

Research on Human Trafficking in North America: A Review of Literature

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INTRODUCTION

As the number of traffickers apprehended, and the number of victims offered protection have both increased, an opportunity has been afforded to the research community to make an empirical assessment of the trafficking phenomenon in North America, including collection of baseline data on the prevalence of human trafficking in the region, trafficking trajectories, the characteristics of both victims and traffickers, and the services needed to protect and support victims. However, despite these opportunities there has been little systematic, empirical, and methodologically rigorous research on trafficking in human beings in Canada, the United States, and Mexico. This paper is a modest attempt to survey existing literature on trafficking in human beings in the region. It includes a discussion of a broad spectrum of publications, not all of which relate to human trafficking as defined in the *UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children*. We include them nevertheless because their authors argue that they indeed inform the human trafficking discourse. The examination of existing literature is carried out against a backdrop of the discussion of the antecedents of the contemporary trafficking phenomena as well as existing definitions of trafficking. This paper aims to map out the research that currently exists and make note of the research gaps that need to be filled in order to establish appropriate and effective policies and programmes for trafficked victims. We attempt to answer the following questions:

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- Who is funding and who is conducting research on trafficking in human beings in North America?
- What methodologies and data sources are used to conduct this research?
- What are the foci of trafficking research in North America?
- What types of studies are conducted?
- What are the research gaps that need to be filled?

OLD PHENOMENON, NEW IMPORTANCE

The subject of human trafficking has received an increased international attention in the past two decades. However, the origins of the trafficking debate date back to the end of the nineteenth century when feminists such as Josephine Butler brought involuntary prostitution into the international discourse under the term “White Slave Trade”, a term derived from the French *Traite des Blanches*, which related to *Traite des Noirs*, a term used in the beginning of the nineteenth century to describe the Negro slave trade (Derks, 2000). “White slavery” referred to the abduction and transport of white women for prostitution and in a manner similar to today’s campaigns, the issue received wide media coverage, a number of organizations were set up to combat it, and national and international legislation was adopted to stop the “trade” (Doezema, 2002). The movement against “white slavery” grew out of the so-called abolitionist movement, which campaigned in England and other western European countries as well as in the United States against the regulation of prostitution (Bullough and Bullough, 1987).¹

The first international agreement against “white slavery” was drafted in 1902 in Paris and signed two years later by 16 states (Doezema, 2002). The *International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Trade* did not equate “white slavery” with “prostitution”. Initially, the agreement addressed the fraudulent or abusive recruitment of women for prostitution in another country, although later, in 1910, its scope was broadened to include the traffic of women and girls within national borders (Wijers and Lap-Chew, 1997). In 1921, during a meeting held under the auspices of the League of Nations (later the United Nations) the traffic of boys was also incorporated into the agreement.

In 1933 a new convention was signed in Geneva. The *International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women* condemned all recruitment for prostitution in another country. The abolitionist standards of the 1933 convention were reiterated in the 1949 *UN Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others*, which stated that:

Prostitution and the accompanying evil of the traffic in persons for the purpose of prostitution are incompatible with the dignity and worth of a human person and endanger the welfare of the individual, the family, and the community of a person.

In the international arena, a renewed interest in human trafficking was influenced by developments regarding migration flows, the feminist movement, the AIDS pandemic, and child prostitution and child sex tourism in the 1980s (Doezema, 2002; Wijers and Lap-Chew, 1997). In the 1990s trafficking in human beings, particularly women and children, re-appeared on the agenda of the UN General Assembly, the Commission for Human Rights, the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993, and the World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. By 1996, 70 countries ratified the 1949 Convention (Kelly and Regan, 2000). In November 2000, the UN General Assembly adopted the *UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children*. Other relevant international instruments followed, including the *International Labour Organization Convention Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour* and the *Protocol to the Convention of the Right of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography*. Many international organizations such as the International Labour Organization (ILO), UNICEF, and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) as well as the European Union (EU) have engaged in anti-trafficking campaigns.

There are, however, some networks that are not too enthusiastic about this increased attention to trafficking. The Network of Sex Work Projects (NSWP), an informal alliance of some 40 international organizations promoting sex workers' health and human rights, is concerned that directing attention to the trafficking issues will detract from a broader agenda of the sex worker rights movement. According to Jo Doezema, one reason for this concern is that most anti-trafficking campaigns focus exclusively on "human rights violations committed by 'pimps' or traffickers against 'innocent women', who are often understood to be non-sex workers" (Murphy and Ringheim, 2002). Sex worker rights organizations, on the other hand, identify the state, particularly the police, as the prime violators of sex workers' rights. The result of shifting the locus of concern from state repression of sex workers to individual acts of violent traffickers (reprehensible as these are) is that anti-trafficking campaigns lack a critical attitude toward the state.

In the United States trafficking became a focus of activities in the late 1990s and culminated in the passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) signed into law by President Clinton on 16 October 2000. The TVPA of 2000 (P.L. 106-386) and the Trafficking Victims Protection Re-authorization Act of 2003 (H.R. 2620) are considered the main tools to combat trafficking in per-

sons both worldwide and domestically. The Act authorized the establishment of the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, headed by Ambassador John R. Miller, and the President's Interagency Task Force to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons to assist in the coordination of anti-trafficking efforts. In passing the TVPA, the US Government set standards for other countries with respect to prevention of human trafficking, prosecution of traffickers, and protection of victims, and designated itself the auditor of these activities.

Canada was heavily involved in the negotiations leading to the adoption of the UN Trafficking and Smuggling Protocols, with participation of representatives from the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) and Status of Women Canada (Department of Justice, Canada). Canada was also among the first nations to sign (December 2000) and ratify (May 2002) the Protocols. At home, an ad hoc Interdepartmental Working Group (IWG) coordinated the Canadian Federal Government's efforts regarding trafficking. The IWG members do not have a homogenous perspective on trafficking. According to Oxman-Martinez et al. (2005), a security lens was helpful in getting human trafficking onto the public agenda, especially post-September 11. However, today many members feel that it is time to frame the issue within a human rights framework. In the spring of 2004, the Federal Minister of Justice formalized the role of the IWG; IWG received an official mandate to develop a comprehensive anti-trafficking strategy. To date, most Canadian anti-trafficking efforts have focused on prosecution of traffickers and interception of "irregular migrants"; Canada still does not have legal guidance for the protection of victims (Oxman-Martinez et al., 2005).

