Human Trafficking

This book examines all forms of human trafficking globally, revealing the operations of the trafficking business and the nature of the traffickers themselves. Using a historical and comparative perspective, it demonstrates that there is more than one business model of human trafficking and that there are enormous variations in human trafficking in different regions of the world. Drawing on a wide body of academic research – actual prosecuted cases, diverse reports, and fieldwork and interviews conducted by the author over the last sixteen years in Asia, Latin America, Africa, Europe, and the former socialist countries – Louise Shelley concludes that human trafficking will grow in the twenty-first century as a result of economic and demographic inequalities in the world, the rise of conflicts, and possibly global climate change. Coordinated efforts of government, civil society, the business community, multilateral organizations, and the media are needed to stem its growth.

Louise Shelley is a Professor in the School of Public Policy and the founder and Director of the Terrorism, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center (TraCCC) at George Mason University. She is a leading U.S. expert on transnational crime and terrorism, with a particular focus on the former Soviet Union. Dr. Shelley is the author of Policing Soviet Society (1996), Lawyers in Soviet Work Life (1984), and Crime and Modernization (1981), as well as numerous articles and book chapters on all aspects of transnational crime, corruption, and the crime-terror nexus.
More praise for *Human Trafficking*

“Using her unique global network and unparalleled access to informants and data, Louise Shelley has written the single most important volume on human trafficking to date. It provides the most comprehensive and convincing explanation of the causes and consequences of human trafficking that I have read, examines the financial side of human trafficking, and explains how the phenomenon has developed in very different ways across the world’s main regions. Her conclusion that human trafficking will continue to grow in the twenty-first century poses an enormous challenge for policymakers to rethink their current approaches.”

– Khalid Koser, Geneva Centre for Security Policy

“Louise Shelley has drawn on her scholarly skills and practical experience to produce an invaluable contribution to our understanding of human trafficking, particularly the trafficking of women and children. Her book not only provides us with a sense of the root causes and motivations of those trafficked as well as the means and methods of the traffickers and their clients, but also offers sound analysis and policy recommendations for governments, international organizations, and private institutions to combat this growing global problem.”

– Ambassador (Retired) Melvyn Levitsky, Gerald R. Ford School, University of Michigan
Human Trafficking

A Global Perspective

LOUISE SHELLEY

George Mason University
To Richard A. Isaacson for all his support
Contents

Acknowledgments \hspace{1cm} page ix

Introduction \hspace{1cm} 1

PART I \hspace{0.5cm} THE RISE AND COSTS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

1 Why Has Human Trafficking Flourished? \hspace{1cm} 37
2 The Diverse Consequences of Human Trafficking \hspace{1cm} 59

PART II \hspace{0.5cm} THE FINANCIAL SIDE OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

3 Human Trafficking as Transnational Organized Crime \hspace{1cm} 83
4 The Business of Human Trafficking \hspace{1cm} 112

PART III \hspace{0.5cm} REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES

5 Asian Trafficking \hspace{1cm} 141
6 Human Trafficking in Eurasia and Eastern Europe \hspace{1cm} 174
7 Trafficking in Europe \hspace{1cm} 201
8 Trafficking in the United States \hspace{1cm} 229
9 Human Trafficking in Latin America and Africa \hspace{1cm} 265

Conclusion \hspace{1cm} 295

Index \hspace{1cm} 325
This book is the culmination of sixteen years of study and meeting with people who work on a regular basis to understand and confront the problem of human trafficking. Travels to almost every continent and collaboration with scholars, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and practitioners from many parts of the world have broadened my understanding of the subject matter. International conferences, particularly the rare ones that have addressed the financial side of human trafficking, have been particularly valuable. I am especially grateful to TraCCC (Terrorism, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center), which over the last decade has been such a center of stimulating thought, scholarship, meetings, and seminars on human trafficking around the world owing to the participation of wonderful scholars, staff, visitors, and graduate students.

I have benefited from colleagues around the world who have helped me understand the dynamics of crime in their region. The first person to open my eyes to the pervasiveness of the trafficking problem, particularly in Asia, was Dr. Sobha Spielmann of Mahidol University, Thailand, who invited me twice during the 1990s to work with her in Thailand. These visits in 1992 and 1995, sponsored by two grants from the United States Information Agency (USIA) through their Academic Specialist grants, helped me to understand the complexity of the problem in Thailand and in neighboring countries in Southeast Asia. I subsequently learned much more on the problem in other parts of Asia through my work with Ruchira Gupta, the prizewinning filmmaker and Indian activist, on a USAID project concerning Asia. My understanding of problems in North Asia grew through my work with Shiro Okubo of Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, Japan, and attendance at conferences he sponsored in Kyoto.
Acknowledgments

The focus of my work on human trafficking for many years was that emanating from the former Soviet Union. Through the work at TraCCC I have had the opportunity to work with many colleagues and visiting scholars and to support research on this topic in Russia, Ukraine, and Georgia. My Russian colleagues, from whom I have learned the most on human trafficking and to whom I owe so much, include Liudmila Erokhina, Elena Tiuriukanova, and Anna Repetskaya, with whom I produced a book called Torgovliia Liud’mi (The Trade in People). Subsequent work with Tania Pinkevich and Natalia Lopashenko have helped me understand the complexities of getting policy implemented once legislation has been passed. The Department of Justice representative to Embassy Moscow, Terry Kinney, who prosecuted one of the first major transnational trafficking cases in the United States, also helped me understand the problems affecting international cooperation in fighting the problem.

