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***Data and Research on Human Trafficking:
Bibliography of Research-Based Literature***

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Bibliography of Research-Based Literature**

**FINAL REPORT
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We thank the two anonymous peer-reviewers who provided many helpful comments that substantially improved this report. We are particularly pleased to hear that “the depth and extensiveness of the literature review on human trafficking is unprecedented” and that “the development of the taxonomy will be of great assistance to future research efforts.”

While we received assistance from many individuals, the content of this report (including any errors there may be) is the sole responsibility of the authors of this report. Our interpretations, conclusions, and recommendations are our own and do not necessarily reflect the official position of the National Institute for Justice (NIJ).

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The subject of human trafficking, or the use of force, fraud or coercion to transport persons across international borders or within countries to exploit them for labor or sex, has received renewed attention within the last two decades. In the United States, human 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 on October 16, 2000. With the enactment of the TVPA, the United States took a lead in combating human trafficking, prosecuting traffickers, and protecting victims. Subsequent reauthorization legislations, the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Acts of 2003 and 2005, further strengthened the US anti-trafficking initiatives.

While the majority of experts on human trafficking assert that the greatest number of victims of trafficking are women and children, there is little systematic and reliable data on the scale of the phenomenon; limited understanding of the characteristics of victims (including the ability to differentiate between the special needs of adult and child victims, girls and boys, women and men), their life experiences, and their trafficking trajectories; poor understanding of the *modus operandi* of traffickers and their networks; and lack of evaluation research on the effectiveness of governmental anti-trafficking policies and the efficacy of rescue and restore programs, among other gaps in the current state of knowledge about human trafficking.

Such information is vital to helping decision-makers craft effective policies, service providers develop culturally sensitive and linguistically appropriate and efficacious programs, and law enforcement enhance their ability to identify and protect victims and prosecute traffickers. Further, those responsible for addressing trafficking in persons and related issues must be able to differentiate between the often sensational publications intended to raise awareness about the issue and the more serious literature, based on systematic, methodologically rigorous, and peer-reviewed empirical research (qualitative, quantitative, legal, policy analysis, etc.).

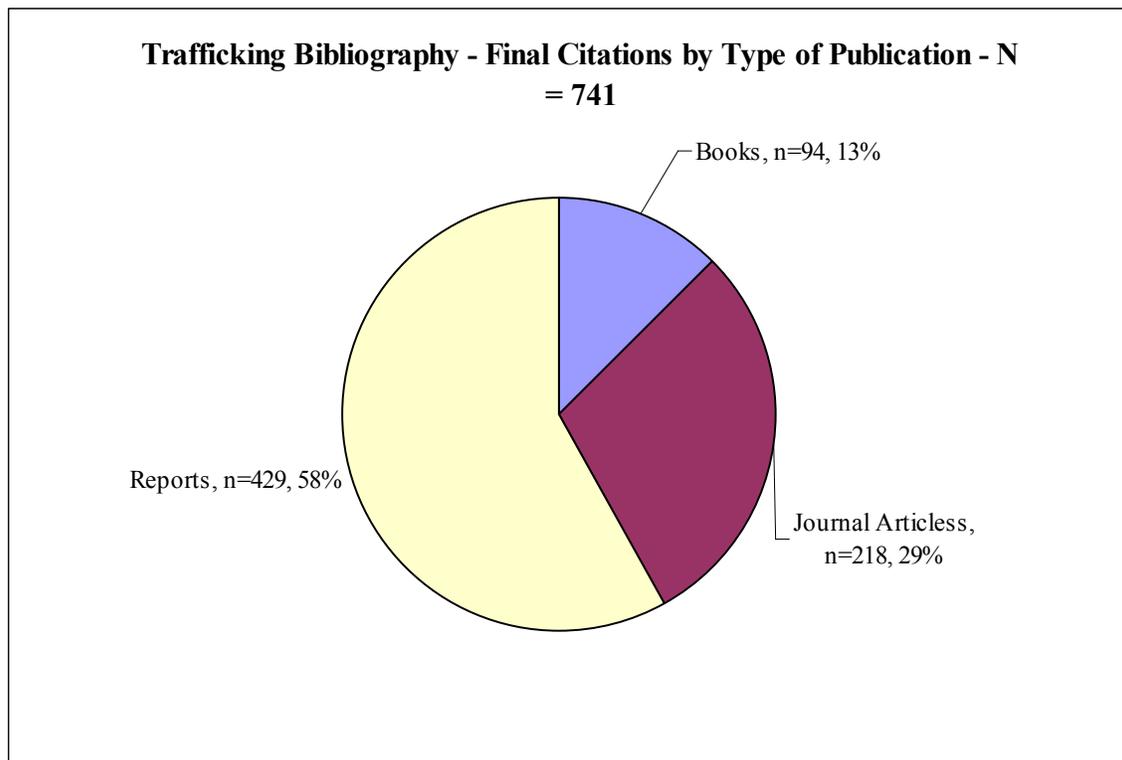
With these assumptions and needs in mind, the Institute for the Study of International Migration (ISIM) at Georgetown University embarked on a project, supported by a grant from the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), to:

- Compile a comprehensive bibliography of English language research-based literature on human trafficking using EndNote, an electronic bibliographic management program;
- Develop a taxonomy to categorize the identified references according to a set of criteria devised in consultation with the National Institute of Justice; and
- Analyze the compiled bibliography to assess the state of the English language research literature on trafficking in persons.

This report provides a detailed description of the processes involved in identifying English language research-based literature on human trafficking; the databases searched and the keywords used to identify pertinent references; discussion of the development of the taxonomy used to categorize identified research-based journal articles, reports, and books; and the results of the categorization of the research according to the taxonomy. The report ends with a discussion of research gaps.

The Bibliography

The research team used EndNote to organize and build a comprehensive bibliography of English language research-based literature on trafficking in persons, including trafficking for sexual and labor exploitation as well as trafficking to obtain human organs. The final product includes 741 citations distributed among reports, journal articles, and books. Reports, at 429, account for 58 percent of all publications. Journal articles constitute the second largest category at 218 citations or 29 percent and are followed by books at 94 citations or 13 percent. A free-standing hard copy of the developed bibliography accompanies this report. The EndNote database will be available for downloading from the National Institute of Justice for those users who have access to Endnote.



The Taxonomy

The research team, in consultation with the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), has devised taxonomy to categorize identified research-based literature on human trafficking; see table below.

| Taxonomy | |
|---|--|
| 1. Types of publications | a. Reports b. Journal articles c. Books |
| 2. Type of research and type of review | a. Empirical Research – Peer Reviewed b. Empirical Research – Not Peer Reviewed c. Non-Empirical – Peer Reviewed d. Non-Empirical – Not Peer Reviewed |
| 3. Disciplinary framework | a. Social Sciences b. Law/Criminal Justice c. Medicine and Epidemiology |
| 4. Methodological issues (Sample) | a. Population b. Random c. Convenience d. Unknown |
| 5. Methodological issues (Research Methods) | a. Qualitative research i. Case study ii. Ethnography iii. Evaluation iv. Comparative b. Quantitative i. Evaluation ii. Comparative iii. Statistical |
| 6. Type of trafficking | a. Sex trafficking b. Labor trafficking c. Domestic servitude d. Organ trafficking |
| 7. Trafficked populations | a. Children i. Girls ii. Boys b. Adults i. Women ii. Men |
| 8. Stage/Phase | a. Recruitment b. Captivity c. Rescue d. Return/Reintegration |
| 9. Geographical focus* | a. The Americas b. Europe c. Africa d. Asia e. Australia and the Pacific |

* For the sake of space, we only included regional distinctions here. The final classification includes both continents and individual countries.

Major Findings

Journal Articles

The analysis of publications on human trafficking yielded 218 journal articles. Of the 218 research-based articles, 39 were based on empirical research, while 179 articles were based on non-empirical research.

At 96 articles or 46 percent, the largest classification consisted of articles that were non-empirical, but published in peer-reviewed journals. This challenged traditional notions of the type of research published in peer-reviewed journals, which hold that the peer review process tends to eliminate non-empirical research. At 83 articles or 37 percent, non-empirical articles published in journals that do not use the peer-review process constitute the second largest group. At 68 citations or 31 percent, articles published in law journals constitute the bulk of journal articles in this category.

Articles based on empirical research are far less numerous. Thirty nine journal articles are based on empirical research; 36 of these articles were published in peer-reviewed journals, while three were not peer-reviewed. The majority of empirical research focuses on trafficking for sexual exploitation; only three out of the 39 journal articles deal with trafficking for labor exploitation and one focuses on domestic servitude. The remaining 35 analyze various aspects of trafficking for sexual exploitation. Of the 39 empirical journal articles, 30 discuss trafficked women, seven discuss trafficked children, and two include discussion of trafficked men. With one exception, all empirical articles used qualitative methodologies. The majority of empirical articles, 27 or 66 percent, used convenience samples; seven or 17 percent used population samples (mostly clients in a particular program), and two articles utilized random sampling for their data collections. All samples were quite small, ranging from case studies of one to couple hundred of victims.

Fifty three percent (115 articles) of the journal articles fall into the social sciences category, while 51 percent (110 articles) fall into the law/criminal justice category. Three of the reviewed articles are classified as medical paper and additional three as unknown. The analysis of methodological approaches shows the predominance of qualitative methodologies in all four categories of articles. Quantitative methodologies are noticeably scarce; only seven articles are based on quantitative methodologies. The scarcity of quantitative studies stems from both the unavailability of datasets on trafficking in persons and difficulty in gaining access to the existing databases. The significant reliance on qualitative methodologies affects trafficking researchers across all disciplines. The vast majority of journal articles are based on unknown samples.

A great deal of research has focused on trafficking for sexual exploitation, to the detriment of investigating trafficking for bonded labor and domestic servitude. The uneven focus on sex trafficking and the sizeable percentage of journal articles that offer no clear indication of the type of trafficking analyzed appears to be a constant across disciplines. The vast majority of studies focus on women. Very little is known about trafficking of men and boys, either for sexual exploitation or bonded labor. Only 14 journal articles include discussion of male victims of trafficking and one discusses the plight of male children. Thirty two articles discuss child victims, but make no obvious distinction between male and female children.

Reports

In contrast to journal articles, the vast majority of reports are based on empirical research. Sixty eight percent (or 292 reports) of all reports (n=429) are based on empirical research. The remaining 32 percent (or 137 reports) are based on non-empirical research. The largest number of reports based on empirical research fall into the social science category. Reports classified as falling within the law/criminal justice domain are more evenly distributed between those based on empirical and those not based on empirical research; 46 and 56 reports, respectively. Similarly to journal articles, there are very few reports which can be classified as medical and/or epidemiological; only four reports.

The analysis of methodological approaches indicates the predominance of qualitative methodologies in all four categories. The reports follow the same pattern as journal articles in terms of their methodological approaches and data collection methods with the preponderance of qualitative methodologies. However, the pattern is different in terms of quantitative approaches. Reports based, at least in part, on quantitative methodologies are much more numerous than articles based on quantitative research; 95 versus seven, respectively.

Convenience sampling is the most prevalent sampling method; the majority of social science and law/criminal justice reports use convenience samples. Somewhat surprisingly, four medical/epidemiological reports rely on convenience sampling as well. Random sampling was used in 23 or 5.3 percent of the analyzed reports. Interestingly, 200 reports (or 46.6 percent) are based on unknown samples.

