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An Interdisciplinary Study of Modern-Day Slavery: Human Trafficking

A Capstone Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements of the Renée Crown University Honors Program at
Syracuse University

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and Renée Crown University Honors

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Abstract

This project uses a multidisciplinary approach to analyze different forms of modern-day slavery, with a focus on sex trafficking. More specifically, it examines how historical slavery has transformed into modern-day slavery and it illuminates similarities and differences between historical slavery and modern-day slavery. In my work, I also studied the underlying causes of modern-day slavery, by analyzing various factors that affect slavery. Lastly, my work examines the existing legal and political instruments that confront and combat slavery. Finally, in this project, I reflect and discuss the lack of effective programs that work towards the reparation of victims.

I came up with my main questions that would motivate my research and analysis, by performing extensive reading from a wide array of sources. In the process, I discovered that some forms of modern slavery stem from long-lasting colonial legacies. Hence, some forms of contemporary slavery are indeed remnants of earlier slavery that remained intact, but have transformed to fit our present time or have influenced the development of modern forms of slavery. For example, many of the characteristics that define modern day sex trafficking were visible during the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Finally, this project also reveals several causes and factors that allow for modern-day slavery to flourish, and they include the effects of the global political economy, influences from some cultural and religious practices, women's inferior status, lack of proper law-enforcement and persistent law and border patrol corruption.

Furthermore, this project illustrates that the most effective legal and political instruments for combating slavery are the Palermo Protocol and the United States Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act. The findings indicate that these mechanisms were mildly successful at eradicating modern-day slavery. Lastly, the results demonstrate that in terms of reparation and justice for slave victims, protection programs like "T" visas in the U.S. are available to aid victims; however, this does not fully protect victims—they continue to be treated as "instruments" for criminal investigations, instead of being treated as victims with rights that were violated. This project concludes with several recommendations for combating different forms of contemporary slavery, including but not limited to alleviating poverty, including domestic workers in equal protection labor laws, inverting risk-rewarding economies for the sex slave industry and the promotion of Fair trade products and other initiatives that work to rid the international supply chain of slavery.

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Introduction

Aristotle once said,

“Democracy, for example, arises out of the notion that those who are equal in any respect are equal in all respects; because men are equally free, they claim to be absolutely equal” (Politics of Aristotle).

Most of us recognize the ancient Greek city-state of Athens as our basis for a form of government that is democratic and representative of the people. We also view ancient Greek philosophers as intellectual thinkers that debated questions of morality and ethics for the improvement of their societies; which we also apply to our own political systems and moral values. Nevertheless, what we fail to mention is that many Greek philosophers like Plato owned around fifty slaves of their own (Scaglia 3). In fact, Aristotle was quite clear on his stance,

“It is clear, then, that some men are by nature free, and others slaves, and that for these latter slavery is both expedient and right” (Politics of Aristotle).

Greek philosophers who were famously known for propagating ethical and moral stances that rested on notions of equality did not see any moral contradiction with owning slaves, since they only considered certain people, particularly men who owned property, to be worthy of citizenship. Although this view has certainly changed, and most people today think that slavery is morally unacceptable, there are more slaves in the world today than ever before in human history. The current estimate is about 27 million slaves. Everyone in the world is touched by slavery in one way or another, even if this is not immediately apparent to most people. For example, slaves make the charcoal that tempers the steel that makes the springs in your car and the blade on your lawnmower (Bales 4).

However, before we dive deeper into this issue, let me provide a broad enough definition of modern-day slavery that aims to cover many practices, but it still excludes other cruel treatment such as sharecroppers and women workers in maquiladoras. Although there are other forms of abuses and working conditions like the aforementioned ones, however horrible these conditions may be, they do not constitute slavery because by calling every unfair practice and harsh condition slavery, the real meaning of slavery is lost. In other words, even though factory workers and maquiladoras are most likely unable to flee their situation for economic reasons, in reality they still have the choice to do so if they choose; this is the largest factor in determining enslavement. Otherwise, the term slavery could be and is often misused by modern activists to bring more attention to certain issues even when they do not in fact constitute slavery. In my analysis I keep this distinction and I build on Kevin Bales' definition on slavery, which states that slavery is:

“The total control of one person by another for the purpose of economic exploitation” (6).

Clearly this definition only considers those individuals who are entirely controlled and have no way out of their present state of enslavement. The question may arise, how could slavery still persist today even though it has been abolished since the 19th century?

Although slavery has been legally abolished worldwide since the 19th century, that is, every single country in the world has domestic and international laws outlawing slavery, a true yet daunting reality is that slavery continues to be

with mankind. In other words, it has never truly disappeared, despite the fact that it has been institutionally, morally and socially condemned. In fact, according to one estimate, today there are more than 30 million slaves in the world, more than at any other point in human history (Not for Sale Campaign). The term used to depict slavery today, is modern-day slavery, which is an umbrella term that describes various kinds of slavery including bonded labor, human trafficking, and child slavery, among the few, that exist outside the realms of international and domestic law, in the space between licit and illicit economies, and hidden behind the shadows of black market capitalism.

The mechanisms behind this semi-hidden form of slavery raise several interesting research questions that motivate this work, and which revolve around the following set of related questions: if slavery is still prevalent and has never really disappeared, how has historical slavery evolved into today's modern-day slavery? Is modern-day slavery transformation of the old forms of slavery, or is it a totally new phenomenon? If the former, are there similarities between modern-day slavery and historical slavery? If so, how can these similarities help us understand the scope of modern-day slavery? What are the underlying causes of modern-day slavery? What are the legal and political mechanisms for combating modern-day slavery? Do these mechanisms include preventative methods for combating modern-day slavery? Are the existing forms of reparations for victims effective? Do the legal and political systems provide justice for victims, in other words, are the victim's voices heard?

In order to fully grasp the scope of modern-day slavery and to answer these questions, we must analyze this global phenomenon from different disciplinary perspectives including, but not limited to: history, anthropology, and legal/political approaches. Following this inter-disciplinary pattern, in what follows I first address the historical dimensions which will help me grasp, contextualize and establish a basis for the long-standing legacies that allow for modern-day slavery to continue. Therefore, the first portion of this project addresses the origins of this practice and the distinctions between legal abolition and the realities on the ground. The second chapter focuses on the different forms of modern-day slavery with a special focus on the sex trafficking of women. Here, I will rely on socio-anthropological case studies to aid my analysis. Third, I focus on underlying causes of modern-day slavery. More specifically, this section will analyze the general causes of different forms of slavery, by analyzing the complicated relationship between the effects of the global political economy, traditional cultural practices, and persistent government corruption on the nature of modern-day slavery. The last portion of this section will provide specific causes for each type of modern-day slavery.

The fourth chapter addresses the legal and political enforcement mechanisms taken by countries like the United States, as well as other international organizations and transnational actors like the United Nations. Lastly, the concluding section summarizes the main arguments and findings and will provide generic recommendations for combating modern-day slavery,

followed by a more detailed section that provides recommendations for each specific type of slavery.

Chapter 1: Historical Perspective on Modern-day Slavery

Origins of slavery

Slavery was uncommon in hunter-gatherers societies. In fact, slavery gained impetus only after the practice of agriculture during the Neolithic revolution. The earliest recorded history of slavery's presence was in several ancient civilizations. Slavery was present in Ancient Egypt, Ancient China, the Roman Empire and Ancient Greece (Scaglia 3). In Ancient Greece and in the Roman Empire, slaves were usually captured by defeated enemies during war. In recognized Greek city-states like Athens and Sparta, it is estimated that about half of the population were slaves (Zelinski 18). In the Middle East, just like for the Romans and Greeks, Arabs saw slavery as a part of life. Arabs brought sub-Saharan Africans, Asians, and Europeans to slave markets to sell them throughout the Middle East (Zelinski 18).

In North America, certain indigenous populations enslaved those that were from enemy tribes during wartime to bring them back to their territory where they would serve as slaves. For the Aztecs and the Mayans in South America, capturing slaves from enemy tribes was also commonplace (Zelinski 18). Then, when Europeans colonized parts of Asia, Africa, and the Americas, they added a new dimension to it; slaves were now transported across international boundaries, and soon this flourished into a new lucrative international trade. However, this new international trade was distinct from other earlier forms because it was the first form of trading human beings rather than objects as commerce across international borders (Zelinski 18).

Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

At first, Europeans enslaved indigenous people to harvest and labor the land in the new world. However ill-treatment coupled with disease wiped out local indigenous populations throughout various regions in the Americas.

Europeans had to look elsewhere for the slave labor that was previously done by indigenous populations. Then, Europeans began importing slaves from Africa to replace the work of the local indigenous populations (Zelinski 19). The Trans-Atlantic Slave trade, which took place from the 16th to the 19th century, was the transportation of enslaved Africans captured in Africa and brought back to the colonies of the New World. During this time, about a million Africans were shipped to the Americas as slaves (Scaglia 147).

The shippers included the Portuguese, the British, the French, the Dutch, the Spanish and the North Americans. However, the largest recipient of slaves was Brazil which had as many as 5,532,118 slaves embarked at various ports (Quirk 36). Most enslaved Africans were brought to North and South America to work on sugar, cocoa, coffee and cotton plantations, in silver and gold mines, in rice fields or in houses to work as servants (Scaglia 147). Sugar was known as the “greatest of the slave crops.” In fact, 60 to 70 percent of African slaves who survived the horrors of the Atlantic voyages most often ended up in Europe’s sugar colonies (Quirk 38). The trans-Atlantic Slave trade was caused by labor shortages in the New World; a lot of labor was needed for harvesting and planting the tropical crops (Scaglia 147). Without the use of African slave labor, it is

difficult to conceive how these European colonies could have flourished (Quirk 38).

The trans-Atlantic Slave trade closely resembles modern-day human trafficking because they both illustrate the deeply rooted world economic systems that gave rise to these trades and contributed to their profitability. Therefore, a study on the similarities and differences between human trafficking and trans-Atlantic slavery, will serve as a useful tool for analyzing the historical roots of modern-day slavery.

Comparison between human trafficking and Trans-Atlantic Slavery

Similarities

“Modern trafficking in human beings is as interconnected with, and central to, contemporary domestic and global economies as the transatlantic trade and slavery were to their contemporaneous economic systems” (Bravo 555).

In order to demonstrate their unmistakable similarities, it is important to compare the economic aspects of each trade. Both trans-Atlantic slavery and modern-day trafficking arose from the demand for labor and the economic links between the seller and owner. Trans-Atlantic Slavery was caused by an increased demand for labor in the New World. Therefore, the New World colonizers imported coerced labor, or slaves that came from Africa to fill the gaps from shortages of labor and to utilize the African Americans as human capital. They also used African women as sex slaves, although at the time, these women were not even considered slaves. Similarly, modern day trafficking is also caused by

unfulfilled labor demands, albeit of different order and type, and unused labor in other states (Bravo 281).

Another similarity between the two forms of slavery is the level of individual agency and the benefits gained by the perpetrators. In trans-Atlantic slavery, European colonizers imposed a mass production industrial market onto Africans; Africa was forced to partake in the global economy by means of specialization in human capital which later negatively affected Africa's development. Although there were some Africans who benefited from trans-Atlantic slavery, Africa was, for the most part, coerced into this practice primarily to benefit the New World colonizers (Quirk 36). Likewise, modern traffickers coerce and exploit their victims to satisfy the global economies need for cheap labor and most importantly their own economic self-interests (Bravo 281).

Furthermore, a common misconception is that the trans-Atlantic slave trade was unprofitable and would eventually fail. In fact, trans-Atlantic slavery was immensely profitable until its demise (Quirk 38). It was moral, political and ethical pressures that led to the collapse of the trans-Atlantic slavery system. Therefore, just like modern human trafficking, trans-Atlantic slavery was profitable and driven by greed until moral and ethical reasoning challenged its legitimacy (Bravo 281).

A factor that decreases the cost for traffickers and makes victims more disposable is the increase in the world's population. In fact, the more choices the trafficker has in choosing from a varied population, the more options they have to

specialize in the “type” of commodity that is most sought after. Traffickers may specialize in Europeans, Asians and the like, depending on what is demanded by the market and customers (Bales 12). However, it is important to note that a degree of specialization also took place in trans-Atlantic slavery, even though it was confined to one race. For example, the slave dealers knew that there was a particular desirability for Africans from designated regions for the rice fields in North Carolina; therefore recruiting Africans from this region would inevitably increase their profits (Bravo 290).

Differences

One difference between the two forms of trade is the legal status of the slave. In trans-Atlantic slavery, they were legally bound by their owners because slavery was institutionalized, whereas, today, in modern day trafficking, the traffickers cannot legally own their victims because slavery is illegal. Consequently, while legal slavery is prohibited by law, some of these legal structures contribute to de facto slavery such as trafficking and exploitation of certain vulnerable individuals and populations (Bales 17). Therefore, some existing legal instruments make a particular group of people vulnerable to trafficking. For example, the trafficked victim that is moved across international borders does not share the same legal personality as citizens or residents of that jurisdiction where he/she was trafficked (Bravo 271). As a result, the fact that the victims lack legal status makes it easier for traffickers to coerce and manipulate them, especially once victims are transported across international borders without their passports or other forms of identification (Bravo 271). Unlike old slavery

when slaves were considered property, which imposed a responsibility on slave masters to maintain their slaves, modern slave owners increase their profitability by providing no maintenance and they usually cut off food and other basic necessities when the slave fails to meet quotas imposed by masters (Bales 17).

