

SEX TRAFFICKING INTO THE UNITED STATES: A LITERATURE REVIEW

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This study is an investigation of the literature relating to the trafficking of women and children into the United States for sexual exploitation. The intent is to discover the extent and complexity of the problem, the cost in both human and economic terms, and research directions toward the development of probable political, legal, economic, and social solutions. A subject rife with research possibilities and probable solutions, trafficking is poorly defined, differentially and intermittently quantified, and handicapped by obsolete legal codes and a sexist prostitution enforcement paradigm. Recommended are state statute creation, police training and paradigm change, and increased/broadened victims' services.

Keywords: sex trafficking; economics; sex work; feminism; United States

The United States of America ranks as the world's second largest destination/market country (after Germany) for women and children trafficked for purposes of sexual exploitation in the sex industry (Mizus, Moody, Privado, & Douglas, 2003). By conservative estimates, there are 18,000 persons trafficked into the United States per year. Ninety-six percent of these are females, and almost half are children (both males and females; Mizus et al., 2003). Some estimates are as high as 50,000 persons trafficked into the United States annually. The CIA estimates that 700,000 people are trafficked annually worldwide (Office on Violence Against Women [OVAW], 2000).

The U.S. government defines trafficking as a modern type of slavery. It is estimated that between 100,000 to 150,000 persons, mainly women and children, are kept under slavery in the United States. Slavery, again conservatively estimated, controls the lives of three million persons worldwide.

Human trafficking and sexual exploitation are "part-of and parcel" of the larger worldwide, and exponentially increasing, slave trade. Trafficking is slavery because it includes fraud or extortion in recruitment and coercion, restraint, gang rape, threat of physical harm, loss of liberty, and loss of self-determination on arrival in the destination industry. Incidence of slavery, in its sex trafficking form, appears to be directly correlated with the increasing universal marginalization of women.

Initially the authors believed that the issues relating to the trafficking of children would prove to be similar to those relating to the trafficking of adult women. However, after

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further investigation, it appears that although the logistics of international trafficking are similar for both women and children, the attendant circumstances of children in their source countries, the logistics of their travel (e.g., usually accompanied by bogus “parents”), and the milieu of a well-established commercial child sexual exploitation industry in the United States argues for a separate research agenda for each, while still admitting areas of overlap (cf., Estes & Weiner, 2001).

The merger of the interests of criminal justices and economists in this study should come as no surprise: Criminal justices themselves describe the interrelated crimes of trafficking, prostitution, extortion, and slavery in economic terms. We assert that worldwide slavery and human trafficking cannot be greatly affected without changing worldwide economic convention.

The joint fields of juvenile justice and criminal justice must become intimately aware of the seriousness of human trafficking, its impact on human rights, and its probable future impact on justice practice. Experts presently sense a shift in international crime: International criminals appear to be increasingly shifting from drug trafficking to human trafficking. Profits from human trafficking are higher, the humans are easier to move and store, and there are fewer risks incurred in the practice of human trafficking over drug trafficking. It is therefore possible, maybe even probable, that human trafficking will supercede drug trafficking as the Number 1 international crime within the next 10 years.

METHOD

This study represents an attempt to bring together the scientific literature available in the English language on the subject of sex trafficking of women into the United States for the purpose of illuminating trafficking’s negative impacts; the need for further research and lawmaking; for insight into improving interdiction, enforcement, and prosecution of traffickers; and for knowledge relating to the victims’ needs for support and services. Many documents exist on the subject, produced by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and by governmental agencies, however most of this information is at best “allegorical” in nature, and some are produced with decided political or dogmatic bias. It is difficult to sort out the proverbial wheat from the chaff in the process of reading and reviewing the mass of these documents to discover their scientific and legal value.

On the other hand, there exists a small, growing body of scientific literature, yet this does not as yet display a disciplinary concentration or orientation. A few articles are found in the criminal justice, legal, and economics collections. A few more are found in the social sciences and human rights fields. There is a modest collection in the field of women’s studies. And the U.S. government has commissioned several scientific studies to bolster its knowledge for the purposes of lawmaking, interdiction, enforcement, and victim rescue and services (viz., Estes & Weiner, 2001; Protection Project, 2002; Raymond & Hughes, 2001; Richard, 2000). Last, the International Office of Migration (IOM) has collected data and published documents concerning human trafficking.

This study attempts to avoid the documents that are not directly related to the sex trafficking problem within and relating to the United States. This is however somewhat illogical because of the realities of global factors affecting the United States. This is especially true

relating to the results section on economics. Documents that are largely internationally directed are also included when they discuss factors in other countries, which contribute to their serving as sources of women and children for exploitation in the American sex markets.

In addition, this study will avoid an expansion of polar arguments based on diametrically opposed philosophical positions on sex trafficking and prostitution (Weitzer, 2005). One major spokes-group espouses prostitution and related sex activity as legitimate “sex work” (Kempadoo & Doezema, 1998), whereas another views all prostitution and sex trafficking as illegitimate violence against women and girls driven by male sexual demand (Hynes & Raymond, 2002; Raymond & Hughes, 2001). Each of these conclusions is supported by a sizeable body of literature and lengthy, value-laden logic; thus, thorough treatment of this debate lies beyond the scope of the present study.

RESULTS

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Definitions. The product quality of the scientific endeavor depends first of all on the validity and the precision of the definitions used. And even though laying all cultural bias and status stereotypes aside, herein lies a major hurdle before a scientific study of sex trafficking can begin. There exists little definitional agreement among the varied individuals and groups interested in curtailing the enterprise of sex trafficking; in fact, many NGOs are openly hostile toward one another because they disagree over definitions and possible solutions (Bales, 2000c).

Although definitional disagreement will be mentioned, this review favors those definitions of terms related to and including sex trafficking as they are used by the U.S. government in the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Prevention Act of 2000 (TVPA) (OFAW, 2000) and within other related federal laws. The TVPA uses definitions drawn from and correlated with the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (U.N. Protocol; United Nations, 2000). Because these are the definitions used in the federal antitrafficking laws, it would appear that these are the most useful for both criminal justice applications and for the beginning of scientific inquiry.

Human smuggling. Human smuggling relates more to immigration laws than it does to criminal statutes. It is a contractual agreement in which one person (the smuggler) agrees to take, guide, or transport another person (the smuggled human) across a national border illegally. Human smuggling differs from trafficking in that smuggling suggests consent of the parties, whereas trafficking includes deception, fraud, coercion, force, or exploitation of the trafficked human by the trafficker (Klueber, 2003).

Human smuggling and human trafficking are often confused in the media, probably because both infractions of the law include the transporting or helping of humans across borders illegally. To further complicate the issue, human smuggling may, at any time during

the contractual relationship, escalate into trafficking by the application of coercive or deceptive techniques to entice the now trafficking victim into exploitive conditions.

