3 a month; a prostitute earns as much as $50 in just one night (Flowers 1998, 170). This alternative source of employment has proven lucrative and beneficial to such women that serve men from countries like Mexico, Germany, Spain, the United States, Italy, and

[37] This is what a prostitute is called in Cuba.

Canada (Flowers 1998, 170). A lack of employment opportunities or viable sources of income has pushed women into exploiting themselves (voluntarily or not). Although certain definitions of slavery might not consider these women enslaved, other scholars and researchers view them as being sexually exploited because of the lack of alternative sources of employment. This divergent case is discussed to illuminate how sex tourism operates differently around the world.

Overall, poverty, unemployment, government corruption, a high demand for sex, cultural and religious discrimination and deep-rooted values, and the increase of tourism, have allowed people to become enslaved in the sex tourism industry. While similar factors play a role in the growth of this slavery worldwide, there exist particular factors that help to explain sex tourism in each country or region, as demonstrated through culture and Buddhist religion in Thailand.

The Sexual Exploitation of Children

Apart from women, children remain the most vulnerable segment. Not only are they susceptible to socioeconomic conditions and varied forces within society, but they remain at the mercy of their parents and/or caretakers who could sell them at moment's notice for extra income. In addition, depending on cultural, religious, and societal norms, children became easy targets within the industry. The commercial sexual exploitation of children includes, but is not limited to, pornography, prostitution, sex rings, sex tourism industry, nude dancing or modeling, and sexual exploitation of child domestic servants (Campagna and Poffenberger 1988, 5; Beddoe1998, 42). An estimated 1.2 million children are trafficked yearly from their homes to other countries for prostitution or other labor (Farr 2005, 231).

In general, poverty, corruption, a high demand for sex, human deception, lack of legislative enforcement, gender bias/discrimination, vulnerability the threat of HIV/AIDS, sexual abuse in the home, and family unemployment contribute to the sexual exploitation of children around the world. What follows is a brief discussion of the different forms the commercial sexual exploitation of children can take.

Child prostitution "involves offering the sexual services of a child or inducing a child to perform sexual acts for any form of compensation, financial or otherwise" (Gerdes 2006, 49). It is not the same as child sexual abuse, including incest or molestation, because it involves commercial exploitation. Children are forced against their will and do not have a say in how they are to be treated. Worldwide, both boys and girls are prostituted, some as young as six years old. Social, cultural, economic, and religious factors contribute to child prostitutes, apart from existing gender bias, discrimination, ignorance, and poverty (Gerdes 2006, 49). Today, estimates of child prostitutes are thought to be as high as a staggering 10 million worldwide (Gerdes 2006, 49).

Root causes of child exploitation, especially in Latin America, largely reflect the fact that the majority are used to provide income for their families (Coffey 2004, 21; Miers 2003, 428 Ch. 24). In fact, "a significant number of kids sexually exploited for commercial gain remain living with family while they are prostitutes" (Coffey 2004, 21). For instance, in El Salvador, 57% of child prostitutes lived with their parents or other relatives while contributing to their family's main source of revenue (Coffey 2004, 21). Furthermore, poverty serves as a driving force for child prostitution, especially in Nepal (Gerdes 2006, 50). "Poverty and the profitability of prostitution are main factors that sustain this industry" (Gerdes 2006, 50). Family unemployment creates this vulnerability for children, as they are forced to work outside the home in order to generate income.

An additional factor that contributes to the commercial sexual exploitation of children is the fact that a significant number have experienced sexual abuse in their homes (Coffey 2004, 21). "Poor economic conditions, drug and alcohol abuse, and the low status of women [females]" are certainly major factors related to child sexual exploitation, as are the false promises of employment (usually domestic work) and deception (Awake 2003, 4; Coffey 2004, 21). Childhood sexual abuse has been found to be highly correlated to child prostitution in the United States, as well as in Nigeria (Gerdes 2006, 50). Children might leave their homes in order to escape the abuse, thereby creating greater susceptibility to human deception and illicit/exploitative employment schemes.

Brazil's former President Fernando Henrique Cardoso once stated that, "child prostitution is a barbarous crime" (Awake 2003, 4). Indeed, not many other forms of exploitation can surpass this despicable one. Due to rising sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS, many customers willingly pay higher prices to have sex with children and/or virgins, on the false premise that they will not contract the disease(s) (Awake 2003, 5; Gerdes 2006, 49). They believe that they will not become infected given their age or "purity." This false security has led to children being targeted.

According to Luíza Nagib Eluf of Brazil's Ministry of Justice, "sexual exploitation of girls and teenagers is the most serious social problem among poor women in Brazil" (Awake 2003, 6). During the 1990s, girls between 10 and 14 years of age could earn enough money to sustain their families (Miers 2003, 428 Ch. 24). Children between this age group also make up approximately two million of the prostitutes plaguing Brazil (Farr 2005, 231). Outside of the metropolitan areas, children also become targets for traffickers. In the mining regions of Brazil, girls as young as nine years are trafficked from the cities and displayed in "virginity auctions," where they are sold to the highest

bidders (Farr 2005, 232). A NGO dedicated to helping homeless children and children at social risk, Casa Alianza, estimates that between 35,000 and 50,000 children are forced into prostitution in the Central American region alone (Latin American and Caribbean Community Center 2007).

Sexual exploitation of children is pervasive in other regions and countries as well. In China, at least 250,000 children serve as prostitutes; 100,000 children in India's chief cities; and the majority of those in Bangladesh are well under 18 years of age (Farr 2005, 231). Despite child prostitution and trafficking of females remaining illegal in India, child prostitution is rampant, with a minimum of "400,000 underage prostitutes believed to be actively involved in [India's] sex bazaar" (Flowers 1998, 179). Ninety percent of these child prostitutes also serve as indentured sex slaves (Flowers 1998, 179). India illuminates how police and government corruption, in conjunction with organized crime, makes evading the law a real possibility (Flowers 1998, 179). An overall lack of legislative enforcement seems to be the key to encourage the growth of the exploitation of children worldwide.

Asia, a region well-known for its sex industry, also exploits children. According to EPCAT, during the late 1990s over one million children in this region provided sexual services to adults, including 60,000 to 100,000 in the Philippines, 60,000 in Taiwan, 40,000 each in Vietnam, Indonesia, and Pakistan, and 30,000 in Sri Lanka (Farr 2005, 231). In these five countries alone (and taking the lower estimate for the Philippines), almost 270,000 children have been exploited. In Asia, "an estimated one million children in the sex trade are held in conditions that are indistinguishable from slavery" (Gerdes 2006, 50).

A major reason why boys 13 years and older turn to prostitution is for "the hope of being adopted by foreigners and being taken abroad by them" (Beddoe 1998, 47).

This situation is not uncommon for other young prostitutes in parts of Brazil (and all around the world) that enter the industry in hopes of meeting a wealthy European to whisk them away to a better life. Unlike neighboring Thailand or the Philippines, Sri Lanka does not have a "red light" district (Beddoe 1998, 48). Government figures as of 1992, estimated 30,000 prostitutes under the age of eighteen; boys account for seventy-five percent of this figure (Beddoe 1998, 48). Despite increased media attention to this serious and disturbing problem, Sri Lanka has done little to reform its legislative process.

The exploitation of children is a heinous crime that remains in high demand worldwide. With misconceptions about disease and virginity, many men flock thousands of miles to procure sex with children. "The international trafficking in children for CSE [commercial sexual exploitation] involves torture, the purchase and sale of children, unlawful incarceration of children so that others may profit, the premeditated rape and mutilation of minors, and, not infrequently, the death of the underage victims" (Campagna and Poffenberger 1988, 144). Even with the ratification of the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989) by all countries,[38] child exploitation continues. The rise and continuous threat of disease, violence, poverty, drug and alcohol abuse, and ailing economies continue to present favorable factors for child exploitation (Flowers 1998, 182-184). In short, child prostitution constitutes a form of slavery that exposes the most vulnerable population – children – who are exploited without the necessary protection from their country's government. A lack of legislative and law enforcement – both at the national and international levels – offsets this vulnerability. The open susceptibility provides the impetus for other significant factors, such as poverty, corruption, human deception, high levels of unemployment, and gender bias/discrimination, to flourish and contribute to the growth enslaved people.

[38] With the exception of the United States and Somalia (Gerdes 2006, 51).

Conclusion

Thailand sheds light on how vast, lucrative, and expansive the sex tourism industry is among adults and children. The governments of Brazil, the Philippines, and countless other countries rely on this sector in order to maintain or improve their economies. In fact, the sex tourism industry is such an integral part of many countries' infrastructures that without it, the poor people would probably falter (Flowers 1998, 171). The growth of tourism and ease of travel have only given perpetrators easier access to countries where sex industries thrive, where services are cheap, and where there exists an abundance of women and children. Poverty, high levels of unemployment, corruption, cultural factors (e.g., gender bias and discrimination and/or low status of women), and in some countries like Thailand, religion, contribute to the growth of the sex tourism industry. Women looking for supplemental income to add to their normal salaries also engage in the industry, such as in Cuba. Since the 1960s, government encouragement of tourism to Thailand (and later to the Philippines) for purpose of sexual services has only solidified the sex tourism industry. On the other hand, government corruption, the high demand for sex, and the lack of legislative enforcement, has exacerbated efforts to diminish sex tourism around the world. The sexual exploitation of children also renders itself to various forms of slavery, particularly the sex tourism industry and child prostitution. These cases demonstrate how these factors have continuously played a role across countries in enslaving people. The next chapter discusses other types of slavery, including organ trafficking, the exploitation of children for forced labor, cult slavery, and illegal adoption. .

CHAPTER SIX

OTHER TYPES OF SLAVERY

There exist numerous other types of slavery apart from human trafficking, debt bondage, and the sex tourism industry. These include organ trafficking, the exploitation of children for forced labor, including the use of child soldiers, cult slavery, and illegal adoption. Poverty, high levels of unemployment, government corruption (including unequal development), and lack of legislative enforcement have contributed to the trafficking of organs. With the exploitation of children for forced labor, poverty, lack of legislative enforcement and unemployment opportunities also play a role in enslaving children. In addition, gender bias/discrimination, human deception, the high demand for labor, and vulnerability, have contributed to the growth of the exploitation of children for forced labor. Cult slavery comprises a unique form in that religious and cultural factors play a major role in enslaving young women and girls. Finally, the high profits generated, the vulnerability and demand of young children (especially infants), and the rather quick process (as compared to a legal adoption process) further encourages this form of slavery. What follows is a brief discussion of these four types of slavery, none of which are listed in any particular order of importance. It should also be restated that they are no less important than the three forms discussed earlier. Other types are presented to illuminate the fact that slavery exists in different facets across the world.

Organ Trafficking

Organ trafficking involves the removal, transfer, and trafficking of a bodily organ. It occurs worldwide, but is a large problem in countries where extreme poverty, unemployment, unequal development, and government corruption exist. Moldova embodies the perfect breeding ground for the trafficking of organs to occur, where the registered daily income of 80% of the population lies below one dollar a day, and where total unemployment reaches nearly one hundred percent (*The Tiraspol Times* 2007). In fact "every 6 minutes, a human organ is being removed from a Moldovan and sold" (Ryan 2007). *The Tiraspol Times* reports that in South Moldova, there are villages where "… almost all the inhabitants sold organs in order to escape the extreme poverty they live in…" (Ryan 2007). The commercial trafficking of these organs has continued thanks in large part to the compliance and involvement of government officials as well as the ease in which organ can be transported across borders. Oftentimes, a blind eye is turned to this exploding problem plaguing the country. Due to the high rate of unemployment and existing socioeconomic conditions, "more people are leaving Moldova than anywhere else and faster than anywhere else" in the world (on a per capita basis) (Ryan 2007).



Photo: Hernani Gomes da Silva, a 32-year old man in Recife, Brazil, was unemployed with no money, no skills, and a criminal record. Apart from this, he was still living in his mother's two-room house, has three kids, a wife who detests him, and a mistress 20-years older than him. He sold his kidney for $5,500 because of the destitute conditions he was living in. Source: Abraham McLaughlin, Ilene R. Prusher, and Andrew Downie. 2004. "What is a Kidney Worth?" June 9. Boston, MA: Christian Science Monitor. <http://www.csmonitor.com/2004/0609/p01s03-wogi.htm>.

Sadly, the Philippines also parallel Moldova in this respect. In fact, organ trafficking is one of the fastest growing illicit industries in the country (Cullen 2007). For Filipinos, poverty creates the most vulnerability where people are "forced by hunger to sell their body organs" (Cullen 2007). The poorest go to extreme measures after they have pawned everything valuable they own by selling their organs. In a study conducted by the University of the Philippines, an estimated 3000 people in one slum area of central Manila sold their kidneys for $1,440 to $2,460 (Cullen 2007). Even when they do sell them and receive compensation, many individuals become so weak and emaciated that they die within months of removing their organs. Continued medical care is usually too expensive and out of reach for many of Filipinos, and without proper medical treatment, they are at greater risk for infection. Even with the Philippines' *Anti-Trafficking of Persons Act (R.A. 9208)*, which makes it a criminal offense "to arrange the sale or removal of a person's organ by abduction, deceit, fraud, or force of any kind," little has been done to enforce this measure. The lack of legislative enforcement remains a major problem in effectively curtailing the growth of slavery. "The availability and willingness of the poor to sell their organs is indicative of the depth of poverty [in the Philippines]" (Cullen 2007). Moldova and the Philippines serve to demonstrate just two examples (and two countries out of more than two hundred in the world) of the ongoing and increasing trade of organ trafficking.

Exploitation of Children for Forced Labor

Forced labor among children presents yet another form of serious exploitation. This worldwide occurrence is especially pervasive in agricultural regions. Forced labor occurs in a variety of sectors, including but not limited to labor, domestic servitude, agriculture, camel jockeying, carpet-making, and coal mining. To note, family labor is

usually expected and/or acceptable so long as the children are not deprived of their education or childhood. Labor only becomes exploitative when they are deprived of these things (Miers 2003, 425 Ch. 24). The demand for child labor is significant, as children are cheap, vulnerable, and abundant. Gender bias/discrimination is not uncommon in Africa, Latin America, and Asia; human deception, poverty, and unemployment remain widespread in these regions.