Another distinction between the two types of trade is that during trans-Atlantic slavery, the slave owner's status was increased in society and created certain benefits for the owner. Despite popular belief; it did not always imply high economic status but rather it provided owners psychological benefits of superiority and power that they attained from subordinating their slaves (Bravo 275). The modern trafficker acquires economic benefits from the victim, which allows the trafficker to enhance their position in society, and they also enjoy psychological benefits acquired from the relationship between themselves and their slaves (Bravo 275-276). Most modern traffickers obtain more gains from the trafficked victim than the slave masters did during institutional slavery. For example, purchasing a slave is no longer an investment. Traffickers get all the work they can out of the slave before they get rid of them. During the trans-Atlantic slave trade, slaves were maintained because they were considered property now modern slaves are "disposable" and easily replaced (Bales14).

Furthermore, another distinction is what I term "the race factor." During the trans-Atlantic slave trade, racism was used as the justification for enslavement, while in modern-day trafficking, race factors into the process, but is not the determining factor for enslavement; in fact, all races are susceptible to enslavement (Bravo 277). However, in modern-day trafficking race determines

which victims will be recognized by the media and which ones will be ignored. In other words, the discourse on sex trafficking has been synonymously referred to as “white slavery” even though sex trafficking occurs with all races and the trafficking of white females occurs with the least frequency compared to other races and ethnicities (Bales 10). Additionally, another difference is that since trans-Atlantic slavery was institutional, slave owners wanted their slaves to stand out, so they could exert their control over them. Whereas, in modern-day slavery since human trafficking is illegal, the trafficker exerts his control over the victim more efficiently if the slave is invisible from the rest of society (Bravo 277-278).

Also since trans-Atlantic slavery was based on racial slavery, it restricted the recruited victims only from the African continent and other nearby islands. Whereas, in modern-day trafficking, the effects of globalization and the restructuring in the global market has increased the selection of possible victims, especially since it is a new form of slavery that can no longer be justified on race. In fact, the profit now derives from exploiting the economic vulnerability of the victims instead of solely exploiting their racial vulnerability (Bales 13). In other words, victims of modern-day trafficking are susceptible to enslavement because of poverty rather than race, but since poverty and race are deeply correlated in today’s world, the majority of modern-day slaves are people of color (Bravo 286).

Additionally, traffickers profit from their victims because they do not need to worry about the cost of recruiting victims from a particular location the way they for trans-Atlantic slavery, they can instead recruit victims from their own

countries and transport them to another city instead of another continent; which makes the transportation process a lot cheaper for traffickers (Bravo 286-287).

Moreover, the methodology of recruitment is slightly different. For Africans during trans-Atlantic slavery, they ran the risk of being recruited into the slave trade because they were Africans, while some victims of modern-day trafficking, aid in their recruitment process, willingly or unwillingly by perhaps answering to a newspaper ad about a job overseas. However their decisions need to be examined in the broader context -- here one can see that most of the victims of trafficking face economic plight, and thus have limited life choices. This makes them more susceptible to trafficking (Bravo 288).

Victims partake in their recruitment effort, which lowers recruitment costs for traffickers, whereas in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the slaves did not contribute any money in terms of recruitment practices for their slave dealers. In fact, the modern trafficked victim sometimes pays for some of their own transportation expenses when they are tricked into this practice, assuming that they are being employed in legitimate businesses abroad. Therefore the trafficker needs to contribute less into the investment. Consequently, the trafficker needs to extract less value from the victim to earn a profit, which further decreases the relative value of the victim (Bravo 289). After analyzing the similarities and differences between trans-Atlantic slavery and modern-day human trafficking, we turn to the following section which examines the history of sex slavery and sex trafficking after the legal abolition of slavery.

Discourse on “white slavery”

During the 19th century, the morality of slavery started to be questioned and discussed. By 1838 slavery was completely abolished in Britain and the colonies were emancipated. After the American Civil War in 1865, the 13th Amendment of the US Constitution was created to abolish all forms of slavery in the United States. Slavery became internationally abolished with International agreements such as the 1926 Slavery Convention of the League of Nations (Zelinski 19). Therefore, with the international abolishment of legal slavery; abolitionists began turning their attention towards “white slavery.” During the late 19th century and early 20th century, “white slavery” had flourished in Europe and North America; it involved the transportation of women and girls as sex slaves (Regello 1).

Leading Historian Eileen Scully argued that there were three factors that contributed to the rise of “white slavery” which included: the abolition of the African slave trade, the migration of white males searching for economic opportunities to western and colonial enclaves and the movement of non-white males from poor rural regions to colonial and western communes (Bravo 215). Secondly, the movement of white and non-white sex workers seeking greater economic opportunities and meeting the demands in response to the first wave of movement. Lastly, there was a sudden rise in a universal racial hierarchy, with white females being highest on the scale of demand (Bravo 215).

One of the main elements of the “white slavery” scare included focusing on the victimization of women and children and the sexual exploitation they endured. This rhetoric was able to gain attention from a wide array of audiences including policymakers, academics, and the public (Bravo 221). As a result, several international Conferences were held to discuss this international “white slave trade” which included the 1904 International Agreement for the suppression of white slave traffic and the 1910 International Convention of white slave trade (Zelinski 20).

During this time period there was a growing concern for protecting women and girls, but particularly those that were white (Zelinski 20). Women of color were also trafficked as sex slaves; however their plight was not of particular concern to the public and the media, at first. However, after much criticism for the term’s narrow scope, the phrase was changed from “white slavery” to “traffic in women and children” in 1921. The most important aspects of this change were the recognition of non-whites and male children as potential victims that must also be protected against sex trafficking (Zelinski 20). The discourse on “white slavery” continued to shape popular imaginary, and heavily influenced the 21st century debates on modern day sex trafficking (Bravo 221). Therefore understanding the developments of the “white slavery” discourse is important for modern-day trafficking because much of the policy debates and issues were taken from “white slavery.” The following chapter will analyze the different forms of modern-day slavery and provide real stories as case studies for each form of slavery. Although

all forms of modern slavery will be examined, there will be a special focus on sex trafficking.

Chapter 2: Different types of Modern-day Slavery with a focus on Sex trafficking

Contemporary slavery has several different forms which include chattel slavery, debt bondage, forced labor and sex slavery; these are the focus of this chapter. All of these forms of slavery can also involve human trafficking, that is, the illegal movement of victims usually from one country to another. Several of the case studies that I outline in the ensuing pages, demonstrate how complex and wide-reaching the forms of modern slavery are; they truly spin the globe. These studies, in which I “borrow the voice” of the victims from the pages of Sage’s volume “True Stories of Modern Day Slavery” and Benjamin Skinner’s “A Crime So Monstrous” to demonstrate the depths of human greed as well as amazing agency and resistance of victims and those who help them. This chapter serves two purposes, one is to explain the differences between different types of modern-day slavery and secondly to let the victims voices be heard and shared.

Chattel Slavery

Chattel slavery in Mauritania has a long-standing colonial history that has prolonged its existence in the present day. The French colonizers usually left most of the aspects of local slavery in place to control those who rebelled more easily, while simultaneously arguing that slavery was effectively over in the region (Quirk 105). This continued pattern of colonial ambivalence to the local slave systems persisted even following Mauritania’s independence from France. Mauritania has remained relatively unstable due to multiple coups d’états, communal violence and political repressions that are mainly related to the

dividing social cleavages between the 'white' Moors, 'Black' Moors and 'African' tribes (Quirk 105). The 'white' Moors are politically and economically superior to the 'Black' Moors who are considered their slaves. This system of slavery has been reinforced and prolonged even beyond Mauritanian Independence by French colonial rule. Consequently, Mauritania remains arguably the only place in the world where chattel slavery exists (Quirk 105).

In Mauritania, slavery has been abolished several times, most recently in 1980. However, for thousands of slaves who were supposed to be freed, legality meant nothing to them because nothing changed and in fact many slaves were unaware of their new right to freedom. Some slaves found out years later, others never found out. Overall, one of the biggest issues in Mauritania was that legal freedom never actually translated into actual freedom (Bales 81).

Chattel slavery is the form of slavery that is most familiar to Americans, since it is the technical term for the enslavement of African Americans in the United States prior to the Civil War. Under this form of slavery, slaves are considered their master's property and may be purchased, sold, traded and even inherited from one generation to the next (Sage 3). In Mauritania, masters and slaves see their positions as part of life's course. Chattel slavery is perhaps the least violent of all forms of modern-day slavery, because slaves are usually not abused by their masters; in fact compassion is seen as an act of strength. These slaves also have sexual freedom and can even get married (Sage 184-85). The case study for chattel slavery is a unique story of enslavement that also sheds light on the hope for eradication through education. Therefore, this case study is

reserved for the final chapter on recommendations for abolishing modern-day slavery.

Debt Bondage

Debt bondage is one of the oldest forms of enslavement. Recalling that slavery began when hunters and gatherers left behind their nomadic lifestyles and began to settle and farm instead. About 11,000 years ago these civilizations began in Egypt, Mesopotamia and India. These times are often referred to as the beginning of human history; they simultaneously mark the start of debt bondage (197 Bales). A country that has long plagued with debt bondage is India. Moreover, we cannot begin to understand the significance of the long standing of debt bondage in India's history without discussing the caste system (Knight 3). The caste system in India is one of the oldest traditions which dates back to more than three thousand years ago. This system has made certain groups particularly, Dalits who are outside of the caste system vulnerable to forms of discrimination that make them easy targets for debt bondage servitude (Knight 3).

Analyzing debt bondage from a historical perspective sheds light on some colonial practices that have influenced the persistence of traditional caste systems that make individuals more vulnerable to this form of slavery (Knight 4). In fact, according to Jawaharlal Nehru, leader of the Indian independence movement and the first prime minister of India, British colonial rule enforced the continuation of the caste system, especially because in certain regions, before British rule, the importance of the caste system was diminishing. As Knight rightfully argues,

“It may be deduced that British colonialism severely hindered India’s path of natural development, and emphasized outdated ideals that continue to plague the present” (4).

As a result of the reinforcement of the caste system by British rule, this has created a lot of discrimination and inequality among people from different castes. Columbia University Professor of History and Anthropology, Nicholas B. Dirks speculates that,

“Caste became the colonial form of civil society; it justified the denial of political rights to Indian subjects (not citizens) and explained the necessary of colonial rule” (5).

The Indian Constitution includes several articles that ban all forms of discrimination and exclusion based on caste. However, in reality, the caste system has been so socially and culturally embedded into Indian society, especially because of British colonial influences that legal remedies do little to nothing to solve inequalities created by the caste system. These historical legacies and inequalities persist and contribute to the enslavement of many Dalits and other low caste people in the form of debt bondage (Knight 5).

Oddly enough, debt bondage is one of the least known forms of modern-day slavery, yet it is the most widely used method to enslave people today. Debt bondage is very prevalent in East Asian countries like Pakistan, Nepal and India (Sage 3). Many times entire families including young children and older family members are forced to perform manual labor for long hours with no pay, under the provisions that they or one of their family members owe a debt. Bonded laborers are required to pay off these debts with interests that are always purposely exaggerated by lenders (Sage 3). Oftentimes, these debts are impossible

to repay, therefore families become enslaved to debt from one generation to the next (Sage 3).

Bonded laborers usually become trapped when a “crisis strikes,” such as a serious family member’s illness or crop fails. Usually poor families lack enough money to buy the necessary medicine or basic necessities needed to overcome the crisis, so when they are offered a loan; they take it under unclear terms even though some know that they risk enslavement. Bonded laborers usually work in brick kilns, carpet looms, rice mills, stone quarries and embroidery factories (Bales 33). Children as young as four to fourteen are required to work the same amount of hours as their parents. A typical day is fourteen hours long, and it includes carrying loads of heavy rocks to increase the production of labor (Bales 33-34). The following is a case study of a man named Gonoo, who has been enslaved for nearly his entire life as a bonded laborer:

Case study: Gonoo was from the state of Madhya Pradesh, located in central India. He and his tribe the Kols were considered outside of the caste system because their slavery is considered karmic destiny. His bondage began when he was a child; his mother became ill she had silicosis an incurable disease (Skinner 212). That was when it all started; Gonoo’s father had a difficult choice to make. He could either watch his wife die a slow painful death, or sell his family’s freedom to Garg, to receive a loan that would allow him to pay for treatments that might save his wife’s life. Gonoo’s father decided to try and save his wife. Unfortunately, the treatments did not spare her life (Skinner 212). Shortly after his mother’s death, Gonoo ran away at the age of 12 and enjoyed

two years of freedom. He described this time as the best part of his life. He did not live an easy life. However—at the age of 15, he did backbreaking labor at the cement plant, he had a day off every couple of weeks which he would use to play cricket games with other boys at the factory.

Then, when Gonoo returned to Madhya Pradesh his grandfather and uncle arranged for his marriage with a local girl. After that, ACC Cement Company began to restructure and Gonoo lost his job. On top of that, his father passed away leaving Gonoo as the only caretaker for his cousin and three younger sisters who still worked for Garg. Therefore, with his father's death he acquired his debt and his sisters were still in bondage at the time. Gonoo had no other alternative he and his young wife fell into slavery (Skinner 216-17).