Contributing to my understanding of the diversity of the problem in the former USSR were visiting scholars and practitioners that TraCCC hosted from Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. The most notable of them was Ambassador Larisa Miculet, who was a visiting scholar twice from Moldova before she became ambassador to Israel. In addition, I was able to interview specialists in Tajikistan through a U.S. State Department Specialists’ grant in 2006. Arzu Kilercioglu, who worked with us at TraCCC, introduced me to the problem in Turkey.

Colleagues from other parts of the world helped me understand the unique aspects of trafficking in their region. In the early 1990s, Cyrille Fijnaut made me aware of the seriousness of trafficking from Eastern Europe and the former USSR in the Netherlands and Belgium. Other Europeans on visits to Europe as well as civil society and practitioner visits to TraCCC in Washington, DC, helped me understand other aspects of the problem in that region.

I spent my sabbatical in the early 1990s with Ernesto Savona at what later became Transcrime, a European center for policy research on human trafficking. In the late 1990s, Paul Holmes of the London police force and Liz Kelly of London Metropolitan University introduced me to the British dimensions of the problem. In August 2006, I spent time at the University of Uppsala as a guest of Ana Jonsson and learned more of the Swedish efforts to combat trafficking.

The SOCA (Serious Organised Crime Agency) office at the British embassy in Washington arranged for fine and highly knowledgeable
Acknowledgments

anonymous readers on the European chapter. I am very grateful to Andy Cooke-Welling of SOCA, who arranged this. Recently, my work with Cornelius Friesendorf, then of DCAF, the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, gave me more insights into the diverse European experience as well as that of human trafficking in conflict regions.

In 2001–2002, I made two separate trips to South Africa, where I had the chance to meet practitioners and specialists on human trafficking from much of sub-Saharan Africa. At the 2nd World Conference on Criminal Investigation, Organized Crime and Human Rights in Durban in December 2001, I was hosted and helped by Anthony Minnaar. In 2002, I visited the Institute for Security Studies, both in Pretoria and Capetown, and was introduced to more aspects of organized crime by Charles Goredema and Peter Gastrow. More recently, Richard Danziger of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) has brought important research on Africa to my attention.

Many trips to Latin America have helped me understand trafficking in the region. These include my Fulbright fellowship in Oaxaca and Mexico City in 1992–1993. In the late 1990s, I was also in Bolivia and Honduras. In 2001, I met women activists from Argentina and elsewhere when I attended the conference “Foro De Mujeres contra Corrupción.” Several years later I attended a meeting on organized crime at the Núcleo de Estudos da Violência at the University of São Paulo, Brazil, directed by Sergio Adorno that gave me more insights into the relationship of organized crime and human trafficking.

Understanding the complexity of human trafficking in my own country has been a challenge. Robert Trent, now retired from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, opened my eyes to the distinct forms of human trafficking and how Chinese organized crime operates in the United States. Meetings with law enforcement and NGOs from Southern Florida, Los Angeles, the mid-Atlantic region, and the Midwest have made me understand the geography of human trafficking and its distinct features.

I have learned so much from my colleagues and students with whom I worked at TraCCC when it was located at the American University. They include Sally Stoecker, John Picarelli, Karen Saunders, Saltanat Sulaimanova Liebert, and Ruth Pojman. These individuals are now well known as scholars and practitioners in the field.

A few trafficking conferences I have attended stand out, and their presentations are cited in this book. The most important academic meetings were “Criminal Trafficking and Slavery” held in February 2006 at the
University of Illinois in Champaign-Urbana and “The Commodification of Illicit Flows: Labour Migration, Trafficking and Business” sponsored by the Center for Diaspora and Transnational Studies of the University of Toronto, October 9–10, 2009. Other conferences whose insights contributed to this book include “Pathbreaking Strategies in the Global Fight against Sex Trafficking,” sponsored by the U.S. government in Washington, DC, in February 2003 and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)–sponsored conference the same month in Ioannina, Greece, that examined the impact of trafficking in human beings on the international economy and the national economies of the OSCE states. More recently, I attended the joint UN-OSCE meeting to intensify the fight against money laundering and human trafficking in the Mediterranean region in Larnaca, Cyprus, in September 2008.

Since coming to George Mason University in August 2007, I have received wonderful support from the School of Public Policy, which has enabled me to complete this book. Dean Kingsley Haynes and James Finkelstein have given me course release and summer support that were invaluable to my research and writing. I have also learned much from teaching my first course on human trafficking and smuggling and benefited much from the insights of my students from the United States and abroad, many of whom had worked with and observed the problem firsthand. They also gave me advice on what was working and not working in the book as I gave them drafts to read. Several of my students read sections of the book in which they have expertise. I would particularly like to thank Beatriz Cuartas, Banu Demiralp, Andy Guth, and Nelly Mobula for their assistance. I also thank John Tuohy, who worked as a research intern at TraCCC and read through earlier drafts and gave me expert advice.

I want to thank two anonymous reviewers of the book for their helpful suggestions. I also thank Eric Crahan, my editor at Cambridge University Press, and Jason Przybylski, Senior Editorial Assistant there. Thanks also to Jayashree Prabhu, who oversaw the copyediting process.

I want to thank Alison Rea and Miles Benson, who read parts of the book and have used their insights as journalists to help me understand how to make the material more accessible. I am enormously grateful to Sally Stoecker, who read through the book and used her great understanding of trafficking to fine-tune the arguments. Joyce Horn has been a fine professional editor, formatting my 1,001 footnotes and ensuring that all made sense. As she has worked with me for a decade, editing both
Acknowledgments

colleagues’ and my own work on trafficking, she has acquired her own expertise that was invaluable beyond the professional editing. Richard Isaacson has supported me through the whole process and has read multiple versions of the manuscript, always helping me to improve the quality of my thinking. He has kept me moving toward the completion of this work, always providing great encouragement and moral support.