Kevin Bales estimates that of all the countries in the world, India houses the most slaves at 20 million[39] (Bales 2005, 184). Child advocates estimate that as many as 60 million children under the age of 14 are employed, and working under harsh and brutal conditions (*St. Petersburg Times* 2007, "New Law, but Problems Remain for India's Kids"). The Indian government reports a conservative 12 million children. There continues to exist no ban on child labor. In October of 2006, the country made some strides in preventing child labor for those under the age of 14 in hotels and restaurants, and as domestic servants (*St. Petersburg Times* 2007, "New Law, but Problems Remain for India's Kids"). Five months later, little has been done to enforce this law or to protect the children. Despite the existence of legislation against slavery, lack of enforcement has greatly undermined efforts to curtail it.

In India, a strong demand exists for children for labor, particularly girls. Like the poor families who sell their children to sex traffickers, many Indian villagers in similar circumstances sell their children to "middlemen" who falsely promise them a better life. Human deception is widespread, and alongside poverty, creates a breeding ground for this desperation. Unfortunately, officials with India's Ministry of Labor and Employment complacently state that "it would take time before effects of the law are evident …" (*St. Petersburg Times* 2007, "New Law, but Problems Remain for India's Kids").

[39] This figure was averaged from the low-estimate of slaves, 18 million, with the high-estimate of slaves, 22 million.

As late as 2000, children in Tanzania worked in the mines distributing tools to workers 300 meters below the ground. Some labor endlessly for up to 18 hours a day, and "… suffer from intense heat, graphite dust, and poor nutrition for at most $1.20 a day" (Miers 2003, 426 Ch. 24). These children face extremely hazardous conditions and oftentimes, medical ones as well. Child laborers in West Africa abound, with children being transported from Benin, Mali, Guinea, Senegal, and Togo. Many of them are lured by prospective employment into the domestic or plantation service area (Miers 2003, 427 Ch. 24). In Benin and Togo, the trafficking of children for labor remains significant, as well as in Botswana, Zaire [the Congo], Somalia, Ethiopia, Zambia, Nigeria, and Algeria (Troubnikoff 2003, 9). The high demand of labor and the use of children for labor, as well as human deception, serve as catalysts for the enslavement of children.

A central factor for the trafficking of children for labor is poverty (Masika 2002, 38). Africa is without a doubt a breeding ground for such slavery given the vast level of poverty that exists throughout the continent. Children face daily reminders of the poor socioeconomic conditions in which they live in, making them especially susceptible to becoming enslaved or to accepting employment in which forced labor may be involved. "Realities of what migrant or trafficked children have to face along routes and once they reach their destination are not widely known [in Africa] …" (Masika 2002, 38). However, what is known is that the majority of children trafficked are girls (Masika 2002, 38).

In West Africa, children, many younger than 12 years, are in constant transport between countries at a very disturbing rate due to the ease and fluidity in which they can travel. While some are trafficked for sexual purposes, most of these children from this region are forced into labor. Girls usually serve as paid or unpaid domestic servants or street vendors. In some lucky instances, traffickers remit at least a portion or all of the child's money back to the parents (Masika 2002, 39). Also in this region, cross-border

trafficking included placing children with other relatives to live and work, which eventually became exploitative (Masika 2002, 39). Even human deception occurs within families, as they are generally the most trustworthy people and can easily lure children.

During the 1990s, child labor was in high demand in the affluent areas of Africa, including Gabon, southwest Nigeria, and southern Côte d'Ivoire (Masika 2002, 39). In the metropolitan regions, girls are in greater demand than boys, particularly because they are sought after for domestic help by women. In addition, strong gender biases and discrimination has helped increase the demand for female children in the region because of the nature of the work (Masika 2002, 41).

Child soldiers represent another category of slavery since they are involved in armed conflict. But due to time restraints, this form of slavery will be discussed briefly within forced labor. Child soldiers are recruited worldwide during times of armed conflict and political instability, especially in Africa and in several Latin American nations, including Colombia (Kapstein 2006, 106). Children under the age of 18 years are conscripted into the militia, and made to carry weapons and use violence. In the Congo (formerly, Zaire), children are recruited and spend months if not years fighting on the front lines. Oftentimes, this form of exploitation includes sexual slavery, rape, and abuse at the hands of the warlords. One victim, Madeleine, was recruited into the militia in the Congo, where she spent two years fighting, along with experiencing sexual abuse (*St. Petersburg Times* 2007, "Girls Outline Violence, Injustice before U.N. Audience"). Political instability poses a threat to a country because it not only threatens the security and safety of the people, but also destabilizes law and order. Life becomes chaotic, and in this case, children are taken hostage as child soldiers to fight internal armed conflicts. While Africa faces the greatest danger in terms of the number of child soldiers, relatively little is known about trafficking of children for such purposes (Kapstein 2006, 105-106).



Photo: Child soldiers in Colombia. Up to 20,000 children in Colombia (above) -- and 300,000 children worldwide -- have been coerced into serving in militias, providing an endless supply of cheap and disposable soldiers, which prevents peace-making in many countries, says Cornell sociologist Charles Geisler and graduate student Niousha Roshani. Source: Susan S. Lang. 2006. "Child soldiers coerced into military conflicts are barrier to peace process, two Cornell researchers assert." June 9. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Chronicle Online. <http://www.news.cornell.edu/stories/June06/child_soldiers.ssl.html>.



Photo: Child soldiers in Sierra Leone. Sierra Leone plunged into a decade of civil war starting in the early 1990s -- and many of the soldiers were children. Many were forced to take up arms when their villages were overrun; making children kill their own families was a favorite militia tactic. Source: BBC. "Child Soldiers." In pictures: Sierra Leone's civil war. United Kingdom: BBC. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/pop_ups/04/africa_sierra_leone0s_civil_war/html/1.stm>.

Cult Slavery

Cult (or ritual) slavery is defined as "a person, usually a young girl, [who is] dedicated to a god or goddess…" (Miers 2003, 436 Ch. 24). Although it appears to be an ancient practice, it still exists in cultures exhibiting an ardent belief in religious icons, such as India (Masika 2002, 11; Bales 2004, 18). In addition, cult slavery occurs in countries like Ghana, where cultural factors play a role in enslaving young women and girls.

Within the *Devadasi* system in certain areas of India, young girls are sacrificed by their families to a deity or temple. Essentially, they become bound to work in the temple, sacrificing themselves and their dignity in the name of a god. In addition, future children born to these young girls also become a part of the *Devadasi* system, thus rendering hereditary bondage (Miers 2003, 436 Ch. 24). The temple serves as a brothel, where girls serve men; in other instances, girls are sold directly to pimps. The international NGO, Anti-Slavery Society, estimated in 1995 that "some ten thousand kids are dedicated annually" to these gods in India (Miers 2003, 436 Ch. 24). However, evidence is very difficult to obtain. The government of India has made this practice illegal since the late 1970s, enacted legislation, and even claims to have rehabilitated victims (Miers 2003, 436 Ch. 24). In India, religion is the primary factor for the enslavement of girls in this type of slavery.

Eastward in Southeast Ghana among the Ewe people, virgin girls are also dedicated to temples, not for sacrificial purposes like in India, but for crimes committed by relatives. Girls - some as young as nine years old - are sent to these temples for instance, when their grandmother steals a pair of earrings. This cultural practice, known as *Trokosi*, enslaves girls into agricultural and domestic labor. Some are eventually allowed to marry, while others remain enslaved for the rest of their lives. Furthermore,

many of these young girls are also forced to serve the priest (sexually), and if they become pregnant, their children are born into this system of bondage. Fortunately, Ghana outlawed this practice in 1998; two years later, there have been no accusations against any priests (Miers 2003, 436 Ch. 24; Gerdes 2006, 50).

Illegal Adoption

Another crime involving children, many of them very young, includes illegal adoption. Vulnerability, the high profits generated, and the relatively short adoption process (as compared to legal adoption processes) make children very susceptible to this enslavement. In particular, their young and tender age, as well as their defenseless nature creates this vulnerability. It is not just the illegal process that makes it slavery, but the fact that many children are abducted and kidnapped, and then trafficked from their home countries to others. Usually, childless couples unwilling to go through the regular (legal) and lengthy adoption process choose to shop the black market. The United States is a major destination country for children trafficked for purposes of illegal adoption. Not surprisingly, Mexico reigns in as the largest origin country, making the border – albeit tightening – easier for traffickers to transport Mexican children into the United States for sale (Troubnikoff 2003, 10). Also, some parents and even relatives sell their children not just for profit, but for the naïve hopes of offering them a better and more prosperous future; many never see their children again. Human deception arises when perpetrators promise parents a good life for their children. Although largely underground, the illegal adoption of children is becoming increasingly widespread given the large profits generated form selling children, especially infants (Altink 1995, 7).

Conclusion

These additional forms of slavery provide a general idea as to the kind of exploitation people face worldwide. They offer a mere glimpse into the underground world of global slavery, and do not even include other more perverse forms of exploitation. Poverty, high levels of unemployment, government corruption, lack of legislative enforcement, and extreme vulnerability are central factors contributing to people selling their organs, trafficking and selling children illegally, and for children becoming exploited, whether in Sri Lanka, Nepal, Moldova, the Philippines, or Africa. Individuals with little to no income - particularly in Moldova and the Philippines - face a greater risk to having their organs trafficked due to the high level of unequal development and corruption that may exist in a country. Children are especially vulnerable to sexual and labor exploitation due to cultural and religious factors, gender bias and discrimination, human deception, a high demand for labor, and the ease by which they are targeted. Cult slavery is unique to certain countries of the world, such as India and Ghana, in that religious or cultural play a significant role in women and girls becoming enslaved. These examples demonstrate how similar factors contribute to the growth of slavery in different countries and regions of the world, and the propensity poverty and unemployment have in pushing people towards alternative means of survival. Cult slavery remains unique because it is not pervasive across countries. The determination to live in a brutal world has thus opened opportunities for people to become enslaved.

The next chapter discusses the data and methodology of the thesis, including the dependent and independent variables, and how each variable was coded.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

As discussed in the previous chapters, there are a number of economic, social, and political factors that contribute to the existence of slavery within a country or region. Specifically, lack of human development, lack of employment opportunities, poverty, government corruption, lack of compliance with the anti-trafficking act, and political instability contribute to an environment that leaves certain elements of the population more vulnerable to slavery. These factors are essential to all types of slavery analyzed here.

Due to a general lack of data on the subject, only limited empirical analyses have been conducted. One notable exception is the extensive research and data compiled by Kevin Bales on slavery estimates for each country – including a low and high range of slavery – which he provides for 105 countries. Despite this advance within the field of slavery, Bales' regression results are not identified by all scholars as being significant factors to the growth of slavery. This research builds on that of Kevin Bales by providing a more rigorous analysis of the conditions that foster global slavery.

OLS regression analysis is utilized in a cross-national model in order to discover which factors created the most hospitable environment to the enslavement of people all

around the world.[40] The analysis examines the relationship between the average number of estimated slaves in a given country and six independent variables: a human development index, unemployment, poverty, corruption, compliance with the anti-trafficking act, and political instability. It should also be made clear that although different types of slavery are discussed in the thesis to illuminate how similar factors play a role in encouraging the growth of slavery, these various types are not differentiated within the statistical analysis. Rather, slavery is discussed as a general category within the analysis, and all types of slavery are grouped together. Some factors may be more or less important for explaining certain types of slavery – something that is discussed within the chapters on the various types of slavery (Chapters 3 to 6).

A lack of accurate and comprehensive data prevents the author from looking at each type of slavery individually; but it is possible to use estimates of the average number of slaves in each country. Still, these figures are not exact, but are the best representative data available to researchers.

Data in this investigation is derived from numerous sources, including the CIA World Factbook, the United States Department of State's *Trafficking in Persons Report 2002*, Transparency International (Corruptions Perceptions Index), the Human Development Report 2000 (United Nations Development Programme), and Kevin Bales' *Understanding Global Slavery* (2005).

What follows is a detailed explanation of how the dependent and independent variables were created and coded.

[40] This research is based on a data set of 181 countries. It was not possible to include some countries in the analysis because of a lack of data.

Dependent Variable

The average number of slaves in each country included in the dataset serves as the dependent variable for this research on global slavery. To clarify, slavery is measured by the number of indigenous people enslaved within a country. For example, the slavery figure of Nepal reflects the number of Nepalese people enslaved in that country. Also, population figures for each country are not controlled, although calibrating the slavery figures to population might prove to be useful, insightful, and beneficial for future research.

Average Number of Slaves ("ALLSLAVES")

The average number of slaves results from averaging the low estimate number of slaves and the high estimate number of slaves, to produce the estimated average number of slaves in each country for the year 2002. It is derived from Appendix 2 "Rankings of Countries on Ordinal Scales for Slavery and Trafficking (Including Ranges of Estimated Number of Slaves)," on pages 183 to 186, in Kevin Bales' book *Understanding Global Slavery* (2005). The estimates produced for slavery in each country were generated from numerous sources including research, travel, and the work of Kevin Bales. In addition, these slavery figures were originally printed in a journal article in 2002, and represent the best possible estimates of the slave trade today. The number of slaves per country range from 50 to 20 million in this model.

Independent Variables

The following five independent variables are used to analyze the causes of slavery across countries in the analysis: a human development index, unemployment, poverty, corruption, compliance with the anti-trafficking act, and political instability.