This story illustrates the vicious cycle that enslaves entire families into debt bondage from one generation to the next and how it becomes nearly impossible to escape. It also demonstrates the vulnerability of low caste individuals to enslavement because Gonoo's family were kols—a group that is considered outside of the caste system. As a consequence, they were already poor because of their caste position, but when Gonoo's mother became ill, their enslavement was almost inevitable. This demonstrates how life-threatening conditions oftentimes lead to debt bondage because no other alternatives exist for these poor families.

Forced Labor

Another form of modern-day slavery is forced labor which includes cases of domestic servitude. Domestic servitude consists of working long hours performing household chores without pay and the use of violence and coercion to maintain control and enslavement (Sage 4). Children are increasingly sought out for domestic work because they are cheaper, less demanding and a lot easier to control than adults. This makes children especially vulnerable to domestic servitude and related abuses. In fact, women and children are more vulnerable to enslavement than other groups because there is a higher demand for the type of labor they can perform. Child domestic workers are quite common around the world. The ILO reports that 175,000 children under the age of 18 are employed in domestic service in Central America, 53,942 children under 15 in South Africa and 38,000 children between the ages of 5 and 7 (Human Rights Council 5). The following case study is a heart wrenching story about a girl who experienced years of domestic slavery in Haiti and then in Connecticut when she was trafficked for forced labor:

Micheline Slattery was only a child when her father was murdered by a gang that was formed to impose obedience to Duvalier's presidency. One day these men that were part of that gang came to her house, so Micheline's mother took her to the middle of the forest by a lake and she told her to stay there because her aunt would soon come for her (Sage 14). However, her aunt never came, and that was the last day she saw her mother--she assumes her mother was probably

killed by those gang members (Sage 14-15). A kind woman helped her get to her aunt's house.

However, her aunt took her in as the family maid. At the tender age of 5, Micheline was given an endless list of chores from sunrise to sunset. She describes her life at that time,

“My day was so full that any hesitation would mean leaving things undone. After the other children went to school, I was to make their beds, clean the house, wash the dishes, and perform all the other tasks that kept the house running” (Sage 16).

Then, a woman named Leonie took Micheline in when she heard all of the horrible abuses she suffered from her aunt. After all, Micheline's father hid Leonie and her family in their home when no one else would, it was the least she could do, she said.

She placed Micheline in a private school, bought her new clothes and gave her free time-- something that was new to her. However, this kind woman who spoke of “saving her from her aunt” soon changed when her pregnancy was confirmed. She began to mistreat Micheline and gave her just as many chores as Michelle had at her aunt's house. Her life continued this way for several years, until Leonie, a friend of her father's, asked her if she wanted to go to America. Micheline gladly accepted and received a month long training from Leonie on how she would respond to customs officers with her new name and passport. What Micheline didn't know was that Leonie was a trafficker for people into other countries as unpaid domestic servants (Sage 24).

When Micheline arrived to Connecticut she became yet again a domestic slave, this time for a woman named Jocelyne. She told Micheline that if her secret were ever discovered, she would be deported back to Haiti where Leonie would cut her face with a machete. Therefore, she tried very hard to keep her enslavement a secret (Sage 28). Years later, when she turned 17, she was told she had to find a job which she had to balance on top of her schoolwork and all of the household chores. At her job, she befriended a coworker who knew one of Micheline's brothers that supposedly lived in the country. The coworker surprisingly knew one of Micheline's brothers who she had never meet but was living in Connecticut at the time, and they arranged a meeting with him (Sage 32). Micheline's encounter with her brother was what gave her the courage to leave Jocelyne's home because her brother offered her a place to stay. Then after earning enough money as a secretary, she was able to pay for an education and she became a practicing nurse and was able to buy a house in the suburbs of Connecticut (Sage 33).

Shortly after, her sister-in-law introduced her to a man she knew and eventually they started dating. Everything was great at first; he bought her expensive clothing and jewelry (Sage 33). Yet suddenly, she noticed that he started to ask her a lot of questions about what she was doing when they weren't together and eventually he became violent and physically abusive with her. After a year, Micheline decided she had enough and left him. He called her back and sounded very sincerely apologetic, so she decided to take him back (Sage 33-4). One day she got a phone call from her job informing her that her working papers

had expired and she could not continue to work without them. She called Jocelyne to find out about her papers, and that was when she discovered that they were false. She was not legally in the country and she would soon be deported (Sage 34). Micheline felt forced to marry her boyfriend, in order to obtain a green card. He said, "I own you. If you want to stay in this country, you do what I say" (Sage 35). She was once again trapped-- he dictated what she could and could not do, and he began to rape her every night when she stopped willingly having sex with him (Sage 35).

One day she called her sister, who lived in the United States and vaguely knew of her situation. Micheline told her she was driving off to commit suicide. Her sister told her son what his aunt was planning on doing; he started pleading her not to. With her 12 year old nephew on the phone she could not do it, so she pulled over to the side of the road. Her sister eventually convinced her to call a lawyer (Sage 36). Once she called, she explained her story and the lawyer told her about a current law that allows women with abusive husbands to end the marriage, while retaining their right to a Green card. The very next day, she got a restraining order against her husband, and finally divorced him (Sage 37). She entered a shelter for battered women where she went into hiding for a year. Then, she returned to her town, rented a house and has been working full time as a nurse adjusting to her new life as an independent free woman ever since (Sage 37).

This story clearly depicts a survivor who overcame years of domestic servitude and abuse, but now is nevertheless an independent woman working on her own to support herself. This is a story about hope which demonstrates that

victims can eventually move on and live “normal lives” to the best of their abilities. Micheline’s story certainly demonstrates a woman that transformed from being classified as a victim because of her enslavement, to a successful survival who overcame all the obstacles and is now an independent free woman.

Sex Trafficking

Lastly, sex trafficking, the main subject of this paper, enslaves millions of young women and girls some even as young as four. Although most of the victims of sex slavery are women, there are also young men and boys who are also sexually enslaved. These victims are usually kidnapped, or deceived by false promises of jobs working as waitresses or maids in developed countries. Yet they soon face the harsh reality that they become sex slaves for their owners and prostitutes for their clients with no pay—all profit goes to slave owners (Sage 3-4). Victims of sex trafficking are forced into different forms of commercial sexual exploitation including: prostitution, pornography, stripping, live-sex shows and sex tourism (Crisis Connection 2011).

Before delving into the specific components of sex trafficking, we must clarify the difference between human trafficking and slavery. Although these terms are oftentimes interchangeably used, there is a distinction between them, and there are instances of modern-day slavery that do not involve trafficking. Therefore, human trafficking is the illicit movement or transportation of human beings from one location to the next, from one country to another, or from one part of the same country to another, for the purpose of exploitation upon arrival of

that destination. Thus, the term human trafficking only implies the illegal movement of human beings, whereas slavery which includes domestic servitude, sex slavery, forced labor, or bonded labor occur after the victims are transported to destination countries.

However, there are modern forms of slavery that occur without human trafficking. Therefore, my reference to sex trafficking as the main focus in this paper implies the trafficking of victims for the purpose of sex slavery in destination countries. Hence, both slavery and trafficking are components of sex trafficking. There are three main aspects of sex trafficking: acquisition, movement and exploitation. There are five ways to acquire a slave that include: deceit, abduction, sale by family, recruitment by former slave or seduction or romance (Sage 4). Acquiring a slave by deceit involves recruiting a slave by promising false job offers or other income generating opportunities when the hidden purpose is actually sex trafficking. Deceit is a very effective way to lure women in many rural countries where marriage is the only way for them to acquire a decent standard of living without a social stigma. Human traffickers take advantage of these situations by offering false promises of marriage for women to wealthy men in cities. After the girls are sold to brothels many traffickers send small payments to the girl's parents with handwritten letters by their daughters to assure them that they are enjoying the marriage (Kara 7).

Another form of acquisition is being sold by the family. The conditions that cause sex trafficking are the same that render these families vulnerable to these situations under the immense pressure of poverty (Kara 6). Traffickers

search for the most impoverished families to make job offers for a child in exchange for remittances that would be sent home every so often. Acquisition by abduction is another form that is much less common than the former because it makes transporting victims much more difficult (Kara 8).

Another form of acquiring victims is by seduction or romance. Many victims of sex trafficking are acquired by seducing young and vulnerable girls. They shower them with expensive gifts and love and eventually convince them to migrate with them to a developed country where they can share their lives together. Seduction and romance can go very far in securing and convincing their victims--in some cases they get married and conceive children with these women to make their acquisition more convincing (Kara 9). The last form of acquisition is the recruitment by former slaves, where former slaves travel back to their old villages and recruit new slaves. These former slaves are given expensive clothing and a great deal of money for their work. Former slave recruiters are even promised commissions for every new slave they acquire (Kara 9).

Movement is the second of the three components that encompasses sex trafficking. Sex slaves are usually transported from origin countries to transit countries then finally into destination countries. When trafficking is done internally, that same country is used as origin, transit and destination. The flow of trafficking victims usually involves movement from poorer countries, for example less privileged countries within Central and Eastern Europe, into wealthier countries like Western Europe (Kara 10-11).

The exploitation process usually begins when the slave is acquired and involves torture, rape, starvation, and humiliation for the trafficker's amusement, but most importantly to break the slave's spirit. Breaking the slave's spirit begins during transportation and is continued once the slave is sold. The more the slave is tortured, raped, and humiliated, the more likely it is that they will become submissive and obedient when they serve clients (Kara 11-12). The following are three deeply moving stories of modern day sex trafficking that take place in three different continents:

Case study 1: Tatiana was from an Eastern European country and she was brought up by "wonderful parents," as she described them. She was very competitive and independent, oftentimes she was competing with boys in her classes and she had aspirations of becoming a journalist. However, like many other families in Tatiana's country, the economic difficulties began after the fall of communism (Skinner 134). Her problems really came to the surface when she was fired from her job at a cell phone store because the branch closed. This meant that she had no means of paying for her education. Then her boyfriend at the time, Luben, whom she had been dating for the past six months, told her about a way she could make ends meet to finance her education. He said he knew of an au pair job in Amsterdam, which would require a year of looking after the children of a wealthy Dutch woman; he argued it would give her enough money to finance her entire education (Skinner 135).

So she decided to move to Amsterdam with her boyfriend. When they arrived, her boyfriend Luben and his friend whom they meet at the train station

were huddling in close discussion. Then Luben told her to wait in the main hall and asked to borrow her phone. Luben's friend Anton returned without Luben and that was when she realized that her life was about to change forever. Anton said to Tatiana, "You have to pay. That's the rules. The only way you can give me back my money is by working on the street. I own you. I'm the boss now" (Skinner 136). Anton also explained to her if she calls her family or tries to run away her parents will suffer the consequences.

This demonstrates a story of a young woman who had a bright future ahead of her, but was lured by her lack of financial means to continue her education. The only mistake she made was confiding in her current boyfriend. Her story also clearly shows the correlation between human trafficking and economic hardship (Skinner 136).

Case study 2: Panadda was from Chiang Mai, Thailand. She was a 15 year old sex slave working at a brothel. When she first arrived to the brothel she thought about committing suicide but decided not to because as long as she was working, the Madam would send five hundred baht each month to her parents back home. In fact her parents sold her to the brothel they said it was her duty to make that money for them. Even though she was a slave she was still charged a monthly room and board of ten thousand baht (\$250) (Kara159).

"A brave young Thai girl named Panadda told me that even though she hated the men who came to the brothel and harmed her, she was proud to fulfill her duty to her parents in the form of tiny payments that the brothel owner sent to her father after her trafficking debts were repaid" (Kara 15).

This story is so heart wrenching because despite the fact that she was sold to a brothel by her own parents, she still sees it as her duty and her honor to serve them by working as a sex slave. This story demonstrates that traffickers are aware of traditional Thai culture's deep respect and obedience to parents. Therefore, they cleverly use this knowledge to manipulate the situation and traffic Thai women a lot easier with the consent of their parents.

Case study 3: Jill Leighton was a 14 year old runaway American teen who left home escaping sexual and physical abuse. When she ran away, she had to sleep in cemeteries and stole food from stores and dumpsters in order to eat (Sage 62). Then, she met a charming guy named Bruce. He was special to Jill since he listened to her retell her stories about the abuses she had encountered living at home. When she would try and tell her priest who gave communion to her and her family every week, he responded by saying: "Tell it to the Almighty." Unlike the priest, Bruce was the first person who seemed to care and listen to her problems. Shortly after, Bruce offered her a job as an actress which would also include a place to stay and food. All she had to do was go with him to his office to audition for the position. As she got into the car he gave her a pair of blinding sunglasses to wear. He explained that because his business was so successful it made him vulnerable to corporate spies from other agencies (Sage 64).

Therefore, Jill had to be blindfolded on the ride there just in case either one of them didn't think the job was a good match. According to Bruce, the signing of her employment contract explicitly stated that she was a sex slave owned by him. Jill recites her days of training,

“The past twenty-nine days of “training” had been a clinic for learning that absolute subservience was the only method for survival. Mistakes were punished with a cattle prod or by being hung by my wrists and whipped. When I failed to recite my lines in the correct order while giving him a blow job, it meant being handcuffed and anal sex. If he failed to ejaculate or ejaculated too soon, that meant a beating and the next time anal sex while handcuffed with a rope wrapped around my neck” (Sage 69).