Similarly to journal articles, the highest concentration of reports in every category focuses on trafficking for sexual exploitation; 383 reports or 89 percent discuss sex trafficking, while 238 or 55 percent analyze trafficking for labor exploitation. As the numbers suggest, some reports deal with both types of trafficking in persons. There are also 12 reports in the “unknown” category as the authors use a generic descriptor “human trafficking” to depict the phenomenon under discussion.

The majority of reports discuss women (296 reports or 34 percent) and girls (243 reports or 28 percent). Far fewer reports focus on men (89 reports or 10 percent); slightly higher number of reports include discussion of boys (175 reports or 20 percent). Sixty one reports include discussion of children without differentiating between boys and girls.

Books

The analysis of publications on human trafficking yielded 94 books. Books did not lend themselves to an easy categorization according to the four-domain taxonomy used to classify journal articles. We were unable to determine which book was peer-reviewed and which was not as there are no formal review standards for trade and university presses, and often no standards at all for popular presses.

With very few exceptions, all books in this bibliography are based on research or a systematic inquiry or examination and collection of information about a particular subject. However, very few books are based solely or in large part on empirical research and empirical data collected by the author/s. The vast majority of the 94 books are based on non-empirical research. Similarly to journal articles, these books include policy analyses; compilations of information from secondary sources on a particular facet of human trafficking; critiques of trafficking frameworks; or authors' views on the human trafficking debate.

Research Gaps

The analysis of the compiled bibliography on trafficking in persons suggests that the dominant anti-trafficking discourse is not evidence-based but grounded in the construction of particular mythology of trafficking (Sanghera 2005: 4). Despite the increased interest in human trafficking, relatively little systematic, empirically grounded, and based on solid theoretical underpinnings research has been done on this issue.

'In no area of the social sciences has ideology contaminated knowledge more pervasively than in writings on the sex industry,' asserts Ronald Weitzer, a sociologist at the George Washington University. This claim certainly extends to trafficking for sexual exploitation, an area 'where cannons of scientific inquiry are suspended and research deliberately skewed to serve a particular political and moral agenda (Weitzer 2005: 934; see also Weitzer 2007; Rubin 1984 and 1993; Goode 1997). Much of the research on human trafficking for sexual exploitation has been conducted by activists involved in anti-prostitution campaigns (e.g. Raymond 1998, 2004; Hughes 2004, 2005). These activists adopt an extreme (i.e., absolutists, doctrinaire, and unscientific) version of radical feminist theory, which does not distinguish between trafficking for forced prostitution and voluntary migration (legal or irregular) for sex work. Few of the radical feminist claims about sex trafficking are amenable to verification or falsification (Weitzer 2005: 936).

Research on human trafficking for labor exploitation is disconnected from theory as well. There are few attempts to analyze issues of cross-border trafficking for labor exploitation within existing international migration theories. There is also no attempt to develop a new theoretical framework in which to comprehensively analyze the phenomenon. Poverty and the aspiration for a better way of life are by far the most discussed 'push factors' and principal reasons for explaining why women and, in particular, children are at risk for trafficking (Williams and Masika 2002: 5).

Similarly to theoretical approaches, development of innovative methodologies to study human trafficking is also in its infancy. Reliance on unrepresentative samples is widespread. Most studies rely on interviews with 'key stakeholders.' Studies that do include interviews with victims are limited to very small samples. There is a need to emphasize the limitations of small samples for generalizations and extrapolations, while

at the same time stressing the value of ethnographic investigations for formulating hypotheses for further studies, including preparation of survey questionnaires.

Predominant methodologies include qualitative data collection techniques, mainly interviews. Victims' and stakeholders' narratives are important but need to be augmented by participant observation. Participant observation is needed, but difficult. The main obstacle to conducting empirical qualitative research on human trafficking is related to gaining access to trafficked persons. There is a need to facilitate researchers' access to victims while protecting victims who are willing to participate in research projects.

In order to acquire the broadest possible picture of the trafficking phenomenon, several different data collection methods, including quantitative and qualitative methods, need to be tested. Estimation methods that have been gaining currency in studies of hidden populations include rapid assessment, capture-recapture methodology and Respondent-Driven Sampling (RDS). These methods have been successfully used to study the homeless (Williams and Cheal 2002), street children (Gurgel *et al.* 2004), and women in street prostitution (Brunovskis and Tyldum 2004). Researchers in Norway, for example, were quite successful in employing telephone surveys of sex workers operating through individual advertisements (Tyldum and Brunovskis 2004).

There is a need for both quantitative and qualitative research that would provide both macro-and micro-level understanding of the trafficking phenomenon. 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 programs for trafficking survivors, increased attention needs to be paid to the expertise and practical knowledge of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and their experience in working with different groups of trafficking survivors, including women, men, and children.

Given the fact that services to trafficked persons are in their infancy, monitoring and evaluation studies should be an integral part of every assistance program, 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 programs. Particularly important are longitudinal studies of the effects of rehabilitation programs on the ability of survivors to integrate into the new society or re-integrate into their native one.

There is also a need for effective cooperation and coordination of research within and among different regions of the world. 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. This forum should be free of moral and

political influences and devoted solely to scholarly pursuits. The need to fill in the gaps in our knowledge and share research results is urgent. As Liz Kelly observed, ‘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).

ABSTRACT

The subject of human trafficking, or the use of force, fraud or coercion to transport persons across international borders or within countries to exploit them for labor or sex, has received renewed attention within the last two decades. While the majority of experts on human trafficking assert that the greatest number of victims of trafficking are women and children, there is little systematic and reliable data on the scale of the phenomenon; limited understanding of the characteristics of victims (including the ability to differentiate between the special needs of adult and child victims, women, girls, men, and boys), their life experiences, and their trafficking trajectories; poor understanding of the *modus operandi* of traffickers and their networks; and lack of evaluation research on the effectiveness of governmental anti-trafficking policies and the efficacy of rescue and restore programs, among other gaps in the current state of knowledge about human trafficking. Such information is vital to helping decision-makers craft effective policies; service providers develop culturally sensitive and linguistically appropriate and efficacious programs, and law enforcement enhance their ability to identify and protect victims and prosecute traffickers.

This report presents findings from a 12-month project undertaken by the Institute for the Study of International Migration (ISIM) at Georgetown University to:

- Compile a comprehensive bibliography of English language research-based literature on human trafficking using EndNote, an electronic bibliographic management program;
- Develop a taxonomy to categorize the identified references according to a set of criteria devised in consultation with the National Institute of Justice; and
- Analyze the compiled bibliography to assess the state of the English language research literature on trafficking in persons.

The report provides a detailed description of the processes involved in identifying English language research-based literature on human trafficking; the database searched and the keywords used to identify pertinent references; discussion of the development of the taxonomy used to categorize identified research-based journal articles, reports, and books; and the results of the categorization of the research according to the taxonomy. The report ends with a discussion of research gaps.

INTRODUCTION

The subject of human trafficking, or the use of force, fraud or coercion to transport persons across international borders or within countries to exploit them for labor or sex, has received renewed attention within the last two decades. Trafficking for forced labor or sexual exploitation is believed to be one of the fastest growing areas of criminal activity. A study by the International Labor Organization (ILO) estimates that the criminal profits of human trafficking could exceed \$31 billion dollars, which would make it the second largest source of illegal income worldwide after drug trafficking (Belser 2005). Combating trafficking has become an increasingly important priority for many governments around the world (Laczko 2005).

In the United States, human 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 on October 16, 2000. With the enactment of the TVPA, the United States took a lead in combating human trafficking, prosecuting traffickers, and protecting victims. Subsequent reauthorization legislations, the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Acts of 2003 and 2005, further strengthened the US anti-trafficking initiatives. However, despite tremendous efforts by the federal as well as local governments, non-governmental organizations, and the research community working together to fight human trafficking, solutions remain elusive.

While the majority of experts on human trafficking assert that the greatest number of victims of trafficking are women and children, there is little systematic and reliable data on the scale of the phenomenon; limited understanding of the characteristics of victims (including the ability to differentiate between the special needs of adult and child victims, girls and boys, women and men), their life experiences, and their trafficking trajectories; poor understanding of the *modus operandi* of traffickers and their networks; and lack of evaluation research on the effectiveness of governmental anti-trafficking policies and the efficacy of rescue and restore programs, among other gaps in the current state of knowledge about human trafficking. Such information is vital to helping decision-makers craft effective policies, service providers develop culturally sensitive and linguistically appropriate and efficacious programs, and law enforcement enhance their ability to identify and protect victims and prosecute traffickers.

Further, those responsible for addressing trafficking in persons and related issues must be able to differentiate between the often sensational publications intended to raise awareness about the issue and the more serious literature, based on systematic, methodologically rigorous, and peer-reviewed empirical research (qualitative, quantitative, legal, policy analysis, etc.), intended to help explain the root causes of human trafficking; provide estimates of the number of trafficked victims; map and analyze trafficking trends and routes; examine the different types of exploitation; understand the resiliency and the suffering of trafficked victims; and assess the appropriateness of treatment modalities and psycho-social programs aimed at

rehabilitating victims; as well as other dimensions of this extremely complex phenomenon.

With these assumptions and needs in mind, the Institute for the Study of International Migration (ISIM) at Georgetown University embarked on a project, supported by a grant from the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), to:

- Compile a comprehensive bibliography of English language research-based literature on human trafficking using EndNote, an electronic bibliographic management program;
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The subsequent sections of the report provide a detailed description of the processes involved in identifying English language research-based literature on human trafficking; the database searched and the keywords used to identify pertinent references; discussion of the development of the taxonomy used to categorize identified research-based journal articles, reports, and books; and the results of the categorization of the research-based literature according to the taxonomy. The report ends with a discussion of existing research gaps.

COMPILING THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

As indicated in the introduction, the first task of this project was to compile a comprehensive bibliography of English language research-based literature on trafficking in persons, including trafficking for sexual and labor exploitation as well as trafficking to obtain human organs. Media reports, opinion pieces, essays, and journal articles not based on research were excluded from the final bibliography. This section of the report discusses the sources and databases as well as the process used to identify pertinent references.

The research team used EndNote to organize and build the bibliography. EndNote is a software package that facilitates bibliographic management by allowing users to search and import references from online bibliographic databases, organize references by grouping, tagging, and sorting as well as creating custom fields. Users can easily export custom-made reference lists to quickly create specialized bibliographies or conduct further analysis in statistical programs. By organizing the research and the analysis in EndNote, the research team has created a dynamic document that will benefit researchers, students, and policymakers. All future users of the document will be able to use the file as a point of departure for their own research and analysis and can easily add new references or modify exiting entries by categorizing them according to their own taxonomies, built using those created by the research team, or by devising totally new categorizations. EndNote allows users to create up to seven custom fields to categorize documents. Furthermore, users have the option to re-title unused fields according to their individual research needs. EndNote also allows users to create bibliographies in different styles (e.g.; APA, American Anthropologist, annotated, etc.) or by types of work (e.g., journal articles, books, reports, etc.).