Problems in gauging the incidence of human trafficking are compounded by this confusion. Humans smuggled and humans trafficked are many times counted together by both national governments and NGOs. No distinctions are made (Demleitner, 2001). Thus, trafficking statistics vary because of this definitional confusion, which may in turn be exacerbated by the perspectives and agendas of those doing the counting.

Trafficking in persons. Many trafficking victims, on the other hand, have not consented, have not agreed to the futures planned for them by the traffickers. Many are misled through false employment offers, whereas others are kidnapped (Klueber, 2003). Still others, who may even suspect that they may have to do sex acts temporarily in the United States — until they get the chance to secure a job — have no inkling of the deprivation, violence, and hopelessness that awaits them (Hughes, 2002).

President George W. Bush explained that “trafficking is nothing less than a modern form of slavery, an unspeakable and unforgivable crime against the most vulnerable members of the global society” (U.S. Department of Justice [USDOJ], 2003, p. 1). The U.N. (2000) protocol defines trafficking in the following terms:

Article 3 (a) “Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

(b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used. (p. 3)

The groups who drafted the protocol differed greatly over the usage of the term *sexual exploitation*. It was strongly argued by some that the term is vague, controversial, and subject to a wide range of interpretations (Potts, 2003). Others argued that there is some exploitation involved in all forms of commercial sex with women doing sex acts (Demleitner, 2001); also, most authorities agree that adults are indeed sexually exploiting children whenever introducing them to the sex industry (Estes & Weiner, 2001).

One key concept in this debate is found in Article 3 (b) above: The consent of the victim is irrelevant. We might add, the consent of the victim “at any stage of the trafficking process” is irrelevant. Just as legally a person cannot consent to slavery, neither can a victim consent to trafficking. Hynes and Raymond (2002) further explain:

Exploitation, rather than coercion, is the operative concept in this definition. A definition of trafficking, based on a human rights framework, should protect all who are trafficked, drawing no distinctions between deserving and undeserving victims of trafficking, that is those who can prove they were forced and those who cannot. Any definition based on the victim’s

consent places the burden of proof on the victim and offers a loophole for traffickers to use the alleged consent of the victim in their own defense. (pp. 198-199)

Severe forms of trafficking in persons. The U.S. Congress in the TVPA emphasizes human trafficking by labeling it “Severe Forms of Trafficking in Persons” (OFAW, 2000, p. 5); and by so doing, it distinguishes trafficking from human smuggling. According to the TVPA, severe forms of trafficking fall into two classifications:

(A) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or

(B) the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery.

Sex trafficking. Sex trafficking is further defined and elaborated on in the TVPA as follows:

The term “sex trafficking” means the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act. (OFAW, 2000, p. 5)

A victim of a severe form of trafficking is logically defined as one “subject to an act or practice” described as “severe forms of trafficking in persons” above. Likewise, a victim of trafficking is “a person subjected to an act or practice described” in either of the two definitions of trafficking above (OFAW, 2000, p. 5).

Demleitner (2001) points out that little attention has been paid to forced prostitution in the United States. And although her definition is similar to the first category of severe forms of trafficking above, it may be more complete:

. . . forced prostitution . . . refer(s) to women or girls who are compelled to engage in sexual acts with strangers in exchange for commodities with the compulsion emanating from either physical violence and abuse, threats to their lives or bodily integrity or those of their families, emotional and physical coercion based on their indebtedness to the smugglers and procurers, and/or their presence in a foreign country without legal status and any support network. (p. 263)

The reader will readily notice that whereas Demleitner is sensitive about semantics when it comes to the subject of forced prostitution, she does not distinguish between traffickers and smugglers. The literature is replete with precise definitional distinctions and also with broad definitional differences.

L. Kelly (2003), on the other hand, asserts that extreme care must be taken when using the concept of force in definitions, as well as when using the worst cases in debate. For example, worst cases arguments tend to suggest that only the most extreme cases of trafficking warrant scholarly, NGO, or governmental attention.

The use of the term *force*, and its position in legal definitions, is critical. L. Kelly (2003) explains that overinclusive legal definitions will tend to engage the police in mass exportations of women, whereas exploitation and traffickers will be ignored. Underinclusive definitions will result in few victims receiving support and services. Thus, to maximize both prosecution and victim services, lawmakers must take the definitions very seriously.

Two additional terms are defined by the TVPA that are necessary in the understanding of sex trafficking:

Commercial Sex Act — The term “commercial sex act” means any sex act on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person.

Debt Bondage — The term “debt bondage” means the status or condition of a debtor arising from a pledge by the debtor of his or her personal services or of those of a person under his or her control as a security for debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied toward the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined. (OVAW, 2000, p. 4)

Modern-day or contemporary slavery. Venkatraman (2003) argues that modern-day slavery is the same as (i.e., AKA) trafficking in persons because it is an “assault on fundamental human dignity” (p. 2). Debt bondage is the most common form of modern slavery (Bales, 2000b).

Prostitution. The reader may suppose that prostitution has been in the myriad legal codes for so many years, that there would exist no question concerning precise definition. Yet the argument has some merit, that prostitution has been euphemized by men as an occupation, which supports the myth that women logically and willingly choose prostitution over other boring and low-skilled jobs. It must be remembered that when most laws controlling prostitution were codified, only men held positions that allowed the power of definition (Plachy & Ridgeway, 1996, p. 34). It should also be noted that the masculine actors, the purchasers of sexual services (who will later be referred to as *fautors*) and pimps, receive either no or “slap on the wrist”-type sanctions. Twenty-five states have no statutes that sanction the behavior of those buying sexual services, whereas 9 have none sanctioning the pimp; although, 47 states make prostitution (i.e., women selling sexual favors) a crime.

So with all the above said, how is prostitution usually defined? Usually it is assumed that the chief actor is a woman and that she sells sexual favors for money, products, or privileges. Criminal justices, whether practitioners or scholars, must be aware that this definitional problem exists and that what is defined is done with the suspicion of sexist bias.

This article argues that in actuality, there is less question concerning the agreed-on definition of prostitution than there is on the validity of that definition. Preliminary questions of validity could be as follow: (a) Should women’s selling of sexual favors be codified as crime? (b) If codified as crime, how serious is the crime; in other words, should prostitution be a felony or a misdemeanor? (c) Who should be considered the criminals? Presently, the prostitution statutes in 25 states apparently criminalize only the women’s actions (“State Statutes Prohibiting Prostitution Surrounding Activities, United States,” 2004).

Although U.S. federal law, United Nations’ pronouncements, and much of the literature make distinctions between sex trafficking and prostitution, the relationship between them is vital but differentially explained. Proponents of one polar stance argue that sex trafficking is founded on and supported by the illegality of the practice of prostitution. They further argue that the prohibition of prostitution creates lucrative underground markets for sex trafficking; and therefore, one of the best ways to effectively deal with sex trafficking is to grant women involved in the sex industry their basic human rights (e.g., right to self-determination; freedom from workplace violence and to receive a fair proportion of their

earnings; right to health care, to leave employ or employer, to fair access to legal remedies, and to fair and equal treatment before the law) (Bindman, 1998; Doezema, 1998). This argument concludes that if prostitution were legally recognized as work, it could be regulated by existing labor laws, and sex trafficking would become a much smaller slavery issue (Bindman, 1998).