Then she began to see clients. One of them, Brian, was a lot younger than the rest and didn’t want to have sex he just wanted to talk to her (Sage 69). He asked her questions about her situation and he seemed sincerely concerned for her. So she told him the whole story and they planned an escape route the very next day. Unfortunately, to Jill’s surprise, Brian was one of Bruce’s friends and the whole thing was a trap planned by Bruce to see if she would attempt to escape (Sage 73-4). That night Bruce told her that night was going to be one she never forgot and she didn’t, she was gang rapped by Bruce and his friends and repeatedly choked and strangled with a belt and she had the electrical burns from the stun gun. After that night she realized that leaving Bruce was out of the question (Sage 75).

One of the most heart wrenching aspects of this story were the obvious signs of her abuse that doctors and nurses failed to recognize. She describes,

“I entered a suburban Los Angeles hospital. On my wrists, ankles, and neck were burns, cuts, and scars. Fearing retaliation, I didn’t communicate to the doctors what had actually transpired. Had these doctors given any thought to their ethical oaths it should have occurred to them that the bruises, scars, strangulation marks, et cetera, were inconsistent with attempting to abort my own child[...] Why was I questioned only in the presence of my pimp who was masquerading as my older brother, pretending to help his psychotic little sister?” (Sage 76-77).

She was finally able to escape when Bruce was arrested on unrelated charges and was handcuffed and taken away. This story, in addition to showing

how victims of sex slavery are not only women from underdeveloped countries, but also less privileged individuals in the west, clearly demonstrates the need to educate health care professionals to identify trafficking victims. However, identification alone is not enough. They also need to be trained on how to get victims alone, without the presence of people that might be their potential pimps. Nevertheless, in order for this to occur, health care professionals should also look out for potential pimps. Now that we have retained a greater understanding of what modern-day slavery entails for victims, the following chapter will provide an in-depth analysis of the underlying causes of modern-day slavery.

Chapter 3: Underlying causes of Modern-Day Slavery

Effects of the Global Political Economy

“Sex trafficking is one of the ugliest contemporary actualizations of global capitalism because it was directly produced by the harmful inequalities spread by the process of economic globalization” Siddhartha Kara

One of the overarching causes of modern-day slavery is the extreme economic inequality caused by late capitalism. Globalization has increased the interconnectedness of the financial systems with few labor market regulations. As a result, the trafficking flows across national and international borders make it virtually impossible for governments to control or prevent the flow of this income, even sometimes; governmental officials are complicit in this trade. Globalization created a complex supply chain in which goods purchased by consumers are increasingly made in different parts of the world. Consequently, it becomes increasingly difficult to monitor whether any “slave work” went into making any particular product. In fact, there have been documented cases of slavery in many “typical consumer” items such as carpets, cocoa, cotton, clothing, shoes, lettuce, apples to name a few (Bales 49). For example, in the Ivory Coast, there is an estimate of 800,000 farms; however no one knows how many of them use slave labor because when farmers sell the cocoa to businesses the slave grown cocoa gets mixed in with the cocoa that was made by “free” workers (Bales 50).

A question may arise, why did modern slavery become so embedded into the global economy? One reason is the instability and inequality brought about by economic globalization, especially the negative effects of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). During the 1990s, the IMF policies forced former Soviet

bloc countries to go from centralized socialist governments to privatized and liberated markets in the form of “shock therapy” (Kara 25-26). As a result, many of the Central and Eastern European Countries witnessed an extreme rise in poverty, high rates of inflation and found themselves borrowing loans from the IMF that were meant to stabilize their economies, but instead increased these countries’ foreign debt (Kara 27). Therefore, we can argue that there is a correlation between foreign debt and slavery because heavily indebted countries cannot afford to spend money on the resources and institutions that reduce the amount of slavery such as law enforcement, education, schools and economic growth (Bales 58).

Additionally, the rapid shift in the global economic order has widened the gaps between the rich and the poor in developing countries and has made the poor especially vulnerable with fewer and fewer options. They are more susceptible to sex trafficking as well as other forms of modern-day slavery (Bales 54). An important question is just how much does slave labor contribute to the global economy? Although no reliable information is available for most types of slavery, there have been many calculations that can give us a rough estimate. For example, charcoal that is produced by slave labor in Brazil is vital to Brazil’s steel industry. This steel is used for making cars, car parts, as well as other metal parts that make up about one fourth of Brazil’s exports (Bales 23). Slavery is so intertwined with the global economy because slaves’ lower factory’s production costs since these don’t have to pay the workers. The cost of operating factories thus becomes a lot cheaper. These production costs reach retailers in North America and Europe by

lowering the prices of goods for consumers and increasing profits for retailers (Bales 23).

Furthermore, another cause of modern-day slavery that is related to the effects of the global political economy, particularly in terms of sex trafficking, is the low risk and high profits associated with the “commodity” also known as the slave. In fact, traffickers pay low investment costs for their “products” which can be used repeatedly and are easily disposable and replaceable when the “commodity” has been worn out (Bales 43). Here is a case study that demonstrates the importance of the international political economy, specifically in sex trafficking:

Lilya-4-ever Movie (2002) director Lukas Moodysoon

Plot summary

The film begins with the protagonist, Lilja who is running away from something or someone unknown to the viewer. Lilja appears very frantic; she embodies physical and emotional destruction. Once she comes to a stop, it becomes clear that she is considering jumping off a bridge. Then the movie jumps to three months before the previous scene. Lilja starts telling her friends that she is extremely excited because she will soon be moving to America with her mother and her mother’s boyfriend. Then her mother tells her it would be best if they went without her at first and then she could join them later. Her mother leaves her behind. Her Aunt Anna comes to tell her she must move into a smaller flat because her parent’s old apartment is too expensive. As time goes by, Lilja

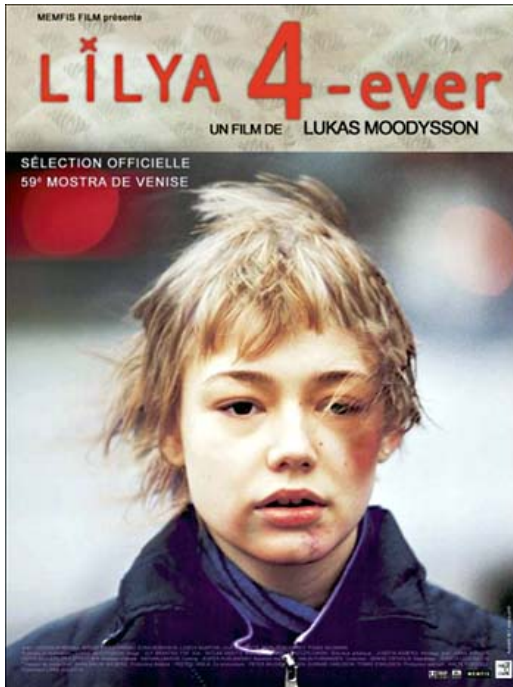
realizes that her mother has no intention on sending her any money from America. Lilja is left hopeless without any financial means to pay her rent for her new flat or feeding herself. Eventually things start falling apart; she has no electricity, and no food to eat so she goes to her aunt's house to ask her for money. Her aunt refuses to help her.

Then she receives a summons to social welfare and they tell her they received a letter from her mother stating that she no longer wished to be Lilja's legal guardian. Feeling out of options, abandoned and lost, Lilja decides to prostitute herself at a nightclub. She is sickened by her own choices, but she continues to prostitute herself. She is both vulnerable and very strong and independent. Then she meets a guy who is very kind to her and then they became boyfriend and girlfriend and started spending a lot of time together. He asks her to come with him to Sweden where he would buy a flat for both of them. Lilja eventually agrees and she gets trafficked as a sex worker in Sweden. Lilja reflects, silently, on clean, tall western buildings and wide streets of Sweden that "smell" like privilege and "normalcy." She is feeling more imprisoned and desperate than ever as she starts to live in one of these tall and attractive buildings, locked inside an apartment and visited by foreign men who use her for sexual purposes. After several horrible weeks of despair, Lilja has a chance to escape and she does, she runs away into the hands of death by committing suicide.

Analysis of the film

This film is a very believable and moving representation of the international political economy that makes certain women vulnerable to sex trafficking. The film director does a nice job in taking his time to show the viewer what got Lilja to that point of willingly choosing to prostitute herself. In fact, that is what makes this film so powerful -- the fact that it spent more time on what led up to her enslavement rather than her time as a sex slave. Her mother left her behind with no money and no food to eat so she was homeless and hungry, and that got her to decide to prostitute herself. In other words, the film is convincing in showing how Lilja had no other alternative but to prostitute herself. Then, she met the man, the charming 'gentlemen'.

He, she thought, was different--he didn't want to sleep with her he just wanted to take her out on dates and have a good time. Shortly after they started dating, he asked her about moving to Sweden with him so they could start a life together. She had no reason to doubt his intentions since he was her boyfriend and the only positive male image she had at that point, besides her younger and very loyal friend, Volodya. Even if she found it suspicious that she would have to change her name and lie to the customs officer, she suppressed it because it was the only hope for a better life she could fathom. She wanted to believe him so much, that she overlooked those signs that could have warned her. Finally the author did a wonderful job in allowing the viewer to identify with Lilja enough to feel her pain and despair and understand why she made the choices she made.





The following subsection will discuss particular cultural and religious practices in different societies that might cause sex slavery and sex trafficking, but also chattel slavery and debt bondage, under certain interpretations of such religions and customs.

Cultural and Religious Practices

“As anthropologists have long observed, the reason that sexual trafficking of women as a phenomena in its own right remains largely hidden is because the sexual exchange of girls and women embodies deep cultural practices and is historically embedded in many family and kinship systems” (Long 8).

A religious based form of slavery has existed in certain regions in Ghana; the system was called trokosi (wife of the Gods). Under this system, priests in

shrines argue that the only way to eradicate sins and offences committed by their relatives or ancestors is by giving up a virgin daughter to the priest (Bales 96). These daughters are usually between the ages of eight and fifteen; once they are given to priests they are usually turned into sex slaves and are impregnated multiple times. Most of these young girls remain in slavery between three to ten years although some remain slaves for their entire lives (Bales 96).

If a slave dies the family must give up another virgin daughter and if they are ever able to leave, they will never be able to marry. In fact, those that do escape face social stigma from their own families and the communities and are usually boycotted from trying to sustain themselves economically. Oftentimes, they fear the repercussions of their escape which is “translated” as disobedience of their gods (Bales 97). Although the trokosi system was banned in 1998, practices persist and enforcement of this Ghanaian law is not imposed (Bales 97).

A similar practice known as devadasi (servant of gods) is followed in two India states, particularly, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, as part of a Hindu tradition. Under this practice, these pre-pubescent girls are given to temple priests as sexual slaves. These girls are dedicated to the Goddess Yellamma by village elders and family members (Bales 98). Since devadasis are forbidden from normal marriage and are instead only sex slaves to the deity’s priests and become temporary concubines going from one man to another. Once the devadasis have completed their sexual duties usually by middle age, they still bear the social stigmas and therefore cannot be married, which inevitable means a life of poverty.

Just like in Ghana, this practice was outlawed in both Indian states but it remains practiced despite the ban (Bales 98).

Moreover, a discussion of the devadasis would be incomplete without analyzing India's caste system. As aforementioned, almost all of the devadasis exist outside of the lowest caste systems known as dalits. India's caste system discriminates against the lowest castes in society in other ways besides becoming devadasi (Bales 99). The people that make up India's lowest caste are segregated and denied access to land water, food and education. Therefore, the combination of the caste system's social inequalities and treatment of devadasis are push factors that facilitate the trafficking of women and girls. In fact, the caste system is so heavily embedded in India's culture that NGOs describe it as,

“An important factor behind the trafficking of women and children. At least eighty percent of all bonded laborers in India come from the most discriminated castes, as do most child laborers trafficked from Bihar” (Bales 99).

Additionally America's sex culture also facilitates practices of sex slavery and trafficking of young girls. The American culture is loaded with mediums that advocate sex and female degradation through pornography, Television shows, and music. Studies from the WHISPER Oral History Project, found correlations between pornography and trafficking (Hoover 24). For example, it is very common for women involved in prostitution to recite incidents of their pimps forcing them to watch pornography as a form of “education.” One of the problems with pornography is that it depicts women as sex objects; this is dangerous

because it contributes to the culture and the environment that makes sex slavery “acceptable” (Hoover 24).

Another medium in the American popular culture that advocates degrading sexual content are TV shows. Particularly, a very popular show watched by 8.4 million viewers called, “Jersey Shore,” is a reality show that depicts actors having casual sex, drinking, partying and cussing on a daily basis. Also, the music industry in the United States is another medium that constantly promotes casual sex and usually the degrading of women. A lot of the rappers compose songs and music videos about drugs, money, pimps and refer to women as “hoes” thereby, objectifying women’s sexuality (Hoover 27-8). As a result, all of these depictions about sex and women become embodied in American pop culture which facilitates practices such as sex trafficking to be seen as more acceptable or at least ignored as exaggerations or feminist speech (Hoover 28).