The bibliography on human trafficking developed in the course of this project includes journal articles, books, and dissertations from the catalogues and online databases of several major US universities. It also contains reports and conference papers issued by international organizations, governmental institutions, think-tanks, universities, and international and national non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The list below indicates where we searched to compile the bibliography. A free-standing hard copy of the developed bibliography accompanies this report. The EndNote database will be available for downloading from the National Institute of Justice.

Sources and Databases Searched

Journal Articles

In order to identify journal articles, the research team searched the following databases:

Social Science Databases

- EBSCO Academic Search Premiere
- JSTOR

- PAIS
- ProQuest Social Science
- Social Science Index
- Sociological Abstracts

Medical Databases

- Medline
- PubMed

Government/Law/Politics Databases

- Government and Politics
- HeinOnline
- International Political Science Abstracts
- Legal Trac
- LexisNexis
- LexisNexis Academic
- PolicyFile
- Westlaw
- Worldwide Political Science Abstracts

Reports and Papers

In order to identify reports, white papers, and other publications not appearing in academic journals, the research team searched the following sources:

International organizations

- ILO
- IOM
- UNICEF Innocenti Research Center
- UNICRI
- UNIFEM
- UNESCO
- UNODC
- www.ungift.org

NGOs/think-tanks/ programs

- Alliances against Human Trafficking
- Amnesty International
- Anti-Slavery International
- childtrafficking.com
- Human Rights Watch
- The National Criminal Justice Reference Service
- Polaris Project
- Protection Project (The Johns Hopkins University)
- RAND Corporation

- Save the Children
- Terre des hommes
- Vital Voices Global
- Women’s Studies Program (University of Rhode Island)

Books and Dissertations

Library Catalogues

- American University
- Columbia University
- Georgetown University
- George Washington University
- Harvard University
- Johns Hopkins University
- Princeton University
- Stanford University
- University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)
- Yale University

Online Bookstores

- Amazon.com
- Powells Bookstore
- Alibris

Bibliographies

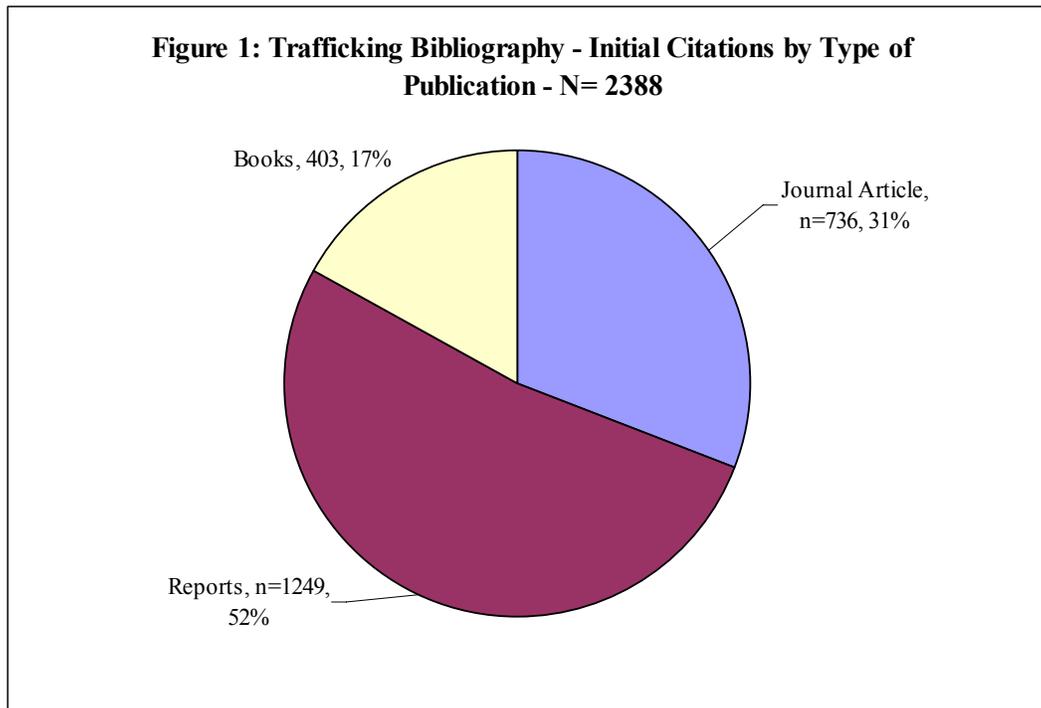
- The research team also cross-checked the compiled bibliography against the bibliography published in the 2005 *International Migration* Special Issue on *Data and Research on Human Trafficking* (Laczko and Goździak 2005).
- Selected bibliographies of certain books and journal articles were also consulted to cross-check and supplement the results of the electronic databases searches.

Search Terms Used

When searching electronic databases the research team used variations of the truncation search mechanism for the term “traffic*” in order to capture all relevant literature on human trafficking. Therefore, we applied this mechanism using the following terms: “human traffic*,” “child traffic*,” “labor traffic*,” “sex traffic*,” and “youth traffic*.” We also used the following keywords: “human trafficking,” “labor trafficking,” “sex trafficking,” “youth trafficking,” as well as all related combinations resulting from our primary search such as “human trafficking and law enforcement,” “human trafficking and prostitution,” “human trafficking and child abuse and neglect,” or “human trafficking and crime,” to illustrate just a few possible combinations.

Results of the Search Process

The search process described above produced 6,374 raw citations that were imported into EndNote. The list of raw citations was immediately reduced to 2,388 citations through the use of EndNote's "delete duplicates" filter. Figure 1 presents the breakdown, by type of publication of the 2,388 citations. Figure 1 shows that reports constitute the largest group of publications and account for 52 percent of all publications found through the preliminary search process. Journal articles are the second largest category and account for 31 percent of all initially identified publications, while books account for 17 percent.



Manual Purging and Initial Analysis of Results

The manual purging and initial analysis of the preliminary results consisted of three steps:

1. Purging duplicates not caught by EndNote;
2. Purging citations not related to trafficking; and
3. Separating non-research based publications from research-based literature.

This phase of the research has been carried out for 1,249 reports, 736 journal articles, and 403 books. Reports and journals were the main focus of our analysis because they are the most numerous of the three categories.

Purging duplicates not filtered by Endnote

We compiled most of the initial 2,388 citations by importing search results from the sources listed above into EndNote. Many of these initial entries were duplicates. While EndNotes' duplicate filter eliminated the majority of redundant references, it only captured duplicates with perfectly matched information in all fields. For instance, if one database used a first or middle initial of a particular author while a different database used the full first name for the same author or if different keywords were used by different databases for the same reference, the citation will not be considered a duplicate by Endnote. Additionally, some databases listed reports by the organization which commissioned them while other databases listed reports by the authors who actually wrote them; thus, some reports were listed twice. Given these differences in listing references, all entries had to be manually double checked for further duplicates not caught by the EndNote filter. This was a very time-consuming but necessary effort.

Purging citations not related to trafficking

In addition to manually filtering duplicates, the research team removed citations not related to human trafficking. Many citations tangentially related to the topic of human trafficking--such as child abuse, violence against women, commercial sexual exploitation of children, child labor, child fostering, and HIV/AIDS--were automatically included in the search results imported into Endnote. This automatic inclusion might have resulted from the fact that the phrase 'human trafficking' was used in the abstract and/or as a keyword. These references were eliminated from the preliminary search results unless the research and the resulting publication indicated, for example, a correlation or a causal relationship between child labor and child trafficking or discussed child fostering as a risk factor for child trafficking. If there was no substantial discussion of any dimension of human trafficking, the reference was removed.

Separating documents not based on research

The preliminary results of the literature search indicated that there is a plethora of published works dealing with the topic of human trafficking, but many of these publications are not research-based. Therefore, the research team had to separate out references based on research from non-research based writings such as opinion pieces, essays, manuals and guides for identifying trafficking victims, accounts of anti-trafficking activities undertaken by various entities, and descriptions of task forces, to name a few examples.

Figure 2 demonstrates the results of the first three stages of the manual purging process for reports and journal articles. Seventy percent of the 736 citations categorized as "journal articles" in the preliminary search results were eliminated because they were either duplicates, not based on research, or not related to human trafficking. More than 63 percent of "reports" were purged for the same reason.

Figure 2: Trafficking Bibliography – Journal Articles and Reports Eliminated because of Redundancy, Lack of Relevance to Trafficking, and Not Being Research Based

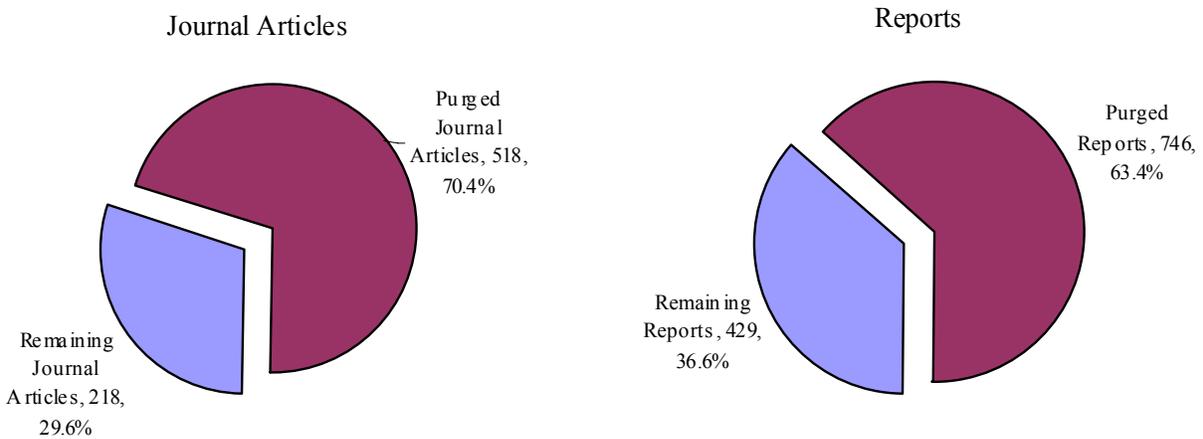
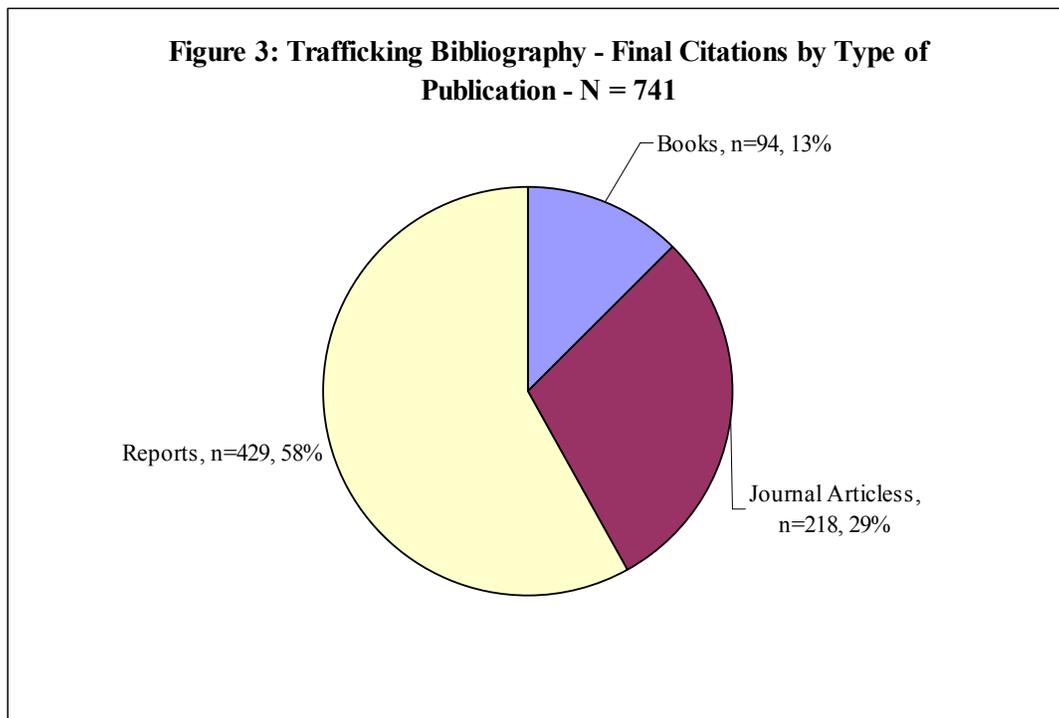


Figure 3 depicts the final distribution of the literature after completing the manual purging process. In total, there are 741 citations distributed among reports, journal articles, and books. Reports, at 429, accounted for 58 percent of all publications. Journal articles constitute the second largest category at 218 citations or 29 percent and are followed by books at 94 citations or 13 percent.