The second polar argument views the concepts as inextricably linked. According to this view, sex trafficking is equated with inter- or intranational prostitution, whereas prostitution is defined as domestic sex trafficking (Leidholdt, 2003; see also Campagna & Poffenberger, 1988; Estes & Weiner, 2001). Those who favor legalized prostitution tend to make definitional distinctions, whereas those who assume that (a) most sex consists of men asserting power over women and that (b) prostitution is morally degrading tend to favor overlapping definitions. This definitional issue is critical to the issue of law making and law enforcement and is therefore raised once again in the discussion of paradigms found later in this article.

Fautor. What shall the buyers of sexual favors be termed? The term *John* is common in vulgar usage. These men have been referred to in the literature as “clients,” “customers,” “consumers,” “patrons,” “punters,” and a host of other terms. The authors feel that the proper term must be more pejorative than any on the preceding list. There would exist no prostitution without willing customers; there would be little cause for supply if there were no demand.

The term *fautor* fits the person as well as the act in having a double meaning: In middle English, *fautor* meant transgressor or miscreant, whereas in more modern usage, the term means patron, supporter, or abettor. The authors urge the usage of the term *fautor* when criminal justices and economists are referring to the persons (usually men) who frequent, use, and pay for the sexual services of other persons (usually women).

EXTENT

As in the case of prostitution, the statistical quantifications of sex trafficking variables are based largely on conjecture or, at best, founded on educated guess. The USDOJ (2003) explains that “the nature of this crime — underground, often under-acknowledged — contributes to the inability to determine the precise number of people who are victimized by traffickers each year” (p. 6). Six obvious factors limit precision: first, the clandestine nature of the enterprise — traffickers simply do not publicize their activities, and only a minute fraction of the operations (when and where prohibiting statutes exist and are enforced) are interdicted and prosecuted. Second, trafficked persons by definition are a mobile population — moved from one country to another, then probably on to a third destination, and/or then possibly back to the source country. In all honesty, however, it must be mentioned that some scholars question whether the lack of numbers indicate extremely low incidence (Kempadoo & Doezema, 1998).

Third, precise definitions are not followed: For example, persons smuggled and persons trafficked are often counted in the same list (Demleitner, 2001, p. 260). Some countries, not wishing to lose some forms of U.S. aid (Office of the Under Secretary for Global Affairs [Under Secretary], 2003), turn a blind eye to trafficking and report only “smuggling.” Fourth, government corruption in source countries inhibits both control and reporting.

Fifth, local police struggle under the faulty prostitution paradigm and, in so doing, aid little in stemming the tide of sex trafficking or in adding to the knowledge of domestic incidence of sex trafficking. Women are arrested for the crime of prostitution. If they are found to be in the country illegally or without the necessary papers, they are considered “double criminals” — having broken immigration laws as well as prostitution laws. They are deported as “criminal aliens,” whereas their traffickers, their controllers, as well as their customers or fautors escape prosecution.

And although Limitations 1 through 5 are rather straight forward and easily understood, the sixth is less obvious and more difficult to fathom. For political reasons, governments limit knowledge. For example, the U.S. government, while purporting to pass judgment on itself and all other countries of the world as to their commitment toward antitrafficking, deliberately excludes countries from the annual *Trafficking in Persons Report* (TPR; Under Secretary, 2003, 2004), which are deemed to be vital to U.S. political ends. Therefore, Mauritania, a country that has supported chattel slavery since ancient times, being a “moderate Islamic” country and thus vital to the U.S. desire to stem the tide of Islamic fundamentalism, is not included in the TPR of 2003 and is given a higher rating than other legitimate sources substantiate in its publication of 2004. Likewise, it is not mentioned in the TPR of 2004 that Saudi Arabia — so vital to U.S. interests in the “Oil” Gulf — is the single largest destination for women trafficked from Thailand (Bales, 2000a, 2000c; Under Secretary, 2004).

From the preceding, the social scientist may well ask, “Then how does one know?” or “Who can we trust?” or “How indeed can we gather sufficient, reliable evidence to add to the scientific knowledge base?” Certainly, no social scientist wishes to be caught up in beginning or even to see another moral panic in the vein of the White Slavery Panic of the early 20th Century (Grittner, 1990, pp. 61-82). In actuality, Kempadoo and Doezema (1998) offer the unconventional argument that the present worldwide emphasis on sex trafficking is driven by middle-class, White, intellectual feminists from the United States and Europe to further their own political agenda and is directed by elitist, cultural, racist, and moralistic bias. In answer, the authors can only state that following is an overview of the information which presently exists on the subject of sex trafficking of women into the United States.

The U.S. State Department has estimated that between 700,000 and 1 million women and children are trafficked each year worldwide and that as many as 50,000 are trafficked into the United States annually (Miko, 2000; Richard, 2000; Under Secretary, 2003). Because of the adoption of better estimation techniques, the U.S. figures have been recently revised to 17,000 (Under Secretary, 2004; USDOJ, 2003). Some NGOs and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimate both figures to be higher (E. Kelly, 2002; Klueber, 2003, p. 1).

Beyond this, it is estimated that between 100,000 and 300,000 children are exploited annually by the sex industry within the United States alone (End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography, and the Trafficking of Children for Sexual Exploitation, 1996; Klueber, 2003). These figures are obviously “high-end estimates,” which also confuse sex trafficking with the larger sex industry. The problem is nevertheless significant, for in the year 2000, the U.S. Congress reported that the trafficking of women and children was the third largest source of revenue for organized crime worldwide, following closely behind drug and firearm trafficking (Miko, 2000).

Most women and girls sex trafficked come from Russia. Other states of the former Soviet Block are also major source countries. Germany is the top destination (i.e., market) country for sex-trafficked women and girls, with the United States offering the second largest market. Following the United States in rank order of market size are Italy, the Netherlands, Japan, Greece, India, Thailand, and Australia (Mizus et al., 2003). Women and girls sex trafficked into the United States come mainly from three sources: Asia, Mexico, and the newly independent countries of the former Soviet Block. But it must also be mentioned that the United States becomes the destination for some women from nearly every source country of the world. The newly independent states presently probably produce the largest numbers of sex-trafficked females into the United States (Miko, 2000; Richard, 2000).

Although early U.S. government statements claimed that sex trafficking was largely controlled by organized crime (OAW, 2000), it is now believed that individual entrepreneurs and small organized groups are the perpetrators of most of the trafficking into the United States (Bush, 2004; Klueber, 2003, p. 16). And although there is growing documentation illustrating the involvement of Chinese “triads” in human smuggling operations, even the Asian trafficking operations tend to consist of small groups of entrepreneurs with organizational and international business skills (Kwong, 1997; Zhang & Chin, 2002a, 2002b).

