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## Abstract

The trafficking of humans is a serious issue. The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) is the main legislative effort in the US that addresses this problem. Based on social work values, the article provides an assessment of the TVPA and suggests that service provision and victim identification need to be strengthened to better serve human trafficking victims. Global trends, efforts, and limitations in reducing trafficking are discussed. Specific interventions by social workers in victim identification and service provision are presented.

## Keywords

human trafficking, services, social work, TVPA, victims

Human trafficking is a widespread problem affecting many individuals in most countries. Globally, it is estimated that between 600,000 and 800,000 people

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are taken across borders each year and between two to four million people are victims within their own countries (Trafficking in Persons Report, 2006, United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime, 2006). The United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) cited human trafficking as one of the leading criminal enterprises of the early 21st century. Trafficking disproportionately affects women and children (Angel, 2007; Joshi, 2002; Sigmon, 2008). Of the 600,000 to 800,000 victims, 80 percent are women and girls, while up to 50 percent are children (United States Aid for International Development [USAID], 2006). Most trafficking is for sexual purposes. For instance, of the 1229 alleged incidents in the US between 2007 and 2008, 83 percent were for commercial sex purposes while only 12 percent were labor trafficking cases (US Department of Justice, 2009). It is estimated that 14,500 to 17,500 trafficking victims enter the US annually (Trafficking in Persons Report, 2006). Since many cases go unreported, these estimates may be far lower than the actual number of victims in America (Davis, 2007). Clearly, trafficking is mostly an underground phenomenon, therefore obtaining accurate data is a challenge for anyone interested in mitigating it (Androff, 2010).

In a study of 2462 newspaper articles that dealt specifically with trafficking from 1990 to 2006, Farrell and Fahy (2009) found that the public framing of the problem in the US has changed over time, corresponding with the adoption of policies focused on national security and the identification, apprehension, and criminal prosecution of trafficking perpetrators. Trafficking was framed as a national security issue between 2003 and 2006. According to the natural history of social problems theory, problems are thought to have four distinct stages: 1) claiming and publicizing of the problem, 2) an official response to the problem, 3) new claims emerging in response to dissatisfaction with the official response, and 4) establishment of new institutions to deal with the problem (Spector and Kitsuse, 1973).

The goal of this article is to present a value-critical policy analysis of the US Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA), the centerpiece of the US government's efforts to combat trafficking. Global and US efforts to combat trafficking as well as their shortcomings are described. Trends in human trafficking from selected countries are provided. Finally, implications are directed toward social work's unique opportunities in enhancing identification and service provision to trafficking victims.

## **Contexts of human trafficking**

### *Origins and trends of human trafficking*

Trafficking is often exacerbated by socio-economic problems, conflicts, or natural disasters that force people to seek work far from home or to migrate

for survival (Sigmon, 2008). Globalization is a known factor in human trafficking. Jones et al. (2007) observed that trafficking reflects darker sides of globalization since many people are now seeking employment outside their own countries, thus making themselves vulnerable to deception. People from poorer countries and families are most at risk of being trafficked, and the rising numbers of the poor and vulnerable enables perpetrators to easily identify and target their victims (Davis, 2007; Joshi, 2002). The existence of unscrupulous traders and the availability of desperate people from poorer countries together provide a perfect setting for cheap or forced labor. Trafficking is so lucrative that Feingold (2005) estimated the annual global profits stood at \$32 billion.

Corruption among law enforcement officials and the existence of criminal networks provide protection to those involved in trafficking (Jones et al., 2007). Environments that promote severe gender inequalities can also foster human trafficking. USAID (2006) has stated that gender-based violence and the commoditization of females can create psychological and emotional harm that enables traffickers to lure their victims into servitude. Sadly, traffickers also target orphans and women with physical disabilities (Hughes, 2004).

Global attention to the problem of human trafficking began as a result of increased social awareness of the sexual exploitation of women and children. While there exist earlier declarations against historical slavery (Androff, 2010), the first international legislation addressing the problem of trafficking, sometimes referred to as modern day slavery, was the 1949 UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of Prostitution of Others. This resolution declared that trafficking done for the purpose of prostitution violated human dignity and the worth of the person (UN, 2002). The resolution was later replaced in 2000 by the UN's Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, commonly known as the Palermo Protocol (Farrell and Fahy, 2009; UNODC, 2006).