Although Mexico is often described as source, transit, and destination country for persons trafficked for sexual exploitation and labour, information about the Mexican Government's involvement in anti-trafficking activities is scarce. According to the Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report, the Government of Mexico does not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking. At the moment, Mexico lacks national-level commitment to fight trafficking and a national anti-trafficking law. The country did sign the Mexican-Guatemalan March 2004 Memorandum of Understanding on trafficking. In addition, Mexico participated in recent conferences on trafficking in persons, including a conference organized by the US Department of Labor as part of ongoing cooperative activities between the Governments of Canada, Mexico, and the United States under the North American Agreement of Labour Cooperation (NAALC), and a conference on Strategies for Combating Human Trafficking within the United States, Canada, and Mexico, organized by the Chicago-Kent College of Law, and sponsored by the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and the Mexican Consulate in Chicago.

The different level of involvement by North American countries in anti-trafficking activities is related to the differences in defining the problem. Or is it the other way around?

NEGOTIATING THE DEFINITION

The international definition of trafficking has emerged only fairly recently, in December 2000, with the signing of the UN *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons* in Palermo, Italy. Prior to the crafting of the UN definition, trafficking in persons was often viewed as human smuggling and a type of illegal migration (Laczko, 2002). The Protocol is a result of two years of negotiations at the UN Centre for International Crime Prevention in Vienna. The Protocol was the target of heavy lobbying efforts by religious and feminist organizations. The lobby efforts represented two opposing views of prostitution: the Human Rights Caucus, which saw prostitution as legitimate labour, and the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW), which saw all prostitution as a violation of women's human rights (Doezema, 2002).

The differences between these two lobby groups became largely apparent in the most controversial part of the negotiations, namely in the crafting of the definition of trafficking in persons. CATW and their supporters argued that trafficking should include all forms of recruitment and transportation for prostitution, regardless of whether force or deception took place (CATW, 1999), while the Human Rights Caucus, who supported the view of prostitution as work, argued that force or deception was a necessary ingredient in the definition of human trafficking. The Caucus also maintained that the term "human trafficking" should include trafficking of women, men, and children for different types of labour, including sweatshop labour, agriculture, and prostitution (Human Rights Caucus, 1999).

The two groups also presented differing views of the notion of "consent". CATW argued that prostitution is never voluntary, because women's consent to sex work is meaningless. The definition CATW championed differed very little from the proposed definition of trafficking in children. The Human Right Caucus, on the other hand, stated that:

Obviously, by definition, no one consents to abduction or forced labour, but an adult woman is able to consent to engage in an illicit activity (such as prostitution). If no one is forcing her to engage in such activity, then trafficking does not exist (1999: 5).

The Caucus also argued that the Protocol should distinguish between adults, especially women and children, and avoid adopting a patronizing approach

reducing women to the level of children in the name of “protecting” women as such a stance historically “protected” women from the ability to exercise their rights (Human Rights Caucus, 1999).

In the end the signatories of the Protocol rejected the broadened definition championed by some feminist organizations and religious groups, arguing that it would impede the capacity of the international community to achieve consensus and act decisively against traffickers (Miko, 2004). As a result of this decision, the Protocol defines trafficking in persons as:

(..) 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 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.

In addition, the Protocol states that:

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.

Achieving baseline consensus on the definition has been a landmark achievement; however, there is still a need to create a comprehensive legal definition that will establish trafficking as an international crime and human rights violation (see Hyland, 2001a). The weakness of the Protocol is its excessive focus on criminalizing traffickers to the detriment of making protection of trafficked person the priority. Although the Protocol includes measures to protect trafficking victims, the signatories are not mandated to include them at the top of their priority list. As of this writing 117 countries signed and 79 ratified the Protocol. While all three North American countries signed the Protocol in 2000, only Canada and Mexico ratified it in 2002 and 2003, respectively. The United States is yet to follow suit.² There is hope that the signatories will create domestic laws in response to the Protocol, but for now there is only hope.

In North America, only the United States has passed a comprehensive legislation that addresses prevention and protection for victims in addition to prosecution of traffickers. Canada and Mexico are yet to do the same. Instead of developing a special legislation, Canada opted to add specific offences against human trafficking to the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) as well as utilize many of the Criminal Code offences that apply to trafficking. The Canadian legislative provisions reflect the traditional association between trafficking and work in the sex trade. Furthermore, although some of these provisions target

traffickers, when the legislation is enforced the victims are also charged, generally under section 210 of the Criminal Code (Jimenez and Bell, 2000a, 2000b). Bruckert and Parent (2002) note that while victims may seek asylum based on humanitarian and compassionate considerations, this does not constitute a guarantee of protection to encourage them to testify against traffickers.

Mexico also relies on the Criminal Code that includes penalties for “offences to public morality”; the “corruption of a minor under the age of 16”; for induced or forced prostitution and for maintaining brothels; for employment of minors under age 18 in taverns, bars, and other “centres of vice”; and for the procurement, inducement, and concealment of prostitution (Shirk and Webber, 2004). To our knowledge there is no evidence-based research that would indicate which approach is more effective. The best legislation, without proper enforcement and implementation, may not result in the expected outcomes; four years after the passage of the TVPA of 2000, the outcomes are lacking: only 717 victims have been identified. On the other hand, aggressive enforcement of criminal codes might be very effective in prosecuting traffickers.

Like the international community, the United States has grappled with creating a comprehensive definition of trafficking in human beings. The first US definition of trafficking in persons was created by the President’s Interagency Council on Women, a body charged by President Clinton with coordinating US domestic and international policy on human trafficking.³ The Council crafted the following working definition to guide policy development on trafficking in persons:

Trafficking is all acts involved in the recruitment, abduction, transport, harbouring, transfer, sale or receipt of person; within national or across international borders; through force, coercion, fraud or deception; to place persons in situation of slavery or slavery-like conditions, forced labour or services, such as prostitution or sexual services, domestic servitude, bonded sweatshop labour or other debt bondage (O’Neill Richard, 1999).

This policy definition was later replaced by a legal definition of trafficking in persons, created under the 2000 TVPA (Division A of Public Law 106-386). The Act defines severe forms of trafficking in persons as:

- (a) sex trafficking⁴ in which a commercial sex⁵ act is induced by force, fraud, and coercion,⁶ or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or
- (b) the recruitment, harbouring, transportation, provision or obtaining of a person for labour or services, through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude,⁷ peonage, debt bondage,⁸ or slavery (US Government, 2002).