DEVELOPMENT OF THE TAXONOMY

Agencies, disciplines, and professions concerned with human trafficking are very diverse and so is the growing number of publications on this issue. As a result both a novice scholar of human trafficking and an expert on the topic have increasingly more difficulty embracing the scope of this field. Therefore, there is a need for a schema or a classification of existing literature that would provide decision-makers, service providers, and scholars with an access to research results on trafficking in persons most appropriate for their goals and objectives: be it legislative pursuits aimed to introduce a new policy or amend an existing one; practical pursuits aimed at evaluating program outcomes; or research endeavors aimed at identifying research gaps and designing new studies.

“Over the last two centuries systematics or taxonomies have proven to be of great value [...] to disciplines as diverse as chemistry via Dimitri Mendeleev’s Periodic Table of chemical elements circa 1889, genetics as a consequence of Gregor Mendel’s 19th century study of pea, which in turn led to the human genome project” (Reisman, forthcoming). Anthropologists have observed that taxonomies are generally embedded in local cultural and social systems, and serve various social functions.

In this project, the research team, in consultation with representatives of the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), has devised a taxonomy sufficiently robust to categorize identified research-based literature on human trafficking and flexible enough to expand existing categories to accommodate new research-based publications. The taxonomy is also simple enough to be user-friendly.

This taxonomy is not meant to be a ranking system of research-based publications in the English language; rather it is conceived as a mechanism that allows for tailored assessment of available research by an individual user. For example, policy-makers trying to decide what kind of anti-trafficking activities to fund might give the highest marks to publications based on evaluation research. Furthermore, those tasked with assessing cost-effectiveness of projects they fund might value quantitative evaluations over qualitative research. Since most law journals are not peer-reviewed, legal scholars might never use the ‘peer-reviewed’ category to assess the quality of legal research. Instead, they might want to cross-reference legal studies with the titles of the most prestigious law journals to evaluate existing legal scholarship on human trafficking. Conversely, an academe-based anthropologist might cross-reference empirical, peer-reviewed publications with a particular type of qualitative methodology—ethnography, or case study—to arrive at publications most valuable to their work.

The table below presents the taxonomy used to categorize English language publications included in the final bibliography of research-based literature on human trafficking.

| Taxonomy | |
|---|--|
| 1. Types of publications | a. Reports b. Journal articles c. Books |
| 2. Type of research and type of review | a. Empirical Research – Peer Reviewed b. Empirical Research – Not Peer Reviewed c. Non-Empirical – Peer Reviewed d. Non-Empirical – Not Peer Reviewed |
| 3. Disciplinary framework | a. Social Sciences b. Law/Criminal Justice c. Medicine and Epidemiology |
| 4. Methodological issues (Sample) | a. Population b. Random c. Convenience d. Unknown |
| 5. Methodological issues (Research Methods) | a. Qualitative research i. Case study ii. Ethnography iii. Evaluation iv. Comparative b. Quantitative i. Evaluation ii. Comparative iii. Statistical |
| 6. Type of trafficking | a. Sex trafficking b. Labor trafficking c. Domestic servitude d. Organ trafficking |
| 7. Trafficked populations | a. Children i. Girls ii. Boys b. Adults i. Women ii. Men |
| 8. Stage/Phase | a. Recruitment b. Captivity c. Rescue d. Return/Reintegration |
| 9. Geographical focus* | a. The Americas b. Europe c. Africa d. Asia e. Australia and the Pacific |

* For the sake of space, we only included regional distinctions here. The final classification includes both continents and individual countries.

As can be seen from the table above, the first task the research team had undertaken in classifying the identified publications was to sort them by type of publication; i.e. report, journal article or book. Secondly, we classified each publication according to a type of research—empirical or non-empirical—and according to whether the publication was peer-reviewed or not.

We read each publication to ascertain the methodology used and assess whether the publication was based on empirical research. We emphasized empiricism because the existing knowledge base on human trafficking is limited and largely not based on empirical research. A 2005 analysis of trafficking research indicated that the field had 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 (Goździak and Collett 2005). The situation is not much different in 2008; there is still 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, especially 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. Many studies rely on overviews, commentaries, and anecdotal information. By focusing on the empirical nature of the articles we aimed to examine the extent to which the field has moved beyond stating that there is a problem to a more systematic and rigorous collection of empirical data and analysis of a wide range of human trafficking issues. Empirical research encompasses studies that base their findings on direct or indirect observations to analyze a problem or test a hypothesis and reach a conclusion. We have conducted our analysis of the empirical nature of the studies in this bibliography with an understanding of the complexity of scientific research and the fact that the various disciplines involved in trafficking research operate in very different ways.

In addition to focusing on the empirical nature of the publications, we investigated whether or not a particular publication was peer-reviewed. Peer review is the process of subjecting a work to the critical eye of experts in the same field and has the important function of promoting high standards and preventing poorly researched or unwarranted claims. For this reason, studies that are not subject to peer review are often considered to lack scientific rigor and to be of lesser quality. Scholars and editors deem peer review necessary because it allows for mistakes and oversights to be caught and provides an opportunity to improve the analysis or presentation of research results. While some have critiqued the peer review system as “biased, incomplete, and unaccountable,” it is one of the standard benchmarks of academic rigor and quality, and thus we have taken it into account (Horton 2000). It is important to note that many university-based law journals in the United States do not rely on the peer review process. In addition, legal scholarship is mostly non-empirical. Social science research, on the other hand, tends to be both empirical and non-empirical, but published in peer-reviewed publications. Medical research is almost exclusively empirical and published in peer-reviewed journals.

The peer-review determination for journal articles was made using two approaches:

1. Visiting the journal’s website, which usually describes the peer review process if it exists; and/or
2. Cross-checking the journal’s title with Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory, which is a source of bibliographic and publisher information, including peer-review information, on more than 300,000 periodicals of all types.

We did not determine reports or books to be peer reviewed unless the authors specifically stated that the report had been subject to such scrutiny and explained the process.

Taking into account our focus on the empirical nature of the research and peer review, we categorize the reports and journal articles under one of the following categories:

- Empirical Research and Peer Reviewed
- Empirical Research and Not Peer Reviewed
- Non-Empirical and Peer Reviewed
- Non-Empirical and Not Peer Reviewed

In order to better understand the academic disciplines engaged in trafficking research as well as the methodologies they employ, we analyzed each reference for its disciplinary focus and methodological approach. The three broad categories used for discipline were:

- Social Sciences
- Law/Criminal Justice
- Medicine/Epidemiology

While it is possible to further subcategorize each of these disciplines, many articles and reports did not mention the exact disciplinary approach, thus necessitating the usage of broader categories. Where evident, we noted the specific discipline of the study. In some instances, the articles were inter-disciplinary and thus required dual categorization. **The process of dual categorization was carried out for all the different elements of the taxonomy.**

In terms of the methodologies employed in trafficking research, we assessed the type of sample used by the investigators and the nature of the methodology. We divided the sample types into three categories: population, random, and convenience. Whether or not the research was qualitative or quantitative was also determined. If the authors indicated the exact nature of the qualitative or quantitative research we were able to further categorize and indicate whether a particular article or report were based on case studies; stakeholder and/or victim interviews; evaluation; comparative research; rapid assessment; survey; or statistical analysis.

We also analyzed each article according to several elements of human trafficking, which included: the type of trafficking; the trafficked population; and the stage of the trafficking situation. One of the early criticisms of the worldwide political response to trafficking has been that it is too focused on trafficking for sexual exploitation to the detriment of trafficking for labor exploitation, domestic servitude, and organ trafficking. In order to see how the research reflected these issues, we categorized each article based on the type of trafficking studied. This category included sex, labor, domestic servitude, and organ trafficking. We made note of studies that addressed more than one category.

Observers have also voiced concern about lack of clarity with regard to the type of populations studied in trafficking research. This is particularly true in regard to the distinction between “women” and “girls.” Often times a research abstract and title will

indicate that the study focuses on women and girls, but then fails to adequately distinguish the two groups. Lack of research on trafficked men and boys is another area of concern. Thus, the categorization of the trafficked population according to the age and sex of the population studied is an important part of the taxonomy.

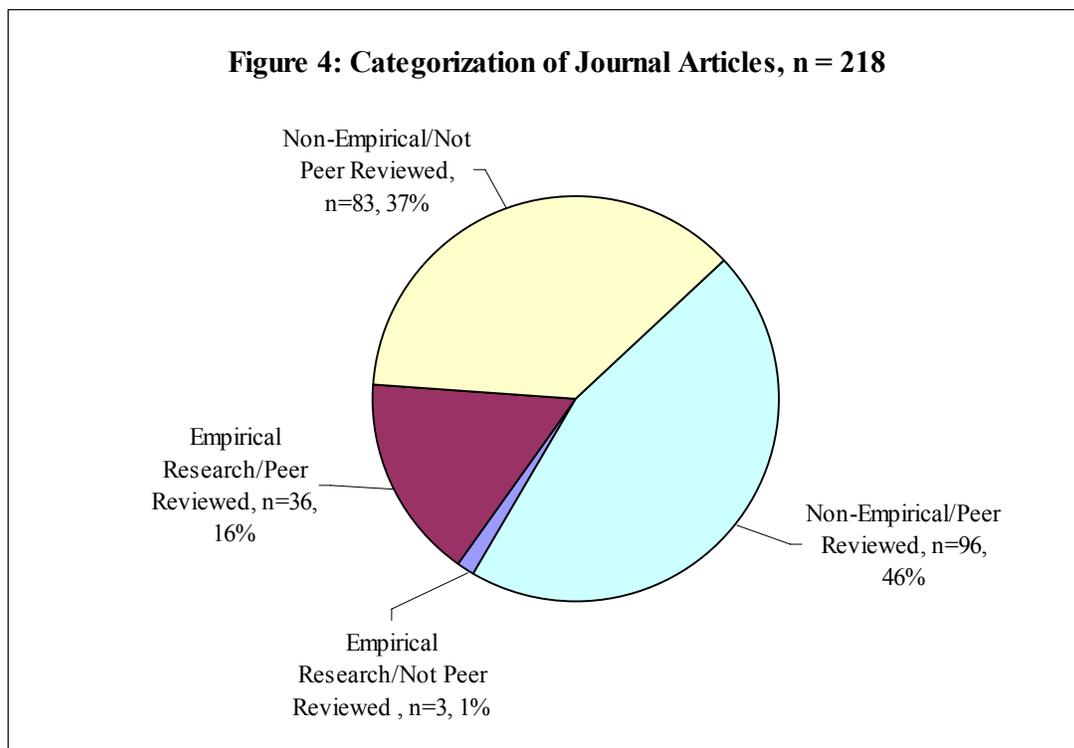
The fact that trafficking is an ongoing process with several different stages underscores the need for researchers to define what phase or aspect of trafficking they investigate. This could include recruitment mechanisms; treatment while in captivity; escape or rescue from the hands of the traffickers; and return and reintegration of the survivor into society. Given these different elements of the trafficking process, we categorized the research according to which aspect (or aspects) the researchers focused on.