The US, through its annual *Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report*, ranks countries in three tiers based on their anti-trafficking efforts. Tier 1 countries are those that comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking. In Tier 2 are countries which, though making significant efforts, are not fully compliant with the minimum standards. Finally, Tier 3 countries are those that do not comply with minimum anti-trafficking efforts and are not making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance. The latest report shows that there are 30, 130, and 14 countries in Tiers 1, 2, and 3 respectively (for specific country ratings, see US Department of State, 2010a, 2010b.)

It is estimated that 56 percent of all trafficking victims are from Asia and the Pacific (Miko, 2003; UN GIFT, no date). Japan and other Asian countries including Thailand, the Philippines, and Burma, are known for large sex tourism industries (Miko, 2003). Eastern Europe is the second largest provider

of sexual victims, mostly trafficked to Western Europe or the US (Konrad, 2002). Most trafficked individuals landing in the US arrive from Asia or Eastern Europe (Miko, 2003). These regions are followed by Latin America, the Middle East, and Africa in number of victims trafficked. Trafficking is growing fast in Africa, with approximately 50,000 people being trafficked from the continent each year (Obuah, 2006).

## Efforts to reduce trafficking

In 2002, the EU members reached an agreement to cooperate in making and enforcing anti-trafficking laws (Miko, 2003). Krieg (2009) contended that the EU's efforts have, however, been hampered due to its definition of human trafficking within a narrow criminal context, much to the chagrin of the UN and other agencies that propose a human rights definition. Krieg warns that anti-trafficking efforts will fail if the EU's focus does not go beyond immigration fears in Europe. For example, Spain treats trafficking solely as a criminal issue, leaving the human rights and service provision aspects to nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The Spanish system imposes harsh punishments on perpetrators but provides little support to victims, such as resources for social integration (De Leon, 2010).

Japan has instigated successful institutional reforms including crackdowns and prosecutions. Still, trafficking continues to thrive underground as traffickers find more sophisticated means of getting and keeping their victims (Yokoyama, 2010). In Burma (Myanmar), efforts to combat trafficking have been hampered by ethnic tensions, political instability, and corruption, and a failure of state agencies to protect women and children (Pimoljinda and Thianthong, 2010). Australia passed strong anti-trafficking legislation in 1999, 2003, and 2005, but their efforts have been criticized for assisting only trafficked persons who agree to cooperate in investigations and prosecutions (Kotnik et al., 2007). India has passed much legislation to combat the practice. A report by Hameed et al. (2010) has suggested that more work in India is needed in the protection and rehabilitation of rescued victims, the involvement of NGOs, and sensitization of rural communities in accepting trafficking victims with dignity.

Evidently, a number of countries have policies to combat trafficking. It seems, however, that most governments do not view trafficking as a human rights violation. Rather, it is viewed as a criminal issue that needs more policing and tougher punishments. Obviously, trafficking is likely to thrive underground since it is a very difficult crime to detect. The US, like other countries, faces challenges in transforming its anti-trafficking efforts into more comprehensive programs. Clearly, how human trafficking is defined

within a continuum of human rights and crime will continue to affect intervention policies and programs in most countries. Balance is required in how trafficking, its victims, and perpetrators are perceived.

### *Anti-trafficking legislation in the US*

According to Farrell and Fahy (2009), by the late 1990s, public attention to the problem of trafficking gained institutional legitimacy as prominent figures highlighted the issue. Legislation soon emerged that created a solidified definition of trafficking and distinguished victims from traffickers. The Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act (VTVPA) was signed by President Bill Clinton in 2000. The VTVPA amended the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) (Public Law 106-386) (US Department of State, 2000), which is the centerpiece of US anti-trafficking legislative efforts. According to the TVPA, which highlights sex trafficking, human trafficking is:

- (a) Sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or
- (b) The recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery. (VTVPA, p. 8)

A variety of US agencies, including local law enforcement, the CIA, FBI, Immigration and Customs Enforcement's (ICE) Human Smuggling/Trafficking Unit, the Department of Justice, and the State Department, helped to enact anti-trafficking laws and statutes (Torg, 2006). Initiatives included the FBI's 'Innocence Lost', which targets child prostitution, and ICE's 'Operation Predator', which aims to protect children from international predators (Torg, 2006). A Worker's Exploitation Task Force and a database on human trafficking worldwide were also created. Initiatives such as the Interagency Task Force to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons have been used to promote interagency collaboration (Miko, 2003).