Implicit in this definition are three key concepts that help frame both the understanding and the potential response to trafficking in persons. First, the definition identifies two types of trafficking, including sexual and labour exploitation. Second, the definition includes “force, fraud, or coercion”, which encompasses two of the most common trafficking scenarios: (1) a scheme where victims are falsely promised one job and forced or coerced into another; and (2) a situation where victims choose or consent to a particular job in an industry or the commercial sex trade, but are deceived about the working conditions. Third, the definition distinguishes between human trafficking and human smuggling. Trafficking is distinguishable from smuggling because it includes slavery-like conditions and because it may occur within national borders, while smuggling requires crossing of international borders. The differences between these separate crimes require separate policy, legislative, and law enforcement responses. In the United States, a typical response of the law enforcement to persons smuggled into the country is deportation, but trafficking victims are accorded protection, including immigration relief (Hyland, 2001a).

According to the 2000 study by the Consulting and Audit Canada, there is no agreed upon definition of trafficking in persons among the individual member departments of the Canadian Government’s IWGTIP. In addition, there is no process or criteria in place to identify victims of trafficking, making it virtually impossible for the Canadian Government to grant victims any level of protection (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2004). Research sponsored by the Canadian Government (see Langevin and Belleau, 2000; Bruckert and Parent, 2002) uses definitions developed by Dutch researchers, Marjan Wijers and Lin Lap-Chew (1997: 36), who relate human trafficking to:

All acts involved in the recruitment and/or transportation of a woman within and across national borders for work or services by means of violence or threat of violence, abuse of authority or dominant position, debt, bondage, deception or other forms of coercion.

Mexico ratified multiple agreements related to human trafficking, but the country’s efforts to combat trafficking in persons have relied mainly on existing laws pertaining to prostitution or sexual exploitation, threats to public health, “moral corruption”, and pimping (*lenocino*) (Shirk and Webber, 2004). None of these penal codes includes a comprehensive definition of trafficking.

Paradoxically, the existence of a legal definition of trafficking in persons does not necessarily mean that the term is uniformly operationalized. Messy interpretations of the term can be found both in the United States, a country with a legal definition of trafficking as well as in Canada and Mexico, countries which lack a legal definition. A review of literature indicates that many North American researchers use the term “trafficking in person” to discuss very different co-

horts of people. As will be discussed in more detail later in this paper, some researchers focus primarily on trafficking in women and girls for sexual exploitation to the detriment of excluding men from the discussion and ignoring trafficking for other forms of labour. Some label all sex workers as trafficked persons, believing that no one would willingly enter or stay in this occupation. Still others do not distinguish between victims trafficked across international borders and those trafficked within a particular country. Some argue that the definition of trafficking in women must be “broadened to encompass the complex problems associated with trafficking and the diverse situations of women” and include in their analysis of trafficking mail-order brides, arranged marriages, sham adoptions, forced labour, and slavery-like practices (Langevin and Belleau, 2000). For example, studies conducted as part of the research programme funded by Status of Women Canada focused on such diverse populations as live-in caregivers, mail-order brides, and migrant sex workers.

Conflations of migrant abuse, trafficking, and sex slavery seems to be a common rhetorical device in anti-trafficking discourse and counter-trafficking campaigns (Chapkis, 2003) as well as in research. Some commentators prefer to avoid the term completely, but debates on the sex industry and on female migration continue to be placed under the heading “Trafficking” or “Trafficking in Women” (Bindman, 1997). In the United States, for example, the writings of Kathleen Barry (1979) and Janice Raymond (1998) are consistently included in bibliographies on human trafficking and discussed in a variety of articles on the subject despite the fact that they studied prostitutes not trafficked victims. Raymond and Hughes, co-directors of a research project titled *Sex Trafficking of Women in the United States*, carried out the study under the auspices of CATW, an organization founded by Barry, also position their study within the trafficking framework; they argue that:

Trafficking and sexual exploitation are intrinsically connected and should not be separated merely because there are other forms of trafficking; or because some countries have legalized/regulated prostitution and thereby want to censor any discussion of prostitution from regional and international policy agendas (Raymond, 2002).

SLIPPERY STATISTICS

Messy definitions result in slippery statistics ridden with methodological problems. Few governments, including North American governments, systematically collect data on human trafficking and when they do provide statistical information they often mix data related to trafficking, smuggling, and illegal migration (Laczko, 2002). In some accounts all undocumented migrants assisted in crossing, for example, the US border, are counted as having been trafficked

(Gordy, 2000). Other reports reserve the term “trafficking” exclusively to victims of sexual slavery (Chapkis, 2003). In some instances, all transnational or migrant sex workers are defined as trafficking victims regardless of consent and conditions of labour,⁹ while other reports emphasize abusive conditions of employment or deceptive recruitment policies used in the sex trade.¹⁰ As a result, available data is confusing and unreliable.

The US State Department, for example, has produced the oft-quoted estimates of the size of the trafficked population worldwide: 800,000 to 900,000 annually, with 14,500 to 17,500 trafficked into the United States alone.¹¹ These figures are used by a number of international organizations, including the UN and IOM, as authoritative, yet there has been no release of information with respect to the methodology used to obtain the baseline data. Information provided by the US State Department at the conference in Rome where the papers in this volume were first presented includes a brief description of the statistical methods employed to calculate estimates, but does not explain the methodology used to arrive at the baseline data sources either.

Indeed, the number of trafficking victims entering the United States has been revised at least three times: down from 45,000 to 50,000, a figure reached by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in 1999 (O’Neill Richard, 1999), to 18,000 to 20,000 victims reported in 2003, and even further down to 14,500 to 17,500 quoted in the 2004 TIP report. Each time an improved methodology was cited as a reason for these new figures. Charles Keely, Professor of International Migration and Demography at Georgetown University, comments that any estimate of trafficking in the United States (or in any other country) requires a reliable source of data, presumably a partial count, and then a justified basic rule with which to extrapolate and estimate from this basic data. Given that “neither government nor NGOs have a sufficient overview or a data source for extrapolation that allows for a national estimate” in the United States, he believes that the US State Department figures are merely “guesstimates.”¹²

That there are a plethora of estimates globally is an acknowledged problem: the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has undertaken a trafficking statistics project attempting to trace the origins and methodologies of statistics cited and evaluate their validity.¹³ It is likely that little of this data is accurate. The Protection Project at Johns Hopkins University in Washington, DC is also attempting to produce an overview of global trafficking trends. As part of this work, the project has produced maps of commonly used trafficking routes worldwide, yet there is no referencing of how these routes have been determined. It is difficult to assess whether the maps are based on any documented cases in countries of origin and destination and/or whether the

maps are based on a handful of cases or on a critical mass of cases. Perhaps the researchers at Johns Hopkins utilize the same threshold of 100 or more cases of victims that the US State Department uses in making a determination about which countries to include in the annual TIP report. Unfortunately, we can only guess because the methodology is not discussed.