Human Development ("HDI2000")

The human development index (HDI) is based on three indicators: longevity, as measured by life expectancy at birth; educational attainment, as measured by a combination of adult literacy (two-thirds weight) and the combined gross primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment ratio (one-third weight); and standard of living, as measured by real GDP per capita (PPP$) (http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2000/en/pdf/hdr_2000_back3.pdf). It is derived from the table "Human development index trends: human development index," of the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Report 2000. It ranges on a scale from zero to one, where zero represents a low HDI and one represents a high HDI. The higher a country's HDI, the higher their overall well-being as per the three indicators mentioned. Human development figures for 2000 were not made available for 33 countries, and the most recent data was used. Note that 2004 figures for 28 of these countries were used due to the unavailability of earlier data. A list of this information is provided in the Appendix A: Codebook.

Unemployment ("UNEMP")

The level of unemployment is defined as the percent of the labor force that is without a job. It is derived from the table "Unemployment" found in the CIA World Factbook, updated 1 January 2002. It ranges on a scale from 0 to 100 percent, where 0 indicates no unemployment, and 100 indicates complete unemployment within a given country. Unemployment percentages for 2001 were not made available for 56 countries, and the most recent data (not occurring after 2002) was used. A list of this information is provided in the Appendix A: Codebook.

Poverty ("POVERTY")

The level of poverty is defined as the percent of the population below the poverty line, and is derived from the table "Field Listing – Population below poverty line," from the CIA World Factbook, updated 1 January 2002. It ranges from 0 to 100 percent, where 0 indicates no poverty, and 100 indicates complete poverty within a given country. Poverty percentages for 2001 were not made available for 58 countries, and the most recent data (not occurring after 2002) was used. A list of this information is provided in the Appendix A: Codebook.

Corruption ("CORRUPT")

Corruption is defined as the degree of corruption as evaluated by business people, academics, and risk analysts, and is derived from Transparency International's Corruptions Perceptions Index (CPI) 2001. It ranges on a scale from zero to ten, where zero represents a highly clean government, and ten represents a highly corrupt government. Therefore, the higher the value, the more corrupt a government is. Please see the note on the Bangladesh score in Appendix A: Codebook.

Compliance with the Anti-Trafficking Act ("TIPACT02")

This variable measures the compliance of countries with the *Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000*.[41] It is derived from the introduction of the U.S. Department of State's *Trafficking in Persons Report* 2002, released by the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, 5 June 2002. This variable consists of a three-level tier system in which countries are categorized based on their compliance with the minimum

[41] This *Act* was later amended to the *Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act (TVPRA) of 2005*. For the purpose of clarity and simplicity, it will remain as the *Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000* in this thesis, and will be referred to as such or its acronym, *TVPA of 2000*.

standards of this *Act*. It ranges on a scale from one to three, where one represents "Tier 1" countries (full compliance), two represents "Tier 2" countries (partial compliance), and three represents "Tier 3" countries (no compliance). Missing or non-reported countries were coded as missing. The list of countries under each tier comes from the U.S. Department of State's *Trafficking in Persons Report 2002,* released by the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, 5 June 2002. Specifically, each tier is defined as:

> Tier 1: Countries that fully comply with the [TVPA of 2000] Act's minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking. Such governments criminalize and have successfully prosecuted trafficking, and have provided a wide range of protective services to victims. Victims are not jailed or otherwise punished solely as a result of being trafficked, and they are not summarily returned to a country where they may face hardship as a result of being trafficked. In addition, these governments sponsor or coordinate prevention campaigns aimed at stemming the flow of trafficking.
>
> Tier 2: Countries that do not yet fully comply with the [TVPA of 2000] Act's minimum standards but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards. Some are strong in the prosecution of traffickers, but provide little or no assistance to victims. Others work to assist victims and punish traffickers, but have not yet taken any significant steps to prevent trafficking. Some governments are only beginning to address trafficking, but nonetheless have already taken significant steps towards the eradication of trafficking.
>
> Tier 3: Countries that do not fully comply with the minimum standards [of the TVPA of 2000] and are not making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance. Some of these governments refuse to acknowledge the trafficking problem within their territory. On a more positive note, several other governments in this category are beginning to take concrete steps to combat trafficking. While these steps do not yet reach the appropriate level of significance, many of these governments are on the path to placement on Tier 2.

Although the compliance with the *Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000* incorporates a legal framework adopted at the international level, this variable specifically aims to highlight the importance of legislative enforcement has in deterring the growth of slavery.

Political Instability ("POLSTAB")

The political stability/lack of violence variable is measured by the quality of a country's governance, and is derived from the World Bank Institute and Anti-Corruption

unit. It "combines several indicators which measure perceptions of the likelihood that a government in power will be destabilized or overthrown by possibly unconstitutional and/or violent means, including domestic violence and terrorism" (http://info.worldbank.org/governance/kkz2005/q&a.htm#2). It ranges on a scale from -2.5 ["poor" governance] to 2.5 ["good" governance]. Therefore, the higher the value, the better governance a country has.

Conclusion

Overall, the model examines the relationship between the average number of estimated slaves in a given country and six independent variables through OLS regression analysis. These independent variables include human development, unemployment, poverty, corruption, compliance with the anti-trafficking act, and political instability. Chapter 8 presents the results of the statistical analysis, along with a section devoted to a discussion of the diagnostics of the model, and limitations within the statistical research. Each variable in the model is evaluated and discussed in detail.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter discusses the diagnostics that seek to identify specific problems and their causes in the model. Specifically, these problems include: lack of a linear relationship between the dependent and independent variables and multicollinearity. Next, the findings of the statistical analysis are presented and illustrated through several tables and figures for the variables: human development index, unemployment, poverty, corruption, compliance with the anti-trafficking act, and political instability.[42] Bivariate analyses are used to highlight important features and trends within the corruption, compliance with the anti-trafficking act, and political instability variables. A thorough examination of each variable will follow after the findings have been discussed. Lastly, limitations within the statistical research will be discussed, including the large number of missing cases and the non-normal distribution of the model.

Diagnostics

Two important diagnostics that help determine whether or not an OLS regression model is capable of producing any statistically significant variables are: linearity of relationship and multicollinearity. OLS regression assumes linear relationships between the dependent and independent variables; if no linear relationships exist, it becomes

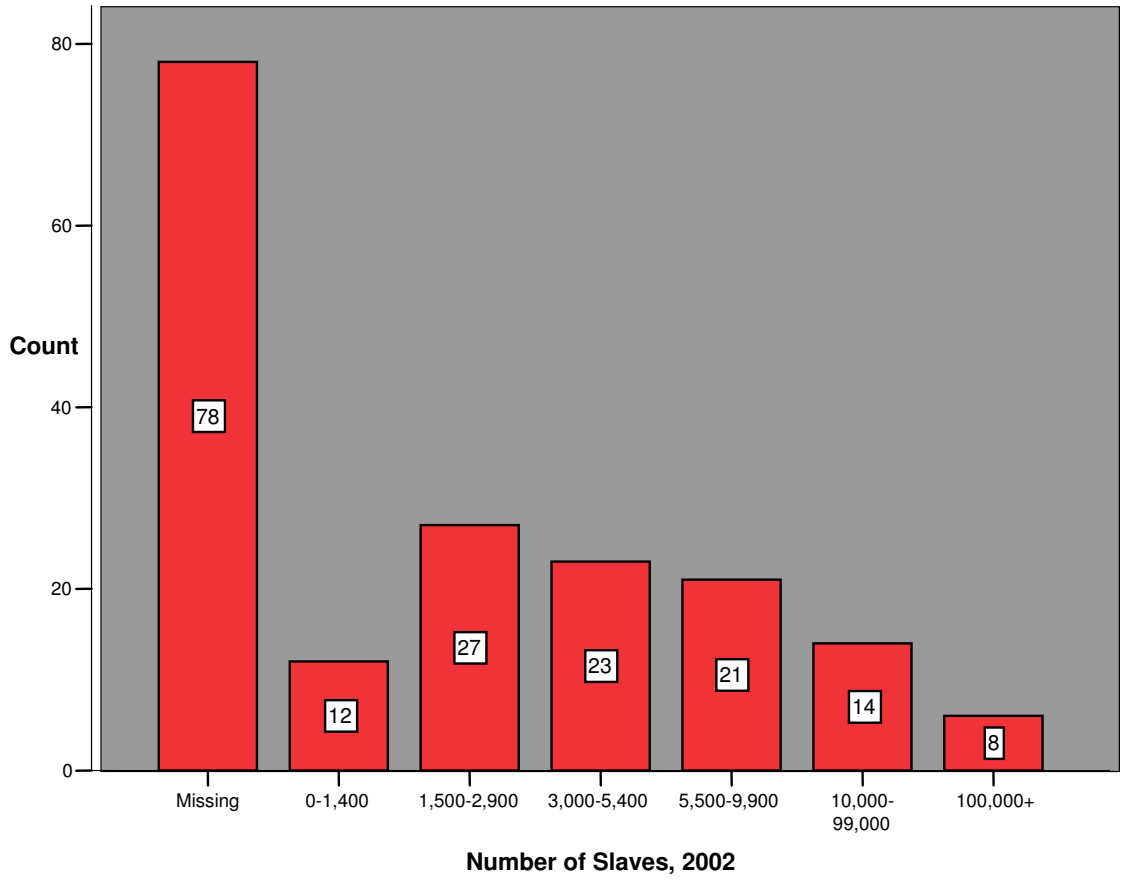
[42] Although this independent variable is not included in the statistical analysis due to problems which will be discussed in the diagnostics, theoretically it serves as an important factor in the growth of slavery. Therefore the political instability variable is discussed within a bivariate analysis.

difficult to assess statistically significant relationships. For this reason, scatter plots play an important role in assessing linearity.

Assumption of Linearity

The possibility of a linear relationship between the dependent variable and each of the five independent variables (not including the political instability variable because it is ultimately excluded from the statistical analysis) was present, except for the compliance with the anti-trafficking act. This variable is an ordinal variable, which is a violation of OLS regression and therefore cannot produce linearity with the dependent variable. In order for there to be a linear relationship between two variables, the independent variable must not be ordinal, but an interval or ratio variable (Johnson and Reynolds 2005, 372). For this reason, scatter plots are often used to evaluate whether this assumption is true or not. However, this task is complicated by the fact that there are two extreme outliers (India and Pakistan), and six other significant outliers that have over 100,000 slaves in the model. Assessing whether or not linearity exists becomes difficult. The majority of the cases fall well below 100,000 slaves; once below this figure, there is greater variability present in the model (Figure 10).

Figure 10. Average Number of Slaves



Source: Christine Balarezo. 2007. "Figure 10. Average Number of Slaves." June 19. In *The Dark Side of Humanity: An Empirical Investigation into Global Slavery*. Master thesis. University of South Florida. Data derived from Kevin Bales. 2005. "Appendix 2: Rankings of Countries on Ordinal Scales for Slavery and Trafficking." In *Understanding Global Slavery*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 183-186.

The scatter plots that provide more linear relationships than others include the human development index, unemployment, and corruption. The poverty scatter plot is completely nonlinear, displaying no difference in the average number of slaves and the percent of the population below the poverty line. If India and Pakistan (the two extreme outliers) are kept in the scatter plots, there is no form of linearity present. Once they are dropped from all the scatter plots, greater variability emerges (Appendix B).

The main reason why linearity is difficult to assess in this model is because of the wide scale between the low and high number of slaves, which range from 50 to 20 million. As previously mentioned, the vast majority of cases fall well below 100,000 slaves. On the scatter plots (with the exception of the compliance with the *TVPA of 2000*), most of these cases below 100,000 slaves are clumped together (Appendix B).

Multicollinearity

There are six independent variables that are used in the model to explain why some countries have more people becoming enslaved than others. To prevent using highly correlated variables, a bivariate correlation matrix is examined to determine if multicollinearity exists (Table 2). If the variable is approaching 0.8[43], it is safe to assume that it is collinear. Three variables result in multicollinearity: corruption, the human development index, and political instability (Table 2). Political instability is collinear with corruption and is consequently dropped from the model due to the proven, greater statistical importance of the latter variable. Since the political instability variable is theoretically important, it is kept in the model and used within a bivariate analysis. Although corruption and the human development index have an approaching collinear relationship, both variables are theoretically important and therefore kept in the model.

[43] Although the level of correlation that comprises multicollinearity is not universal, it generally is safe to say that if it is approaching .80, then that variable is close to being or is collinear (or highly correlated). They explain the same or similar measures.

Table 2. Bivariate Correlation Matrix (Multicollinearity)

	HDI	Employment	Poverty	Corruption	Tier System	Political Instability
HDI	1	-.570**	-.609**	.752**	-.293**	.665**
Unemployment	-.570**	1	.435**	-.413**	.076	-.511**
Poverty	-.609**	.435**	1	-.543**	.192	-.441**
Corruption	.752**	-.413**	-.543**	1	-.581**	.786**
Tier System	-.293**	.076	.192	-.581**	1	-.426**
Political Instability	.665**	-.511**	-.441**	.786**	-.426**	1

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). A Pearson Correlation was used for matrix. Note that HDI is the human development index.

Statistical Analysis

This section looks at the results of the statistical model, and discusses each variable in depth. Tables and figures are incorporated in order to evaluate the findings the variables. Note that the model has been corrected for multicollinearity.

Table 3 presents the results of the OLS regression analysis for the five independent variables: the human development index, unemployment, poverty, corruption, and the compliance with the anti-trafficking act. In addition, political instability (which was dropped from the model due to collinearity) is also discussed, and is examined through a bivariate analysis. Table 4 presents these variables in detail, including how each is coded. The overall model exhibits a low adjusted R^2; the independent variables explain only about 12% of the variation in the dependent variable, the average number of slaves in each country (Table 3). In total, there are two statistically significant variables - the human development index and unemployment – in which the latter is not in the expected direction. What follows is a thorough evaluation of each independent variable in the model, including the political instability variable (as highlighted in a bivariate analysis).