In the US, the distinction between sexual and labor trafficking victims across the southern border raises serious questions. Since immigration continues to be a sensitive issue, border patrol officials, who may be stretched in their duties, may not see the need to distinguish between these categories as a priority. Summary deportations of victims may not be in their best interests as this does not help address the problem, hold the perpetrators accountable, or help in the identification and service provision goals that are part of the TVPA.

*Prevention, Protection, and Prosecution in the Trafficking Victims Protection Act.* The main goal of the TVPA was to eradicate human trafficking through prevention, protection, and prosecution. According to the 2007 *Trafficking in Persons Report*, the Rescue & Restore public awareness campaign and the National Human Trafficking Resource Center's information hotline received more than 4000 calls between February 2004 and December 2006 (US Department of State, 2007). Prevention efforts included educating the community, law enforcement officials, social service workers, and other professionals to identify victims and take measures to keep trafficking from recurring, both domestically and internationally. Prevention also included requiring other countries to report their anti-trafficking activities with human rights agencies in order to receive non-humanitarian aid from the US (Joshi, 2002).

The Secretary of State was responsible for reporting the efforts of foreign governments to Congress in the annual *Trafficking in Persons Report* (US Department of State, 2009). Congress exercises oversight over the TVPA and appropriates funding to many different agencies to administer programs and services. In the 2008 fiscal year for example, federal support for global and domestic anti-trafficking programs totaled \$99.4 million (Seelke and Siskin, 2008).

Victims of trafficking are the main group targeted by the protection provision. Medical, housing, food, and safety services are offered to those identified as victims. One of the benefits offered under the umbrella of victim protection is the *T-Visa*, with an annual quota of 5000. The *T-Visa* is for aliens who are victims of severe forms of human trafficking. Aliens who receive *T* status are eligible to remain in the country for four years and may apply for lawful permanent residence status after being continually present in the US for three years (Seelke and Siskin, 2008). The *T-Visa* offers a positive and humane shift in immigration policy, which previously had resulted in the deportation of many victims (US HHS, 2000). Victims with *T-Visas* are also eligible for additional benefits that include expert services, cash benefits, and vouchers that are available under federal or state funded programs to the same extent as for refugees (Seelke and Siskin, 2008; US HHS, 2000).

Finally, TVPA focuses on prosecution of traffickers by making the offense a federal crime. Wetmore (2002) pointed out that prosecution is in the form of re-defining crimes and meting out more severe sentences. These aspects of the policy have helped other countries draft or amend existing anti-trafficking laws. For example, sexual traffickers who exploit children under the age of 14 using force or fraud can be imprisoned for life. Even if trafficking did not involve force, coercion, or fraud, traffickers face up to 20 years in prison if the victim was between the ages of 14 and 18 (US HHS, 2000).



Efforts to prosecute perpetrators have so far yielded mixed results. Of the 1229 alleged incidents of trafficking, less than 10 percent were confirmed as human trafficking (US Department of Justice, 2009). Clearly, successfully prosecuting perpetrators poses huge legal challenges and social service agencies may need to be better equipped for this process. Anti-trafficking legislation needs to facilitate a process that enables and protects victims, community members, and others involved to ensure that more crimes are successfully prosecuted and punished.

*Legislative reauthorizations of the TVPA.* Interestingly, since 11 September 2001, much focus on human trafficking in the US has been framed in the context of international terrorism and national security (Farrell and Fahy, 2009). The 2000 TVPA was reauthorized in 2003, 2005, and 2008 to continue funding and support for anti-trafficking programs. With each reauthorization, changes were made to make the policy more 'victim-centered' and socially visible (US HHS, 2000). As noted by Angel (2007), the 2003 reauthorization expanded US anti-trafficking law enforcement efforts, mandated new educational campaigns to combat sex tourism, refined the federal criminal law, and created a new civil action allowing victims of trafficking to sue their traffickers in federal district courts.