Commonly, women are trafficked into the United States through one of three ways: first, the illegal use of legal documents. This appears to be the easiest and possibly the most common way of successfully sex trafficking women into the United States. Traffickers take the legal documents away from the first victim, and then the documents are used to cover the trafficking of others. Second, traffickers produce fake documents for their victims. And third, some women are brought into the United States without inspection. In this case, Caucasian men (often U.S. military men) are recruited to act as escorts or false marriage partners for the trafficked women (Klueber, 2003, p. 16; Richard, 2000).

Once sex-trafficked women, as victims, are inside the United States, they are moved around regularly. If a woman resists involvement in prostitution, her spirit is broken, as she is treated to the ubiquitous “softening” or “seasoning” process — often including repeated gang rapes — until she acquiesces to the demands of her captors. Then, remaining in any one location no more than a few weeks, disoriented, she forms no attachments to persons or place. She does not have time to build friendships with other sex providers, to become well known to her fautors, or to even learn how to contact the police or whether even she can trust the police (Richard, 2000).

Sex trafficking relating to the United States, however, does not entirely consist of, or end with, the international trafficking of women and children into the country for sex exploitation. Domestic production of sex workers — especially children — becomes the crime of trafficking when there exists deceit, fraud, coercion, or transportation of the victims interstate or out of the United States to foreign markets.

Venkatraman (2003) states that “no neighborhood is immune to human trafficking activity” (p. 2). Americans are victimized by traffickers as well as are immigrant populations. This is especially obvious in the literature on the sex trafficking of children and youth. In many of these studies, initial mention is made of international sex trafficking, then the studies tend quickly to switch to the domestic child prostitution and child pornography subject matter, and this makes up the far larger proportion of the bodies of those reports. Again, it is illustrated as the substantial overlapping of sex trafficking and prostitution. American

runaway and thrown-away youth are especially vulnerable to being tricked/enticed by recruiters for purposes of sexual exploitation. Human trafficking investigations, steadily increasing in number, confirm that serious forms of trafficking are occurring in many neighborhoods throughout the United States (Campagna & Poffenberger, 1988; Estes & Wiener, 2001; Venkatraman, 2003).

Federal prosecutions since January 2001 number in the hundreds, but this affects an extremely small proportion of the trafficking that exists (Venkatraman, 2003, p. 2). A considerable amount of trafficking is most likely occurring in our communities, which is undetected (or unrecognized) by the police.

IMPACT

The impact of sex trafficking on the dignity of the entire human family, the economic stability of world markets, and the fragile cultural structures of third-world and newly independent countries are discussed later in this study in the Economics section. However, it is necessary for the discipline of criminal justice to realize the impacts of the misogyny of sex trafficking on the well-being of Americans as part of the human race, as well as the myriad types of behaviors of traffickers and the seeming inability of the criminal justice system to effectively respond to this growing worldwide and national crisis.

Demleitner (2001, p. 257) exclaims that the crime of sex trafficking is characterized by extreme violence, by its industrial scale, and by its organization. The criminals bringing women and children into the United States are extremely adaptable in the practice of trafficking. As laws change, as the police respond, as the markets change, traffickers (as well as the entire sex industry in the United States) through their diversification and plasticity have commonly been able not only to cope but have been able to continually increase the scope and size of their enterprise (Plachy & Ridgeway, 1996, p. 38).

The seriousness of sex trafficking may be readily understood by the fact that through enforcement and investigation at the federal, state, and local levels, police have been able to link trafficking to document fraud, money laundering, migrant smuggling, and prostitution (USDOJ, 2003). Beyond this, the USDOJ (2003) states that sex trafficking — like prostitution and related activities — “is inherently harmful and dehumanizing” (p. 1), as it is an assault on human dignity.

Human trafficking is one of the fastest growing forms of international and intranational commerce and crime. Most of the victims are women and children of third-world countries or newly independent states. Most women and children are trafficked for the sex trade — they being the most vulnerable members of humanity to sexual exploitation. The United States — through its burgeoning and multifaceted sex industry — is presently the second largest consumer of the human products delivered by international traffickers. The increasing seriousness of this crime can be illustrated by the recent substantial growth in the body of international and multinational law (Klueber, 2003, p. 2).

CAUSES AND EXPLANATION

Although historically migrants have been men, recently a steadily increasing number of migrants are women on their own. Reasons women have for wishing to migrate to the United

States are threefold. First, the Western world offers more lucrative employment and better marriage partners. Second, the situation at home is bad — unemployment, few career opportunities, and economic and social oppression of women — so they are looking for a better future. Third, traffickers offer false hope — through fraudulent contracts, by facilitating illegal border crossings, and by providing fraudulent papers (Demleitner, 2001, p. 263).

Significant fees are demanded by traffickers to bring women into the United States illegally. Large fees expected from poor women (marginalized worldwide) make debt bondage (sex slavery) more likely. It was shown, for example, in *United States v. Gasanov* that on arrival in El Paso, Texas, three women from Uzbekistan were assessed \$300,000 in transportation and documents fees by their traffickers; they were then forced to work in strip clubs to pay off their debts (Zakhari, 2005, p. 141). Two arguments are brought forth in the literature to explain the high fees. The first and most common argument is that rapidly increasing and increasingly restrictive immigration laws create an underground economy in which the returns from investment are positively correlated with the level of restriction (Kwong, 1997).

The second argument advanced by L. Kelly (2003) is that vast distances between source and destination countries, complications on the way, and having no contacts or support system in the country of destination would preclude vast numbers of marginalized women from migrating to the United States or Europe without resorting to third parties. The costs of travel and relocation are far beyond the means of most trafficked women, who more likely were struggling for mere physical survival in their source countries before being trafficked.

With their countries of origin suffering from political and economic instability, there being a lack of employment opportunity, and suffering from sex discrimination or gender inequality, the women are especially vulnerable to the false promises of traffickers (Klueber, 2003, p. 6). All of the above factors especially oppress women because they make less money than men; therefore, they are more likely to be caught up in debt bondage and more likely to end up in the sex industry (Demleitner, 2001, p. 263).

A century ago, conditions appear to be similar when the issue was then the causes of White slavery. As Goldman (1910) explains,

What is really the cause of the trade in women? Exploitation of course; the merciless Moloch of capitalism that fattens on underpaid labor, thus driving thousands of women and girls into prostitution. (p. 184)

Today, with worldwide capitalism, the questions and answers may be similar, for sex trafficking and White slavery are very similar crimes. In a similar vein, Klueber (2003, p. 7) suggests that globalization may be the key to the problem of human trafficking.