Table 3. Regression Analysis Model Summary

$R^2 = .279$ Adjusted $R^2 = .122$	Unstandardized Coefficients			
	B - score	Standard Error	t - score	Significance
HDI *	-22457.716	8769.935	-2.561	.017
Unemployment *	-178.667	76.173	-2.346	.028
Poverty	-32.822	46.213	-.710	.485
Corruption	426.243	693.354	.615	.545
Tier System	-1039.433	1781.178	-.584	.565

Note:
a. Dependent variable: Average Number of Slaves, 2002.
b. HDI represents the human development index.
c. An (*) signifies a statistically significant variable at the .05 level.
d. N = 29

Source: Christine Balarezo. 2007. "Table 4. Regression Analysis Model Summary." June 19. In *The Dark Side of Humanity: An Empirical Investigation into Global Slavery*. Master thesis. University of South Florida. Data derived from numerous sources. See Appendix A: Codebook for more information on each variable.

Table 4. The Independent Variables

Human Development	Unemployment	Poverty
"HDI2000" (Human Development Index, 2000) Source: United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 2000 The human development indicator (HDI) is based on three indicators: 1. Longevity 2. Educational attainment 3. Standard of living Ratio variable Range 0 (low HDI) to 1 (high HDI) Min. value = .268 Max. value = .956 No Report = 99	"UNEMP" (Percentage of total unemployment of total labor force, 2001) Source: The CIA World Factbook, updated 1 January 2002 The level of unemployment is defined as the percent of the labor force that is without jobs. Ratio variable Range 0 to 100 Min. value = 0 Max. value = 90 No Report = 99	"POVERTY" (Percent of population below poverty line, 2001) Source: The CIA World Factbook, updated 1 January 2002 Definitions of poverty vary considerably among nations. For example, rich nations generally employ more generous standards of poverty than poor nations. Ratio variable Range 0 to 100 Min. value = 4 Max. value = 86 No Report = 99

Table 4. The Independent Variables (continued)

Corruption	Compliance with the Anti-Trafficking Act	Political Instability
"CORRUPT" (Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index, 2001) Source: Transparency International Corruptions Perception Index, 2001 2001 CPI Score relates to perceptions of the degree of corruption as seen by business people, academics, and risk analysts Ratio variable Range 0 (highly corrupt) to 10 (highly clean) Min. value = 0.4 Max. value = 9.9 No Report = 99	"TIPACT02" (Compliance of countries with the *Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000*, 2002) Source: *Trafficking in Persons Report 2002*, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in persons, U.S. Department of State, 5 June 2002 Three-level tier system in which nations are categorized based on their compliance with min. standards of the *Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000*, for the year 2002: Tier 1: Full compliance Tier 2: Compliance Tier 3: No Compliance Ordinal variable Scale: 1 = Tier 1 countries 2 = Tier 2 countries 3 = Tier 3 countries 99 = No report or missing nations	"POLSTAB" (Political Stability/Absence of Violence, 1999) Source: The World Bank Institute Governance and Anti-Corruption, data 1997-1998 Political stability and lack of violence combine several indicators which measure perceptions of the likelihood that the government in power will be destabilized or overthrown by possibly unconstitutional and/or violent means, including domestic violence and terrorism (as a measure of quality of governance) Ratio variable Range -2.5 (low governance) to 2.5 (high governance) Min. value = -2.421 Max. value = 1.690 No Report = 99

Source: Christine Balarezo. 2007. "Appendix A: Codebook." June 19. In *The Dark Side of Humanity: An Empirical Investigation into Global Slavery*. Master thesis. University of South Florida, 136.

Human Development

A population's overall well-being is an important indicator of whether or not they face the vulnerability of becoming enslaved. The human development index takes into account a population's life expectancy, educational attainment, and standard of living. Generally, "the poorest poor in every country are women;" slavery, particularly human trafficking, tends to affect this segment of the population more often, and those in countries where poverty is pervasive (Barry 1995, 178). In other words, countries with the lowest human development index have a higher tendency for people becoming enslaved.

According to the results of the regression model, the human development index variable is statistically significant at the .05 level, and is in the expected direction (Table 3). As the human development index increases, there is an expected decrease in slavery. To clarify, a zero represents a low human development index, and a one represents a high human development index. The closer a country's index is to one, the better the overall well-being of a person in that country. The human development index variable had very few missing cases, contributing to the overall greater strength. In other words, nearly 93% of the countries report a human development figure, providing for a well-representative analysis. The average human development index is .699 (the median is .739, which closely reflects the former measure of central tendency), making human development for the most part, moderately high around the world. This variable proved to be a very strong indicator of the likelihood a country's population would become enslaved. The hypothesis that as the human development index increases, slavery is expected to decrease is therefore confirmed.

Unemployment

Unemployment creates an environment where people must look for alternative sources of income – most often away from home cities and countries - which in turn increases the risk of enslavement (Altink 1995, 5; Malarek 2004, 9; Bales 2005, 148; Gerdes 2006, 35; U.S. Department of State *Trafficking in Persons Report*). According to the results of the analysis, the unemployment variable is statistically significant at the .05 level, but is not in the expected direction (Table 3). Originally, it was predicted that an increase in unemployment would cause an increase in slavery. The results of the model suggest that as unemployment rises, slavery actually declines.

Several reasons can account for the unexpected result. First, of the 181 countries analyzed, 45 – or nearly 25% - are missing unemployment figures, and therefore not accounted for. Fifty-six of the 146 countries that provided these figures are reported in years other than 2001; only five are prior to 1995. This missing data possibly accounts for the negative relationship between level of unemployment and slavery.

Second, underemployment[44] is not reported in nearly all of the countries, which is a significant factor contributing to the overall unemployment rate level. This is an important factor contributing to the overall unemployment level because it includes those individuals working less than full-time (set at a standard 40 hours per week), or in jobs that are not within the formal sectors. According to the CIA World Factbook, Belarus, Bolivia, China, Ecuador, Haiti, Mexico, Moldova, Nicaragua, Peru, Russia, Samoa, and Ukraine are countries where considerable underemployment exist. There are no reported underemployment figures for these countries. Six of these twelve countries – or 50% - are just in the Latin American and Caribbean region alone, which highlights that

[44] According to Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary, underemployment is defined as "the condition in which people in a labor force are employed at less than full-time or regular jobs or at jobs inadequate with respect to their training or economic needs" (2005).

underemployment may be just as pervasive in other countries in the region. In addition, China - the largest country in Asia in terms of population – does not have a reported figure for underemployment. Instead, only 10% of the population is recorded as being unemployed. One third of these the 12 countries identified as having considerable underemployment are a part of the Former Soviet Union, where underemployment (and overall unemployment) increased post-1990 (Malarek 2004, 9; Gerdes 2006, 35). However, five countries - East Timor, Kiribati, Namibia, Turkey, and Uzbekistan – do take into account underemployment figures, which provides for a more holistic measure of the unemployed labor force.

Third, while urban levels of unemployment are specifically documented, no country in the analysis reports rural unemployment levels with the exception of Mali. Some countries have impoverished populations that are more inclined to live in the rural regions given the accommodating space and cost of living. In Thailand for example, many of the country's poorer people live in the northern mountain region where agricultural work abounds. On the other hand, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, the poorer people do not always reside outside the urban center; rather they congregate into *favelas* on the hills alongside more affluent neighborhoods (like Ipanema and Copacabana). Individuals in rural regions have a higher susceptibility to the deceptions of global slavery not only because of their limited education, but also because of their desperation to survive. When rural unemployment is taken into account, it provides for a better measure of the total unemployed labor force.

Poverty

It has been suggested that poverty contributes to people becoming enslaved (van den Anker 2004, 19; Bales 2005, 10). When people can no longer survive because of impoverished conditions, they seek alternative ways to survive which can increase their vulnerability to enslavement. According to Table 3, this variable is not statistically significant, nor is it in the expected direction. As poverty increases, slavery is normally expected to increase, not decrease. The results of the model confirm a negative relationship between the level of poverty and the average number of slaves.

The lack of statistical significance is probably a consequence of several weaknesses within the variable itself. First, of the 181 countries, 80 were missing poverty rates. Second, although most countries' poverty rates were estimated in 2001, twenty of them have estimates prior to 1995. Finally, many of the estimates (with the exception of Mail) do not take into account the population living below the poverty level in rural areas, which can be higher than in urban areas. Without the inclusion of the rural regions living below the poverty level, the accurate level of poverty in some countries can be significantly suppressed.

The poverty variable does shed some light on the fact that many governments do not report figures for the level of poverty, perhaps due to a lack of resources.

Corruption

Government corruption is without a doubt a major predictor of slavery, especially when law and order is broken (Agbu 2003; Bales 2004, 7-8; Bales 2005, 16). As defined by Transparency International, corruption is the "misuse of mistrusted power for private gain" (2007). Governmental and police officials act as intermediaries, by receiving bribes and even "servicing" women at brothels to keep the slavery industry alive.

Corruption has been cited extensively, and is considered by Kevin Bales to be the number one predictor of slavery. However, according to the statistical analysis, the corruption variable is not statistically significant nor is it in the expected direction (Table 3). The regression results suggest that as corruption declines, slavery actually increases.

For clarification the closer the corruption score is to zero, the more corrupt a government is; likewise, the closer it is to ten, the less corrupt they are. Therefore a zero represents a "highly corrupt" government and a ten represents a "highly clean" government. The lack of statistical significance between corruption and the average number of slaves is due in part to the significant number of missing cases (94), which contributes to the overall weakness of the model, as well as diminishing the strength of the corruption variable.

Since corruption has proven to be a major predictor of slavery, but is found to be statistically insignificant (nor is it in the expected direction) in this research, a bivariate analysis is used to further illuminate its relationship with slavery. According to Table 5, the relationship between corruption and slavery presents a significantly clearer pattern than is captured in the statistical analysis.

For each of the four identified slavery categories, the number of politically corrupt countries outnumbers the number of non-corrupt ("clean") countries. At the low end of the spectrum (0 to 2,900 slaves per country), the distinction between "corrupt" and "clean" governments is not as stark as when one compares the effect of corruption in cases that involve a much higher degree of slavery. For example, 71% of the countries with 3,000 to 9,900 slaves are identified as corrupt, 60% of those countries with 10,000 to 99,000 slaves are corrupt, and 80% of those countries with more than 100,000 slaves are designated as corrupt. It is possible to identify a relationship between government

corruption and slavery, especially in cases involving more than 3,000 slaves. According to the results presented in Table 5, corruption clearly makes slavery more likely.

Table 5. Corruption and Global Slavery[45]

			Corruption Perceptions Index, 2001		
			Corrupt	Clean	Total
Average Number of Slaves	0 -2,900	% within avg. number of slaves	52.6% (10)	47.4% (9)	100.0% (19)
	3,000 - 9,900	% within avg. number of slaves	71.4% (20)	28.6% (8)	100.0% (28)
	10,000 - 99,000	% within avg. number of slaves	60.0% (6)	40.0% (4)	100.0% (10)
	100,000 +	% within avg. number of slaves	80.0% (4)	20.0 % (1)	100.0% (5)
Total		% within avg. number of slaves % of Total	64.5% (40)	35.5% (22)	100.0% (62)

Pearson Chi-square value: 2.369, df = 3
N = 62
Number of cases included in parentheses.

Source: Christine Balarezo. 2007. "Table 5. Corruption and Global Slavery." June 19. In *The Dark Side of Humanity: An Empirical Investigation into Global Slavery*. Master thesis. University of South Florida. Average number of slaves derived from Kevin Bales. 2005. "Appendix 2: Rankings of Countries on Ordinal Scales for Slavery and Trafficking." In *Understanding Global Slavery*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 183-186. Corruption data derived from Transparency International. 2001. "The 2001 Corruption Perceptions Index." Transparency International Perceptions Index (CPI)." Table. Transparency <http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2001>.

[45] The corruption variable was collapsed to create an ordinal variable for the creation of a bivariate analysis. Countries were categorized according to two levels of corruption:
1 = 0 – 5.0 ["Corrupt"]
2 = 5.1 = 10 ["Clean"]

The dependent variable, average number of slaves, was also collapsed to create an ordinal variable for the creation of a bivariate analysis. The number of slaves was categorized into four groups:
1 = 0 - 2900
2 = 3000 - 9900
3 = 10000 - 99000
4 = 100000 - 500000

Compliance with the Anti-Trafficking Act

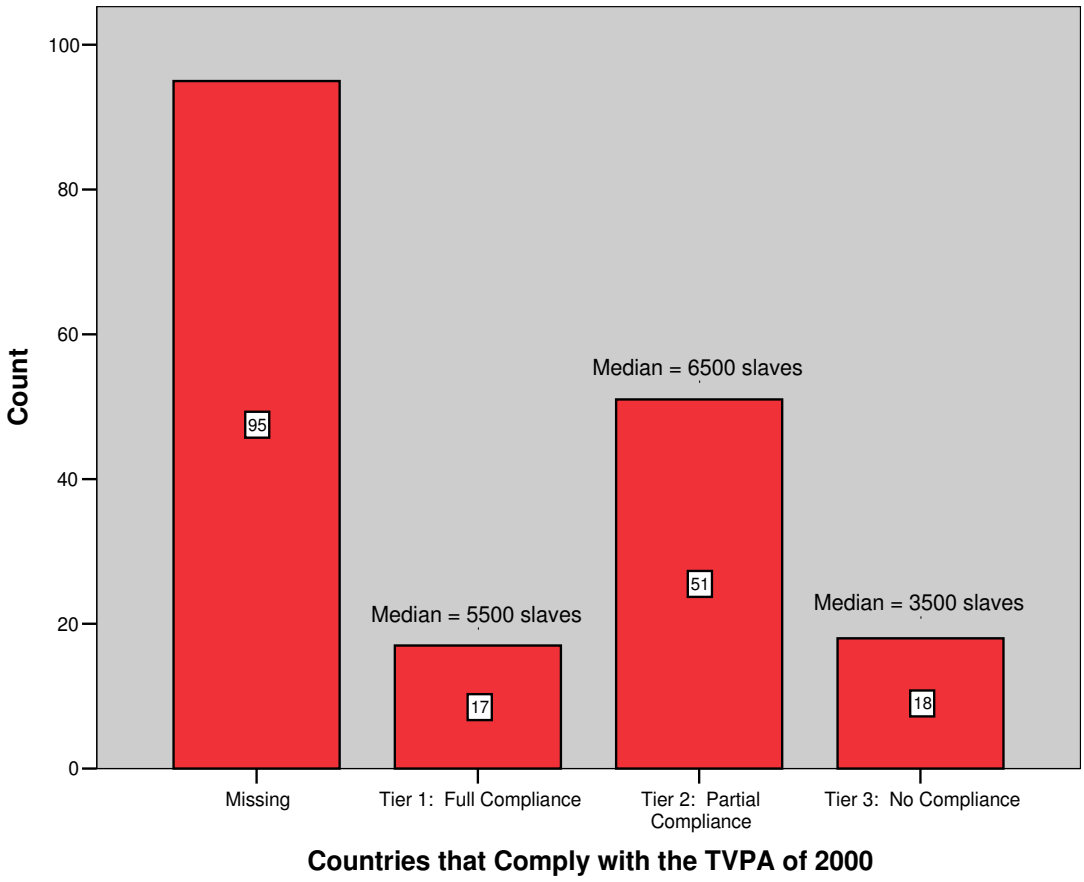
According to the statistical analysis, the compliance with the *TVPA of 2000* variable is not statistically significant, nor is it in the expected direction. As countries becomes less compliant with the *TVPA of 2000*, slavery decreases, which should not be the case. To reiterate, a "Tier 1" level represents countries that are compliant; "Tier 2" level countries that are making effort with compliance; and last, "Tier 3" level countries are not compliant. As the tiers' numerical values increase, countries become less compliant.