The 2005 reauthorization increased requirements for reporting and punishment. It enhanced prosecution through certain provisions, made significant efforts to decrease the demand for human trafficking, and encouraged greater state and local involvement (Payne, 2009). The law was reauthorized in 2008 and named the William Wilberforce Trafficking Protection Act (US Department of Defense, 2010), enabling anti-trafficking programs and funding for another four years. The 2008 Act enhanced better victim protection and increased prosecution of traffickers (Payne, 2009). As indicated in the next sections, there has been progress with each reauthorization, but the basic goals of the TVPA still seem to be unbalanced as emphasis is mostly on legal and prosecution aspects rather than humanitarian needs.

## **Limitations of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act**

Green (2008) pointed out that prevention and prosecution have taken priority over the more practical and human components of the legislation, that is, protection. The 2008 reauthorization strove to remedy some of these problems but many challenges remain. For example, while most agencies and service providers maintain that large numbers of individuals are held in trafficking

crimes, identifying and providing services to them is limited (Brennan, 2008). Since the US promotes 'proactive identification' and 'shelter and temporary care' as the standard requirements to be met by all countries who are involved in the fight against human trafficking (*Trafficking in Persons Report*, 2009), it needs to make much more progress and invest more resources in these areas.

### *Gaps in victim identification*

Identification is recognized as the largest hurdle in accessing relief under the TVPA (Angel, 2007). Since 2000, the estimated number of victims trafficked into the US has been modified downwards from 50,000 persons annually to roughly 17,000 (Roby et al., 2008; Seelke and Siskin, 2008). While this diminishing number may suggest that the original estimates may have been overstated or the penalties may have reduced the problem, it possibly indicates an increase in the proportion of unidentified victims. A statement by the US State Department noted that only 2000 out of 45,000 available *T*-Visas had been given to victims and their families between 2000 and January of 2008 (US Department of State, 2009). Social workers should be interested in extending services to the thousands of unidentified victims that we suspect need care and protection.

According to Sadruddin et al. (2005), a review of statistics on human trafficking cases shows that the law is in fact neither identifying nor protecting the majority of victims. Fewer victims are coming forward because the TVPA focuses on using them as witnesses in law enforcement efforts (Roby et al., 2008). Some have never heard of the term human trafficking and are unaware that laws exist that recognize them as victims. Also, many remain silent out of fear of threatened retaliation onto themselves and their families (Irazola et al., 2008).

As Irazola and colleagues (2008) have indicated, the task of victim identification falls on local community members, social service providers, law enforcement personnel, and other first-line responders who come into contact with them. However, there is a lack of awareness and inadequate provisions for public education and outreach aimed at understanding and identifying such situations (Kappelhoff, 2008). Victims are frequently neither recognized nor assisted because law enforcement personnel, who are not trained to identify victims, often view them as illegal immigrants (Sigmon, 2008). Therefore, while each reauthorization has made positive changes, the law has not led to consistent identification of the people it intends to serve.

### *Gaps in services to victims*

Even after a victim has been identified, the road to recovery typically has many challenges. The term 'victim' as defined by the reauthorized law 'protects only

those classified as victims of a “severe form” of human trafficking’ and hinders the protection of other trafficked individuals (Sadruddin et al., 2005). Victims of severe trafficking are those below 18 years of age and recruited, harbored, or transported by force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of commercial sex (US Department of State, 2010a, 2010b). A victim must be willing to assist in every reasonable way with respect to the investigation and prosecution of the perpetrators in order to receive a *T*-Visa (Roby et al., 2008), but may be excused if she somehow is unable to cooperate with a request for assistance in prosecuting the perpetrators. This exception has only been in effect since 2006 and is not well known by many victims (Roby et al., 2008). Clearly, these stringent requirements are likely to result in denial or underutilization of services.

Not surprisingly, the complex standards of the application process for the *T*-Visas hinder victims from applying (Sadruddin et al., 2005; Seelke and Siskin, 2008). Many additional services cannot be received until a *T*-visa application is completed. Linguistic challenges mean that if victims do not speak English, they cannot fill out the application without help. Ironically, Seelke and Siskin (2008) pointed out that victims are often forced to turn to the local immigrant community for help in completing the application process. This can be self-defeating because traffickers may have links into those same communities.