Other arguments as to the cause of human or sex trafficking follow. First, the economic differentials between first-, second-, and third-world countries cause economic and cultural instabilities that in turn make more women vulnerable, as in Southeast Asia (Bales, 2000a, 2003). Second, political instabilities create vulnerable women and children, as in Asia and the states of the former Soviet Block (Derks, 2000; Hughes, 2000, 2002).

Third, Goodwin (2003) argues that women are used as political pawns in radical and conservative Muslim countries. The freedoms of daughters and wives may be severely

curtailed, whereas husbands and sons are free to pursue other women or men in prostitution, sex tourism, or clandestine meetings.

The fourth argument centers around worldwide capitalism and transnational corporations (Anderson & Davidson, 2003). And fifth, there exists today almost universal devaluation and marginalization of women (Demleitner, 2001). Women are stigmatized and objectified (Klueber, 2003, p. 7), and the fact that they are barred from legitimate careers fosters illegitimate jobs.

Although convention assumes that prostitution (the end product of sex trafficking) is an occupation or a job freely chosen by women, the authors suspect that prostitution is not so much a profession as it is a universally accepted and adopted expectation for females who are so unfortunate as to be born into particular socioeconomic, political, and/or familial circumstances. Thus, when it is proposed that prostitution is simply another profession, that assertion is based on the conclusion that prostitution is a normative life's choice for women born into poverty, into minority status, into countries with radical or unstable governments or economies, into male-dominated misogynist cultures, or into child-abusive families. This faulty argument (as the authors view it) concludes that this is the way it is and always has been; there is nothing which can be done to change circumstances; therefore prostitution must be accepted as normal and proper, socially approved. This argument does not take into consideration the force, fraud, and coercion involved in the sex industry, nor does it take into account that to survive, marginalized women may have few legitimate alternatives (Bloom, Owen, & Covington, 2003; Demleitner, 2001; Farley, 2003; L. Kelly, 2003; Leidholdt, 2003).

On the other hand, Cabezas (1998) and Fusco (1998) explain that women choose prostitution for a variety of reasons, including the wish to experience lifestyle at a higher socioeconomic level. Anarfi (1998) goes on to explain that some women choose sex work to amass money to finance their own future business interests. The most frequent explanation given by women working in prostitution is that sex work is the best choice among alternative jobs available to them (Kempadoo & Doezema, 1998).

Klueber (2003, p. 7) mentions two ways that women become victims of trafficking: (a) They respond to advertisements to work or study abroad (the ads usually also include legitimate jobs) and (b) women seek the help of smugglers to travel to enter foreign countries for the purpose of seeking better employment opportunity. A fee is set, they sign a contract, and debt bondage ensues.

A common misunderstanding is that all victims of sex trafficking are poor and uneducated. Many, especially those from the newly independent countries, are high school graduates and often have college degrees. These seek to use their education to improve their lives and support their families (E. Kelly, 2002; Klueber, 2003, p. 7; Richard, 2000).

Tactics used by traffickers to control women and children include, but are not limited to, the following: threats, physical and sexual assault, taking away of legitimate travel and immigration documents, and threats against family members back in the source country (Bertone, 2000; Richard, 2000). These are the common tactics of traffickers, but it must be remembered that one of the most ubiquitous characteristics of traffickers specifically, and of those in the sex industry generally, is adaptability; therefore, lawmakers and law enforcement must be sensitive to the possibility of other forms of coercion.

THE CRIMINALS

At the time the TVPA was passed by Congress, it was believed that trafficking was the work of organized crime (USDOJ, 2003). The authors are unsure whether information was lacking or whether interested persons and organizations were mixing the concepts of smuggling and trafficking. For example, David (2000) states that trafficking into Australia is the work of organized crime, but in reading her government report, the authors have concluded that David makes little distinction between smuggling and trafficking.

Zhang and Chin (2002a, 2002b) show that Chinese triads are heavily involved in human smuggling but argue that human trafficking is largely carried out by small groups of highly organized entrepreneurs. Klueber (2003, p. 9) argues that the organized crime connection is exaggerated and that most of the information supporting that contention is anecdotal.

Most of the literature from the past 3 years supports the argument that trafficking into the United States is largely the work of small groups of loosely connected but highly organized specialists. Oftentimes, these networks are temporary alliances, and almost all traffickers are men (Klueber, 2003, p. 8).

E. Kelly (2002) groups traffickers into four respective roles: first, the organizers, who are primary entrepreneurs and planners (they organize the trafficking network); second, the middlemen, who are recruiters, transporters, and sellers of women.

The third role is the business operator. This includes brothel and nightclub owners and pimps. And the fourth group is the aides, the corrupt government officials and police who are either paid to overlook trafficking or who take an active part in catching women who escape and return them to their captors or who are owners within the sex industry themselves (Bales, 2000a).

LEGAL CONSIDERATIONS

Of the more interesting questions of sex trafficking is, What happens when immigration and criminal laws mix? It appears that with a new federal trafficking statute, the only one in the world that allows for the possibility that trafficking victims may gain citizenship, and although the U.S. border is becoming increasingly fortified, there may be conflicts with immigration laws and policy.

As illegal immigration has increased in recent years, U.S. immigration policies have become increasingly restrictive, and enforcement has been enhanced. Educated and affluent men are favored for legal immigration; therefore, women increasingly turn to smugglers to gain entry. "Not surprisingly, the contraction of legal immigration in the Western world, combined with global economic inequality has caused an upsurge in illegal or undocumented migration" (Demleitner, 2001, p. 260).

Van Impe (2000, p. 123) argues that sex trafficking is not sufficiently well defined in the criminal codes of most countries — if definitions exist at all. Issues that must be considered in the sex trafficking codes are criminal, moral, human-rights, labor, economic (Klueber, 2003, p. 5), migration, public-order, health, gender (E. Kelly, 2002), threats to national borders, and the oppression of women and minorities (Bales, 2000a, 2000c; Klueber, 2003, p. 5; United Nations, 1948). Fortunately, and in a timely manner, the U.S. government has taken the lead in developing a federal trafficking law that deals with most of the issues cited

above (TVPA, USDOJ, 2003, 2004), and it has taken world leadership in assessing and policing both itself and the countries of the world in focus on stemming the tide of human trafficking, sex trafficking, and other forms of human slavery (Under Secretary, 2003, 2004).

Third, the U.S. government has urged the passage of state trafficking laws that would give local police the tools necessary to be actively involved in the detection, arrest, and prosecution of traffickers, as well as in the rescuing and reintegration of sex trafficking victims (Raymond & Hughes, 2001; Richard, 2000; Under Secretary, 2004). And fourth, the USDOJ (2004) has recently developed a “Model State Anti-Trafficking Criminal Statute” (Model; USDOJ, 2004). This model should be especially welcomed by state legislatures because it (a) is issue inclusive, (b) is compatible with the federal statute, (c) and allows use of the model without all the work included in reinventing the proverbial wheel.