Of the 181 countries, only 86 were reported within one of the three tier levels (Figure 11). The significant number of missing cases for the variable largely reflects that the tier classification used in the model represents only the second such analysis published by the *Trafficking in Persons Report* compiled by the U.S. Department of State. The 2004 *Report* includes many more countries and it also introduces a new tier (the "Tier 2 Watch"). To recap, since the dependent variable - the average number of slaves – is constructed from estimates in 2002, using *Reports* thereafter violates any notion of causality. Ultimately, this variable does not serve as a good predictor of slavery; but it does emphasize the need for legislative enforcement. Slavery continues to infiltrate, even in countries with excellent legislation, such as the United States and Thailand.

Table 6 highlights the relationship between countries that comply with the *TVPA of 2000* and slavery. The results indicate that 50% of countries with less than 3,000 slaves are in compliance with the *TVPA of 2000*. For countries with 3,000 to 9,900 slaves, nearly 57% are in compliance with the *Act*. The six countries with 100,000 to 500,000 slaves are significant outliers, and compliant with the *Act*. Overall, it appears that there is no relationship between compliance with the *Act* and a reduction in slavery.

This variable does make clear that despite international legislation prohibiting many forms of slavery – from human trafficking, debt bondage, and sex tourism – enforcement remains a key issue. As previously discussed, Thailand enacted the *1996 Act for Prostitution Prevention and Suppression Act* to deter human trafficking; but little has been done to enforce its provisions (Obokata 2006, 52). Enforcement of prohibitions regarding slavery is the key to the relationship between adherence to a legal system that treats slavery as a crime and a reduction in instances of slavery within a country. Compliance with the *TVPA of 2000* is a rough measure of a country's enforcement efforts as it reflects a U.S. Department of State assessment of a country's efforts to curtail the trafficking of people, and does not include other forms of slavery. A better measure of enforcement would be to investigate the number of prosecutions and/or convictions of slavery perpetrators within each country.

Figure 11. Countries that Comply with the *TVPA of 2000*



Source: Christine Balarezo. 2007. "Figure 11: Countries that Comply with the TVPA of 2000." June 19. In *The Dark Side of Humanity: An Empirical Investigation into Global Slavery*. Master thesis. University of South Florida. Average number of slaves derived from Kevin Bales. 2005. "Appendix 2: Rankings of Countries on Ordinal Scales for Slavery and Trafficking." In *Understanding Global Slavery*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 183-186. Compliance with the TVPA of 2000 data derived from U.S. Department of State. 2002. "II. Trafficking in Persons List." List. June 5. *Trafficking in Persons Report 2002*. Released by the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, 5 June 2002. <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2002/10678.htm>.

Table 6. Compliance with the TVPA of 2000 and Global Slavery[46]

		Countries that Comply with the TVPA of 2000			
		Tier 1 Full Compliance	Tier 2 Compliance	Tier 3 No Compliance	Total
Average Number of Slaves	0-2,900	16.7% (3)	50.0% (9)	33.3% (6)	100.0% (18)
	3,000-9,900	21.6% (8)	56.8% (21)	21.6% (8)	100.0%% (37)
	10,000-99,000	28.6% (4)	50.0% (7)	21.4% (3)	100.0% (14)
	100,000+	.0% (0)	100.0% (6)	.0% (0)	100.0% (6)
Total		20.0% (15)	57.3% (43)	22.7% (17)	100.0% (75)

Pearson Chi-square value: 6.361, df = 6
N = 75
Number of cases included in parentheses.

Source: Christine Balarezo. 2007. "Table 6: Compliance with the TVPA of 2000 and Global Slavery." June 19. In *The Dark Side of Humanity: An Empirical Investigation into Global Slavery*. Master thesis. University of South Florida. Average number of slaves derived from Kevin Bales. 2005. "Appendix 2: Rankings of Countries on Ordinal Scales for Slavery and Trafficking." In *Understanding Global Slavery*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 183-186. Compliance with the TVPA of 2000 data derived from U.S. Department of State. 2002. "II. Trafficking in Persons List." List. June 5. *Trafficking in Persons Report 2002*. Released by the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, 5 June 2002. <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2002/10678.htm>.

Political Instability

Political instability has the capacity to foster the growth of slavery and is prevalent in war-torn countries and regions which produce a good proportion of refugees (Survivor's Rights International). Women and children usually account for these refugees and they are especially vulnerable to targeting by traffickers and militias using child soldiers. The political stability/lack of violence variable is originally included in the statistical model, but is dropped when it is found to be collinear with the corruption variable. Since corruption is already proven to be a strong predictor of slavery, that variable is chosen over the political stability variable for inclusion in the statistical analysis. Nevertheless, it has been argued as well, that political stability (or lack thereof)

[46] Please see footnote 34 for information on how the dependent variable was collapsed into an ordinal variable.

is often a contributing factor to the development of slavery.

To reiterate, political stability/or the lack of violence includes a number of factors which measure the perceived likelihood a government will be overthrown or destabilized. The variable is measured in terms of the quality of governance a country has. The poorer the governance of a country, the more likely political instability will follow; likewise, the better the governance, the more political stability.

Table 7 highlights several important features concerning the relationship between political instability and slavery. For countries with less than 3,000 slaves, "good" governing structures outnumber those with "poor" governing structures, 46% to 14%. Less slavery is present in countries with "good" governance. As the slave population increases to 99,000, in general, the percentage of countries identified as having good systems of governance declines. In addition, among those countries with 3,000 to 99,000, there are more countries characterized by "poor" governing systems than by "good" government institutions. No pattern concerning the quality of governance is evident within the category of countries with an extremely high number of slaves (100,000+). It does appear that good governing systems are associated with less slavery.

The impact of political instability (as measured in terms of a country's governance) is not as clear at the upper end of the spectrum, where only six countries have a large number of slaves in excess of 100,000. These include: Brazil, China, Haiti, India, Pakistan, and the United States. Two of these – India and Pakistan – have 3 million and 20 million slaves each, respectively. India has a "fair" governing structure, while Pakistan has a "poor" governing structure. In contrast, China and the United States both have "good" governing structures, despite the significant number of slaves present (275,000 and 125,000 each respectively). On the whole, "good" governance

does appear to be a factor in those countries with relatively few numbers of slaves (less than 3,000).

Countries with very large slave populations appear to defy the predicted relationship. Clearly they share very few, if any similarities. However, a more in-depth study of these six countries would allow researchers to uncover why they exhibit such large slave populations. This bivariate analysis illustrates the need for further study of these countries, since it is evident that a one-size-fits-all approach is not evident.

Table 7. Political Instability and Global Slavery[47]

			Political Stability/Lack of Violence, 1999			
			Poor Governance	Fair Governance	Good Governance	Total
Average Number of Slaves	0 -2,900	% within avg. number of slaves	14.3%	40.0%	45.7%	100.0%
		% within pol. stab/lack of violence	14.7%	51.9 %	44.4%	36.1%
			(5)	(14)	(16)	(35)
	3,000 - 9,900	% within avg. number of slaves	50.0%	16.7%	33.3%	100.0%
		% within pol. stab/lack of violence	61.8%	25.9%	38.9%	43.3%
			(21)	(7)	(14)	(42)
	10,000 - 99,000	% within avg. number of slaves	42.9%	28.6%	28.6%	100.0%
		% within pol. stab/lack of violence	17.6%	14.8%	11.1%	14.4%
			(6)	(4)	(4)	(14)
	100,000+	% within avg. number of slaves	33.0%	33.0%	33.0%	100.0%
		% within pol. stab/lack of violence	5.9%	7.4%	5.6%	6.2%
			(2)	(2)	(2)	(6)
Total		% within avg. number of slaves	35.1%	27.8%	37.1%	100.0%
		% within pol. stab/lack of violence	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			(34)	(27)	(36)	(97)

[47] The political stability/lack of violence variable was collapsed to create an ordinal variable for the creation of a bivariate analysis. Please see Appendix A: Codebook for information on how this ratio variable was coded, etc. Countries were categorized according to three levels of the quality of governance as measured in terms off political stability/lack of violence:
1 = -2.45 to -.376 ["Poor Governance"]
2 = -.375 to .385 ["Fair Governance"]
3 = .386 to 2.000 ["Good Governance"]

Please see footnote 34 for information on how the dependent variable was collapsed into an ordinal variable.

Table 7. Political Instability and Global Slavery (Continued)

Pearson Chi-square value: 12.200, df = 6
N = 97
Number of cases included in parentheses.

Source: Christine Balarezo. 2007. "Table 7: Political Instability and Global Slavery." June 19. In *The Dark Side of Humanity: An Empirical Investigation into Global Slavery*. Master thesis. University of South Florida. Average number of slaves derived from Kevin Bales. 2005. "Appendix 2: Rankings of Countries on Ordinal Scales for Slavery and Trafficking." In *Understanding Global Slavery*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 183-186. Political stability/lack of violence data derived from the World Bank Institute Governance and Anti-Corruption unit. 1999. "Data: Political Stability/Absence of Violence." Based on data from 1997-1998 <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/datasets.htm#dataset>.

Statistical Research Limitations

The large number of missing cases and the non-normal distribution can be used to further explain why some variables lack statistical significance in the model. These complications further emphasize the difficulty of analyzing slavery.

Missing cases

The dependent variable, the average number of slaves, has a significant number of missing cases. According to Figure 10, nearly 43% of the cases (78) are missing out of the total 181. The majority of the missing cases are from countries in Africa and the Middle East (28), small-sized countries (e.g., Liechenstein and Andorra) or islands (19), and Latin America (16). Although three countries are from the Scandinavian region, most of the remaining ones are scattered throughout different geographic areas. The 78 cases are not reported perhaps due to unavailable or unreported data in the country, or lack of slavery present. A considerable number of countries are missing for the dependent variable, which decreases the overall sampling size. This can substantially diminish the statistical power of the analysis and produce weak results. It is for this reason that correlations between the dependent variable and each of the independent variables are based on different sample sizes. The dependent variable could not be

dropped and substituted for another variable because of limited data; instead missing cases are coded as “99.”

Apart from the dependent variable, of the six independent variables (including the political instability variable which was not in the statistical analysis), three have considerable missing cases. The poverty variable is missing 80 cases; corruption 87, and the compliance with the anti-trafficking act more than half at 95. The substantial loss of these variables’ sample size can ultimately produce weak results for the overall model.

In the regression analysis, there are a substantial number of missing cases. Out of a total of 181 countries, only 29 (16%) are presented in the regression. This clearly indicates the lack of missing data within the dependent and independent variables.

Non-Normal distribution

The dependent variable, the average number of slaves, is also not normally distributed because of several extreme outliers (Figure 10). The vast majority of cases in the model fall below 100,000 slaves except for eight countries. Two of these – India (20 million) and Pakistan (3 million) – are extreme outliers given the number of slaves in each country. The six other significant outliers – Brazil, China, Haiti, Mauritania, Nepal, and the United States – exceed 100,000 slaves (but are less than 230,000). Due to these outliers, the overall distribution of the model is not normal, which is a violation of OLS regression.

Conclusion

Overall, this statistical analysis produces two statistically significant variables at the .05 level, one of which is in the expected direction. The human development index variable proves to be the strongest indicator of the likelihood a country's population becomes enslaved. Naturally, the greater overall development or well-being a country's population experiences, the less likely slavery will evolve. While the unemployment variable is statistically significant, it is not in the expected direction.

Although poverty, corruption, and political instability are not statistically significant predictors of slavery, they remain theoretically important factors that may facilitate and/or sustain the growth of slavery around the world. The bivariate analyses of corruption and political instability provide a more clear pattern and greater support for a link between these factors and the growth of slavery within a country. They also provide some insight into what drives slavery, which is not made evident in the statistical analysis. They help to illuminate the relationship between these factors and slavery. The compliance of countries with the anti-trafficking act [*TVPA of 2000*], on the other hand, does not necessarily discourage slavery from developing. In fact, there is no evidence that countries who complied with this *Act* had more or less slavery. However, this variable does emphasize the need for legislative enforcement. Despite international legislation against slavery, countries still continue to abound in slavery.

When India and Pakistan were removed from the model (and later, all cases with more than 100,000 slaves), there is no statistical significance. These two extreme outliers essentially manipulate the strength of the statistical model, as well as the results. The model as whole is not as robust as the researcher would have liked, but the variables are theoretically important in discussing why some countries have more slavery than others.