Researchers cannot gain an overall picture of the scale and characteristics of the human trafficking trade into North America without a comprehensive analysis of routes and destinations. Without reliable data it is also very difficult to combat human trafficking and design programmes for victims. However, reliable data on trafficking victims are difficult to obtain and many methodological questions remain: How do we quantify clandestine phenomena? Should we look at numbers of victims found in every city? Or should we look at research on the sex industry and prostitution and extrapolate number of victims trafficked into sexual exploitation? And what about victims trafficked for labour? How do we arrive at those numbers? It is impossible to imagine that employers who knowingly hire trafficked persons would provide researchers with the number of victims or allow them access to factories and sweatshops to identify and count victims.

Richard Estes, for example, estimates that as many as 17,000 children are trafficked into the United States every year (Estes and Weiner, 2001), which does not correspond with the most recent numbers provided by the CIA. As indicated above, the CIA's current estimates put the number of trafficking victims (adults and children combined) at 14,500 to 17,500 per annum. Estes' data, however, is problematic in many other ways. When presenting his research at a conference on identifying and serving child victims of trafficking in Houston, Texas, Estes was not able to differentiate between children who have crossed international borders and those who were trafficked within a particular North American country. He also did not collect data on nativity, and therefore was not able to provide information whether the children he studied were foreign-born or native-born. Data on nativity is important for many reasons, including referral and determination of eligibility for particular services. In the United States, foreign-born child victims of trafficking are eligible for a full complement of assistance, including immigration relief, under the provisions of TVPA, while US-born child victims obviously do not need immigration assistance and would be referred to child protective services for appropriate protection and services.

At the moment the only reliable US data relate to the number of trafficking victims officially certified by ORR. As of 18 March 2005, ORR certified 717 survivors of trafficking, including 651 adults and 66 children. The group included 213 males and 504 females.

Canadian data is also problematic; it includes different cohorts of people and often combines trafficking victims with illegal migrants. A 1998 study commissioned by the Solicitor General of Canada concluded that the impact of migrant trafficking in Canada is estimated at between US\$120 million to US\$400 million per year and accounts for approximately 8,000 to 16,000 people arriving in Canada each year illegally (Porteus Consulting, 1998). The report uses the term “migrant trafficking” rather loosely, without specific reference to accepted definitions of human trafficking.

There are no official government estimates of trafficking into Mexico, but the UN lists Mexico as the number one source of young children trafficked to North America (Hall, 1998). Mexico is the largest source of undocumented migrants and a major transit point for third-country migration to the United States, but these statistics usually refer to illegal and smuggled migrants without making any attempt to even hypothesize whether any of them might be victims of trafficking. Recent reports suggest that Mexico is a major destination for sex tourism from the United States (Shirk and Webber, 2004) and that as many as 16,000 Mexican children are subject to commercial sexual exploitation annually (Correa, 2001). The latter statement seems to be equating sexual exploitation of children with trafficking, while child abuse, an equally horrific and punishable offence, might have been a more accurate classification of the crime.

It is interesting that to any conscientious social scientist, the discrepancies in the most commonly quoted estimates of human trafficking would be a cause for considerable suspicion of the reliability of the research, yet when it comes to data on trafficking, “few eyebrows are raised and the figures are easily bandied about without question” (Kempadoo, 1998). It is noteworthy that despite the difficulties in establishing clear and reliable statistics, the trafficking phenomenon has often been described as mushrooming or being on the raise globally, while in fact these assertions are often based on very few cases. Wendy Chapkis, for example, posits that the TVPA of 2000 “makes a strategic use of anxieties over sexuality, gender, and immigration” and “does so through the use of misleading statistics creating a moral panic around ‘sexual slavery’” (Chapkis, 2003).

Jo Doezema (2000) in an article on the re-emergence of the myth of “white slavery” in contemporary discourses of “trafficking in women” points out that contemporary historians, including Walkowitz (1980), Bristow (1982), Corbin (1990), and Guy (1991), are unanimous in their opinion that the actual number of cases of “white slavery” (defined as the procurement by force, deceit, or drug, of a white woman or girl against her will for prostitution) were very few and yet the issue became very prominent both in Europe and in America. The extent of the “white slave panic” in Europe and in the United States has been

extensively documented (see, for example, Bristow, 1977, 1982; Connelly, 1980; Grittner, 1990). Doezema argues that the view of “white slavery” as a myth can account for its persistence and power. She invokes Grittner’s examination of the American version of the white slavery panic and his argument that “myth does not simply mean that something is ‘false’, but is rather a collective belief that simplifies reality” (Doezema, 2000).

GATW undertook an 18-month investigation into “trafficking in women” internationally at the request of the UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women and concluded:

Finding reliable statistics on the extent of trafficking in women is virtually impossible, due to a lack of systematic research, the lack of a precise, consistent, and unambiguous definition of the phenomena and the illegality and criminal nature of prostitution and trafficking (Wijers and Lap-Chew, 1997).

This does not, however, stop various “experts” from quoting huge numbers of victims of trafficking. At this backdrop of messy definitions and slippery statistics, research or what passes for research is being conducted and numerous publications are published.

WHO IS FUNDING AND CONDUCTING THE RESEARCH?

Much of the research conducted within the United States has emanated from, been funded, and conducted by the US Federal Government. The Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (O/TIP) in the State Department was created specifically as the trafficking focal point within the US Government. It produces high profile government publications, including the annual TIP Report mandated by the TVPA of 2000. The usefulness of the TIP Report is often questioned; the report provides no in-depth analysis of the nature of trafficking and the office itself and offers little aside from fact sheets, and commentary on conference proceedings.