In other instances, religious justifications can lead to enslavement. In Thailand, where Buddhism is the main religion, certain applications of the religion reinforce female inferiority to men. One reading of Buddhism justifies male promiscuity and consequently the need for prostitution to compensate (Bales 101). Theravada Buddhism, one of two great schools of Buddhist doctrine that emphasizes personal salvation through your own efforts; and a conservative form of Buddhism that adheres to Pali scriptures and the non-theistic ideal of self-purification to nirvana. Women cannot reach the aspired state of nirvana, because being a woman implies a sinful past. Slaveholders in Southeast Asia use Buddhism to make women and young girls believe that they

committed a lot of sins in their past lives and therefore deserve the enslavement and abuse they receive from their masters. To add to this vulnerability of girls and women, Thai cultural beliefs are based on the principle that girls have a duty to serve their parents both cosmically and financially (Bales 101). “Bhun Kun” is the cultural tradition in Thailand that emphasizes a duty by daughters to provide financial support to their parents. As Kara argues,

“Even though she hated the men who came to the brothel and harmed her, she was proud to fulfill her duty to her parents in the form of tiny payments that the brothel owner sent to her father after her trafficking debts were repaid” (15).

This religious justification to trap victims is also seen among Nigerian women. Traffickers use West African voodoo to discourage women from running away. After Nigerian women get offered a job in Western Europe they usually undergo a ritual which may include marking their faces and hands or placing their hands on a juju statute and drinking blood. They are told to swear to the gods that they will never leave their jobs and will never give out their real names or contact the police. Once in Europe, the brothel “madams” threaten women if they try to escape, the gods will kill them for disobeying and threaten to put a curse on their families (Bales 102). These rituals create such powerful holds on victims that very few Nigerian trafficking victims ever try to escape until they have finished repaying their debt (Kara 90).

Religious justifications are also used in Mauritania to keep black Moors under the control of their white counterparts. Slaves have been told that if they follow their master’s orders, they will go to heaven, yet if they disobey they will

forsake paradise. Some religious leaders take statements from the Koran to justify the enslavement of black Moors. Consequently, many of the slaves believe their enslavement is part of God's plan for them, which makes it extremely difficult to change this system of chattel slavery. Many slaves are likely to dismiss claims from abolitionists about their rights to freedom due to the fear of disobeying God (Human Rights Council 13).

Moreover, another cultural aspect closely associated with sex trafficking is the idea of giving women as gifts in some kinship and marriage systems. For example, initially in Vietnam, exchanging gifts during marriage was very common. After the marriage women were supposed to move into their husband's home and provide labor for her husband's family. Faced with extreme poverty in rural communities many men moved to the cities to find jobs which created a shortage of men. This shortage made it easier to convince parents that they would find well to do husbands for their daughters and therefore, parents would give up their daughters more willingly (Long 11).

A similar arrangement is the dowry system in India which commodifies women's bodies into desirable and expensive marriage exchanges. This system makes having daughters a burden on families because impoverished families are forced to constrain their economic resources to save for the dowry or gifts that will be given to their daughter's family in-laws and husband. Once a daughter is married off, her family no longer has an obligation to support her and is instead given to the husband's family to provide free labor in her husband's home. These systems of exchanging women as gifts makes the trafficking of women more

acceptable especially when traffickers persuade parents to give their daughters in exchange for dowry-less marriages (Ghansham 2-30). Another underlying factor that makes particularly women, vulnerable to all forms of modern-day slavery and especially trafficking, is their low status in most societies.

Women' rights/ Status in societies

“Throughout my travels, no discovery shocked me more than the extreme level of bias and socioeconomic disenfranchisement that millions of women face across the globe” (Kara 30).

Another category that enables many forms of modern-day slavery, particularly for women, is their low status in many societies. This makes them more vulnerable to sex trafficking and domestic servitude as well as other forms of slavery. In many rural areas around the world women are constrained to working within the home and thus, making them dependent on their husbands. Also, in some communities violence against women is acceptable, which makes them more vulnerable to trafficking and other forms of slavery because of their desire to escape discrimination and physical violence they face in their own communities (Bales 84).

Another factor associated with women's rights is the prevalence of violence against women especially in rural areas. In Moldova, Albania, Nepal and Thailand in some rural areas women were repeatedly abused by men and when local laws against domestic violence existed in these locations, they were not enforced (Kara 31). According to Kara,

“Millions of women are systematically discriminated against, denied education and employment, beaten, and treated as male sexual property. In regions where these abuses are most prevalent, I found the most active origins of trafficked sex slaves” (32).

All over the world, including developed countries like the United States, violence against women, particularly domestic violence is widespread and contributes to women’s vulnerability to enslavement. The following subsection will address why human trafficking is oftentimes difficult to curtail and as a result prolongs the practice.

Why is trafficking difficult to curtail? Corruption and Lack of Law

Enforcement

“The linchpin of slavery in many countries is government complicity or indifference” (Bales 59).

It becomes increasingly difficult to eradicate slavery when government officials and police are at times complying and facilitating these practices. Because slavery is institutionally banned worldwide, police bribery and corruption are necessary for the persistence of trafficking in human beings. Bribes by politicians and government officials create a system of impunity and amnesty for traffickers (Bales 60). For example,

“In Thailand, where lucrative police commands are sold to the highest bidder and the regular payments from slaveholders joins the flow of money from other criminals into the pockets of police and government officials” (Bales 60-61).

Also, in India, where the system of debt bondage is prevalent, the police provide protection for slaveholders and take bribes to prevent prosecution. Sex traffickers are also aided by the corrupt police in India; in fact they help transport the victims

to protect their traffickers. We should expect the government to be puzzled by this police complicity, yet many times the government is also involved and can be bribed by traffickers (Bales 60-61).

Police, according to multiple sources, warn brothel owners when investigations are likely to take place. Border guards also take bribes from traffickers and allow them to freely traffic their victims if the pimps pay the money. Even judges take bribes from traffickers and lessen the slaveholder's charge to minor infractions (Kara 38). However one of the underlying issues is the lack of existing punishment or law enforcement against these traffickers, which creates an atmosphere of impunity and a lucrative business where the economic benefits of trafficking are extremely high while the likelihood of punishment and prosecution is relatively low (Kara 39). In countries like the Netherlands, Albania, and the United States where financial trafficking penalties are relatively high, holding it up against the nominal prosecution and conviction rates; the penalties remain relatively low unlikely to prevent future traffickers from engaging in trafficking (Kara 40).

Specific causes for each form of slavery

Debt bondage

There are several causes of debt bondage but the most prevalent is poverty. However poverty alone is not sufficient for bondage, there are other factors coupled with poverty that are most likely to cause debt bondage. Social exclusion for example, usually for social and cultural reasons like the caste

system in India and Nepal may cause certain groups of people to become victims of debt bondage. Social exclusions on the basis of religion, ethnicity and caste make these individuals more vulnerable to enslavement than other groups (Daru and Churchill 2). Also, Project Baseline studies show that illiterate families are more susceptible to debt bondage because victims lack an understanding of the terms of remuneration and interests rates on these loans. As a result, lenders usually exploit these situations by adding in hidden interest rates that more bureaucratically savvy individuals would be able to spot (Daru and Churchill 3).

Additionally, other factors that contribute to debt bondage include the lack of access to education, labor market discriminations and barred access to land control for the most vulnerable groups, who usually come from the lowest socio-economic classes like the Dalits in India (Quirk 19). One of the biggest issues for Dalits in India is that they have no alternatives to slavery because they lack access to vital resources such as education, potable water, housing, health care and lack of employment options (Quirk 18). Other causes include in-kind remunerations, which means that instead of being financially compensated for their labor; workers are compensated with a remuneration package which includes: food, security, shelter, clothing, health and other necessities. This form of compensation prolongs dependency, while monetary compensation would allow workers to buy basic necessities on their own therefore making their own life choices (Daru and Churchill 3). The motivations of lenders for choosing bonded labor also contribute to our knowledge of the causes for bonded labor. In Nepal research

demonstrates that employers chose bonded labor because they generate more profit (Daru and Churchill 3).

Domestic servitude

One of the push factors behind domestic servitude is gender discrimination as it is linked to poverty. Oftentimes when poor families are forced to choose which one of their children will receive an education; usually girls are taken out of school before boys (Human Rights Council 14). They are usually forced to work and generate income for the family. Some cultures have widespread beliefs that domestic work is better suited for girls because it prepares them as wives and mothers more so than formal education (Human Rights Council 14). Another cause of domestic servitude is the increased demand for cheap and exploitable domestic workers (Caritas). Additionally, there is the lack of state protection in many countries against domestic workers. In fact, most states fail to provide domestic workers equal protection of labor laws which allows for exploitation and may lead to domestic servitude under certain circumstances. A study of laws in ten Asian countries that were described as having large numbers of illegal domestic workers found that only three out of the ten countries included domestic workers in their domestic labor legislations (Human Rights Council 15).

Chattel slavery in Mauritania

One of the overarching causes of chattel slavery in Mauritania is that slavery is such a deeply embedded social and religious practice that it is difficult to eliminate. In fact, the relationship between masters and slaves are so deep and

long-lasting that slaves become dependent on their masters because many slaves mistakenly think of themselves as part of their master's family (Bales 84).

Another cause is religious justification, many Muslim slaves believe that they were placed by God to serve their masters and therefore leaving that household would constitute a sin (Bales 84-85). However, this is a skewed version of Islamic Fundamentalism that allows for this religious justification to prevail.

Also, chattel slavery prevails in Mauritania because of the impunity and complicity of judiciary and police forces in the practice of slavery. Even though slavery has been abolished since 1981, this law has not been enforced (Daily News 2008).

Sex slavery

The number one factor that contributes to sex slavery is poverty of victims, which leaves them with fewer and fewer options and hence makes them easy targets for pimps. Other factors include disintegration of family structure, gender discrimination and lack of access to education (Caritas). In terms of sex trafficking, one of the underlying causes is the sophisticated collaboration and organization of resources and networking carried out by traffickers and other criminals involved in the transit and process of enslavement.

Also there is the amount of corruption and impunity that is taken by police and law enforcement officers in transit and destination countries. Additionally, sex trafficking is an extremely profitable business for criminals involved, especially when they measure the likelihood that they will be caught or

imprisoned (Caritas). Some cultural practices may also facilitate or contribute to sex slavery in certain countries (Kara 15). Other causes of sex slavery include gender and ethnic biases, and the negative effects of economic globalization on less developed countries, especially in urban settings (Kara 23). The following chapter will describe the legal and political mechanisms that governments and prominent international organizations, such as the United Nations, have put in place to combat modern-day slavery.

Chapter 4: Legal and Political Mechanisms for Combating Modern-day slavery:

Anti-slavery legislation in international Law

The United Nations anti-slavery legislation is encompassed in the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly resolution 55/25 on November 15, 2000. This Convention is the main international legislation that combats transnational organized crime. It was opened for signature by member states at the High-level Political Conference in Palermo, Italy on December 12-15, 2000 and entered into force in September 29, 2003 (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2012). More specifically, the Convention has three Protocols which address specific organized crimes including: the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children; the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air; and the Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, their Parts and Components and Ammunition (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2012).

The most important legislation, however, is the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, also known as the Palermo Protocol. This Protocol was adopted by the General Assembly resolution 55/25 and entered into force by December 25, 2003. It is significant because it is the first global legally binding definition on human trafficking. Therefore, most of the legal mechanisms for combating slavery today focus on trafficking and particularly sex trafficking (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2012).

Article 3 of the Protocol describes trafficking of persons as:

“the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs” (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2012).

Therefore, this definition clearly describes what constitutes trafficking and it guarantees the protection against trafficking for purposes of sexual slavery and forced labour. Additionally the fact that trafficking has a clear definition makes prosecution and legal proceedings easier. However, it does not list all forms of slavery, even though it does state “or practices similar to slavery.” This vague language leaves some critics to believe that there is too much left to interpretation, so that factory workers that work long hours and get paid less than minimum wage should be treated as slaves as well. At the same time that the UN was creating legal mechanisms for the prevention and prosecution of trafficking, individual countries, such as the U.S. were doing the same within their legal realms. As a result, the United States Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000 emerged as another instrumental tool for combating global trafficking. The U.S. TVPA is our focus for the following subsection.

US Anti-Trafficking Legislation:

The TVPA is a comprehensive US Federal Law which aims to prevent human trafficking overseas, protects trafficked victims and helps them rebuild their lives with the help of Federal and state government to prosecute traffickers with hefty federal penalties (Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000). Subsequently, the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act (TVPRA) of 2003 followed the 2000 one with a new requirement that governments present the Department of State data on prosecutions, trafficking investigations, sentences and convictions to be considered fully complicit with the TVPA's minimum standards under Tier 1 (Trafficking in Persons Report 38).

Moreover, the TVPA has a three-pronged-approach, which includes Prevention, Protection and Prosecution. The Prevention aspect includes educational and public awareness programs as a means of preventing trafficking. The Protection component provides trafficked victims with educational, housing, health care, job-training and other Federally-funded social services to help victims reconstruct their lives (Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000).