Lastly, we categorized the research according to the geographical focus of the study. This analysis included a regional and country level categorization. As with the other elements of the taxonomy, many studies included more than one categorization.

JOURNAL ARTICLES

The analysis of publications on human trafficking yielded 218 journal articles. As indicated above, only research-based articles in English were included. Media articles, essays, and opinion pieces were excluded. Of the 218 research-based articles, 39 were based on empirical research, while 179 articles were based on non-empirical research.

Figure 4 presents the results of the classification of the 218 journal articles included in this bibliography.



Empirical Nature

Non-empirical articles published in peer-reviewed journals

At 96 articles or 46 percent, the largest classification consisted of articles that were non-empirical, but published in peer-reviewed journals. This challenged traditional notions of the type of research published in peer-reviewed journals, which hold that the peer review process tends to eliminate non-empirical research. It seems that peer-reviewed journals have published non-empirical research on trafficking in persons because of the dynamic created by the sudden and intense political and academic interest in human trafficking following the debate and passage of the Palermo Protocol and the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000.

Additionally, the difficulty of conducting empirical research on human trafficking, including impeded access to trafficked victims, law enforcement representatives, and prosecutors, as well as the length of time it takes to conduct empirical research have also contributed to the predominance of non-empirical research on trafficking in persons. Editors realized that their readership desired more information on trafficking, but little empirical research was being done, thus, non-empirical studies, mostly in the form of literature and data reviews (e.g.; Adepoju 2005; Andrees 2005; Goździak 2005; Schauer 2006) or description and analysis of anti-trafficking policies (e.g.; Obuah 2006; Raymond 2004), have been published. Our analysis demonstrates that the peer-review element, which is used as a measure of quality in academia, is not a good indicator of whether trafficking research is empirical in nature.

Non-empirical articles published in non-peer-reviewed journals

At 83 articles or 37 percent, non-empirical articles published in journals that do not use the peer-review process constitute the second largest group. At 68 citations or 31 percent, articles published in law journals constitute the bulk of journal articles in this category. In the United States, legal research is leading the way among the still scarce academic research on human trafficking. Legal scholarship encompasses a wide range of journal articles, including articles published before the adoption of the UN Protocol on Trafficking or shortly after the passage of the TVPA of 2000. Most of these articles focus on the legal analysis of the scope and practical efficacy of the proposed legal protections applicable to victims of trafficking (e.g.; Chuang 1998) or on the analysis of the provisions of the TVPA of 2000 (e.g.; Ryf 2002; Chapkis 2003).

Empirical journal articles

Articles based on empirical research are far less numerous. We identified 39 journal articles based on empirical research; 36 of these articles were published in peer-reviewed journals, while three were not peer-reviewed (Allred 2006; Petros 2005; Spear 2004). Empirical research is most prevalent in social sciences (e.g.; Aghatise 2004; Bastia 2005; Coonan 2005; Erokhina 2007; Goździak 2007; Silverman 2007). The majority of empirical research focuses on trafficking for sexual exploitation; only three out of the 39 journal articles deal with trafficking for labor exploitation (Goździak 2007; Lange 2007; Shigekane 2007) and one focuses on domestic servitude (Constable 1996). The remaining 35 analyze various aspects of trafficking for sexual exploitation. Of the 39 empirical journal articles, 30 discuss trafficked women, seven discuss trafficked children, and one includes a discussion of trafficked men (Augustin 2005; Wilson 2006).¹ With one exception (Aghatise 2004), all empirical articles used qualitative methodologies. The majority of empirical articles, 27 or 66 percent, used convenience samples; seven or 17 percent used population samples (mostly clients in a particular program), and two articles utilized random sampling (Erokhina 2007; Okonoufa 2004) for their data collections. All samples were quite small, ranging from case studies of one to couple hundred of victims.

¹ Some are double counted because they include discussion of more than one population.

Disciplinary Focus

As shown in Table 1, 115 articles or 53 percent of the journal articles fall into the social sciences category, while 110 or 51 percent fall into the law/criminal justice category. Three of the reviewed articles are classified as medical paper and additional three as unknown.

The distribution shown in Table 1 indicates that the non-empirical nature of trafficking research is prevalent across academic disciplines.

Table 1: Categorization of Journal Articles by Empirical Nature/Peer Review and Discipline

| | Discipline | | | | Total |
|--|----------------------|----------|-----------------|----------|------------|
| | Criminal Justice/Law | Medicine | Social Sciences | Unknown | |
| Empirical Research - Not Peer Reviewed | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 |
| Empirical Research - Peer Reviewed | 7 | 7 | 30 | 0 | 44 |
| Not Empirical Research - Not Peer Reviewed | 74 | 0 | 11 | 2 | 87 |
| Not Empirical Research - Peer Reviewed | 28 | 1 | 72 | 1 | 102 |
| Total | 110 | 8 | 115 | 3 | 236 |

*Totals presented in this table exceed the actual number of journal articles due to multiple categorizations (i.e. a single journal article could be categorized under both “Criminal Justice/Law” and “Social Sciences”).

The largest concentration of *social science* articles is based on non-empirical research and is published in peer review journals; 72 or 65 percent of the social science journal articles are based on non-empirical research and are published in peer-reviewed journals. An additional 11 articles based on non-empirical research are published in journals that have not undergone a peer-review process. Thirty two social science journal articles are based on empirical research; with two exceptions, all are published in peer-reviewed journals.

The category *law/criminal justice* includes a total of 110 journal articles. The majority of these articles are not based on empirical research; a total of 102 articles are non-empirically based. Of these 102 articles 74 are published in journals—mainly law journals—which do not use a peer review process, while 28 are published in peer-reviewed journals. Needless to say, the preponderance of law/criminal justice articles analyzes the various legal provisions related to prevention of human trafficking, protection of victims, and prosecution of perpetrators.

While eight journal articles deal with *medical issues* and human trafficking, only three are solely devoted to discussion of medical problems faced by trafficked victims. Seven

are published in peer-reviewed journals and six are based on empirical research. All deal with issues of trafficking for sexual exploitation. All three of the journal articles solely devoted to medical issues focus on HIV/AIDS and all are authored by the same researcher (Silverman 2006, 2007).

Methodology

Table 2 indicates the type of methodology employed by the articles in each of the four classifications based on the empirical nature of the research and peer review.² The analysis of methodological approaches applied by authors of journal articles shows the predominance of qualitative methodologies in all four categories of articles. Quantitative methodologies are noticeably scarce; only 7 articles are based on quantitative methodologies (e.g.; Curtol 2004; Hennink 2004). The scarcity of quantitative studies stems from both the unavailability of datasets on trafficking in persons or difficulty in gaining access to the existing databases. It is not uncommon for authors of research articles on trafficking in persons to address the difficulty of accessing quality data on the topic. Some analysts suggest that quantitative research is impossible without access to the existing—very few—databases on the topic. For instance, the IOM database on trafficking described in a recent Government Accountability Office (GAO) report is not yet available to outside researchers (GAO 2007). The US Federal Government is also not sharing much statistical information on trafficked victims in federal care. Lack of datasets on the number and characteristics of trafficked victims, the number of traffickers, and the number of prosecutions has forced researchers to rely on qualitative methodologies.

Table 2: Categorization of Journal Articles by Empirical Nature/Peer Review and Methodology

| | Methodology | | | Total |
|---|--------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| | Legal Review | Qualitative | Quantitative | |
| Empirical Research - Not Peer Reviewed | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 |
| Empirical Research - Peer Reviewed | 0 | 34 | 6 | 40 |
| Not Empirical Research - Not Peer Reviewed | 57 | 75 | 0 | 132 |
| Not Empirical Research - Peer Reviewed | 17 | 88 | 1 | 106 |
| Total | 75 | 199 | 7 | 281 |

***Totals presented in this table exceed the actual number of journal articles due to multiple categorizations (i.e. a single journal article could be categorized under both “Qualitative” and “Quantitative”).**

² Please note that some journal articles employ more than one methodology hence some of the journal articles are counted more than once.

The significant reliance on qualitative methodologies affects researchers across all disciplines. Table 3 indicates that the majority of journal articles use qualitative methodologies no matter what the discipline. Ninety-nine of the criminal justice/law articles and 107 social science articles relied on qualitative methodologies. Even medical research is based on qualitative methodologies. Only seven journal articles rely on quantitative methodologies.

Table 3: Categorization of Journal Articles by Discipline and Methodology

| | Discipline | Methodology | | | Total |
|--|---------------------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|-------|
| | | Legal Research | Qualitative | Quantitative | |
| | Social Sciences | 9 | 107 | 4 | 120 |
| | Law/Criminal Justice | 70 | 99 | 2 | 171 |
| | Medicine and Epidemiology | 0 | 8 | 1 | 9 |

*Totals presented in this table exceed the actual number of journal articles due to multiple categorizations (i.e. a single journal article could be categorized under both “Qualitative” and “Quantitative”).

Sampling

The vast majority of journal articles are based on unknown samples (see Table 4). While the majority of the law/criminal justice articles focus on legislative and/or policy analysis and for obvious reasons the authors did not need to sample victims, many of these articles claim that they are based on interviews with policy makers and law enforcement representatives but fail to indicate both the number of interviewed individuals and the way they selected study participants. Eighty five of the social science articles are based on unknown samples. Only two social science articles are based on random sampling and three on populations; the majority (25 articles) are based on convenience samples.

The difficulty of conducting empirical research on different aspects of human trafficking goes beyond lack of access to quality datasets; it is also related to the overall lack of access to key informants, including victims and survivors of human trafficking as well as representatives of law enforcement, policy-makers, health and mental health, and social service providers engaged in anti-trafficking activities and service provision to victims. Several authors discuss methodological challenges involved in studying the unobserved (Tyldum and Brunovskis 2005); gaining access to victims and program staff serving survivors of trafficking for labor or sexual exploitation (Brennan 2005; Goździak and Collet 2005). In order to conduct research on trafficking to the United States, particularly research that highlights the perspectives of the trafficked persons themselves, researchers have to work closely with service providers. Trafficked victims are considered an extremely vulnerable population and service providers are charged with protecting them from further exploitation as well as from the possible adverse effects of recounting their trafficking experiences in the course of a research project. Many social service providers do not see research as a way to empower trafficking survivors by providing an

opportunity to bring about justice and to affect policy-making and program design from the ground-up. Researchers often lament how difficult it is to convince practitioners—service providers, attorneys, law enforcement—about the value of research and gain their permission to recruit survivors and their care takers to participate in empirical studies (Brennan 2005).