The next chapter will explore the scholarly limitations the thesis faces in terms of research within the slavery field. In particular, lack of comprehensive data, lack of universal consensus on defining slavery, and unidentified populations remain problematic issues for scholars, researchers, and students in conducting qualitative or empirical investigations.

CHAPTER NINE

LIMITATIONS ON SCHOLARLY RESEARCH

Due to the illicit and dangerous nature of the global slavery industry, accurate and current data on the number of people enslaved (or specifically those trafficked, prostituted, exploited, etc.) is very difficult to come by. A noted exception is the work conducted by Kevin Bales. Bales has assiduously collected slavery data from numerous sources and he has refined his data with the assistance of experts in the field (from law enforcement officials to NGOs and government bodies) to estimate a low and high range of slavery for each country (from which I averaged the two to create an estimated average of the number of slaves per country) (Bales 2005, 183-186). Bales' data represents what can be considered the best compiled estimates of global slavery for almost every country in the world. It is for this reason that this empirical analysis has focused on global slavery as a whole, and not on particular types of slavery, such as debt bondage or human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Data concerning specific types of slavery is difficult to access and is generally available for only a limited number of countries. What follows is a discussion of three types of limitations scholars face when researching the slavery industry: lack of comprehensive data, lack of universal consensus on defining slavery, and unidentified populations.

Lack of Comprehensive Data

Empirical research within this field is challenging. The lack of accurate and raw data prevents researchers and officials from assessing the real scope of the industry (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2006, 44). For this particular study, raw data was sought for the number of people enslaved for each country through the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, as well as INTERPOL (International Criminal Police Organization). However, such data could only be released to law enforcement officials due to security measures. This deters researchers and students from conducting cross-national, empirical analyses to better understand the real extent and nature of slavery.

Only a handful of organizations readily make available reports and descriptions regarding the different types of slavery around the world. For example, several of the United State's government agencies, including the Department of State, issue "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices," as well as an annually updated *Trafficking in Persons Report* (since 2001) issued by the department's Office to Monitor and Combat Human Trafficking. However, with both measures, "the United States is playing politics with slavery…" (Skrobanek et al. 1997, 97). Heavy criticism has been directed at the *Trafficking in Persons Report* because of how countries are allocated among the various tiers. In other words, with respect to this report, countries are placed in certain tier levels (as previously discussed in the section on independent variables) according to how compliant they are with the *Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000*. However, the *Report* does not make explicit the methodology used, or how certain countries were able to maintain their "Tier 1" status, while others sunk to "Tier 3" status. In fact, it has been criticized "for its lack of evidence, unsystematic data collection and a lack of analysis" (Kempadoo 2005, xxi). This U.S. Department of State report does not make its raw data available to researchers (Skrobanek et al. 1997, 97).

Other organizations that report on slavery include the International Labor Organization (ILO); reports by experts from international organizations, including the United Nations and the World Bank; reports by national governments; research by academic experts; and press reports (Skrobanek et al. 1997, 98). There is little consensus as to the methodological approach organizations or individuals use, creating possible discrepancies and confusion over slavery estimates.

Although they focus largely on human trafficking instead of slavery in general, other countries in Europe have made extensive and quite successful efforts to systematically collect and organize data on a national scale. The German Federal Office of Criminal Investigation (*Bundeskriminalamt*), and the Netherlands' Dutch National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings serve as excellent examples. The latter institution "has been able to map out relevant data collected by different agencies in the country which has served as a basis for the Dutch National Rapporteur's reports" (Laczko 2005, 12). Yet even such achievements have their limits, since they primarily focus only the trafficking of women for the purpose of prostitution, and do not include other types of trafficking (such as for forced labor) or male populations (Laczko 2005, 12; Andrees and van der Linden 2005, 55-56).

UNESCO Bangkok's "Trafficking Statistics Project" also serves as an excellent example of a well-organized collection of human trafficking data. Although it is limited to the Asian region, it does discuss the method that was used to attain the data (Laczko 2005, 12-13). The International Organization of Migration has collected data on human trafficking since 1999 through its counter-trafficking programs. "The Counter-Trafficking Module Database (CTM) was created to facilitate the management of assistance and voluntary return/reintegration of activities for the victims …" (Laczko 2005, 13). In addition, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime also established a similar

mechanism on human trafficking trends worldwide, which “aims to systematically collect and collate open-source information that can be compared between different countries and regions” (Laczko 2005, 13). Major international institutions have worked little-by-little to create databases that can be shared with other organizations.

Overall, “accurate figures about trafficking do not exist and only extreme cases make for interesting journalistic reportage” (Campagna and Poffenberger 1988, 8; Kempadoo 2005, xx). This is certainly true for particular types of slavery and remains a problematic feature of this field of study. Recently, organizations have greatly refined estimates, especially within human trafficking, so that they better reflect the actual nature of the industry as believed by researchers and scholars in the field. There is an apparent trend that human trafficking has garnered greater data research and refinement than other types of slavery; perhaps this is due to the greater media attention it has been given in recent years.

Lack of Universal Consensus on Defining Slavery

A lack of a unified definition as to what constitutes slavery - especially at the national level - presents a challenge to researchers, students, government officials, and human rights advocates (Skrobanek et al. 1997, 88; IHRLI 2002, 1; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2006, 44). Without universal consensus as to what global slavery is, countries cannot effectively enact legislation to deter slavery and prosecute those who are responsible for the industry. In addition, if a universal definition is not provided for all the different types of slavery, then officials within and across countries cannot collect pertinent information in an organized and methodical manner. This makes communicating with other scholars, researchers, and officials within the field of slavery research difficult, as well as limiting what officials and researchers can do to

progress in the field. For example, “in many countries the definition of human trafficking applies only to the exploitation of women and children overlooking that of adult males…” (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2006, 44). Some national legislation considers human trafficking to be only a sexually exploitative industry thereby excluding those that are trafficked solely for forced labor purposes.

In addition to the clarification of such definitions, slavery is not viewed as a crime in certain countries. At the national and regional level, this makes keeping track of slavery offenses difficult, and much more so at the international level. If each country’s criminal bureaucracy does not keep track of its own collection of slavery data, then the precise nature of the industry will not be accounted for. Trafficking victims who are arrested, for example, are sometimes charged with illegal entry and are deported back to their home countries without any assistance.

Countries also have varying definitions for what constitutes smuggling, migration, trafficking, and prostitution. Sometimes they are used interchangeably depending on the country or region you are in; it might even be difficult for officials to differentiate between a smuggled and a trafficked person. Oftentimes, such ambiguities create problems when classifying slavery and trafficking might become a smuggling statistic and vice versa (United Nation Office on Drugs and Crime 2006, 44). Slavery, such as human trafficking, occurs both at the domestic [internal] and international [external] level. What appear to be two similar trends have in fact been dubbed by some scholars in the field as completely unrelated. Some even believe that internal human trafficking is a precursor to international human trafficking (Laczko 2005, 9), and that both are mutually exclusive of one another.

In some countries different types of slavery are not necessarily translated into other languages word by word, creating confusion among officials and other

organizations when consulting with one another. Spanish-speaking countries serve as prime examples. The English word "trafficking" in Spanish would be "*tráfico*," generally used to highlight the drug and arms trade. However, with reference to human beings, major organizations such as the United Nations use "*trata*" instead of "*tráfico*." Trafficking in persons would therefore translate to "*trata de personas*;" not "*tráfico de personas*" (Langberg 2005, 130). This presents major problems because this translation is not embraced in every Spanish-speaking country. Some countries use the two words interchangeably; others solely stick to one or the other; and some even have two completely different meanings for the words. Cultural, religious, language, and socioeconomic factors exist which present challenges in unifying the research.

Certain types of slavery, such as human trafficking for instance, are "an underreported crime for which the majority of cases remain undiscovered" (Laczko and Gramegna 2003, 183). Experts believe that the lack of data on the scope of such forms of slavery can be attributed to the low priority many governmental officials, law enforcement authorities, and intelligence give on the issue (Masika 2002, 10; Laczko 2005, 12). When dealing with major issues, such as corruption, unemployment, and/or burglary for example, countries might not take the time to include slavery on their agendas, thereby reducing its importance. Government budgets might also not allow for proper attention to different types of slavery, especially in poorer countries where they are limited.

In connection to a universal definition, judicial proceedings sometimes lack consensus when it comes to determining whether a particular type of slavery constitutes a crime. This could lead to few if any prosecutions, as well as a handful or so of convictions (IHRLI 2002, 1). Moreover, in many countries, the judges' dockets are often delayed placing cases on hold for months. Slavery incidences – whether they involve

human trafficking or child exploitation – might not receive the attention they deserve given the long waiting list of other more potentially urgent cases. With regards to human trafficking, sometimes "due to great workloads and often total ignorance and indifference, the courts dismisses the pimps and the traffickers with light punishments" (Malarek 2004, 125). This is prevalent in many poorer countries which look to domestic and immediate concerns as more urgent.

Unidentified Populations

Probably the most significant factor that has contributed to the difficulty of researching within the slavery industry is the fact that much of the activities remain hidden and concealed (Laczko 2005, 12; Parrot and Cummings 2006, 115)[48]. It is virtually impossible to ascertain the real scale of the slavery industry, much less account for how many victims and perpetrators are involved (Laczko 2005, 8). Perpetrators, victims/survivors, illegal immigrants, traffickers, prostitutes, etc., account for *hidden populations* that are a challenge to measure. A *hidden population* is defined as "a group of individuals for whom the size and boundaries are unknown, and for whom no sampling frame exists" (Tyldum and Brunovskis 2005, 18). Usually this segment of society refrains from overt cooperation with officials due to the "stigmatized or illegal behavior" involved, as well as the protection of privacy and security of their own safety (Tyldum and Brunovskis 2005, 18).

Also, many types of slavery, particularly human trafficking, remain unnoticed and victims who are rescued are often reluctant to discuss their experience and pinpoint any particular perpetrator(s). For this reason it has been a challenge to collect first-hand accounts of knowledge of those enslaved (Laczko 2005, 8, 12). Human trafficking

[48] Although this applies to almost all types of slavery, this is particularly applicable to human trafficking, certain forms of debt bondage, and child exploitation.

victims – if correctly identified – amount to relatively few numbers that are really representative of the industry as a whole. Estimates have in large part taken over these small sampling sizes to fill in the gaps and unknown details.

Conclusion

The level of research concerning slavery has grown tremendously over the last two decades, particularly with respect to human trafficking. Most of this research has identified the main issues central to the industry, as well as the major existing locations for certain types of slavery to flourish. In addition, recent years have allowed the identification of origin, destination, and transit countries, as well as major routes traffickers follow within human trafficking. Greater attention is needed on the demand side of the industry (not only human trafficking, but slavery as a whole), especially concerning those individuals or groups that contribute to the growth of slavery (Laczko 2005, 14). Moreover, research and data is needed within the other slavery industries, including debt bondage, the sex tourism industry, and child exploitation to name a few. Researchers and scholars in the field continuously

> Worry that the study of contemporary slavery is more of a protoscience than a science. Its data are uncorroborated, its methodology unsystematic. Few researchers work in the area, so the field lacks the give and take that would filter out subjectivity. [Kevin] Bales himself acknowledges all this. As [researchers] debated his definitions of slavery, [he] told us, 'There is a part of me that looks forward to being attacked by other researchers for my interpretations, because then a viable field of inquiry will have developed' (Skrobanek et al. 1997, 87).

Overall, slavery does not have a one-size-fits-all explanation for what encourages the enslavement of people around the world. While similar factors – including poverty, high levels of unemployment, corruption, human deception, and political instability - increase the likelihood of a person becoming enslaved around the world for the most part, countries generally do not share a set of standard

characteristics. Specifically, countries with large numbers of slaves, including Brazil, China, Haiti, India, Mauritania, Nepal, Pakistan, and the United States, do not share many commonalities if it is even possible to state. The socioeconomic, political, cultural, and religious factors of each respective country are different and applying these set of characteristics would not uncover why large numbers of slaves exist.

Following is the concluding chapter of the research, with the author's contribution to the field and possible avenues for future research in the slavery field.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

This study adds to our understanding of contemporary global slavery in that human development is a significant factor contributing to the growth of slavery in a number of countries in the statistical model. The addition of human development as a factor that has not been analyzed before proves invaluable because it introduces a new variable that helps explain the growth of slavery. Although Kevin Bales previous empirical research captures some of the human development index's elements, such as GDP per capita, the variable includes life expectancy and educational attainment. Theoretically, the literature confirms the importance of unemployment, poverty, corruption, and political instability in the growth of slavery. Through bivariate analyses, the corruption and political instability variables display an interesting pattern. Both provide clear support for the link between these factors and the growth of slavery. In particular, the bivariate analysis strongly suggests that corruption makes slavery more likely. Countries with good governing systems appear to be associated with less slavery. Through the use of bivariate analyses, it is possible to identify a relationship between corruption and political instability, with that of slavery. Moreover, how compliant a country is to the *TVPA of 2000* is not deemed to be an influential factor – statistically or theoretically – to the development of slavery. Yet, this variable highlights the major importance enforcement plays in a country's adherence to a legal framework prohibiting different types of slavery. Overall, the model produces a new variable

encouraging the growth of slavery in a number of countries. Also, corruption and political instability make slavery more likely, and a clear relationship exists between these factors and slavery.

These limited but positive results only further illuminate that a one-size fits-all approach to deterring the growth of slavery is not feasible or realistic. The model clearly presents evidence of this with the unexpected results (insignificant variables), as well as the research limitations present. There is not single solution for reducing slavery around the world as made evident with the eight outliers in the model with over 100,000 slaves (e.g., Brazil, China, Haiti, India, Mauritania, Nepal, Pakistan, and the United States). These cases do not share a common language, geographical size, political or economic system, history, or population. A more sophisticated empirical technique and/or in-depth case analyses might prove useful for future research to uncover why these countries exhibited such large slave populations.