The Protection Law also provides trafficked victims with "T" visas, which gives victims temporary US residency status. The TVPA allows for up to 5,000 trafficked victims to receive this form of temporary residency visas. This quota on the number of visas represents an initiative to only provide visas to

those who were actually victims of trafficking. The T visa system demonstrates tremendous progress in immigration law policy in its accommodation for trafficked victims. In fact, before T visas, many trafficked victims would be deported back to their home countries, making them vulnerable to re-trafficking and even possibly facing death by revengeful traffickers (Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000).

This law also provides trafficked victims with a Witness Protection Program, as well as eligibility for benefits and services under Federal or state programs. However, before they can receive benefits and services they are required to be certified. Upon receiving certification, they can apply for the necessary services and benefits that are funded by Federal or state programs. However, trafficked victims under the age of 18 are issued letters of eligibility without the pre-requisite certification. Furthermore, in terms of prosecution, the TVPA formed new law enforcement tools with the purpose of strengthening the punishment and prosecution of trafficking.

Therefore, this law makes human trafficking a Federal crime that could result in life imprisonment for traffickers that kill, kidnap, sexually abuse and or attempt to kill their victims (Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000). In fact, traffickers who exploit child victims, under 14 years of age, by using force, fraud or coercion for sex trafficking may be condemned to life imprisonment. If the trafficked victim is between the age of 14 and 18 and the means of

trafficking did not consist of using force, fraud or coercion, the trafficker could still receive 20 years in prison (Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000).

Additionally, under the TVPA the U.S. State Department first classifies the country as a country of origin, transit, or destination for a considerable amount of trafficking victims. Then, after this classification has been undergone, the Trafficking in Persons Report places each country into one of three tiers to describe the government's level of complicity with anti-trafficking legislation mandated by the TVPA. Tier 1 is the highest ranking, which does not necessarily imply that a country is not affected by human trafficking; but rather it means that the government has acknowledged the existence of trafficking and has made subsequent efforts to combat the issue, and has met the minimum standards under the TVPA. In order to maintain this Tier 1 ranking, governments are required to show significant progress in combating trafficking (Trafficking in Persons Report 11).

While Tier 2 countries are those whose governments do not entirely comply with TVPA's minimum standards but are in fact making sustentative efforts to do so. Then there is a subcategory of Tier 2 Watch List which includes the same description as the Tier 2 category plus the absolute number of victims of severe forms of trafficking is increasingly higher. Failure to provide evidence of trying to combat trafficking from the previous year, and the only evidence to support the claim that the country is making efforts to comply with the minimum standards was based on commitments by the country to take more

steps over the next year. Lastly, Tier 3 countries do not fully comply with the minimum standards and are not even making significant effort to do so (Trafficking in Persons Report 14).

Countries that are classified as Tier 3 for trafficking under the TVPA may be subjected to particular sanctions. For example, the U.S. government might withdraw non-humanitarian and other non-trade related foreign aid. Tier 3 countries might not be eligible to receive funding for government employees' participation in cultural and educational exchange programs. However, no tier ranking is irreversible, rankings change on a yearly basis and all countries, including the United States can always do more to combat trafficking (Trafficking in Persons Report 14). While these legal mechanisms are a necessary foundation for identifying and punishing those traffickers and their aids, and while they provide significant help for victims, the effectiveness of these programs is questionable. In the next subsection, we turn to address the issue of effectiveness.

Effectiveness of legal classifications?

Enforcement and effectiveness of anti-trafficking legislation is problematic because oftentimes trafficked victims do not want to identify their traffickers because of fear of repercussions for themselves and their families. Also, since human trafficking is a transnational issue, the application of international law is difficult because of different jurisdictions across different states. In fact, trying a person who resides in another state is oftentimes extremely

costly and complex. Since the crime of human trafficking violates several laws at once, establishing a well substantiated case against perpetrators can be overwhelmingly exhausting, costing an abundance of time, energy and resources. Many countries with limited resources find it extremely difficult to enforce relevant anti-trafficking legislation (King 89).

In addition to these legal and spatial obstacles, the border patrol officers, federal agents and local police officers usually are not well-trained to identify human trafficking victims and few, if any, of the officers know the relevant international or domestic laws regarding trafficking. In fact, many police officers mistake victims for prostitutes. Also, since trafficked victims are usually not in their home country, the language barriers between the victims and the enforcement officers make gathering relevant information for prosecution very difficult (King 90). However, Article 3 of the Palermo Protocol does a fairly decent job at protecting victims especially because it make's victim's initial consent to trafficking irrelevant.

Under Article 3 of the Palermo Protocol, the victim's initial consent to their exploitation is irrelevant where the means of threat or use of force, and other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud deception, abuse of power or a person's vulnerability or receiving or giving of payments with the ultimate goal of having control over another person. Even if victims initially agree to immigrate illegally for a certain type of job such as prostitution or farm labor, their consequent enslavement and exploitation is not excused. Also, in terms of sex trafficking, even if victims were former prostitutes, that does not mean that they consented to

the type of working conditions under trafficking which may include unprotected sex and forced abortions (Trafficking in Persons Report 37-38).

Unfortunately, the reality is a bit different from the laws. In many countries the Palermo provisions are poorly understood. Therefore many victims are blamed for their situation, and prosecutions oftentimes fall apart. Furthermore, another impediment to successful implementation of anti-trafficking legislation is that many governments, particularly in Latin America, require a formal complaint to be filed by a private citizen before a trafficking prosecution can even begin. This is also problematic because in countries with high organized crime rates, private citizens and NGOs who are not themselves victims, fear filing a formal complaint for their own safety. Trafficking victims usually do not file formal complaints because they fear their families and their own safety may be jeopardized. Therefore typically nobody provides a denunciation, and as a result, prosecutions fall apart and traffickers operate with impunity and are free to traffic new victims (Trafficking in Persons Report 38-39).

As a result, the Palermo Protocol under the United Nations is lacking in effectiveness even though the Protocol established a grounded framework for combating human trafficking; it lacks adequate enforcement mechanisms. In fact, the Protocol lacks mechanisms to determine if state parties have properly implemented the Protocol (Hendrix 182). It lacks an overarching monitoring watchdog with the power to determine whether states follow the provisions and to enforce and punish them if they are failing to do so. Another criticism of the Protocol is that implementation has only focused on human trafficking related to

organized crime and migration issues and has subsequently ignored other human trafficking situations such as bonded labor and chattel slavery (Hendrix 182).

In reality, one of the biggest issues with anti-slavery legislation is that most of it was made to target victims of sexual slavery and sex trafficking because these are the ones that get the most media attention. Whereas other forms of slavery like debt bondage, which is considered the most widely used form of slavery today, lacks legislation and laws targeting this practice. Therefore, in order to protect bonded laborers human rights lawyers and other relevant stakeholders are left to rely on legislation that was purposely made to curtail sexual exploitation to protect debt bondage victims. This is problematic because legislation against sexual trafficking and exploitation has to be molded to fit other forms of slavery that lack formal legal international and domestic protections.

Furthermore, in terms of the effectiveness of the US Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA), the enforcement mechanisms are effective because the U.S. government can institute sanctions on Tier 3 countries by eliminating non-humanitarian and non-trade related foreign aid. Also, the U.S. government can deny Tier 3 countries the former assistance from international financial institutions, multilateral development banks and the international Monetary Fund (Hendrix 187). The Tier 3 countries have ninety days to meet the compliance requirement, meanwhile, the US Trafficking in Persons Office works with the government to help them meet their goals before the ninety day deadline. However, the TVPA gives the President the right to waive economic sanctions if continued assistance is in line with US national interests or if the waiver would

protect vulnerable populations (Hendrix 187). One of the goals of the United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Trafficking (UN.GIFT) is awareness raising and providing technical assistance. This assistance includes: fact-sheets for awareness raising, draft legislation and manuals for several law enforcement agencies and victims. The United States has already begun implementing awareness programs for police officers. Also, NGOs have been successfully working to put human trafficking on policy agendas (King 90). After assessing the effectiveness of anti-slavery legislation, it is of utmost importance to consider if there are preventative measures for slavery and if so how effective they are.

Preventative measures for modern-day slavery

The Consultative Group (CG) was created by the 2008 Farm Bill which makes recommendations to the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture to reduce the use of child labor in agriculturally imported products. The CG body has a diverse membership including individuals coming from civil society, industry, government, research and higher education institutions. Their team expertise created a set of voluntary industry guidelines that summarize the best practices for third party watchdoing and transparency (Trafficking in Persons Report 22).

Additionally, another preventative measure for trafficking is the California Transparency in Supply Chains Act of 2010, which forces retail sellers in California to publicly disclose efforts to eliminate slavery and human trafficking throughout their supply chains. These companies affect more than 3,000 companies in California which represent about 87 percent of the economic

activity in the state. Starting January 2012, the relevant companies will be required to post on their websites the policies they undertook to safeguard against slavery and human trafficking throughout the supply chain (Trafficking in Persons Report 23).

Furthermore the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) has created a program that combats trafficking; it's called OSCE Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings. This action plan includes measures that should be implemented by member states at the national level, which include the creation of information campaigns in cooperation with civil society and NGOs to raise awareness on the different trafficking techniques used by traffickers to lure their victims. National governments are also required to raise awareness about the facets of trafficking among the immigration officials and diplomatic personnel so they can be on the lookout for trafficking victims. Moreover, the OSCE Action Plan also urges national embassies to distribute relevant information on national legislation pertaining to family law, labor law and immigration law (Toolkit to Combat Trafficking in Persons 174).

Information should be distributed to potential migrants with the help of relevant NGOs. The OSCE also encourages awareness-raising of policymakers, law enforcement personnel and other professionals such as social services and medical professionals. Another measure that is encouraged on the national level is raising awareness through the media. In other words, the media should aim to portray a realistic image of trafficking victims and it should include a comprehensive explanation of the issue. The many forms it can take should also

be explained, so that the public can also identify and help victims as well as inform themselves about how to protect themselves against trafficking.

Additionally, the OSCE also urges awareness-raising campaigns that target the most vulnerable individuals in society including children, migrants, internally displaced persons and national minorities (Toolkit to Combat Trafficking in Persons 174).

The OSCE Action Plan also recommends governments to work in schools and universities to raise awareness for the younger generation who are potential victims. Lastly, the focus on creating publicized telephone “hotlines” in states of origin, transit and destination. This approach has three goals: to act as a source for guidance to vulnerable victims who may be looking into jobs overseas, to act as the primary form of contact providing access to a referral mechanism for trafficked victims and to allow for anonymous reporting of cases or potential cases of trafficked victims (Toolkit to Combat Trafficking in Persons 175).

More specifically, in terms of preventative mechanisms on an international level, the UN Trafficking in Persons Protocol under article 31 of the Organized Crime Convention has several preventative measures. In fact, this Protocol requires states that are parties to the Convention to implement a comprehensive preventative strategy. These strategies aim to address underlying causes by utilizing a multi-layered approach wherein states and intergovernmental organizations are required to confirm that they are addressing root factors that make trafficked victims vulnerable such as poverty, inequality and discrimination. Also, states are required to carefully identify and eliminate the complicity of the

public-sector in trafficking practices. All public officials, who are suspected of having any form of involvement in human trafficking are required to be investigated and subsequently convicted and punished accordingly (Toolkit to Combat Trafficking in Persons 167).

Furthermore, preventative measures are addressed in article 31 of the Organized Crime Convention and in article 9 of the Trafficking in Persons Protocol. These two articles advocate prevention through awareness-raising and educational programs. These education programs target audiences include both awareness-raising of the issue of human trafficking and educating individuals that are vulnerable to trafficking or are considered high risk victims. Also, article 9 of the Trafficking in Persons Protocol has measures that try to prevent trafficking by eliminating the demand and therefore profits gained from trafficking. Article 9 not only protects victims from retaliation and intimidation by traffickers but also demands measures that protect trafficked victims from being re-trafficked. Another preventative measure by the Protocol is to require member states to ensure that border officials are effective and take the necessary measures to prevent traffickers from utilizing false passports and other relevant identification documents (Toolkit to Combat Trafficking in Persons 168).

Under the Trafficking in Persons Protocol, states are required to measure that include social, economic and research and media campaigns to target individuals that are vulnerable to trafficking. The Trafficking in Persons Protocol also states that in order to effectively combat the issue of human trafficking, there must be a comprehensive global approach which includes measures to prevent the

act and protect trafficked victims and subsequently prosecute traffickers. In fact, states are supposed to strengthen these measures through multilateral and bilateral cooperation in order to address the root causes of trafficking (Toolkit to Combat Trafficking in Persons 167-168).

Moreover, another prevention initiative on the International scale is the United Nations Convention against Corruption which was signed on December 2003 in Mexico. Although this Convention is not specifically targeting anti-trafficking, its outcomes and provisions against corruption are significant because corruption is an underlying global issue that perpetuates trafficking. More specifically, the Corruption Convention requires States to consider corruption and other acts as illegal and punishable under domestic laws. The Convention criminalizes basic forms of corruption such as embezzlement and bribery of public funds, as well as trading offences which support corruption (Toolkit to Combat Trafficking in Persons 180). The Convention also addresses the strengthening of international cooperation in criminal offenses and particular aspects of international law enforcement cooperation; some examples of this include joint investigations and utilizing special investigative techniques like controlled delivery, undercover operations and electronic surveillance (Toolkit to Combat Trafficking in Persons 180).