New state trafficking laws are absolutely necessary to stem the tide of trafficking into, within, and out of the United States. Presently, the local and state police are handicapped by antiquated prostitution statutes. They respond to trafficking-related behaviors according to a prostitution paradigm in which oftentimes only women can be arrested as criminals. Many states do not criminalize the actions of fautors, pimps, the transporters of women from city to city for purposes of prostitution, or brothel owners. Therefore, the prostitution paradigm is heavily weighted against the behaviors of women, whereas it ignores the behaviors of the men who control the industry and who are the fautors — the buyers of sexual services.

Both federal and the Model statutes require a paradigm shift — from a prostitution paradigm to a trafficking paradigm. A paradigm in this case is a model or exemplar for thought, a way of viewing the world or one of the world’s situations. To further explain, in the prostitution paradigm, the women selling sexual favors are the criminals, the men buying those services and the men in support of the enterprise (viz., pimps, brothel owners, recruiters, transporters, etc.) are either not committing criminal acts or are committing lesser infractions. On the other hand, in the trafficking paradigm, the women are the victims of relative amounts of force, coercion, fraud, and trickery; many under debt bondage or other forms of close supervision have limited freedom and severely restricted self-determination. The men in support are the criminals in this paradigm. They are the ones who demand services, are enriched by the proceeds of commercial sex, and are the ones who control, and often even enslave, the women providers.

In the prostitution paradigm, the women are arrested. If they are found to be undocumented migrants, they are deported. They may serve time in prison. Those most affected are the extremely poor and minority women. The prostitution paradigm assumes complicity and choice in the actions of the female sex provider.

The trafficking paradigm, on the other hand, does not assume that the women are willingly engaging in a career they logically and willingly chose. The women are seen as victims of the crime of trafficking. Thus, they need rescue, removal, and reintegration services (Under Secretary, 2004). The men who have forced women and children into prostitution and other sexual exploitation, and those who direct them and keep them enmeshed in the sex industry, are the perpetrators of felony crimes.

Fautors (customers) should probably be treated by law in a manner similar to treatment of trafficked women and women practicing prostitution unless they have committed attendant-related crimes, such as forcible rape or assault. For, on one hand, they do create the

market demand; on the other hand, they themselves may be used to stem the tide of trafficking and prostitution in two ways.

First, they are the ones who may be the first to recognize trafficking, develop serious interest in rescuing victims, and be willing to bring instances of trafficking to the attention of the police. Second, fautors represent a wealth of information of interest in furthering criminal justice and economics research into sex trafficking and prostitution, including the cultural justifications of, means and methods of, and attitudes toward solicitation.

Understanding, and publicizing this paradigm shift, is, and needs to be, at the forefront of the lawmaking process and of adapting the criminal justice system to effectively deal with the continuously increasing crime of sex trafficking. Heretofore, one of the most difficult problems worldwide has been the difficulty of formulating coherent and applicable policy, partially because of the overall universal lack of political will to control trafficking in both receiving (e.g., US and Germany) and sending countries (e.g., Thailand and Ukraine) (Demleitner, 2001, p. 269). Achieving federal, state, and local government and criminal justice understanding and agreement on this paradigm shift is a large step in the battle against sex trafficking.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE ISSUES AND RESPONSE

The USDOJ (2003, p. 8) explains that with a new crime like human trafficking (or sex trafficking), four issues relating to the states and local police need to be addressed. First, new sentences based on the new understanding of the seriousness of the crime must be developed. The federal statute, if used as an example, includes heavy fines, asset forfeitures, and long prison terms for traffickers. Second, state and local police must be trained to rethink prostitution with what the authors have termed the new trafficking paradigm, how to apply the new trafficking laws, and how and when to coordinate efforts with federal law enforcement.

Third, the state and local police must also be trained in awareness — that is, to recognize the characteristics of trafficking in the normal course of policing. Klueber's (2003) study showed that 83 of the largest police departments in the United States were largely unaware of trafficking as a crime problem in their jurisdictions, had little or no training in trafficking laws or issues, and believed that trafficking was an organized crime problem. This illustrates the serious need for training local law enforcement in trafficking laws, observational skills, and paradigm shift. Fourth, victims services, witness support services, and victim reintegration programs must be identified and engaged in the process of removal, protection, healing, and reintegrating female and child sex trafficking victims (de Baca & Tisi, 2002; Farley, 2003).

Police and prosecutors also need to understand the many state and federal laws that can be used to prosecute traffickers for related crimes. For example, Venkatraman (2003) points out that the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act of 1970 has been successfully applied to trafficking and related crimes. Venkatraman (pp. 3-5) goes on to show that federal statutes exist that allow prosecution for crimes of involuntary servitude; forced labor; sex trafficking of children or by force, fraud, or coercion; and seizure of documents. Immigration statutes, labor law statutes, tax codes, and other federal criminal laws may be applied, as well as many state laws.

ECONOMICS

The fields of criminal justice and sociology have in the past been the main areas of human trafficking research. Looking at the human trafficking literature of today, we find the field of economics emerging as one of great importance. From the criminal justice side, as we have discussed earlier, sex trafficking involves crimes such as fraud, extortion, coercion, restraint, gang rape, threat of physical harm, loss of liberty, and loss of self-determination on arrival in the destination industry. From a social context, sex trafficking separates family units and takes advantage of the vulnerabilities created by poverty, unemployment, war, and a lack of opportunity for much of the population in the local populations. The purpose of all forms of human trafficking is to make money through the exploitation of the susceptible. Therefore, economics is the link between the vulnerability of populations and the crime of human trafficking.

Perhaps Bales (2000b) best describes the situation when he says, “Until we work to understand slavery as a global phenomenon with distinct characteristics, our response, both intellectually and practically, will be partial, ill-formed and ineffective” (p. 481). It is impossible to look at the economics of sex trafficking within a single country. Sex slavery is made possible in part because of the openness of economies and the ease of transportation of goods and money.

Bales states that economic exploitation is in the very definition of slavery. Economic changes, along with the state of the government, legal, and social systems, affect how slavery manifests itself in a nation. Bales estimates that slave labor directly produces between \$13 and \$20 billion each year and, through the use of slave-made inputs, indirectly produces much more. He also notes a distinct difference in some cases between the rural slaves and the urban slaveholders. He surmises that as poverty leads to desperation in rural areas, women are lured into slavery by recruiters.

To connect the criminal justice and sociology perspectives, this section looks at the agents involved in human trafficking and how their actions and circumstances are affected by the economics of trafficking. Their relationships will be analyzed within the demand and supply of human trafficking framework.

Becsi (1999) divides the participants, willing or otherwise, of human trafficking into criminals (human traffickers), noncriminal households (vulnerable population), legitimate businesses, and the government. From this perspective, criminals establish the supply of crime, and the rest of society establishes the demand for crime. Governmental control affects each side of the equation.