Gaining access to advocates and service providers seems more manageable than gaining access to victims and survivors. Numerous studies rely in whole or in part on interviews with service providers and are often based on convenience samples (Goździak and Collett 2005). Our analysis of the journal articles indicates, however, that even these studies are in the minority. As indicated in Table 4, the majority of articles across disciplines do not indicate the sampling methodology used in their trafficking research.

Table 4: Categorization of Journal Articles by Discipline and Sample Type

| | | Sampling Type | | | | Total |
|--------------|----------------------|---------------|----------|------------|------------|------------|
| | | Convenience | Random | Population | Unknown/NA | |
| Discipline | Criminal Justice/Law | 4 | 1 | 1 | 104 | 110 |
| | Medicine | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 8 |
| | Social Sciences | 25 | 2 | 3 | 85 | 115 |
| Total | | 32 | 4 | 7 | 190 | 233 |

***Totals presented in this table exceed the actual number of journal articles due to multiple categorizations (i.e. a single journal article could be categorized under both “Criminal Justice/Law” and “Social Sciences”).**

Trafficking Type

A great deal of research has focused on trafficking for sexual exploitation, to the detriment of investigating trafficking for bonded labor 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 on women in the sex industry. Despite a number of high profile cases of domestic servitude and other labor exploitation, there is less interest in trafficking for bonded labor than in trafficking for sexual exploitation. In recent years, the anti-trafficking discourse has emphasized the need to investigate the demand side of human trafficking. However, most of emphasis is on the demand for sex to the detriment of discussion and analysis of demand for cheap labor that might affect the scope of trafficking in persons. The limited focus on trafficking for labor can be attributed to the prominence of the business community in the United States.

Table 5 indicates the type of trafficking (labor, sex, or other) discussed in the articles in each of the four classifications based on the empirical nature of the research and peer review. This table numerically depicts two of the major criticisms of the body of trafficking research developed thus far. First, the highest concentration of articles in almost every category focus exclusively on sex trafficking. Some analysts argue that the overwhelming focus on sex trafficking by policymakers (and the researchers funded by government grants) is a result of “conservative religious approaches to dealing with gender and sexuality” that have resulted in a “raid-and-rehabilitation method of curbing sex trafficking” that has impaired our understanding of the more comprehensive nature of trafficking (Soderlund 2005). The second largest concentration of articles according to the type of trafficking focused upon in the article appears in the “labor trafficking” category. There are also 16 articles in the “unknown” category. The lack of a clear designation by authors as to what type of trafficking situations they study is a shortcoming in many articles.

Table 5: Categorization of Journal Articles by Empirical Nature/Peer Review and Trafficking Type

| | Trafficking Type | | | | Total |
|--|------------------|-------------------|----------|-----------|------------|
| | Sex Trafficking | Labor Trafficking | Other | Unknown | |
| Empirical Research - Not Peer Reviewed | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| Empirical Research - Peer Reviewed | 31 | 11 | 1 | 0 | 43 |
| Not Empirical Research - Not Peer Reviewed | 67 | 12 | 4 | 8 | 91 |
| Not Empirical Research - Peer Reviewed | 86 | 23 | 0 | 7 | 116 |
| Total | 186 | 46 | 5 | 16 | 253 |

***Totals presented in this table exceed the actual number of journal articles due to multiple categorizations (i.e. a single journal article could be categorized under both “Sex Trafficking” and “Labor Trafficking”).**

The uneven focus on sex trafficking and the sizeable percentage of journal articles that offer no clear indication of the type of trafficking analyzed appears to be a constant across disciplines. Table 6 shows that among articles published in criminal justice, medicine, and social science journals, most have focused on sex trafficking and a smaller number on labor trafficking.

Table 6: Categorization of Journal Articles by Trafficking Type and Discipline

| | | Discipline | | | Total |
|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|------------|
| | | Law/Criminal Justice | Medicine and Epidemiology | Social Sciences | |
| Trafficking type | Sex Trafficking | 93 | 8 | 100 | 201 |
| | Labor Trafficking | 17 | 0 | 30 | 47 |
| | Other | 4 | 0 | 1 | 5 |
| | Unknown | 8 | 0 | 7 | 15 |
| Total | | 122 | 8 | 138 | 268 |

***Totals presented in this table exceed the actual number of journal articles due to multiple categorizations (i.e. a single journal article could be categorized under both “Sex Trafficking” and “Labor Trafficking”).**

Trafficked Populations

The majority of studies focus on women. Table 7 shows that 173 or 79 percent of all journal articles deal with women. Females have been the focus of research on trafficking for sexual exploitation as well as studies on matchmaking and arranged marriages. Very little is known about trafficking of men and boys, either for sexual exploitation or bonded labor. Only 14 journal articles include discussion of male victims of trafficking and one discusses the plight of male children. Thirty two articles discuss child victims but make no obvious distinction between male and female children.

Table 7: Trafficked Population Discussed in Journal Articles

| | |
|---------------------------|-----|
| Women | 173 |
| Men | 14 |
| Girls | 6 |
| Boys | 1 |
| Children (No distinction) | 42 |
| Unknown | 20 |

***Totals presented in this table exceed the actual number of journal articles due to multiple categorizations (i.e. a single journal article could be categorized under both “Women” and “Girls”).**

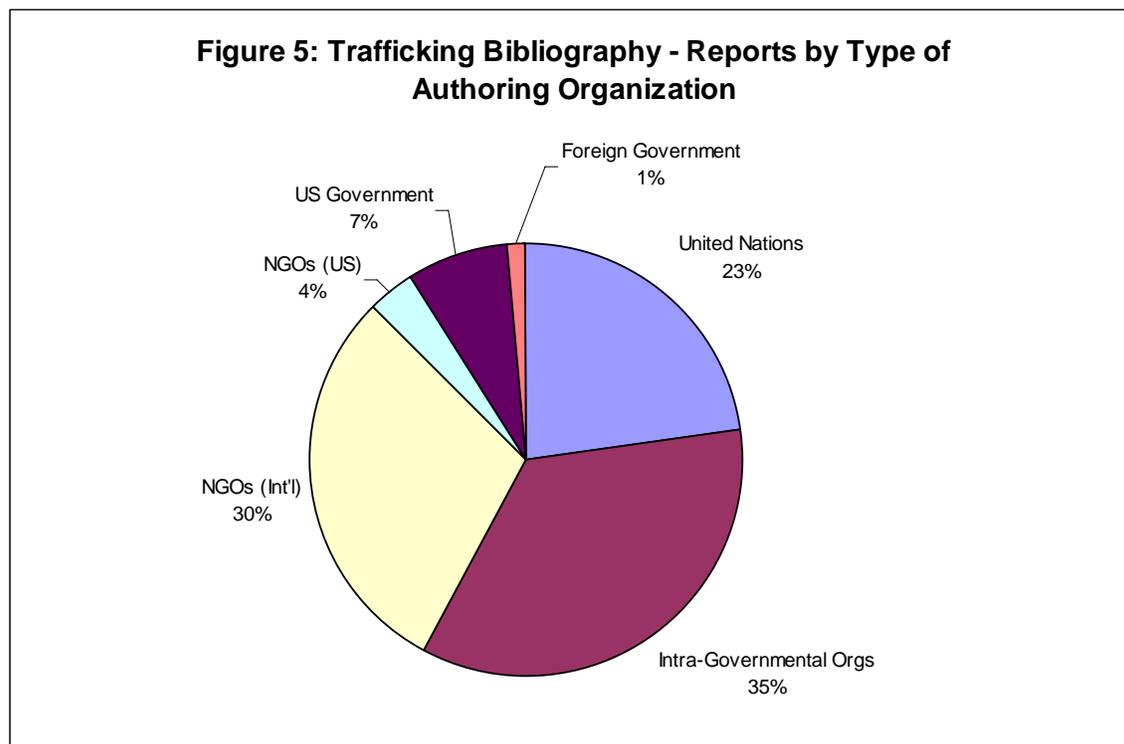
Interestingly, works on child trafficking outside the United States are more readily available and include articles that address a variety of issues, such as the trafficking of children into the sex industry in Thailand (Andrews 2004; Arnold and Bertone 2002). There are also a number of works on trafficking issues in particular regions (e.g.; Tumlin 2000; Burke, et al. 2005 and Finger 2003 on Latin America; Chase and Statham 2005 and Somerset 2001 on the United Kingdom; Denisova 2001 and Steiger 2005 on Eastern

Europe; and Dottridge 2002, Salah 2001 on West and Central Africa). It seems that access to child victims of trafficking is easiest in developing countries.

REPORTS

Authoring Organization

Reports are produced by numerous organizations, many of whom do not publish in academic outlets. By forgoing the double blind peer review process often used in academic publishing, the organizations publishing reports are able to control content and dissemination of their research. The reports are authored and/or commissioned by the US government, foreign governments, the United Nations, intra-governmental organizations, international organizations, international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and US NGOs.³ Figure 5 indicates that authorship by intra-governmental organizations, International NGOs and the United Nations account for almost 90 percent of the research reports on human trafficking.



The fact that more than two-thirds of the 429 reports were authored by international NGOs and intra-governmental organizations is an important factor in the analysis of where and how the most trafficking research is currently being conducted. Much of the research conducted by these organizations takes place in developing countries. Research in the developing world by non-university and non-government entities may face fewer

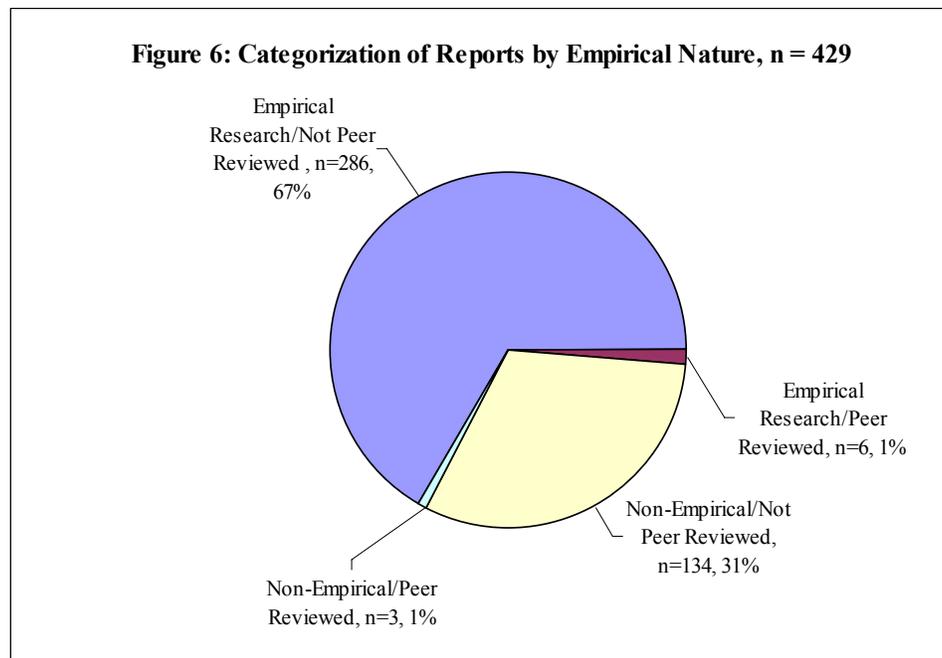
³ While not a focus of this report, it is highly likely that many of the reports conducted by international NGOs and Intra-Governmental Organizations were supported by US funds.

barriers than in the developing world. The methodological challenges posed by studying vulnerable populations seem to be resulting in less empirical research conducted in developing countries by institutions subject to an Institutional Review Board evaluation. The remaining analysis and classification of reports by sampling type, methodology, discipline, type of trafficking and other variables will cast more light on this subject.