The National Institute of Justice (NIJ), the Research, Development, and Evaluation Agency of the US Department of Justice (DOJ), has been a leader in the United States in funding and commissioning research on trafficking issues. Since 1998 NIJ has been funding and participating in a range of human trafficking research projects and initiatives, including a diverse mix of research, demonstration projects, collaboration, and technical assistance programmes that focused on exploitation of children, social consequences of sex trafficking, human smuggling in China, and trafficking in women from Ukraine. To date, six major research projects have been undertaken: (1) Needs Assessment for Ser-

vice Providers and Trafficking Victims (Caliber Associates, 2001), (2) Evaluation of Services Provided to Victims of Trafficking (a collaborative project with the Office for Victims of Crime), (3) Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the United States, Canada and Mexico (Estes and Weiner, 2001), (4) Trafficking of Women in the United States: International and Domestic Trends (Raymond and Hughes, 2001), (5) Characteristics of Chinese Human Smugglers (Zhang and Chin, 2004), and (6) Trafficking in Persons in the United States (regional studies of two key trafficking hot spots, Chicago and southwest Florida, and one emerging port of entry, Washington, DC). As indicated above, some of these studies, such as the project co-directed by Raymond and Hughes, did not study trafficked victims, but focused on transnational and domestic sex workers. Others focused on human smuggling and still others on commercial sexual exploitation of children in North America, not on trafficking per se. However, one can argue that some of this research informs our knowledge about trafficked persons. For example, the study carried out by Estes and Weiner, which examined the extent, nature, and causes of commercial sexual exploitation of children in the United States, Canada, and Mexico, also attempted to identify networks of adult criminals exploiting children, which might shed light on similar networks of traffickers of children.

A number of in-house reports and studies have been produced by a variety of government agencies, such as the CIA's monograph, *International Trafficking of Women to the United States: A Contemporary Manifestation of Slavery and Organized Crime* (O'Neill Richard, 1999), or the Citizenship and Immigration Services (formerly INS) report to Congress on *International Matchmaking Organizations* (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, 1999). In fact the CIA study was one of the first monographs to outline the problem of trafficking in persons in the United States. However, the majority of government-sponsored research has been specifically commissioned from experts in the field, either NGOs such as the CATW and the Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women, or those in the academic community. This has also occurred to a limited extent at the state level, including a study commissioned by the state of Florida and conducted by a research team at Florida State University (FSU).

Some US agencies have pursued research projects related to their own operations. For example, the Office of the Inspector General in the Department of Defense (DOD) carried out investigations into military personnel's use of brothels in Korea and the Balkans. These two studies were conducted at the request of the US Congress primarily in response to accusations in news reports that servicemen were frequenting establishments staffed by trafficked women. Unfortunately, the first report does not detail the investigation into the veracity of the allegations, and merely assesses the adequacy of educational programmes

implemented to prevent such occurrences. The Balkans report, on the other hand, noted that a “plethora” of information was available to document human trafficking in the region and detailed the extent of the US forces involvement in the sex industry in the area (United States Office of the Inspector General, 2003a). With respect to armed forces in South Korea, the Inspector General made several on-site visits to military camps and red-light districts, and spoke with high-ranking US and Korean military officers as well as NGO representatives. However, little empirical research was published based on these investigations (United States Office of the Inspector General, 2003b).

Government-funded research has focused a great deal upon an evaluation of services offered to victims of trafficking, with the intention that the research should fuel future policy initiatives. For example, Caliber Associates was commissioned by NIJ to conduct a *Needs Assessment for Service Providers and Victims* (Caliber Associates, 2001). The survey conducted by the consulting firm included interviews with a number of victims, and the characteristics of trafficking victims were detailed. This research into the nature of the crime and victims’ characteristics was used to assess the need for appropriate victims’ services.

In addition to the US Federal Government, states most affected by the phenomenon have begun to look more closely at ways to approach human trafficking, including legislative responses and service provision. Research initially focused upon services has resulted in the need for a closer empirical examination of trafficking victims, and their pre- and post-trafficking experiences. For instance, the FSU Center for the Advancement of Human Rights expanded their state commissioned project to assess services to include an overview of trafficking cases and victim characteristics. The state of Washington was the first region to enact local legislation to combat trafficking in human beings. As part of this initiative, the Office of Crime Victims produced a Task Force Report looking at both the problem and responses to the trafficking phenomenon and to the service needs of trafficked victims within the state.

Aside from the US Government, there have been some large research projects conducted by the NGO community and funded by non-governmental sources. A prime example of this is the *Comparative Study of Women Trafficked in the Migration Process: Patterns, Processes and Health Consequences in Five Countries (Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Venezuela, and the United States)*, coordinated by Janice Raymond of CATW and funded by the Ford Foundation. Although the study is touted as research on trafficking, it focused primarily on women in prostitution. In the two chapters on the United States, the authors have pieced together a composite picture of the ways immigrant women, women

with temporary visas, and undocumented women end up exploited in prostitution in the United States. The researchers consider these women victims of trafficking because they subscribe to the notion that all prostitution includes force and coercion. Gender, children, and human rights advocacy groups such as End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT), the Global Survival Network, and Human Rights Watch have all produced research on particular aspects of trafficking. Finally, there is a notable absence of research in academic circles, aside from pieces drawing on government-funded studies. Most academic pieces focus upon analysis of legislative and policy responses at the national and international level, particularly in response to the passage of the TVPA of 2000 and the UN Protocol on Trafficking (see Gallagher, 2001; Ryf, 2002).

In Canada, Citizenship and Immigration Canada has a strong reputation for research-based policy making. As part of an effort to base major policy decisions related to international migration, Canada has created the Metropolis Network, drawing upon the resources of a number of Canadian universities. However, despite a great deal of research on the nexus of gender and migration, the impact of immigrants on urban settlements, and immigrant integration, the Metropolis Network has not produced any research on human trafficking to Canada. Instead, in 1998, the Policy Research Fund of Status of Women Canada, the department with primary responsibility for gender issues in the country, issued a call for research on the theme of *Trafficking in Women: The Canadian Dimension* which identified the need for research in order to gain a greater insight into the extent of the problem in Canada and possible legal and social approaches to this issue. This research resulted in three reports, which centred upon specific groups of people such as mail-order brides, migrant sex workers, and immigrant live-in caregivers, and on particular source countries or regions such as the Philippines, eastern Europe, and the former Soviet Union. These reports were released between November 2000 and February 2002, and will be discussed later in this paper.