Slavery continues to exist and evolve over time. Currently, nearly 27 million people remain enslaved all around the world, many of whom are trafficked, bonded, or exploited in some way. In other words, “today’s slave population is greater than the population of Canada and six times greater than the population of Israel” (Bales 1999, 9). While women and children constitute a large portion of slaves, especially in sex-related industries, men are increasingly becoming susceptible to forced labor and debt bondage. A key point to remember is that no one is immune from slavery, as it has demonstrated its excellent ability to exploit people living in every region of the world, poor and rich alike. Although the sexual exploitation industries of slavery generate greater attention worldwide in terms of research and literature, the non-sexual sectors of debt bondage and forced labor comprise the greatest number of slaves in the world. Slavery brings in an estimated $13 billion in revenue per year (Bales 1999, 23).

Other forms of slavery – organ trafficking, child exploitation for forced labor, cult slavery, and illegal adoption – are also evolving, and include forms of exploitation that are not previously recognized. First humans were trafficked (apart from drugs and arms); now the world is witnessing the trafficking of human organs for profit.

As globalization permeates into the structures of other countries, so will slavery, adapting itself through the use of different tools and means in order to flourish. During the 1960s and 1970s, war, the presence of soldiers, and government tolerance and support in the Southeast Asian region contributed to the growth of the sex tourism industry. Today the region has one of the largest industries in the world. This demonstrates how in as little as forty years, this form of slavery has grown into a completely organized industry. Also, human trafficking has evolved with the help of advances in technology, and the vast telecommunications network globalization has brought. Today, a prime and efficient tool used to facilitate human trafficking is the Internet (Parrot and Cummings 2006, 141). Mail-order brides are an example of a recent type of slavery to emerge. Although not discussed in the research, these examples illustrate how rapidly the world has changed, and how slavery is changing to keep up with this revolution of modernity. As humans accustom themselves to modern advances and technology, so will slavery.

The root causes of slavery still remain in need of being properly addressed and dealt with in each country. They are the prime factors that have not only exacerbated slavery, but that have led to the environment for it to thrive. It is only when the root causes are clearly identified that policymakers can begin to create effective and long-lasting solutions against slavery. The world as it is now, and as it is foreseen to develop is not optimistic, especially as populations burgeon out of control, natural resources become limited and even scarce, energy sources depleted, violence and conflict erupt,

and even as the Earth beings to experience unusual and unpredictable environmental and climatic changes (which have clearly been evident the past several years). Apart from internal factors which severely impact the development of slavery, these external factors will only add to the burdens people continuously face all around the world. Where there is adversity and hardship, there is slavery, waiting and willing to flourish.

> Slavery is a booming business and the number of slaves is increasing. People get rich by using slaves. And when they've finished with their slaves they just throw these people away. That is the new slavery, which focuses on big profits and cheap lives. It is not about owning people in the traditional sense of the old slavery, but about controlling them completely. People become completely disposable tools for making money (Bales 1999, 4).

Future Research

Advanced statistical research

Since the statistical model used in this research resulted in weak results, it would be useful to adopt a more advanced statistical technique. More sophisticated methods might allow for greater robust results. Also, an in-depth look into the eight significant outliers in the model through case studies– Brazil, China, Haiti, India, Pakistan, Mauritania, Nepal, and the United States – could highlight other important factors uncovered in the analysis. Also, since Kevin Bales' slavery estimates were created in 2002, it would be advantageous to researchers and scholars if this data were to be updated and refined to reflect more recent conditions. In this respect, using variables with current data would reduce the likelihood of a significant number of missing cases. The statistical model in this research has only focused on one point in time [2002], which - in an industry that has spanned decades – highlights only a sliver of how slavery has evolved over time. Clearly, a longitudinal analysis would better reflect the trend slavery has taken, and how certain factors have contributed to its development over time.

Countries with significant number of slaves

It would be beneficial to further investigate the eight outlier cases – Brazil, China, Haiti, India, Mauritania, Nepal, Pakistan, and the United States – in this model through case studies. These special set of cases did not conform to the expectations of the statistical analysis, and require an in-depth examination for possible factors shared by the eight countries with such large enslaved populations. Case studies of each country would help illuminate why these countries, in particular, have more than 100,000 slaves.

Latin America and the Caribbean and Africa

An extensive literature review was done covering many regions of the world, with specific country examples to illuminate how slavery has taken hold. Initially, this thesis was intended to study only human trafficking for sexual exploitation in the Latin American and Caribbean region (a region of great interest to the author); however, figures – raw or estimates – did not exist for this form of slavery in each country. In addition, there is an abundance of literature on the human trafficking industry in Europe and Asia, but Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean fall short. In fact, "the Latin American and Caribbean regions are two of the most under-researched and under-funded regions in the world on trafficking in persons" (Coffey 2004 17; Langberg 2005, 136). Although the region focuses more on sexual exploitation, labor exploitation is becoming increasingly apparent in countries such as Brazil. Future research in this region, as well as Africa, would prove invaluable to the study of slavery, given that a reported wave of trafficking has drifted to the region. In particular, the author would like to engage in future research that would uncover rough estimates for each country, how slavery in general is enacted through legislation, and how the decentralized nature of several Latin American countries (e.g., Brazil for example) contributes to slavery.

External Factors

While internal factors are heavily discussed in terms of slavery, external factors are also important. Several external factors which can significantly affect slavery include natural disasters, travel, illegal or legal migration, war, etc. They not only present additional risks to countries, but also increase pressure on existing internal conditions. The author would especially like to engage in future research regarding the impact natural disasters have on slavery. For example, in 2004 Indonesia experienced a horrific tsunami, followed by an earthquake and other storms. This impacted the internal economy of the country, but also rippled into the region as well, affecting neighboring countries such as Thailand, Bangladesh, and even Somalia (although not to the extent that it affected Indonesia). Scholars and researchers have stated that the sex tourism industry has shifted from Asia and increased to Latin America precisely due to these events. It would be very interesting to look at available statistics and/or estimates prior to these events in 2004, to the present [2007], in order to see how the industry has changed.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: CODEBOOK

1. "COUNTRY"
   Country name.
   Source: List of 181 select nations derived from The CIA World Factbook, updated 10 January 2006 <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/fields/2142.html>.

   Note: Only 181 out of the 212 countries were selected based on available data. The remaining 31 countries were omitted due to sparse or unavailable data.

   Nominal variable.

2. "ALLSLAVES" (Average number of slaves, 2002)
   Average number of slaves, estimated in 2002
   Source: Kevin Bales. 2005. *Understanding Global Slavery*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 183-186.
   Appendix 2 "Rankings of Countries on Ordinal Scales for Slavery and Trafficking (Including Ranges of Estimated Number of Slaves)," Pp. 183-186.

   Note 1: These estimates were originally printed in a 2002 article by Kevin Bales, and come from a multitude of sources from years of research, travel, and work. Please refer to the above source for further details on how these slavery estimates were constructed.

   Note 2: The estimates for this empirical investigation were averaged from the low and high estimates of slavery to create a single [averaged] estimate.

   Nominal Variable; Range 0 to 20 million; Minimum value = 50, Maximum value = 20 million, No Report = 99

3. "HDI2000" (Human Development Index, 2000)
   Human Development Index, 2000
   Source: United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 2000, "Human development index trends: human development index," <http://hdr.undp.org/hdr2006/statistics/indicators/10.html>.

   Note 1: According to page 269, <http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2000/en/pdf/hdr_2000_back3.pdf>, "the HDI [human development index] is based on three indicators: longevity, as measured by life expectancy at birth; educational attainment, as measured by a combination of adult literacy (two-thirds weight) and the combined gross primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment ratio (one-third weight); and standard of living, as measured by real GDP per capita (PPP$)" (269). Essentially, the HDI focuses on the average achievements in the basic human capabilities – leading a long life, being knowledgeable and enjoying a decent standard of living (127).

   Note 2: According to <http://hdr.undp.org/hdr2006/statistics/indicators/10.html>, the HDI is calculated on the basis of data on life expectancy from UN (United Nations). 2005a. Correspondence on life expectancy at birth. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. March. New York; data on adult literacy rates from UNESCO.

2005. Correspondence on adult and youth literacy rates. March. Montreal, and UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) Institute for Statistics. 2006a. Correspondence on adult and youth literacy rates. April. Montreal; data on combined gross enrolment ratios from UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) Institute for Statistics. 1999. *Statistical Yearbook.* Montreal, and (56) and data on GDP per capita (2000 PPP US$) and GDP per capita (PPP US$) from World Bank. 2006. *World Development Indicators 2006.* CD-ROM. Washington, D.C.

Note 3: Please refer to page 269, <http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2000/en/pdf/hdr_2000_back3.pdf>, for greater details on how the human development index was constructed.

Note 4: The following countries' HDI was not present for the year 2000; therefore the 1995 statistic was used as an alternative: Canada, Central African Republic, Ecuador, Germany, Haiti, and Singapore. Likewise, the following countries' HDI was not present for any other year except for 2004: Angola, Antigua & Barbuda, Azerbaijan, Barbados, Bhutan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brunei Darussalam, Cuba, Dominica, Gabon, Georgia, Grenada, Guinea, Kyrgyzstan, Libya, Macedonia, Maldives, Myanmar, Qatar, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Slovakia, Solomon Islands, Suriname, São Tomé and Principe, Turkmenistan, and Vanuatu.

Ratio variable; Range 0 (low HDI) to 1 (high HDI); Minimum value = .268, Maximum value =.956, No Report = 99

4. "UNEMP" (Percentage of total unemployment of total labor force, 2001 and various years)
   Unemployment Rate (%)
   Source: The CIA World Factbook, updated 1 January 2002
   <http://www.umsl.edu/services/govdocs/wofact2002/fields/2129.html>.
   Table: Unemployment

   Note 1: According to
   <http://www.umsl.edu/services/govdocs/wofact2002/fields/2129.html>, the level of employment is defined as the percent of the labor force that is without jobs.

   Note 2: All unemployment percentages were reported in 2001 for each country, except for those countries listed below:
   1992 = Kiribati, Nigeria
   1995 = Vietnam, Yemen
   1996 = Comoros, Kuwait, New Caledonia
   1997 = Gabon, Ghana, Laos, Lebanon, Mozambique, Namibia, Suriname
   1998 = Bahrain, Côte d'Ivoire, Equatorial Guinea, Monaco
   1999 = Azerbaijan, Cambodia, Fiji, Grenada, Guatemala, India, Iran, Kyrgyzstan, Liechtenstein, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Federated States of Micronesia, Morocco, Uzbekistan, Virgin Islands

2000 = Antigua and Barbuda, Belarus, Belize, Bolivia, Cape Verde, Costa Rica, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Guyana, Jamaica, Lesotho, Libya, Malta, Moldova, Mongolia, Palau, Panama, Swaziland, Syria, Tunisia, Zambia
2002 = Sudan

Ratio variable; Range 0 to 100; Minimum value = 0, Maximum value = 90, No Report = 99

5. "POVERTY" (Percent of population below poverty line, 2001 and various years)
Percent of population below poverty line, various years
Source: The CIA World Factbook, updated 1 January 2002
<http://www.umsl.edu/services/govdocs/wofact2002/fields/2046.html>.
Table: Field Listing – Population below poverty line

Note 1: According to <http://www.umsl.edu/services/govdocs/wofact2002/fields/2046.html>, the national estimates of the percentage of the population lying below the poverty line are based on surveys of sub-groups, with the results weighted by the number of people in each group. Definitions of poverty vary considerably among nations. For example, rich nations generally employ more generous standards of poverty than poor nations.

Note 2: All population below poverty line percentages were reported in 2001 for each country, except for the following countries:
1989 = Sierra Leone, Togo
1990/1991 = Fiji, Malawi
1991 = Tanzania
1992 = Ghana, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago
1993 = Honduras, Hungary, Niger, Zambia
1994 = Guinea, Madagascar
1995 = Belarus
1995/1996 = Bangladesh, Egypt, Nepal
1996 = Ethiopia, Iran
1997 = Cambodia, Ireland, Sri Lanka, Uruguay, Venezuela
1998 = Brazil, Chile, Haiti, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam
1999 = Algeria, Belize, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Indonesia, Lebanon, Lesotho, Morocco, Panama, Russia, Zimbabwe
2000 = Botswana, Bulgaria, Myanmar [Burma], Cameroon, Estonia, Guatemala, Kenya, Nigeria, Peru, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, South Africa, Tunisia

Ratio variable; Range 0 to 100; Minimum value = 4, Maximum value = 86, No Report = 99

APPENDIX A (CONTINUED)

6. "CORRUPT" (Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index, 2001)
   Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index, 2001
   Source: Transparency International, "Corruptions Perceptions Index (CPI)," <http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2001>.
   Table: The 2001 Corruption Perceptions Index

   Note 1: According to <http://www.transparency.org/documents/cpi/2001/cpi2001.html#cpi>, "2001 CPI Score relates to perceptions of the degree of corruption as seen by business people, academics and risk analysts, and ranges between 0 (highly corrupt) and 10 (highly clean)."

   Note on the Bangladesh score: Data for this country in 2001 was available from only three independent survey sources, and each of these yielded very different results. While the composite score is 0.4, the range of individual survey results is from -1.7 to +3.8. This is a greater range than for any other country. TI [Transparency International] stresses, therefore, that this result needs to be viewed with caution.

   Ratio variable; Range 0 to 10; Minimum value = 0.4, Maximum value = 9.9, No Report = 99

7. "TIPACT02" (Compliance of countries with the *Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000*, 2002)
   Three-level tier system in which nations are categorized based on their compliance with minimum standards of the *Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000*, for the year 2002.
   Source: The tier system derived from the introduction of the U.S. Department of State, *Trafficking in Persons Report* [2002]. Released by the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, 5 June 2002 <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2002/10653.htm>.

   Note 1: The list of countries under each tier came from the list, "II. Trafficking in Persons Lists," U.S. Department of State, *Trafficking in Persons Report* [2002]. Released by the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, 5 June 2002. <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2002/10678.htm>.