Furthermore, under the U.S. TVPA, as previously mentioned, human trafficking is targeted by using a three pronged approach which includes Prevention, Protection and Prosecution. The prevention aspect includes measures of educational and public awareness raising programs (Trafficking Victims

Protection Act of 2000 1). It also includes preventative mechanisms that serve to correct laws that previously excluded the protection of certain workers from labor law protection. Other preventative measures under the TVPA include the application of mechanisms that target specific vulnerabilities such as birth registrations and identifications. Also, it includes prevention by reinforcing the cooperation and intercommunication between law enforcement officials, NGOS and governments. Lastly, it works to prevent trafficking by imposing effective monitoring of supply chains and reducing the demand side for commercial sexual exploitation (U.S. Department of State). Although preventative measures are important for combating slavery it is also equally important to consider the effectiveness of these preventative mechanisms. Therefore, the next section will analyze the effectiveness of these preventative measures.

Are they effective?

Although the Trafficking in Persons Report focuses heavily on prosecution, it falls short of preventative measures. In fact, out of the three Ps for the TVPA, prosecution is the most effective one, while prevention and protection are far less developed. Awareness-raising is the most common instrument to prevent trafficking in the U.S. and Europe therefore, there needs to be more of an initiative on preventing trafficking by using other approaches aside from awareness-raising. Anecdotal evidence demonstrates that awareness-raising campaigns in Bulgaria, Albania, Moldova, and Romania are likely responsible for the reduction of trafficking in these locations. However, it is uncertain whether these campaigns are in fact the reason for this decrease in trafficking. In fact it is difficult to accurately measure how

effective these campaigns really are in preventing trafficking. Therefore, the correlations between awareness-raising and the decline in the number of trafficking victims are assumptions rather than statistical facts. Consequently, it is difficult to accurately address how effective prevention policies have been at eliminating trafficking (Shinkle 8). After addressing the effectiveness of preventative measures it is also necessary to consider if the victims perspective. Therefore the following section will analyze whether the legal process of prosecution provides justice for these victims.

Are the existing forms of reparations for victims effective? Do the legal and political systems provide justice, in other words, are the victim's voices heard?

“The bitter, bitter, bitter irony, colleagues, is that quite often the victims [of human trafficking] are the ones who are punished, and these mobsters and criminals who are involved in the trafficking of these women and girls with this blatant exploitation get away with literally murder” Sen. Paul Wellstone

Under the U.S. Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, the systems of T visas were created to allow victims that have undergone extreme forms of trafficking to become temporary U.S. residents. One of the most significant aspects of the TVPA is the recognition that oftentimes returning victims to their countries of origin is usually not in the best interest of the victim, and consequently victims should be granted the opportunity to reconstruct their lives without the threat of deportation (Toolkit to Combat Trafficking in Persons 124).

Victims that receive T visas after three years may be eligible for permanent residence status under three conditions: if they have requested for a

reasonable amount of assistance in the investigation of their case throughout those three years, if they are individuals with good moral character and if deportation from the U.S. would cause significant hardships. The T visa represents a positive shift in immigration law which previously treated trafficked victims as illegal aliens who were subject to deportation, but now with T visas, victims are allowed to stay in the United States while they work on rebuilding their lives. The purpose of T visas is twofold; on the one hand, it is designed to prosecute traffickers while also providing the maximum amount of assistance to trafficked victims (Toolkit to Combat Trafficking in Persons 124).

Although many legal protection programs such as “T” visas exist to provide trafficked victims forms of reparation and assistance, many critics argue that victims are often treated as “instruments” of criminal investigation, rather than individuals with rights (UN News Center 2011). In fact, Ngozi Ezeilo, the UN Special Rapporteur on trafficking in persons argues that measures such as providing victims with temporary residence permits are only given to victims if they cooperate with the investigative proceedings and law enforcement officers (UN News Center 2011). Also, only a few “T” visas are granted per year, there were 1,580 applications for visas but only 1,212 applications were approved (Wyler and Siskin 23). In fact, in order to be granted a T-visa, victims have to meet strict requirements. Victims should have endured, “severe form of trafficking in persons “in addition to the three following preconditions (Andrew 2011).

The first condition is that victims must be physically present in the US on account of trafficking in such persons. Second, if the victim is 15 years or older they are required to comply with “reasonable requests” for assisting law enforcement officials in prosecuting and investigating their traffickers. Oftentimes, this second condition entails testifying in a court room against their traffickers. The third condition is that the victim must be likely to suffer extreme hardship, involving harm, if they were to be removed from the US (Andrew 2011). The first requirement is problematic because it implies that women who originally consented to trafficking for sex work but then found themselves trapped in slave related conditions may not qualify under the first condition. Furthermore, the precondition of proving “unusual and severe harm” is a lot stricter than the standard applied for asylum seekers which only requires demonstrating a significant risk of “extreme hardship” (Andre 2011). Therefore victims are forced to aid investigations and testify in a court room against traffickers in order to obtain T-visas.

Clearly, victims are treated as criminals that have to prove their innocence. They are forced to testify against their traffickers, if they refuse to do so, for fear of reliving the trauma or fear of facing the perpetrator in the court room, then they risk being deported and re trafficked. Evidently, this is a system that fails to recognize the victimhood of survivors. In fact, this system fails to give victims agency in the process by solely focusing on prosecuting criminals. Ezeilo claims that Trafficked victims rarely receive compensation because they are usually

uninformed about the legal, linguistic and residence status assistance they are entitled to (UN News Center 2011).

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Implications for Practice

Conclusion

My exploration of the aforementioned research questions that motivated this study revealed that certain forms of modern slavery, such as debt bondage and chattel slavery are results of deep-seated colonial legacies that remain, albeit changed, today. Also, some forms of modern slavery have changed and taken different shapes like the transformation from the trans-Atlantic slave trade to white slavery to modern day human trafficking. These studies also demonstrate that there are various underlying causes and factors that contribute to the persistence of modern-day slavery which include: the effects of the global political economy and how it creates vulnerable populations, several cultural and religious practices present in many societies, women's inferior status in numerous societies and their social structures, corruption and lack of proper law-enforcement.

Additionally, the findings indicated that the most significant mechanisms for combating slavery are the Palermo Protocol and the United States Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act (2000). The research suggested that these mechanisms are mildly successful at combating slavery. These mechanisms include preventative measures such as prevention through education and awareness-raising. Lastly, in terms of reparation and justice for trafficked victims, legal protection programs such as granting "T" visas do exist, however, victims are still often mistreated as "instruments" for criminal investigations, rather than individuals with rights.

Modern-day slavery is a multifaceted issue that requires cooperative and collaborative expertise from various individuals and entities including consumers, national governments, international agencies, and the international community as a whole, who should all come to the conclusion that eradicating modern-day slavery is an imperative for the twenty-first century. With proper collaboration and functioning judiciary institutions, it is a feasible task. Not only is slavery's persistence in our twenty-first century morally condoned, but it is also shameful, and it signals a discrepancy on how far we have come. For example, slavery's persistence belittles our efforts in creating international organizations like the United Nations and conventions like the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 1948.

Therefore, recognizing that slavery exists today requires a re-evaluation of the negative consequences of capitalism and international political economies considered "model" ideological frameworks, advocated by developed countries. This might be the hardest tasks of them all, given the prevalence of neoliberal economies, culture and ways of doing things in the world. Perhaps a reflection of how international supply chains are headed by developed countries, which deem certain working conditions involving slavery in other countries acceptable, so long as consumer prices remain low in developed countries, like the United States. A moral and ethical reflection on how our international conventions and agencies on human rights and poverty are essentially deemed contradictory and worthless once we take into account the semi-hidden slavery that roams behind the shadows of capitalism. The resistance and response to these troubling effects

of capitalism might thus come not from leading political and economic actors who are often complicit in supporting practices that enable trafficking, but in mobilization of ordinary people. The complete eradication of modern-day slavery will be very difficult and will require the cooperation and assistance of multiple international and national agencies as well as individual people, working persistently together.

Recommendations for combating slavery

My research confirms the notion that among the core obstacles to combating modern-day slavery is lack of knowledge or awareness by the global public that slavery still persists today. Therefore, to eradicate slavery one of the major initiatives should be for government and international agencies to share their data collection on slavery with the public. In fact, international agencies like the UN and Interpol have large-scale trafficking databases which they do not share with the public. Sharing this information in a way that is understandable to people, would possibly spark greater public awareness, leading citizens to pressure their governments and politicians to fund anti-slavery organizations and initiatives. In other words, the change will most probably have to come from “below” through mechanisms of globalizing “deep democracy” among ordinary people.

Ordinary people, however, cannot do it alone. Eradicating modern-day slavery requires initiatives among local and global actions. The UN is perhaps the best international organization to combat slavery. In fact, the UN Security-

Council should create a committee of experts that would review the existing conventions against slavery and would make recommendations on how to unify them to be more effective. Currently, the UN Security-Council sends weapons inspectors, therefore they should also send out slavery inspectors which would be deployed to countries to identify the loopholes and enforcement of anti-slavery legislation and making the necessary corrections (Bales 149).

There should also be initiatives to combat slavery at the government level. The goal should be to have every government establish a national plan to combat slavery within its borders. This would be achieved by combining all government agencies and appointing an anti-slavery ambassador that would coordinate their efforts and engage the local anti-slavery organizations within their countries. The ambassador would also be responsible for leading the development of the national plan which would outline necessary steps to combat slavery which may include assistance from neighboring countries. These national plans are helpful because they help guide government agencies efforts and allow for constituents of that country to hold their governments accountable for effectively combating slavery (Bales 150).

However, while each government plan would vary from country to country, every government plan should definitely include three components: education, law enforcement and rehabilitation. Education, understood as informing the population about the mechanisms and discourses of trafficking, should be a necessary component because many victims are enslaved by deception. Governments should organize educational campaigns against the

dangers of trafficking and slavery the same way they campaign against teen pregnancy and drug use. However, it is imperative that the educational campaigns aimed at potential victims reflect the local cultures and languages of the villages or towns (Bales 151-152). While acknowledging that these initiatives may not be financially possible for all governments, they are nevertheless goals that all governments should at least strive towards.

In addition, law enforcement is extremely important for combating slavery. Governments need more funding from NGOs and the international community, for training and more effective law enforcement. Although anti-slavery legislation exists, it is rarely enforced because only a small fraction of the police force in most countries have undergone the necessary training to recognize and respond to slavery. Also, training should include all federal agencies involved in combating slavery as well as other workers that are likely to come in contact with slaves, such as medical staff, labor inspectors, and social workers (Bales 152).

Also, the rehabilitation component of the government plan is important because in many countries freed slaves are oftentimes treated as criminals or illegal aliens. In some languages there are existing demeaning names for former slaves. Therefore, freeing slaves is not enough to combat modern-day slavery because if former slaves are criminalized and socially ostracized, they are more likely to fall back into enslavement. For example, when bonded labors in India have been given their freedom but have not been provided with necessary support

to rebuild their lives, many of them fall back into enslavement. Some even return to slavery by choice, which is true for all forms of slavery (Bales 152-153).

Therefore according to Bales, it is essential to recognize that freed slaves need “three safeguarded freedoms” to prevent their future re-enslavement. One of these is immediate access to paid work, which ideally would be money made by the victims themselves doing jobs they know how to perform well in. Another requirement is access to basic services such as clean water, schools and clinics. Savings is another safeguard for former slaves, because oftentimes what causes enslavement is having nothing to fall back on.

NGOs and other local humanitarian organizations should provide families with basic necessities to alleviate poverty. These organizations should also provide communities with training programs that teach families how to reserve and manage their money. If families have reserves they can bounce back when times get hard without having to make tough decisions that could lead to re-enslavement of their children (Bales 155). Although government and international organizations should be responsible for implementing the aforementioned initiatives to abolish slavery, they are not the only stakeholders. In fact, the next section emphasizes the need to combat slavery by analyzing it from a global international economic sector.

Combating the International Political Economy

In fact, industries and even consumers play a vital role in contributing to the mechanism that allows slavery to persist. For example, consumers should be encouraged to buy Fair Trade products because they guarantee that farmers are paid fair prices for growing their crops (Bales 156). Fair Trade products certify farms once they have been scanned for using slavery and child labor. The price for Fair Trade products are not determined by the world market under capitalism, instead they are set by a level that will ensure that farmers and their families have decent incomes. Currently Fair Trade products are available in more than forty countries and products include chocolate, coffee, sugar and cloths. The supply of Fair Trade products will increase as the demand increases, that is, as more consumers support and buy this new form of production that ensures a clean supply chain. Also, consumers can also ask companies to examine their supply chain (Bales 156).

Therefore, if companies, consumers and anti-slavery groups work together and everyone does their part in taking responsibility for the supply chain, then slavery can be removed from its source. However, for this to occur, slavery must be removed from all facets of the international political economy from actions taken by retailers, farmers, and consumers to prevent slavery from creeping into any level of the supply chain (Bales 157).

Combating sex trafficking and sex slavery

The best short-term approaches against human trafficking are the ones that reduce the aggregate demand for consumers and slave owners. Efficiently reducing the aggregate demand involves destroying the industry's profit by increasing the risk factor of the business that is, making operating brothels more expensive (Kara 200). It is worth reminding ourselves that the chief contributor for the success of the sex slavery business is the combination of the enormous profitability and the minimal risk associated with operating this business. Therefore, in order to combat this issue and alter the aggregate demand it is important to consider the four individual components that encompass the sex trafficking business which include: the product, (victim), a wholesaler (trafficker), retailer (slave exploiter), and the consumer (Kara 202).