Several Canadian researchers, including Annalee Gözl, Jill Hanley, Cheryl Harrison, Harriet D. Lyons, Andrea Martinez, Jacqueline Oxman-Martinez, Jyoti Sanghera, and Rhonda Williams, are also engaged in research and writing about trafficking in women as well as organizing meetings under the auspices of the Canada chapter of the Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (GAATW). For example, Oxman-Martinez and colleagues have conducted studies on the Canadian Government's response to trafficking in human beings; Lyons wrote about representation of trafficking in persons in Asia; and Sanghera wrote about the intersection of sex trade, prostitution, and globalization. Lyons and Sanghera argue that the North American perspective on trafficking and prostitution can be best

developed in relation to and in conjunction with the understanding of these phenomena in other regions of the world.

Despite the small but growing number of publications on trafficking by Canadian authors, there is a general recognition that greater knowledge of the trafficking phenomenon is necessary in Canada. The Strategic Planning and Policy Unit of Consulting and Audit Canada conducted an *Inventory of Information Needs and Available Information on Trafficking in Women* in 2000. The report concluded that the “scope of the problem has not been well documented and there is little hard data”, though “considerable anecdotal evidence” exists. Finally, the Canadian Royal Mounted Police have conducted a literature review linking human trafficking with organized crime, which also noted paucity of available material (Bruckert and Parent, 2002).

In Mexico, however, the government has been less proactive. The National Migration Institute (NIM), part of the Secretariat of Government (Mexico’s Ministry for Interior Affairs) has produced just one report. This report concerned the threat posed to national security by organized crime syndicates using Mexico as a transit country for smuggling and trafficking human beings into the United States (Thompson, 2003). Despite an increased focus on trafficking as a human rights issue by the United States, the Mexican Government has made little effort to map the problem.

There are a number of human and children’s rights groups in Mexico that have looked at the problem of trafficking, despite insufficient funding for comprehensive research. Casa Alianza, an NGO providing shelter and services to street children conducted a *Regional Investigation on Trafficking, Prostitution, Child Pornography and Sex Tourism with Children in Central America and Mexico* (2001). Partly supported by the Canadian Government, this joint investigation (with ECPAT and others) looked not only at the networks used by traffickers, intermediaries, and clients, but also assessed the effectiveness of current laws to address the problem. The research in Mexico focused upon the state of Chiapas, and interviews were conducted with both victims of sexual exploitation and the owners of businesses where that exploitation took place.

Finally, there are a number of independent Mexican researchers who collaborate with research organizations based in the United States and Canada, offering them access to information in Mexico, and conducting their own research. An example is the support given by the Centre for Advanced Studies in Social Anthropology in Mexico City to the study on the Commercial Exploitation of Children completed by Richard Estes.

WHAT METHODOLOGIES AND DATA SOURCES ARE USED TO CONDUCT RESEARCH ON TRAFFICKING?

Primary data on trafficking are difficult to obtain. We have already discussed the lack of precision and methodological transparency in providing estimates of the number of trafficked victims in North America. Elsewhere in this volume, Denise Brennan points out methodological challenges to conducting social science research with trafficked persons in the United States. Most researchers draw information from newspaper reports and media investigations to compile a picture of trafficking in North America or base their studies on interviews with intermediaries: social service providers, counsellors, law enforcement, victim advocates, pro bono attorneys, and others working with trafficking victims. This methodological approach offers a different, and not necessarily unimportant, viewpoint. *The Needs Assessment for Service Providers and Trafficking Victims* conducted by Caliber Associates for the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) is based on interviews with 207 service providers, representing shelters, health clinics, and legal assistance groups, as well as focus group discussions with trafficking victims. It is notable that the research, initially limited regionally to New York, Florida, and Atlanta, had to be expanded to other regions, as there emerged only a limited number of service providers in those regions with experience in trafficking. Other research has assessed information from prosecuted cases, often high-profile ones. This methodological approach yields a great deal of information, but can potentially skew the data as only certain types of cases reach the courts. However, as the DOJ increases its numbers of indictments and prosecutions, this information should become more useful.

Researchers often face a choice between conducting an in-depth study of a particular geographic region, perhaps skewing the results toward a certain profile of trafficker and victim, and a more scattered approach, which risks foregoing “ethnographic richness”. Some research has taken the former approach and focused upon the problem in a particular geographic area. The Global Survival Network completed an eight-month investigation into forced labour in the garment industry in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, a US territory, concluding that there were approximately 40,000 indentured workers in the province. Due to the difficulties in accessing these workers, the authors used several undercover researchers, one posing as a garment buyer, and the other as a university researcher interested in migrant workers. The result was more than an in-depth look at the characteristics of the problem in the region, but an enlightening window into the lucrative business model presented by trafficking in persons.

WHAT ARE THE FOCI OF RESEARCH ON TRAFFICKING IN NORTH AMERICA?

A great deal of research has focused on trafficking for sexual exploitation, to the detriment of investigating trafficking for bonded labour and domestic servitude. The emphasis on trafficking for sexual exploitation can be attributed to a variety of reasons. The increased influence of the American religious right on policy decisions in a variety of arenas is one such reason. At the same time, groups with roots in the American feminist movement, such as CATW and GAATW, have been at the forefront of the push to raise awareness about trafficking in human beings, and have thus promoted research into women in the sex industry, not necessarily trafficked women. Despite a number of high profile cases of domestic servitude uncovered recently in the Washington, DC metropolitan area, there is less interest in trafficking for bonded labour than in trafficking for sexual exploitation. The limited focus on trafficking for labour can be attributed to the close ties of the current US administration to the business community. The administration is reluctant to commission studies that would investigate its greatest ally and supporter. This criticism notwithstanding, the US Department of Labor has recently organized a conference on trafficking for labour exploitation and subsequently solicited grant applications for research on the worst forms of child labour. As the review of these grant applications has not been finalized at the time of this writing, it remains to be seen what type of studies will get funded and what the research findings will reveal.

Most studies focus on women. Females have been the focus of research on trafficking for sexual exploitation as well as studies on matchmaking and arranged marriages, supported by both the US and Canadian Governments. This research is closely related to the research on the sex industry, and especially the sexual exploitation of women in prostitution. While studies of the domestic sex industry and transnational sex work do not constitute research on trafficking *sensu stricto*, they can offer insights into the effects of exploitation on individuals. Research on women in the sex industry has a much longer history and better developed methodologies than research on trafficked women. Very little is known about trafficking of men and boys, either for sexual exploitation or bonded labour.

In the United States, virtually all research has focused on individuals who have been officially identified as victims of severe forms of trafficking. Given the large disparity between those rescued and charged (484 and 110 over a three-year period, respectively),¹⁴ and the current annual estimates of those caught up in the industry (14,500-17,500), one has to wonder about the effectiveness of research based solely on known cases.