This article concentrates on only three agents that fall into two groups within Becsi’s categorization. In the context of economics, all three agents are classified as members of “households.” On the demand side, fautors pay to exploit women and children. The supply side is made up of the victims from vulnerable populations. The human traffickers or criminals make a decision to be the middlemen (or suppliers) linking the demand and supply side of sex trafficking.

Leuchtag (1995) describes many facets of international prostitution. She briefly describes this pattern of supply and demand. Because of poor economic situations, desperate women and children have a high propensity to be lured, kidnapped, or sold into the world of human trafficking, where they fall prey to recruiters, brokers, and traffickers.

Leuchtag asserts that the women are sold or rented to affluent men who use anonymity to buy sex.

Hughes (2000) analyzes the “Natasha” trade for Eastern European women in the sex trafficking market. Although countries of origin in the sex trade were historically Asian, the fall of several Eastern European economies have created situations in which large populations of women are susceptible to sex trafficking scams. Sex trafficking is thus defined as “any practice that involves moving people within and across local or national borders for the purpose of sexual exploitation.” The United Nations estimates that there are around 1 million people trafficked into the sex industries each year. Hughes mentions trafficking is relatively hidden because of a “relative media blackout” on the subject.

VULNERABLE POPULATIONS

The majority of the economics research in this area has been done on international and local conditions that make populations vulnerable to human traffickers. Van Impe (2000) uses data from the IOM to specify four distinct human trafficking waves within the past decade into Western Europe and the United States. The first wave came in 1992 with the trafficking of Asian women. This was followed in 1993, when South American women were heavily exploited. Africa provided the third wave in 1993, and 1994 saw the fourth wave from Central and Eastern Europe. Van Impe explains that these waves were caused by the push factors of origin countries and the pull factors of destination countries.

The ideas of the papers presented here point to evidence that when certain elements accumulate, an area becomes especially susceptible to human trafficking. Local ingredients often include poverty, unemployment, and civil unrest. Important cultural aspects to consider are low education levels, lack of opportunities for women, and subservience as women are pressured to sacrifice themselves for the survival of their families. Inequality between countries, the access to media touting a better life, and thus a wish to migrate help to create the international situation that encourages profiteering through human trafficking.

Local economic situation. Local economic issues in human trafficking include both family economics and culture. Weisheit and Morn (2004) discuss reasons for the existence of “new slavery.” When population grows faster than the economic growth of a country, fewer resources are available to take care of each person. This includes health care and policing resources. Economic as well as social changes have occurred in many countries, leaving populations without strong leadership and goals. This instability leads to the search for new moneymaking opportunities. Slavery has become one of the big financial opportunities as parts of the expanding population become more vulnerable. Furthermore, an increasingly international community has led to new opportunities to market sex trafficking.

Trujillo (2004) reported on a pilot study done in nine Latin American countries by the Inter-American Commission of Women, the Inter-American Children’s Institute, and DePaul University. The study suggests that the factors of poverty and a society prone to violence, corruption, and gender and age discrimination contribute to the prominence of trafficking within a nation.

Armed conflict and economic and social inequalities between and within countries, tied with a growing demand for sex work, are some of the characteristics indicated by Watts and

Zimmerman (2002) as leading to an increase in sex trafficking during the past 10 years. They give a yearly estimate of between 700,000 to 2 million women and girls trafficked across international borders, who are often misled into believing they will be working in secure jobs at their destination but on arrival are forced into prostitution or other types of servitude.

Skeldon (2000) analyzes the labor market recruitment that provides the human trafficking victims. Oftentimes, the complexity of bureaucratic measures and/or government corruption drive migrants to look to alternative sources of international movement. There is an excess of labor in origin countries while certain labor markets in destination countries are experiencing shortages. Migrants have knowledge of the opportunity and wage differences between the origin and host countries. Poverty and culture play a significant part when females must sacrifice themselves for the support of their families.

Klueber (2003) sees the cultural devaluation of women as the cause of trafficking. She posits that this is at the forefront of the lack of opportunities in origin country labor markets for women and more demand for women in the sex industry.

World economic situation. Bales (2003) pinpoints globalization as it transcends nations' borders as a main condition for the increase in new slavery. Money, goods, and services are now open to trade internationally. The promise of opportunities to those in economically vulnerable positions can lead to exploitation.

Bales (2001) notes three developments that led to the rapid growth of modern human trafficking. As the world population continues to grow, a disproportionate increase in the populations of developing countries has occurred. Because of the changing nature of commerce, rural people are being forced to work in cities and, often, to take out loans that push them into debt. These and other factors combine to create vulnerable populations from which traffickers may find potential slaves. Few resources may be available to the countries to fight human trafficking and for rehabilitation, as their monetary assets are often tied up in making large debt payments. The existence of government corruption also allows the mechanisms of human trafficking possible.

Bales describes modern slavery as a temporary relationship. Traffickers find it cheap to trick or kidnap women and children in countries where the economic and social infrastructure has been damaged or has not developed. When forced into prostitution, these potential slaves have a short work lifespan because of diseases and injury. When exploited women become unprofitable to their traffickers, they are easily disposed and cheaply replaced with newly trafficked women.

Seabrook (2001) mentions two factors that show how the West is contributing to child labor and, often, enslavement. First, the debt of many poor countries has caused them to undergo structural adjustment programs with the International Monetary Fund. The implications of these programs are less state spending and more open market policies. Vulnerable populations are affected by these decreases in welfare, health and nutrition programs, and education resources. Outcomes of these cuts may mean more members of the family are forced into the labor market and more children have become economically marginalized.

The second contributing factor of lesser prominence is increased global consumerism. Seabrook claims that by becoming aware of luxuries available in the world, people will find

means to gain these things. This consumerism may lead to child labor and possibly to children being sold so that the family can be better off.

Salt (2000) points out the fact that as legal entry requirements into many countries has become more stringent, regular migration has become more difficult. Because of this desire to migrate, illegal channels flourish. In most countries, little exists in the way of antitrafficking laws and their enforcement. Sex trafficking becomes even more profitable as the costs of being caught and prosecuted decrease. Salt provides descriptions of trafficking as “a business in which institutions seek to make a profit” (p. 35) and the “commodification of migration” in which businesses use the migration of certain sets of people for their own profit.

HUMAN TRAFFICKERS

We assert that human trafficking is now more lucrative than drug trafficking and holds fewer risks. The idea is that traffickers take advantage of arbitrage: the practice of taking advantage of a state of imbalance between two markets. Arbitrage is possible because the same asset, the labor of women and children, does not trade at the same price on all markets. Traffickers take advantage of the surplus of potential slaves (because of an increase in an areas' vulnerable population) in one market and the demand for the goods or services of these slaves in another market.