Empirical Nature

In contrast to journal articles, the vast majority of reports are based on empirical research. Sixty eight percent (or 292 reports) of all reports (n=429) are based on empirical research. However, only one percent (or six reports) has been peer reviewed. These are mainly reports commissioned by governmental agencies, such as the National Institute for Justice (NIJ), which have incorporated a peer review process in the assessment of final reports produced as part of research projects NIJ funds.

The remaining 32 percent (or 137 reports) are based on non-empirical research. With three exceptions, all of the reports not based on empirical research have not been peer reviewed.



The largest number of reports, 287 reports to be exact, is based on empirical research fall into the social science category (see Table 8 below). Reports classified as falling within the law/criminal justice domain are more evenly distributed between those based on empirical and those not based on empirical research; 46 and 56 reports, respectively. Similarly to journal articles, there are very few reports which can be classified as medical and/or epidemiological; only four reports. All four are based on empirical research, but none has been peer reviewed.

Table 8: Categorization of Reports by Empirical Nature/Peer Review and Discipline

| | Discipline | | | | Total |
|--|----------------------|----------|-----------------|----------|------------|
| | Criminal Justice/Law | Medicine | Social Sciences | Unknown | |
| Empirical Research - Not Peer Reviewed | 46 | 4 | 281 | 1 | 332 |
| Empirical Research - Peer Reviewed | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| Not Empirical Research - Not Peer Reviewed | 56 | 0 | 106 | 0 | 162 |
| Not Empirical Research - Peer Reviewed | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Total | 102 | 4 | 396 | 1 | 503 |

***Totals presented in this table exceed the actual number of reports due to multiple categorizations (i.e. a single report could be categorized under both “Criminal Justice/Law” and “Social Sciences”).**

Methodology

Table 9 indicates the type of methodology employed by the reports in each of the four classifications based on the empirical nature of the research and peer review process. The analysis of methodological approaches employed by authors of reports examined in the course of this project indicates the predominance of qualitative methodologies in all four categories. The reports follow the same pattern as journal articles in terms of their methodological approaches and data collection methods with the preponderance of qualitative methodologies. However, the pattern is different in terms of quantitative approaches. Reports based, at least in part, on quantitative methodologies are much more numerous than articles based on quantitative research; 95 versus seven, respectively. There is also a sizeable group of reports based on literature reviews or reviews of laws and policies. Not surprisingly, the bulk of these reports are based on non-empirical research.

Table 9: Categorization of Reports by Empirical Nature/Peer Review and Methodology

| | Methodology | | | | Total |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------------|----------|------------|
| | Qualitative | Quantitative | Legal/Literature Review | Unknown | |
| Empirical And Not Peer Reviewed | 263 | 87 | 10 | 4 | 364 |
| Empirical And Peer Reviewed | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Non-Empirical And Not Peer Reviewed | 32 | 7 | 108 | 5 | 152 |
| Non-Empirical And Peer Reviewed | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 |
| Total | 302 | 95 | 120 | 9 | 526 |

***Totals presented in this table exceed the actual number of reports due to multiple categorizations (i.e. a single report could be categorized under both “Qualitative” and “Quantitative”).**

Discipline and Methodology

As Table 10 shows, the majority or 57 percent of the analyzed reports relied on qualitative methodologies. Sixteen percent of the reports are based on quantitative methodologies and 24 percent include legal reviews. While the preponderance of social science reports relies on qualitative methodologies, social science reports also utilize quantitative methods and incorporate legal reviews. Reports in the law/criminal justice

category make an almost equal use of legal reviews and qualitative methodologies. Only one of the reports in the medical/epidemiology category uses quantitative methodology.

Table 10: Categorization of Reports by Discipline and Methodology

| | | Discipline | | | | Total |
|-------------|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|----------------|-------|
| | | Law/Criminal Justice | Social Sciences | Medicine and Epidemiology | N/A or Unknown | |
| Methodology | Legal Review | 51 | 97 | 2 | 0 | 150 |
| | Qualitative | 60 | 290 | 8 | 1 | 359 |
| | Quantitative | 9 | 94 | 1 | 0 | 104 |
| | N/A or Unknown | 3 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 15 |
| Total | | 123 | 493 | 11 | 1 | 628 |

***Totals presented in this table exceed the actual number of reports due to multiple categorizations (i.e. a single report could be categorized under both “Qualitative” and “Quantitative”).**

Discipline and Sampling

Convenience sampling is the most prevalent sampling method; the majority of social science and law/criminal justice reports use convenience samples (Table 11). Somewhat surprisingly, four medical/epidemiological reports rely on convenience sampling as well. Random sampling was used in 23 or 5.3 percent of the analyzed reports. Interestingly, 200 reports (or 46.6 percent) are based on unknown samples. The majority of the law/criminal justice reports in this category are based on legislative and/or policy analysis and sampling issues are not applicable to this type of publications. However, one-third of social science reports are based on unknown samples, which can give readers a pause.

Table 11: Categorization of Reports by Sampling Type and Discipline

| | | Discipline | | | | Total |
|--------|---------------|----------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|---------|-------|
| | | Law/Criminal Justice | Social Sciences | Medicine and Epidemiology | Unknown | |
| Sample | Convenience | 40 | 248 | 4 | 1 | 293 |
| | Population | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | Random | 2 | 21 | 0 | 0 | 23 |
| | N/A - Unknown | 62 | 138 | 0 | 0 | 200 |
| Total | | 104 | 409 | 4 | 1 | 518 |

***Totals presented in this table exceed the actual number of reports due to multiple categorizations (i.e. a single report could be categorized under both “Criminal Justice/Law” and “Social Sciences”).**

Empirical Nature, Peer Review and Trafficking Type

Table 12 indicates the type of trafficking (labor, sex, or other) discussed in the analyzed reports in each of the four classifications based on the empirical nature of the research and peer review. Similarly to journal articles, the highest concentration of reports in every category focuses on trafficking for sexual exploitation; 383 reports or 89 percent

discuss sex trafficking, while 238 or 55 percent analyze trafficking for labor exploitation. As the numbers suggest, some reports deal with both types of trafficking in persons. There are also 12 reports in the “unknown” category as the authors use a generic descriptor “human trafficking” to describe the phenomenon under discussion.

Table 12: Categorization of Reports by Empirical Nature/Peer Review and Trafficking Type

| | Trafficking Type | | | | Total |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|-----------|------------|
| | Labor Trafficking | Sex Trafficking | Other | Unknown | |
| Empirical And Not Peer Reviewed | 149 | 254 | 1 | 6 | 410 |
| Empirical And Peer Reviewed | 4 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Non-Empirical And Not Peer Reviewed | 83 | 121 | 0 | 6 | 210 |
| Non-Empirical And Peer Reviewed | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Total | 238 | 383 | 1 | 12 | 634 |

**Totals presented in this table exceed the actual number of reports due to multiple categorizations (i.e. a single report could be categorized under both “Sex Trafficking” and “Labor Trafficking”).*

Discipline and Trafficking Type

The majority of all reports discuss issues of human trafficking for sex exploitation; 60 percent of analyzed reports deal with sex trafficking, while 38 percent include discussion of issues related to labor trafficking. Law/criminal justice reports are fairly evenly distributed between those focused on sex trafficking (55%) and labor trafficking (42%). Almost twice as many social science reports focus on sex trafficking (61%) as on labor trafficking (37%).

Table 13: Categorization of Reports by Trafficking Type and Discipline

| | | Discipline | | | | Total |
|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|----------|------------|
| | | Law/Criminal Justice | Medicine and Epidemiology | Social Sciences | Unknown | |
| Trafficking type | Sex Trafficking | 90 | 4 | 353 | 1 | 448 |
| | Labor Trafficking | 69 | 3 | 215 | 1 | 288 |
| | Other | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| | Unknown | 4 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 14 |
| Total | | 164 | 7 | 579 | 2 | 752 |

**Totals presented in this table exceed the actual number of reports due to multiple categorizations (i.e. a single report could be categorized under both “Sex Trafficking” and “Labor Trafficking”).*

Trafficked Populations

As indicated in table 14, the majority of reports discuss women (296 reports or 34 percent) and girls (243 reports or 28 percent). Far fewer reports focus on men (89 reports or 10 percent); slightly higher number of reports include discussion of boys (175 reports or 20 percent). Sixty one reports include discussion of children without differentiating between boys and girls.

Table 14: Trafficked Population Discussed in Reports

| | |
|---------------------------|-----|
| Women | 296 |
| Men | 89 |
| Boys | 175 |
| Girls | 243 |
| Children (no distinction) | 61 |

***Totals presented in this table exceed the actual number of reports due to multiple categorizations (i.e. a single report could be categorized under both “Women” and “Girls”).**

BOOKS

As indicated above, we have treated books somewhat differently than journal articles in this project. First, we had to decide what kind of publication we consider to be a book for the purpose of this project. Popular dictionaries define a ‘book’ as ‘a set or collection of written, printed, illustrated, or blank sheets, made of paper, parchment or other material, usually fastened together to hinge at one side’ (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary). In library and information science, a book is called a monograph, to distinguish it from serial periodicals such as magazines, journals or newspapers. In this report we define books in a similar way. According to this definition, any publication taking a form of a bound volume could be considered a book.

However, given the fact that modern technology allows many organizations to publish their publications—reports, manuals, directories, etc.—in-house in the form of a bound volume with a professionally looking cover, we decided to make a distinction between such publications and books. We are reserving the term ‘books’ for collections of written materials published by mainstream scholarly or popular presses. Thus, we differentiate between ‘books’ and ‘reports.’ The latter might have similar form and length as books but are published in-house by governmental and non-governmental organizations. We felt compelled to make this arbitrary distinction to achieve some uniformity, particularly since different databases and on-line bookstores use different criteria for categorizing publications as books.

As indicated above, the analysis of publications on human trafficking yielded 451 ‘books.’ Most databases defined books as bound, free standing publications. After manual purging of duplicates, the list was reduced to 344 ‘books.’ Close analysis of the type of publisher (academic or commercial press) and the content (focus on human trafficking as opposed to related topics such as violence against women; labor exploitation; irregular migration; etc.) of each reference reduced this category to 94 books. The content analysis indicates that publishers and book marketing experts often classify books only tangentially related to human trafficking as books on human trafficking.