WHAT TYPES OF STUDIES ARE CONDUCTED?

Researchers representing different disciplines have studied trafficking in human beings in North America. However, despite a growing interest of scholars in studying human trafficking, the body of academic research on trafficking in persons in North America is still very small. Legal research is leading the way among the still scarce academic research on human trafficking. Published in 1998, before the adoption of the UN Protocol on Trafficking and before the passage of the TVPA, Janie Chuang's article (1998) is an early example of legal analysis of the scope and practical efficacy of proposed legal protections applicable to victims of trafficking. Articles by Kara Ryf (2002), Kelly E. Hyland (2001b), and Wendy Chapkis (2003) are examples of a growing body of legal research analysing the provisions of the TVPA of 2000.

Kara Ryf posits that instead of fighting trafficking through immigration policy, the TVPA treats the problem as a human rights issue. In her article "The first modern anti-slavery act," Ryf provides an analysis of the ways in which the Act addresses the world's trafficking crisis as well as arguments that some of the Act's provisions fail short to provide appropriate solutions. She addresses the disparity of the current law, which in her opinion punishes trafficking victims for their immigration violations and prostitution activities more harshly than their captors, thereby making trafficking in persons a low risk and high profit industry despite the fact that the intention of the advocates of this legislation was to turn the trafficking industry into a high risk and low profit enterprise through international cooperation to capture, prosecute, and adequately punish those who traffic in human beings.

While Ryf focuses primarily on the provisions of the Act related to elimination of world trafficking, Hyland evaluates the adequacy of the protections the TVPA affords to victims. She considers the Act landmark legislation:

Its approach to the crime of trafficking is not centred solely on law enforcement, but instead is a combination of prevention, prosecution and law enforcement, and protection and reintegration. This holistic approach indicates a dedication to combating crime and to protecting and assisting victims.

Hyland asserts that the Act's three-part framework could serve as a model for states that have the desire and ability to implement a comprehensive approach. She also admits that the Act is not perfect and argues for further legislation, primarily to create a private right of action, to make sanctions discretionary, and to permit asset forfeiture in trafficking cases. Indeed, such provisions might

provide an increased incentive to testify against traffickers and would contribute to victims' early self-sufficiency. One could, however, argue also that these provisions might inadvertently result in a larger number of illegitimate claims.

Wendy Chapkis (2003) analyses both the TVPA and the debates surrounding its passage and argues that the law makes strategic use of anxieties over sexuality, gender, and immigration to further curtail migration. She argues that the law does so through misleading statistics creating a moral panic around "sexual slavery", through the creation of gendered distinction between "innocent victims" and "guilty migrants", and through the demand that assistance to victims should be tied to their willingness to assist in the prosecution of traffickers. She concludes that the Act does little to strengthen the rights of most migrant workers, both in the sex industry and elsewhere. In her view a truly effective response demands more than symbolic action against gross economic disparities between the rich and the poor countries of the world. Chapkis rightly suggests that feminists should look critically at the legislation, which relies heavily on narratives of female powerlessness and childlike sexual vulnerability. Of course no one should be forced to trade sex or safety to survive, but addressing the abuses of women working in and outside the sex industry necessitates an acknowledgement that women can consent to both economically motivated migration and to sex, which does not mean that the possibility of that consent should be used to excuse violation.

In Canada, Langevin and Belleau (2000) analysed the legal frameworks governing the hiring of immigrant live-in caregivers under the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP) and the mail-order bride business. Although these populations do not meet the criteria (coercion and deceit) of the UN definition of trafficking, the authors consider these two groups victims of trafficking; they define trafficking in women as:

(...) Exploitation of a woman, in particular for her labour or services, with or without pay and with or without her consent, by a person or group of persons with whom she is in an unequal power relationship (2000: x).

Indeed, the authors argue that the unequal relationship between an immigrant live-in caregiver and her employers, the obligation to live in their home for a period of two years, as well as the precariousness of her work during this period, lead to situations of abuse. Similarly, they stress the vulnerability of a fiancée who comes to Canada as the so-called mail-order bride to an abusive consumer-husband. They also emphasize the relationship between the phenomenon of mail-order brides and criminal activity, such as domestic violence or procuring for the purposes of prostitution. Furthermore, they argue that the

phenomenon of immigrants as live-in caregivers and mail-order brides have antecedents in the enslavement of black and Aboriginal women in Canada and in the *filles du Roy*, brought to New France in the seventeenth century, respectively. Their definition is inspired both by a feminist and intersectional approach, and so are their solutions. Unfortunately, this approach assumes that the women who migrate to Canada to work as live-in caregivers or to marry Canadian citizens have no choice in the matter and do not act in their own name. It also does not take into account the fact that not all live-in caregivers or foreign-born women who marry Canadians end up being abused and exploited. In fact, the authors never provide any statistics to back up their assertion that the majority of the situations they examine result in exploitation.

Jacqueline Oxman-Martinez and colleagues have published several articles assessing the Canadian Government's policy and practice regarding human trafficking as well as a paper on gendered impacts of Canadian immigration policy on trafficked women. Their most recent article provides a four-year analysis of Canadian practice surrounding human trafficking since the adoption of the UN Protocol on Trafficking in 2000 (Oxman-Martinez et al., 2005).

Scholars of criminology have investigated organized trafficking networks as a manifestation of transnational crime; in the United States the work of Louise Shelley (1998, 2003) is an example of this approach, while Bruckert and Parent (2002) follow a similar framework in Canada. Bruckert and Parent's paper was commissioned by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to provide a global overview of literature on trafficking in human beings and organized crime. Given the limited data on the involvement of organized crime in human trafficking in Canada, the authors provide a content analysis of the English-language press in the country between 1994 and 2002. The sources of data consulted for the analysis included three national magazines, two national dailies, and ten regional dailies. The authors concluded that on the whole, media coverage of human trafficking was rather limited with widely used wire stories and few locally written articles. Until 1999, the presence of criminal groups or networks was reported only occasionally and it was only in 1999 and 2000 that the involvement of organized crime in trafficking in women became more apparent in Canadian media, possibly because several national and international reports on this issue were released in 2000, the same year Canada signed the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime.

Human rights and anti-trafficking NGOs have produced perhaps the largest body of literature on this subject (see, for example, Center for the Advancement of Human Rights, 2003; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Pearson, 2001), although many NGOs conduct such research within particular ideological frameworks.