Surplus of potential slaves stems from their increased vulnerability as a result of a variety of factors, including disintegration of family units, multiple family incomes needed, AIDS, war (decreased male population, fewer income opportunities), and globalization (more diverse appetites, easier to transport goods and persons). Once the women and children reach the destination market, it is estimated that traffickers regularly earn between 5 and 20 times the original purchase price. The trafficked women and children receive very little or no money, so the profits to traffickers are large. Sex traffickers will get the most output they can while taking into account the costs of their inputs. Their output is sex services provided by the slave labor of women and children.

Gary S. Becker, 1992 Nobel Laureate in Economics, has analyzed many areas of human behavior on a microeconomic basis. His 1968 article “Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach” provides guidelines for the analysis of the economics of crime. Briefly, a person or business determines the total benefit and cost of a certain venture. The benefits include income from legal work, opportunity cost (income that could be made from other income-producing legal work), and income from illegal work. The costs include the costs of running the operation, the probability of being caught, and the punishment. The person then chooses to do work that has the highest discounted income.

Becker (1995) later adds to this approach to the economics of crime. Here, a person again weighs the costs and benefits of engaging in a crime. The benefits may include property, money, and psychic costs (“getting away with something”). Costs may include money, the opportunity cost of not working in legitimate work, and the likelihood of being caught and punished. Becker sees criminals as risk takers because returns to illicit activities are highly uncertain. Because the benefits from human trafficking greatly outweigh the costs (the likelihood of being caught and convicted), human trafficking will continue.

Schloenhardt (1999) states that increased consumer demand makes way for organized crime. Organized crime is set up for the purpose of making a profit by catering to demand for

illegal goods and services. Schloenhardt lists the actors in the migrant trafficking organization as being arrangers/investors, recruiters, transporters, corrupt public officials and protectors, informers, guides and crew members, enforcers, and supporting personnel and specialists.

In a presentation at the Globalization Research Center, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Hughes (2003) reiterates the fact that sex trafficking occurs because traffickers and pimps can make money. The women and children are trafficked from countries where recruiting is fairly easy. They are trafficked into countries where demand for prostitution exists. As Hughes explains that trafficking and prostitution are driven by demand (pp., 22-24). She speaks of the normalization of the demand, whereby nations, corrupt officials, and/or organized crime groups benefit from the illegal sale of sex.

Hughes (2000) addresses the demand side of the human trafficking market equation. She characterizes the sex trafficking industry as transnational networks of traffickers and pimps supplying men's demand for sex services. This industry has low risk accompanied by high profits for traffickers. Privatization, liberalization of markets, computer communication of international financial transactions, political and economic weakening and collapse, and the desire to migrate are listed as contributors of the modern day slave market.

Hughes asserts that sex trafficking occurs because there are people willing to traffic sex. Many social and economic factors provide the recruiting ground for trafficking, but traffick- ing occurs because of the criminal element willing to take advantage of women and children.

FAUTORS

Little has been written on the economics of the fautors or final consumers of sex traf- ficking. There is a lack of data on this type of crime.

Skrobanek, Boonpakdee, and Jantateero (1997) focus on the research of the experiences of Thai women in human trafficking. In this study, sex trafficking is viewed as a product of international labor migration. Traffickers take advantage of this migration of women to reroute them into forced prostitution. The 1980s saw the start of significant migration of Thai women, mainly into domestic and service industries. They note that the establishment of U.S. military bases in Thailand lead to an expansion of the local illegal sex market. They surmise that contact with servicemen led to increased possibilities for women to migrate, mainly into the service sector. Exploitation of these women came about as they were forced to be dependent on someone else. The authors believe that the extent of trafficking has been hidden because of regular migration patterns. "To understand the position of trafficked women requires multiple perspectives. They must be seen as migrant workers, as prostitutes and as women in a male-dominated society. Force and deception, however, are the keys to the issue" (Skrobanek et al., 1997, p. 18). "The economic impact of prostitution may gener- ate a net gain for the sex provider because of her earnings, or it may lead to greater indebtedness because of the percentage taken by agents, and the loss of a worker from household production" (Wijers, 1995, p. 155).

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Because of its feasibility and profitability, it is possible that human trafficking will replace drug trafficking as the Number 1 international crime within 10 years. Increased levels of

human trafficking to the sex industry by (semi)organized groups of persons are expected as long as demand for sex services exists and there is a profit to be made. The implications for research put forth by Aronowitz (2003) call for further investigation into the recruitment practices by traffickers and the structure of trafficking groups.

The high availability of women and children from vulnerable populations and the lack of means to identify and prosecute traffickers and factors and to handle police corruption in this area are issues that must be faced. Along with the economic incentives for criminals to deal in modern-day slavery, there is a lack of coordination and organizational means to stop the flow of human trafficking. Below are listed areas that must be fortified.

First, qualitative research is needed to develop valid definitions (and ones that can be agreed on by lawmakers and criminal justice) of the legal concepts relating to the crimes of sex trafficking. Most law enforcement are unaware of the many criminal elements making up the crime of sex trafficking. Realistic crime descriptions must be created.

Once the definitions have been established, quantitative empirical analysis and data, which are almost entirely missing in the literature, are needed. Data collection must also be improved to identify and carefully describe the signs of trafficking that may be more easily recognized by the police and by citizens.

States must develop trafficking laws consistent with the federal TVPA and consistent with each other for sex trafficking to receive the full effects of the criminal justice system. The state model proposed by the federal government is a giant step toward a coordinated nationwide attack on sex trafficking. Furthermore, legal and law enforcement coordination are needed between countries.

In light of modern thought, elitism, sexism, and racism must be removed from state prostitution statutes through the redefinition and rewriting of prostitution laws. Laws must be rewritten to afford women providing sex services their basic human rights and equal protection under the law (Kempadoo & Doezema, 1998).

Police must receive training in trafficking law enforcement, how to identify trafficking, how to perceive the paradigm shift from prostitution to trafficking, how to rescue victims and how to make contacts for victim services, and how to deal with victims who may willingly serve as witnesses in the prosecution of traffickers. Victims' services must be developed and expanded to deal with the special needs of women and children victimized by sex trafficking.

There exists much question about the type and availability of victims' services required for women and children rescued from sex trafficking (Farley, 2003). Research is needed to understand the needs, to develop the victims' services needed, and to organize coordination between victims' services and the criminal justice system.

The public must be educated to understand the worldwide and national criminal crisis that trafficking is becoming. The public must be taught the trafficking paradigm. As a start, in 2003, the Department of Health and Human Services awarded the public-affairs firm Ketchum with around \$5 million to inform the U.S. public about human trafficking (Jacobson, 2003).

Finally, Bertone (2000) argues that the long-term costs to an economy from international human trafficking will far outweigh the short-term economic benefits. An economy based on illegal activity will suffer heavily when the social and political structure of the country matures and forces work to curtail illicit activity. Women who have been trafficked will

have little to contribute to the growth of the economy. Global marketing will be difficult for a country that has gained a reputation as a human trafficking origin country. Known destination countries, such as the United States, have an obligation to be forerunners in the research and prevention of human trafficking.

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