There is also a general lack of understanding about the challenges victims face. Due to the exploitation and trauma they have endured, victims require specific recovery services including health care, counseling, and legal representation. Professionals, including social workers working in mainstream systems, are often unfamiliar with human trafficking and are not prepared to address the unique needs of the victims (Irazola et al., 2008). Often, programs and agencies provide services to victims without even realizing that they are serving this population.

The law also lacks special safe housing provisions for victims, greatly limiting their options for refuge. According to a social worker with Tapestry, an organization dedicated to ending violence and oppression within refugee and immigrant communities in Atlanta, there is only one shelter in the US for foreign-born trafficking victims (personal communication, Alia El-Sawi, 23 and 29 March 2010). As a result, many reside in shelters for domestic violence or homelessness victims which are ill-equipped to meet the safety needs of trafficking victims (Wyler et al., 2009). However, a study in the US by Clawson and Goldblatt Grace (2007) identified four shelters for domestic sexual trafficking victims which only had 45 beds combined.

## Implications for social work practice

Struhsaker Schatz and Furman (2002) noted that given the profession’s value, it is surprising that social work literature has featured little discussion on one

of the most prominent human rights abuses. This is not an indication that professionals are not involved in anti-trafficking efforts. It is therefore difficult to assess the effectiveness of our efforts. The lack of a strong voice from the profession regarding trafficking issues is indeed a curious omission. Social work literature on the profession's roles is mostly descriptive.

### *Strengthening victim identification*

Identifying victims is one of the most challenging tasks in human trafficking intervention. According to Kappelhoff (2008), most trafficking cases were first identified by a local police officer or member of a community service organization. Since these agents are not the only ones who come into contact with victims, greater emphasis should be placed on educating communities about trafficking, including its prevalence, its sub-types, potential warning signs, rights of victims, and available resources. While the implementation of community awareness may be administered by service organizations, the TVPA should be amended to extend and provide funding for such programs. Kotrla (2010) proposed screening protocols in agencies where victims are likely to be encountered. A useful resource is the Administration for Children and Families' Campaign to Rescue and Restore Victims of Human Trafficking website: <http://www.acf.hhs.gov/trafficking/>. The site has toolkits that include screening questions for social service, health care, and law enforcement professionals that social workers can incorporate into their intake and assessment forms.

The current service delivery system does not support an environment that would empower more victims to seek help; consequently, the self-identification of victims is rare. The TVPA should provide for publicly funded safe havens with trained social workers who can identify, encourage, and screen potential victims and help them get legal and social services. Most shelters are currently run by nongovernmental organizations with limited resources. With greater resources, such safe havens could allow more victims to discuss their cases confidentially without fear of deportation or punishment (Roby et al., 2008), thus increasing the number of victims who are correctly identified, served, and protected. Also, social workers can facilitate the posting of notices in high transit areas. These notices should have information about where the victims are, what number to call for help, or anything they could do to free themselves from their captors.

While some changes were made through the 2008 reauthorization of the TVPA, there is limited impact assessment. Currently, the only existing data are those regarding *T*-visa applications, approvals, and denials. Sadruddin et al. (2005) stated that necessary information should include how the victims were identified, the individuals who identified them, the number of identified victims

unable or unwilling to assist law enforcement, and the number of victims who were deported without receiving any assistance. A better understanding of the identified victims will improve policy and programming to better serve those who are not yet identified. This is yet another opportunity for social work advocacy and practice within both the policy arena and service provision.

Under favorable circumstances within the US, social workers should involve trafficking survivors in victim identification efforts. This is because former victims are likely to easily identify those being trafficked. Anuradha Koirala received the 2010 CNN Hero of the Year award recipient for her anti-trafficking efforts along the Nepal–India border. Ms Koirala and at least 50 trafficking survivors also participate in social preventive work. Their community awareness camps educate families in rural villages and city slums about the dangers of sex trafficking, and a daily patrol at crossing points along the India–Nepal border successfully rescues an average of four Nepali girls a day (CNN, 2010).