Anne Gallagher (2001) analysed human rights and the UN Protocols on Trafficking and Migrant Smuggling, while Alice Miller (1999) wrote about human rights and sexuality. Works written by trafficked persons themselves are notably absent in North American literature on trafficking; Jean-Robert Cadet's (1998) testimonial about his harrowing youth as a *restavec* is one exception. Journalists have conducted interviews with anti-trafficking activists and trafficked persons (see Bowe, 2003; Cockburn, 2003; Yeung, 2004), while documentaries also present the voices of these individuals (see McMahan, 1999; Zarembka, 2003; Hilton and Woolf, 2003). Finally, activists and advocates working with trafficked persons have published book chapters, conference papers, and magazine articles grounded in their work on trafficking and with trafficked persons.

Yet, little academic research – particularly empirically based – on trafficking to and within North America has been conducted and published in academic outlets. In general, we can point to two approaches to trafficking research. The first, a labour framework, has often been taken up by journalists (Bowe, 2003) as well as by activist researchers (Chang, 2000; Louie, 2001). The second, a migration framework, has been the most frequently employed by academic researchers to date such as Gushulak and MacPherson, though journalists and activist researchers such as Hilton and Woolf and Zarembka have also used the migration framework. Nevertheless, while a few scholars have published academic research on trafficking to and within other parts of the world (see especially Bales, 2000), there is a lack of research on trafficking in general and with respect to North America in particular. Gushulak and MacPherson, for example, specifically note the lack of public health research on trafficked migrants (2000: 76); others note a lack of reliable empirical data, especially data that pertain to individuals trafficked for purposes other than that of sexual exploitation (Laczko, 2002). Creating a more nuanced and complex picture of trafficking to and within North America is a key component of future anti-trafficking work.

WHAT ARE THE RESEARCH GAPS?

Despite the increased public awareness of and concerns for trafficking victims in the federal and state governments in North America as well as among NGOs, the knowledge base is still very weak. Research on trafficking has not moved beyond estimating the scale of the problem; mapping routes and relationships between countries of origin, transit, and destinations; and reviewing legal frameworks and policy responses. There is no reliable data on the number of trafficking cases and the characteristics of the victims and perpetrators. The methodologies used to produce estimates of the scope of trafficking in North America are not

very transparent; therefore, it is hard to evaluate the validity and reliability of the data. One element contributing to this limited knowledge is the fact that development of research methods on human trafficking remains in its infancy. Most studies rely on overviews, commentaries, and anecdotal information.

Research fulfils a number of roles, one of which is to offer an independent and critical assessment of current policy and practice. Future research needs to move beyond stating that there is a problem, to more systematic and rigorous data collection and analysis on a wide range of issues, including the organization of trafficking in human beings, its impact on victims, their family and community members, the efficacy of counter-trafficking initiatives, the effectiveness of anti-trafficking legislation, and the success of return and reintegration programmes. Now that the hard work has been done within the international community to create the common conceptual foundations of a trafficking definition, research can begin to build a solid layer of empirical evidence and understanding as to the real nature of the problem in North America.

There is a need for both qualitative and quantitative research that would provide macro- and micro-level understanding of the trafficking phenomenon. Methodologically sound compilation of official statistics on the number of trafficked victims would enable large-scale quantitative analysis and inform appropriation of funds for counter-trafficking efforts and services for victims. Rigorous ethnographic and sociological studies based on in-depth interviews with trafficking survivors would provide baseline data on trafficking victims and their characteristics. Too often victims of trafficking remain one-dimensional figures whose stories are condensed and simplified, which does not bode well for the development of culturally appropriate services. In order to develop appropriate assistance and treatment programmes for trafficking survivors, increased attention needs to be paid also to the expertise and practical knowledge of NGOs and their experience in working with different groups of trafficking survivors, including women, men, and children. Therefore, monitoring and evaluation studies should be an integral part of every assistance programme, public and private. Well-designed monitoring and evaluation studies, particularly external evaluations, can identify effective policies and “best practice” approaches as well as assess the success of different programmes.

There is also a need for effective cooperation and coordination of research within North America and between North America and other regions of the world, particularly source countries. In addition, there is a need to establish a forum where research results can be exchanged between different scholars as well as shared with policy makers and service providers; such a forum can take a form of a specialized publication or an international task force. The need to fill

in the gaps in our knowledge and share research results is urgent. Lack of research-based knowledge may inadvertently “deepen, rather than loosen the factors that make trafficking both so profitable and difficult to address” (Kelly, 2002: 60).

NOTES

1. In this context, abolition meant not necessarily the abolition of prostitution, but the elimination of reglementation and tolerated houses for prostitution.
2. See http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/crime_cicp_signatures_trafficking.html.
3. See *Memorandum on Steps to Combat Violence Against Women and Trafficking in Women and Girls*, Pub Papers 358-360 (11 March 1998 directing the President’s Council on Women to coordinate domestic and international policy on “trafficking in women and girls”).
4. “Sex trafficking” means the recruitment, harbouring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act.
5. “Commercial sex act” means any sex act on account of which anything of value is given or received by any person.
6. “Coercion” means (a) threats of serious harm to or physical restraint against any person; (b) any scheme, plan or pattern intended to cause a person to believe that failure to perform an act would result in serious harm to or physical restraint against any person; or (c) the abuse or threatened abuse of the legal process.
7. “Involuntary servitude” includes a condition of servitude induced by means of (a) any scheme, plan, or pattern intended to cause a person to believe that, if that person did not enter into or continue in such condition that that person or any other person would suffer serious harm or physical restraint; or (b) the abuse or a threatened abuse of the legal process.
8. “Debt bondage” means the status or condition of a debtor arising from a pledge by the debtor of his or her personal services or 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.
9. See, for example, the report prepared by CATW at www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/catw.
10. See, for example, reports prepared by the GAATW.
11. See US State Department Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons website at <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/>.
12. Email exchange and interview, 22 April 2004.
13. See <http://www.unescobkk.org/culture/trafficking/trafficing.htm> for details and database.
14. Based upon those given T-visas since implementation of 2000 TVPA Act as stated in *Recent Developments in US Government Efforts to End Trafficking in Persons*, Fact Sheet, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, State

Department, 18 March 2004, and Prepared Remarks of Attorney General John Ashcroft, National Conference on Human Trafficking, Tampa, Florida, 16 July 2004.

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