If anti-trafficking approaches are to be effective, they must hone in on the stakeholders of demand, which include consumers and retailers. Consumers are the individuals who are purchasing sex. Many consumers are driven to purchase sex slaves as opposed to formal prostitutes because they are much cheaper. Consumers may not be aware that they are having sex with a slave and while the awareness raising is significant, the core issue is that by purchasing sex from slaves; the consumer is lured by the low retail price. Retailers on the other hand, own clubs, brothels, apartments and massage parlors which are where the "products are consumed." Retailers can keep their prices low because the operating cost of the business is low. In other words, the costs include buying slaves and the necessary equipment for the business to operate which may

include: sheets, beds, drugs, snacks, alcohol, condoms, makeup and clothes. The retailers want sex slaves because they increase profits because they are forced to do everything that perhaps a paid prostitute may not do, such as avoid condom usage if a customer prefers not to use one (Kara 202-03).

The major cost that retailers must factor in when accounting for the benefits and drawbacks of opening businesses, is the possibility that they will get caught, and if that possibility is relatively high. They must factor in if opening the business is worth the risk, economically speaking. However, most slave owners are never investigated; in fact all it takes are a few bribes to rid them from the legal entanglements associated with getting caught. It is also important to consider that this neoliberal approach to making as much profit as possible is also creating a consumerist culture that allows for sex trafficking to thrive.

The best way to target a business's profitability is by increasing the costs of operating and running the business. Therefore, creating the most effective tactics to eradicate the sex slave industry requires increasing the cost of being caught which can be done in a four-pronged approach (Kara 205). The first step is calculating the cost of being caught. The second is determining at what level the cost of being caught is more compromising than profit maximizing. This requires knowledge of the amount of profit to be made from exploiting sex slaves. The third step is figuring out how to significantly increase the economic penalties of sex slavery to a level that compromises the profits generated by the business. This would entail pressuring the international community to increase the paper

penalties of human trafficking to a level that is at least equal to that of drug trafficking (Kara 206-09).

Nevertheless, an understanding of the barriers to higher prosecution rates is essential. These include among a few: undertrained law enforcement personnel, lack of necessary law-enforcement resources, minimal priority of trafficking and slavery investigations and the lack of cooperation between countries of origin and destination countries. The fourth step is inverting the risk-reward economies of sex slave industries, which would ultimately reduce demand by consumers and retailers for sex slaves. Although it is virtually impossible to know by how much demand will be reduced, at least economic theories can serve as a stepping stone (Kara 210-12).

Other suggestions for combating human trafficking which protect the exploitation of sex slaves and domestic workers include preparing bilateral labor agreements to ensure regular migration channels particularly for women migrants, and using model employment contracts and monitoring private recruitment agencies against advertising deceitful job offerings. Furthermore, other recommendations include: the advancement of educational and economic programs targeting vulnerable populations, educating the public on their legal rights, naming and shaming employers of trafficked victims and fighting all forms of legal corruption that hinders the trafficking victim's ability to seek justice (Prevent Human Trafficking Institute 7).

Combating domestic servitude

One way to combat domestic servitude is to put in place accessible information and complaint mechanisms for victims including telephone hotlines in the languages that are most common to the victims. Most importantly, include domestic workers in equal protection labor laws and migrant domestic workers so that they can be protected under the relevant labor laws that exist in each country (Human Rights Council 20). Also, domestic workers should be required to receive a written contract in their relevant language and salary payments should be made into a bank account. All states should set a minimum wage for all domestic workers, including migrant domestic workers, which should be set above the poverty line in each country (Human Rights Council 20).

Additionally, there should be laws that target children in domestic servitude because in many countries children are victims of this form of slavery (Human Rights Council 20). Therefore, countries should prohibit live-in domestic workers for migrants and children under the age of 18 for safety reasons against domestic servitude. The states should also help poor families whose children are at major risks for falling into domestic servitude. In fact, countries should expand efforts for children on their own including street children, abandoned children and orphans, to work with religious leaders, teachers and community organizations to combat domestic servitude (Human Rights Council). Also, since live-in domestic workers are easier targets for this form of abuse, countries should require employees to take mandatory awareness raising training on the dangers associated with domestic servitude and what they should do if they find themselves in those

situations. Also, employers should be required to register live-in employees and should also be forced to have periodic private interviews with labor inspectors upon request (Human Rights Council 20-21).

Combating debt bondage

The ILO has gathered cost-effective interventions to solve the issue of bonded labor in Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan. The ILO partners with multipurpose NGOs to deliver a package of services created to prevent debt bondage (Daru, Churchill and Beemsterboer 10). This is an integrated microcredit approach that has five components. The first one is to organize savings and credit groups to extend financial services to poor households that are at risk of debt bondage or who have been released from bondage. This first component all work towards emphasizing building assets, reducing vulnerability and diversifying income basis (Daru, Churchill and Beemsterboer 11). The second component is providing social empowerment. This is done by spreading social awareness messages on topics such as labor and human rights, health care, and deduction of unsustainable expenses. Additionally, literacy classes are also provided to certain groups (Daru, Churchill, Beemsterboer 11).

The third component is providing non-formal education centers for children between the ages of 9 and 14 that never received formal schooling because they were previously working or dropped out. For children over 14 years of age, the education consists of provisions of basic literacy and numeracy classes. Skill training is provided for adolescents and adults depending on their capabilities. The idea is to assist households to diversify their income sources so

they gradually become less and less dependent on the landlord or employer (Daru, Churchill, Beemsterboer 12). The last component is triggering health conditions because health expenses are primary debt triggers. Therefore, the project provides curative and preventive health services to target vulnerable populations.

Populations are given access to safe drinking water, are taught relevant hygiene practices and provided with mother infant care. This multilayered approach to combat debt bondage is effective because it tackles both trigger and root causes to enslavement (Daru, Churchill, Beemsterboer 12).

Combating chattel slavery

The first strategy to combat slavery in Mauritania is by developing a national strategy for that purpose. The strategy should be started by the government with the help of the United Nations Development Programme and the European Community. It can also involve other relevant stakeholders including government representatives, civil society organization that work to combat slavery, international NGOs and relevant United Nations agencies and donor communities (Human Rights Council 21). The various stakeholders involved could form a cohesive institutional body that works to implement and monitor the national strategy. Furthermore, an independent Government funded mechanism should be created to carry out investigations and can have the legal standing to bring civil cases of slavery before the courts (Human Rights Council 21).

Awareness-raising campaigns must be created that would cover rural and urban areas. These nationwide campaigns should publicize prohibition and

criminalization of slavery. The campaign should ensure that slaves are informed of their rights, who they can bring complaints to and how they would go about filing a complaint in courts with the help of relevant NGOs. Also, the cultural aspect of this issue must also be targeted (Human Rights Council 22). Therefore, it must involve ulemas and imams, especially in rural areas. These campaigns should utilize all forms of communications to reach as many Mauritians as possible; hence, it should use newspapers, debates, conferences, televisions, and radios (Human Rights Council 22). Finally, as promised, I will end my analysis with an inspiring story that demonstrates the importance of education and local actors to combat slavery. The following is a unique case study of a former slave owner who became an abolitionist:

Yessa lived in Mauritania, where chattel slavery is still present. When he turned seven, he was asked what he wanted as a present, and he chose his best friend Yebawwa. At that moment, he became a slave owner which he thought of as his right and obligation, at the time (Sage 188-89). Miriam, Yebawwa's mother was one of Yessa's family's many slaves and she nursed Yessa alongside her son Yebawwa. They grew up extremely close despite their inferior/superior position. Yessa's father got him a private tutor who encouraged him to go to the local French Cultural Center (FCC) (Sage 191). The FCC was essentially one big library with three floors that became more sophisticated as you ascended. Yessa found his new hobby at this center, which he attended every day afterschool.

Yessa found it odd that his favorite characters, such as Tintin, did not own slaves. No one in these stories did; it was strange to him the reality he understood

did not coincide with the ones in the books he read. Eventually he went onto the third floor where he read more sophisticated novels by Agatha Christie and John Le Carré. Eventually he ascended up onto the third floor, which was the least populated area in the center and held books on history, ethics and philosophy (Sage 199).

Little did he know that the first book he stumbled upon was going to have a profound impact on his life. The first Article of the book read, *Men are born and remain free and equal in rights*. He reread the sentence several times because he couldn't understand how that could be true (Sage 200). His own self-education allowed him to understand how far behind his culture was in advancing civil rights. That summer, by age 16, Yessa went back home as a determined abolitionist. He tried educating his family and the slaves about his new discovery, but everyone seemed to think he sounded foolish (Sage 202-03). As a young adult, he took a trip to France to study at the University in Bordeaux which was extremely difficult for someone like him who depended on a slave for every basic necessity. In 1995, against his family's wishes he cofounded the anti-slavery group S.O.S. Slaves Mauritania along with several other former slaves (Sage 204).

This story demonstrates the tremendous impact that education can have on combating modern-day slavery. Yessa only needed to be educated on his country's unique position on chattel slavery to go from being a slave master, to a brave slave abolitionist who even went against his family and culture to stand up for what he deemed just. Therefore, this story reveals the profound impact

education can have on eliminating modern-day forms of slavery. It is also a great story because it gives the master's viewpoint, to demonstrate that perhaps even educating perpetrators may be crucial to alleviating modern slavery.

Lastly, these aforementioned recommendations and this touching story should remind us that the abolition of slavery is not only possible but imperative. While recognizing that the complete eradication of all forms of slavery will be difficult, it is nevertheless feasible. After all if iconic leaders like Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi would have abandoned their determination and persistence on fighting discrimination and social justice issues because "it was too challenging," how different would our world be like today?

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Summary of Capstone Project

My Capstone project is an interdisciplinary endeavor that examines different contours of modern-day slavery, with a special focus on sex trafficking. More specifically, my main research questions include: How has historical slavery evolved into today's modern-day slavery? What are the underlying causes of modern-day slavery? What are the legal and political mechanisms for combating modern-day slavery?

In order to answer these questions, I use an interdisciplinary research methodology. My first chapter begins my analysis with a historical perspective on slavery; I explore the evolution of sex trafficking from the trans-Atlantic slave trade up until "white slavery." In addition, I compare human trafficking and the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Then I discuss the distinctions between the legal abolition of slavery and the situation in countries like Mauritania. My second chapter analyses slavery from a socio-anthropological perspective.

Here I discuss different forms of modern-day slavery with a special focus on sex trafficking. In this section, I use real life experiences collected by the directors from the American Anti-Slavery Group organization. Each narrative was carefully selected from real survivors of modern slavery, for its effectiveness in allowing the reader to gain a better sense of what it really means to be a slave in the twenty-first century.

The third chapter analyzes the underlying causes of modern-day slavery through an interdisciplinary perspective that incorporates the knowledge produced in a variety of fields including both humanities and the social sciences. I explore the general causes of modern-day slavery such as the effects of the global political economy, law enforcement corruption, cultural and religious factors, and women's status in different societies. Then, I describe the specific causes for each form of modern-day slavery including chattel slavery, debt bondage, forced labor and sex slavery.

The fourth chapter uses a legal and political lens to address the mechanisms for combating modern-day slavery. The different sections of this chapter discuss the anti-slavery legislation in International law, US anti-trafficking legislation, effectiveness of anti-slavery legislation, existing preventative measures and their effectiveness, and the successes and failures of reparations for victims in terms of legal justice.

The final chapter summarizes the main arguments that were presented throughout the project including a recapitulation of the findings for the research questions. This concluding chapter also provides general recommendations for combating modern-day slavery and then a specific subsection that provides recommendations for combating each form of slavery. Some of these recommendations include, but are not limited to, alleviating poverty, including domestic workers in equal protection labor laws, inverting risk-rewarding

economies for the sex slave industry and the promotion of fair trade products and other initiatives that work to rid the international supply chain of slavery.

In order to gain knowledge and different perspectives on these issues, first I read from a wide array of resources including books, journal articles, online databases, theses, pamphlets, dissertations, reports and one film. By doing this, I was able to gain a good grasp of the literature on the international political economy and to better see its relationship to sex trafficking. I also read several books and journal articles on modern-day slavery, with a special focus on sex trafficking. Once I gained an understanding of the issues and debates surrounding sex trafficking and modern-day slavery, I was able to develop research questions that would serve as my primary guides for this project.

This project is very important to me because it sheds light on a monstrous side of humanity that is not as well known to the public as it should be. Therefore, the project is significant because it raises awareness on a topic that is under-researched and poorly addressed by governments and international actors. It is also a topic that has piqued my curiosity for quite some time. I have been interested in understanding why slavery remains with us in the twenty-first century, despite the fact that we describe it as an event from the past that only comes to life when we read about it in our history books.

Moreover, this project is personally significant to me because it frustrates me that slavery persists till this day, yet policymakers and governments are doing

very little to combat this horrific practice. It is also important for me because this project allows me to concentrate on an interesting topic of my choice and make it my own project. It has allowed me to partake in a project's evolution from start to end. This project has also enhanced my researching, editing and writing skills while preparing me for post-graduate studies.