Second, not unlike many other book publications, books on human trafficking did not lend themselves to an easy categorization according to the four-domain taxonomy used to classify journal articles, namely: Empirical Research and Peer Reviewed; Empirical Research and Not Peer Reviewed; Non-Empirical and Peer Reviewed; and Non-Empirical and Not Peer Reviewed.

Peer review. While presses increasingly use outside reviewers to assist them in deciding which manuscripts to accept and which ones to reject, the book review process is quite different from the more stringent peer-review of journal articles. There are no formal review standards for trade and university presses, and often no standards at all for popular presses. There is also no way of knowing, without contacting each individual publisher,

whether a particular book has been reviewed by an outside reviewer or not. Hence, the inability to determine which book was peer-reviewed and which was not.

Empirical/non-empirical research. With very few exceptions (Cadet 1998; Mushen and Crofts 2000)⁴, all books in this bibliography are based on research or a systematic inquiry or examination and collection of information about a particular subject. However, very few books are based solely or in large part on empirical research and empirical data collected by the author/s. Notable exceptions include: (Skrobanek *et. al.* 1997); (Cole and Booth 2007); and selected chapters from an edited volume by Cameron and Newman (2008). Some books are based on investigative reporting (e.g. Malarek 2004) and the data, while empirical, has not been collected with the same rigor that a scholar might apply to a research project. The vast majority of the 94 books are based on non-empirical research. Similarly to journal articles, these books include policy analyses; compilations of information from secondary sources on a particular facet of human trafficking; critiques of trafficking frameworks; or authors' views on the human trafficking debate.

⁴ These books are written by victims or victims' families.

RESEARCH GAPS

The analysis of the compiled bibliography on trafficking in persons suggests that the dominant anti-trafficking discourse is not evidence-based but grounded in the construction of particular mythology of trafficking (Sanghera 2005: 4). Despite the increased interest in human trafficking, little systematic research has been done on this issue. The body of empirical research on human trafficking is particularly limited. Much of public resources for combating human trafficking has been earmarked almost exclusively for provision of services to trafficked persons and technical assistance to service providers assisting them. Media campaigns have also raised public awareness and concern for the trafficked victims. However, these activities have taken place without a clear idea of the extent of the problem or a uniformed methodology for determining the scope of the issue (Bump *et al.* 2005). Assistance to victims has been provided without the benefit of empirical research aimed to identify their service needs or evaluate rehabilitation programs implemented to integrate survivors of human trafficking into the wider society and prevent repeat victimization.

Scope

The number of people trafficked worldwide is notoriously difficult to measure. Many scholars have discussed the challenges of estimating the scale of human trafficking and the production of reliable statistics and called for improved methodologies to describe the unobserved (Laczko and Gramegna 2003; Tyldum and Brunovskis 2005; Goździak and Collett 2005). While the United States has allocated a significant amount of resources and expanded considerable efforts to the anti-trafficking campaign and other counter-trafficking activities, the scope of the problem remains vague. A recent front page article in *The Washington Post* (Markon 2007) criticized the US Government's alarming statements about 'tidal waves' of human trafficking victims entering the country, which are based on methodologically flawed estimates. The same criticism about worldwide estimates promulgated by the US Department of State has been expressed by UNESCO, the US Justice Department (2005), and most recently by the Government Accountability Office (GAO) which concluded in a major report in 2006 that statistics provided by the G/TIP office were problematic because of "methodological weaknesses, gaps in data, and numerical discrepancies" (GAO 2006). There is no evidence in the literature that the situation is any different in other countries.

Theory

'In no area of the social sciences has ideology contaminated knowledge more pervasively than in writings on the sex industry,' asserts Ronald Weitzer, a sociologist at the George Washington University. This claim certainly extends to trafficking for sexual exploitation, an area 'where cannons of scientific inquiry are suspended and research deliberately skewed to serve a particular political and moral agenda ((Weitzer 2005: 934; see also Weitzer 2007; Rubin 1984 and 1993; Goode 1997). Much of the research on human trafficking for sexual exploitation has been conducted by activists involved in

anti-prostitution campaigns (e.g. Raymond 1998, 2004; Hughes 2004, 2005). These activists adopt an extreme (i.e., absolutists, doctrinaire, and unscientific) version of radical feminist theory, which does not distinguish between trafficking for forced prostitution and voluntary migration (legal or irregular) for sex work and claims that all sex workers are victims of trafficking. As Weitzer points out few of the radical feminist claims about sex trafficking are amenable to verification or falsification (Weitzer 2005: 936).

Moral crusades propagated by activists and to a certain extent by service providers whose funding depends on maintaining the gravity of the trafficking problem ‘typically rely on horror stories and “atrocious tales” about victims in which the most shocking exemplars of victimization are described and typified’ (Weitzer 2007: 448). In reality, limited numbers of victims have been identified and even fewer have been studied to be able to make such gross generalizations. The radical feminist theory conflates trafficking for sexual exploitation with prostitution and suggests, among others, that there is a causal link between legal prostitution and sex trafficking. Research does not support these claims. Both conceptually and empirically, it is inappropriate to fuse prostitution and sex trafficking (Weitzer 2007). There is no evidence that the majority of prostitutes have been trafficked and the causal link between legal prostitution and sex trafficking has not been empirically established. There is a need to study these relationships in an objective and scientific way, without fear of being accused of supporting prostitution.

Research on trafficking for labor exploitation is also disconnected from theory. There are virtually no attempts to analyze the issue of cross-border trafficking for labor exploitation within existing international migration theories. There is also no evidence in the literature of attempts to develop a theoretical framework in which to comprehensively analyze the phenomenon. Poverty and aspirations for a better way of life are the major “push factors” discussed in the literature on risk factors for trafficking (Williams and Masika 2002).

Methodology

Similarly to theoretical approaches, development of innovative methodologies to study human trafficking is also in its infancy. Reliance on unrepresentative samples is widespread. Most studies rely on interviews with ‘key stakeholders’ who do have a stake in promoting certain view/s of human trafficking and its victims. Studies that do include interviews with victims are usually limited to very small samples. The well-known dangers of generalizing from small convenience samples and from anecdotal stories are routinely ignored in the literature about human trafficking. There is a need to emphasize the limitations of small samples for generalizations and extrapolations, while at the same time stressing the value of ethnographic investigations for formulating hypotheses for further studies, including preparation of survey questionnaires.

Predominant methodologies include interviews. While in-depth, open-ended and systematic ethnographic interviews are very valuable to the understanding of the nuances

of trafficking in persons, interviews conducted by untrained researchers often amount to no more than an anecdote. Victims' and stakeholders' narratives are important but need to be augmented by participant observation. People do not necessarily do what they say. Participant observation is needed, but difficult. The main obstacle to conducting empirical qualitative research on human trafficking is related to gaining access to trafficked persons. For obvious reasons, to study them while they are still in the hands of traffickers is impossible and dangerous, but neither is it easy to engage trafficked persons in research once they have been rescued.

Neglected Issues and Topics

Research fulfills a number of roles, one of which is to offer an independent and critical assessment of current policy and practice. The list of issues that need to be explored in future research projects is long, but the most important arena which needs urgent exploration is the way the knowledge upon which the public debate about trafficking for sexual and labor exploitation is based is generated. Where does this knowledge come from and how is it used? The US government prides itself in leading the anti-trafficking movement and providing policy and programmatic guidance to other governments. The data and the knowledge the government uses must therefore be valid, reliable, and based on empirical research.

In order to acquire the broadest possible picture of the trafficking phenomenon, several different data collection methods, including quantitative and qualitative methods, need to be tested. Estimation methods that have been gaining currency in studies of hidden populations include rapid assessment, capture-recapture methodology and Respondent-Driven Sampling (RDS). These methods have been successfully used to study the homeless (Williams and Cheal 2002), street children (Gurgel *et al.* 2004), and women in street prostitution (Brunovskis and Tyldum 2004). Researchers in Norway, for example, were quite successful in employing telephone surveys of sex workers operating through individual advertisements (Tyldum and Brunovskis 2004).

Despite the fact that the US government requires all researchers conducting research project on sex trafficking, supported by federal grants, to sign an affidavit stating that they oppose prostitution, the researchers should not be deterred from collaborating with scholars who have had a long history of conducting research on prostitution and test if data collection methods developed and utilized within the sex work research arena are applicable to studies of trafficking.

Trafficking in persons is often portrayed as the world's fastest growing criminal enterprise, with profits that rival the illegal drugs and arms trade. Reports repeatedly quote the number of seven billion dollars in profit to indicate the magnitude of the phenomenon (Spangenberg 2002; Denisova 2001; Scarpa 2006; Roby 2005). Reports also talk about networks of international organized crime which are attracted to the trade in human beings because of low risk and because the criminal penalties for human trafficking are light in most countries (Pochagina 2007; Tiefenbrun 2002; Sheldon 2007).

Different TIP Reports produced by the US Department of State reiterate this assertion, describing how traffickers enjoy virtually no risk of prosecution by using sophisticated modes of transportation and communication; avoid punishment by operating in places where there is little rule of law, lack of anti-trafficking laws, poor enforcement of such laws, and wide-spread corruption (DOS 2003-2007). Media and international organizations also talk about the fact that the crime of trafficking in persons offers international organized crime syndicates a low-risk opportunity to make billions of profits by taking advantage of unlimited supply and unending demand for trafficked persons (Claramunt 2002; Burke *et al* 2005; ILO, 2002; Reuters 2000).

Given the lack of research findings and statistical data, it is difficult to accurately assess the scope of organized crime's involvement in human trafficking (Bruckert and Parent 2002: 13). The distinction between trafficking and smuggling is not always easy to make. According to John Salt (2000: 43) the notion that human trafficking and organized crime are closely related is widespread despite lack of evidence-based data to support this assertion. This alleged connection is based on the fact that people of different nationalities are part of the same group of trafficked victims; that trips over long distance require a well-oiled organization; that substantial amounts of money are involved; that itineraries change quickly; that legal services are available very quickly; and that there is a strong reaction to counter-offensives by law enforcement agencies (Bruckert and Parent 2002). These arguments developed by Europol (Salt 2000) are also shared by others (e.g. Taibly 2001; Juhasz 2000). Some researchers point to a close connection between organized crime and trafficking for sexual exploitation indicating that the magnitude and geographic scope of the sex industry are phenomenal and organized crime is involved at various levels (Shanon 1999; Caldwell *et. al.* 1997).

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 programs for trafficking survivors, increased attention needs to be paid to the expertise and practical knowledge of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and their experience in working with different groups of trafficking survivors, including women, men, and children.

Given the fact that services to trafficked persons are in their infancy, monitoring and evaluation studies should be an integral part of every assistance program, 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 programs. Particularly important are longitudinal studies of the effects of rehabilitation programs on the ability of survivors to integrate into the new society or re-integrate into their native one. The US has spent considerable amount of resources supporting 'Rescue and Restore' initiatives around the world but no follow-up study has been conducted on any of the victims returned to their home countries. Have

survivors of trafficking for sexual exploitation been accepted by their families and local communities? Are survivors of trafficking for labor exploitation at risk for re-victimization? How are the children who had been trafficked with the approval of their families doing?

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. This forum should be free of moral and political influences and devoted solely to scholarly pursuits. The need to fill in the gaps in our knowledge and share research results is urgent. As Liz Kelly observed, ‘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).

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