Strengthening inter-agency collaborations between law-enforcement, neighborhood watches, NGOs, and other organizations is necessary. Social workers and other agency workers or volunteers need to be trained on the various strategies of identifying victims (Ghosh, 2009). International social work courses should include comprehensive content on the topic of human trafficking.

Social workers might consider participating in cross disciplinary teams that include leaders with credibility among various ethnic and immigrant populations. Also, local and federal law enforcement officials, immigration lawyers, and representatives from social service agencies might also be included to forge a team with individuals who can provide protective and rehabilitative services so that, once identified, victims are provided with seamless services (Hodge, 2008). Skilled social workers and border officers should also work together to ensure that legitimate victims are identified and provided with necessary services and not simply deported.

### *Improving services for victims*

Provision of effective services to identified victims requires several changes. A basic step is to ensure that victims are first served and only thereafter asked to participate in prosecution (Angel, 2007; Roby et al., 2008). Social service agencies can collaborate with agencies offering legal services to help law enforcement officers to prosecute trafficking. Our involvement on the ground with victims can be of critical importance in ensuring successful prosecution of traffickers. Important elements in evaluating social service delivery systems are accessibility and eligibility criteria (Chambers and Wedel, 2009). Services to victims should be made available from the moment they are identified to the point they are self-sufficient and in good psychological and physical health.

While resources have been developed to provide better care for victims of trafficking, there is still a significant need for specialized housing to meet the rehabilitation needs of victims (personal communication, Alexis Litos, 26 March 2010). Most domestic violence shelters are not adequately prepared to deal with the extensive physical, sexual, and psychological trauma human trafficking victims face. There is need for a provision in the law to incorporate the development of specialized housing that is staffed with trained multidisciplinary and multilingual teams to assist foreign-born victims of trafficking.

Apart from enhancing protection, the identification of more victims should result in the prosecution of more traffickers and affect overall trafficking activities within the US and abroad. By targeting services towards the protective standards of 'proactive identification' and 'shelter and temporary care', the US will also be in a better position to continue assessing other countries with their efforts in reducing trafficking. Proactive identification removes the burden of identification from victims since most are afraid of being perceived as criminals or undocumented immigrants. Systematic identification procedures including social workers, law enforcement, and NGO officials should be used to identify victims. Effective shelter and temporary care should include primary health care, counseling and shelter. Ideally, victims should not be held at immigration detention centers or other detention facilities. In some US cities, parents are allowed to drop their children in 'safe havens' instead of abandoning them in unsafe conditions. Victims in similar 'safe havens' can discuss their cases confidentially without fear of deportation and receive services by social workers and legal officers and are therefore necessary (Androff, 2010; Roby et al., 2008)

## **Conclusion**

An important challenge for social workers is to adequately address the multidimensional aspects of poverty among women and girls in developing countries. This task is now even more challenging in light of the recent global recession. For example, will increased economic disparities lead to increased trafficking? How will citizens and legislators in receiving countries frame trafficking within the wider social and economic contexts? Will current federal and state budget cutbacks impinge on anti-trafficking efforts?

It is important to address what are sometimes called 'push factors' (e.g. poverty, unemployment, ignorance) in poorer originating countries that make it conducive for traffickers to recruit victims. Professionals involved in international practice and policy advocacy are ideally situated to address these factors. Normally, existing efforts address push factors, particularly if such efforts are undertaken with a focus on prevention (Hodge, 2008). For instance,

economic capacity building, micro-enterprise, community development, promotion of stable governments, and programs that foster impartial law enforcement all help to create an environment that is less conducive to traffickers (Roby, 2005). Also, coordinated efforts from social workers across borders are needed to verify the authenticity of employment bureaus that prey on vulnerable populations. Social workers in sending and receiving countries should coordinate to ensure that international job seekers are working with only legitimate agents or employers.

In conclusion, the TVPA has made some progress in reducing trafficking. Trafficking should be conceptualized in the multi-dimensional contexts of crime, human rights, poverty, globalization, and social justice. As the 2010 *Trafficking in Persons Report* acknowledges: 'The missed opportunities for compassionate and effective victim identification must serve as a clarion call to ensure that this year, there is a proactive approach to victim identification and assistance, upholding the Palermo Protocol and the TVPA's guarantees of justice for every victim' (US Department of State, 2010b).

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