   Note 2: According to the U.S. Department of State <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2002/10653.htm>, each of the tiers is defined as:

   Tier 1: Countries that fully comply with the [TVPA of 2000] Act's minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking. Such governments criminalize and have successfully prosecuted trafficking, and have provided a wide range of protective services to victims. Victims are not jailed or otherwise punished solely as a result of being trafficked, and they are not summarily returned to a country where they may face hardship as a result of being trafficked. In addition, these governments sponsor or coordinate prevention campaigns aimed at stemming the flow of trafficking.

Tier 2: Countries that do not yet fully comply with the [TVPA of 2000] Act's minimum standards but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards. Some are strong in the prosecution of traffickers, but provide little or no assistance to victims. Others work to assist victims and punish traffickers, but have not yet taken any significant steps to prevent trafficking. Some governments are only beginning to address trafficking, but nonetheless have already taken significant steps towards the eradication of trafficking.

Tier 3: Countries that do not fully comply with the minimum standards [of the TVPA of 2000] and are not making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance. Some of these governments refuse to acknowledge the trafficking problem within their territory. On a more positive note, several other governments in this category are beginning to take concrete steps to combat trafficking. While these steps do not yet reach the appropriate level of significance, many of these governments are on the path to placement on Tier 2.

Ordinal variable;
Scale:
1 = Tier 1 countries
2 = Tier 2 countries
3 = Tier 3 countries
99 = No report or missing nations

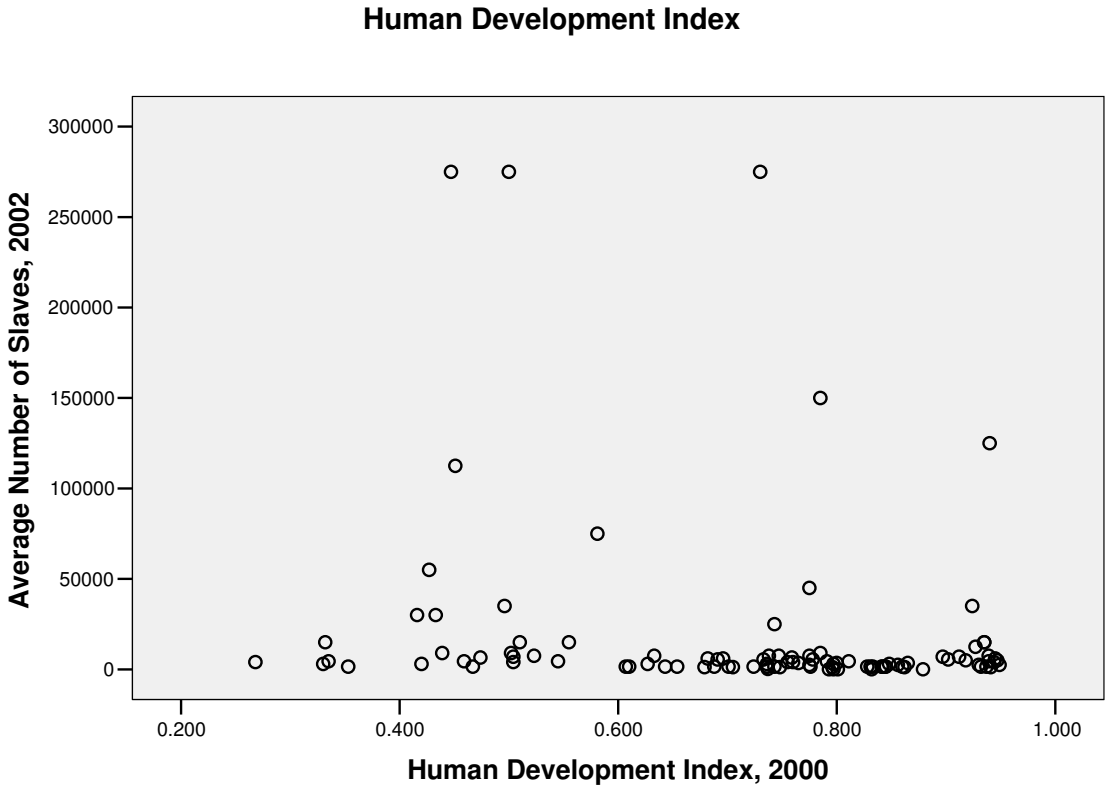
8. "POLSTAB" (Political Stability/Absence of Violence, 1999)
Political stability and lack of violence as a measure of quality of governance, based on data from 1997-1998.
Source: The World Bank Institute Governance & Anti-Corruption, "Data," <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/datasets.htm#dataset>.

Note 1: According to <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/kkz2005/q&a.htm#2>, political stability and absence of violence "combines several indicators which measure perceptions of the likelihood that the government in power will be destabilized or overthrown by possibly unconstitutional and/or violent means, including domestic violence and terrorism."

Note 2: According to Excel file available from <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/datasets.htm#dataset>, "The six governance indicators in this worksheet are measured in units ranging from about -2.5 to 2.5, with higher values corresponding to better governance outcomes."

Ratio variable; Range -2.5 to 2.5; Minimum value = -2.421, Maximum value = 1.690, No Report = 99

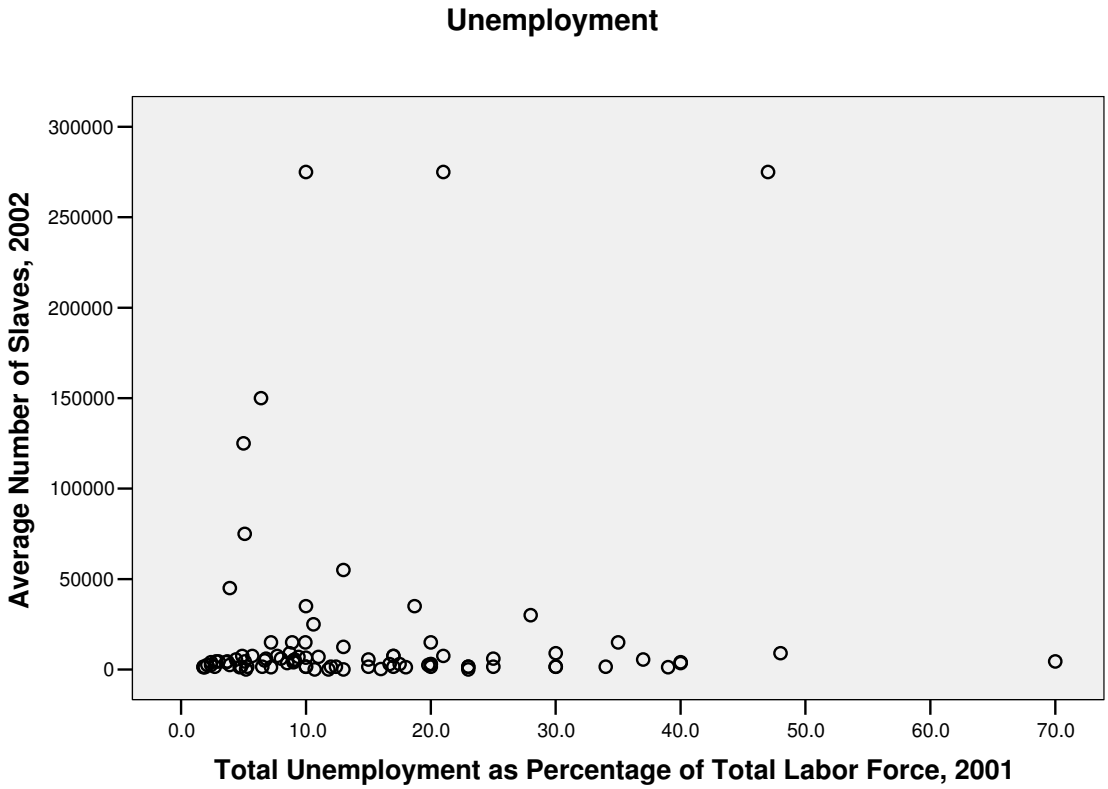
APPENDIX B: SCATTER PLOTS[49]



NOTE: India and Pakistan each had HDI of .577 and .511 respectively.

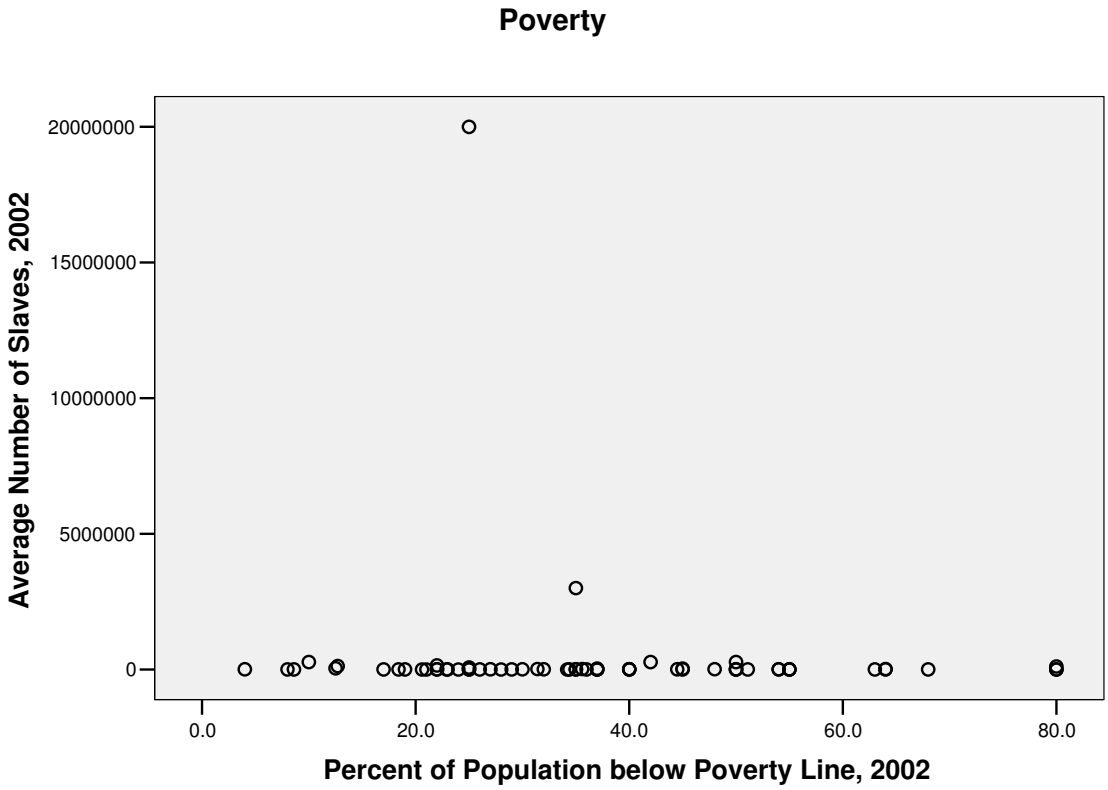
[49] India and Pakistan have both been excluded from ALL five scatter plots in Appedix B due to their high values of slaves, 20 million and 3 million each respectively. They suppress the statistical model in terms of displaying any possible linear relationship.

APPENDIX B (CONTINUED)



NOTE: India and Pakistan each had an unemployment rate of 4.4% and 6.3% respectively.

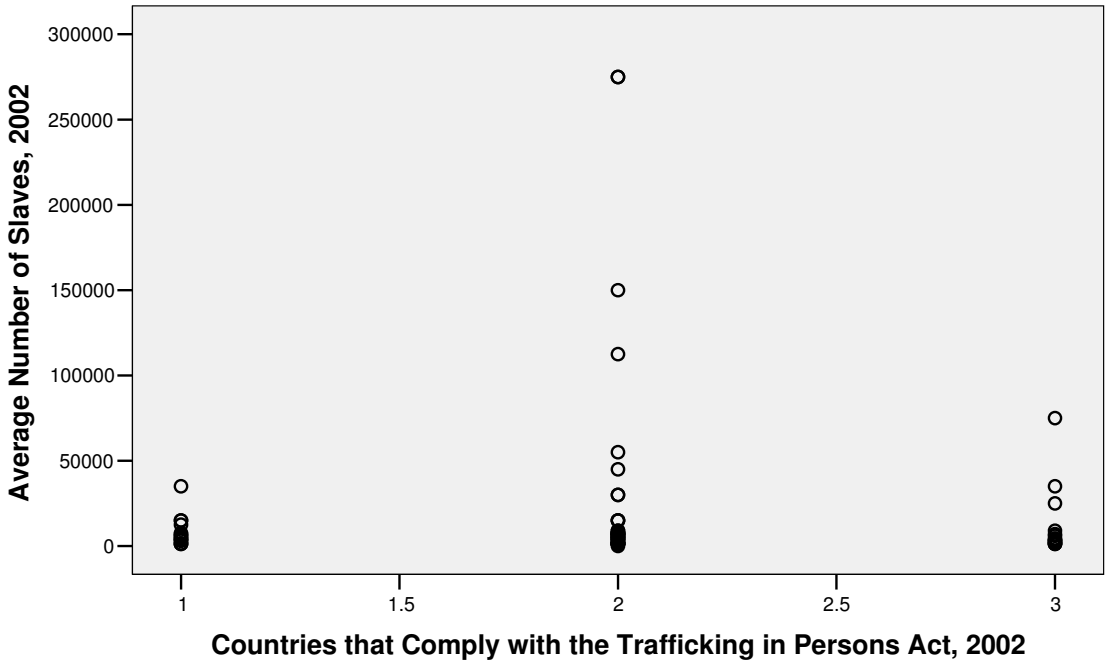
APPENDIX B (CONTINUED)



India and Pakistan each had a poverty rate of 35% and 34% respectively.

APPENDIX B (CONTINUED)

Compliance with the TVPA of 2000



Note: India and Pakistan were both placed in the "Tier 2" level.