

Government's Brand Image Destroyer: Examining the Driving Factors behind Global Human Trafficking

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Abstract

Human trafficking is fundamentally a human rights issue. Authors have looked at this menace from the perspectives of sociology, economics, education, globalization, criminology, governance, legislation, and racial discrimination. However, most of these models are limited to a conceptual level and little empirical work is done to test the claims made by various theorists. In order to fill the said gap, data of most cited variables in the literature of trafficking are obtained. Results indicate that social progress and response of government against enslavement are negatively related to vulnerability to enslavement, while corruption and population growth rates are positively associated with the outcome.

Keywords: Human Trafficking; Modern Day Slavery; Social Progress; Corruption; Globalization; Unemployment.

1. INTRODUCTION

Human trafficking is a burning issue which has led to the rise of fourth world [Polakoff (2007)]. The fourth world consists of people who migrate illegally to a developed country with a dream to live happy and prosperous lives. However, during this perilous journey, they fall prey to traffickers and are exploited for the financial gains of traffickers [Alvarez and Alessi (2012)]. Men are subjected to 'labour exploitation' (Limoncelli, 2009) and they are forced to perform dangerous and hazardous jobs with no or very little pay; while women are coerced into prostitution and servitude in addition to other low paid industries [Iyanda (2016)]. Even the children are not impervious to this ill treatment. They are forced into servitude, child pornography, camel jockeying, begging, and organ removal among other examples. Captors maintain a tight control over their captives and force these innocent people

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through threats, deception, and similar means of coercion Sigmon (2008) to perform illegal jobs. Different terms such as slavery, trafficking, modern slavery, debt bondage, bonded labour, forced labour, coerced labour, unfree labour, and others are used interchangeably to describe this malicious practice. All these terms come under the umbrella of trafficking Davidson (2010) and a common theme in all these terms is that “a person is deprived of his or her freedom for the purpose of exploitation” [Smith and Betts (2015) p. 226].

The need of cheap labour [Uddin (2014)] in the developed countries along with the growth of sex-industry especially for tourists has spread this plague globally, and no country is immune to this menace. This is particularly strange as human trafficking and different forms of modern slavery are legally banned in almost every country of the world. However, this practice is still continuing in shadows and prevalent in most countries in one form or another [Sigmon (2008)]. This prevalence has made human trafficking lucrative for criminals and it is growing with every passing year [Shifman (2003)]. Resultantly, human trafficking is regarded as the second fastest growing illegal trade [Perry and McEwing (2013)] after arms and drug dealing operating at 32 billion dollars annually worldwide [Belser (2005); Hodge and Lietz (2007)]. Due to this profitable business, each year around 600,000 to 800,000 people illegally move across international borders globally [Hodge and Lietz (2007)].

Social activists, NGOs, media and especially scholars have been forced to determine the factors affecting growth of this problem [Sigmon (2008)]. During the last three decades, a considerable amount of work has been done in order to highlight different factors and conditions conducive for growth of human trafficking. Such work has highlighted different practices that are associated with “powers attached with the right of ownership” [Crane (2013) p. 50]. Such efforts have woken governments from their slumber. Now regional and global laws are being enforced in order to thwart the issue. Among such laws, the ground breaking work is United Nation's ‘Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children’ commonly referred as UN Palermo Protocol. This protocol was adopted by United Nations in 2004 [Samarasinghe and Burton (2007)]. By 2007, this protocol was ratified by 117 countries [Alvarez and Alessi (2012)]. The protocol urges the signing countries to declare all forms of trafficking a criminal activity and take counter-measures to curb it [Hernandez and Rudolph (2015)] along with assisting the victims of trafficking [Sigmon (2008)].

Researchers working in the area of human trafficking have viewed this curse from the viewpoint of sociology, economics, education, globalization, criminology, governance, legislation, gender and feminism, and human rights among other fields. Empirical research in the field of modern slavery is in its infancy [Yaklasimi, *et al.* (2010)]. This is because most of the work done is either at a conceptual level or data collection has been limited to a particular region or country. Very few attempts have been made to determine the potential factors for effecting human trafficking and empirically testing it at the global level. Mahmoud and Trebesch (2010), using micro data, have conducted a quantitative study to determine factors affecting human trafficking. However, their study is limited to Belarus, Bulgaria, Moldova, Romania, and Ukraine. Moreover, many authors concur that human trafficking is a global issue but very little work is done in studying human trafficking in the global context. Akee, *et al.* (2007) have attempted to determine factors that contribute to trafficking of women and children in a cross-section of countries. But their study is restricted to “market imperfections and differential bargaining power amongst the concerned parties” [Akee, *et al.* (2007) p. 1]. Thus, a holistic and empirical approach in determining the relative importance of different factors contributing to spread of human trafficking on global scale is missing in the literature.

The present study aims to fill the aforementioned gap by adopting an integrative approach and determining a list of potential driving factors that can be used and classified as either facilitating or restraining in human trafficking. For the purpose, the most cited factors of human trafficking found in the literature are shortlisted. Secondary data regarding these factors are collected from various authentic sources. Then, multiple regression analysis is carried out to determine the relative sensitivity of each factor towards spread of human trafficking and subsequent modern slavery.

In the following section of the paper, a review of current status of literature about human trafficking and modern slavery is presented. Then, potential factors and their role in increase of human trafficking are discussed. In the result section, different regression models are generated to check the interaction of different factors in predicting human trafficking.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Human trafficking is one of the biggest problems associated with human rights in modern era. Although old forms of chattel slavery prevalent during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are legally banned Crane (2013)

different forms of subjugation and enslavement are still present in almost all countries of the world [Hodge and Lietz (2007)]. Modern slavery is not a new phenomenon; rather it is the evolution of the old form of slavery [Degorge (2006)]. The figures regarding exact number of people who fall prey to human trafficking are contradicting [Lebaron and Ayers (2013)]. This is probably due to the difference in the definition and subsequent estimation based on such definitions. However, in simplest form, trafficking is considered to encompass movement or restriction in movement of a person against his or her will through “coercion or deception into exploitive or slavery-like conditions” [Davidson (2013) p. 178]. Modern day slavery includes forcing people to work through threat, owning or controlling a person by some monetary, physical or mental abuse, inhuman treatment of considering humans as a commodity or consumable item, and restraining free movement of a person [Crane (2013)]. Human trafficking also includes transportation, hiring and receipt of people, kidnapping, fraud or misuse of power and exploitation of persons [Iyanda (2016)]. All these dimensions are incorporated in the Article No 3 UN Palermo Protocol (Hernandez and Rudolph, 2015), which is the most cited definition of human trafficking. According to this Protocol, human trafficking “shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other form of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.”

Human trafficking is often considered synonymous with smuggling since both are globally accepted as illegal practices Davidson (2013) that violate national borders and challenge law enforcing agencies. There is an intersection of smuggling and trafficking at the beginning but the difference is clear at the end (Kyle and Koslowski, 2011) and there are notable differences between the both [Richards (2004)]. In smuggling, the migrant uses his own free will to embark on a journey and illegally crosses international borders. In such a case, the role of smuggler is limited only as transporter. Once the person enters his desired destination, the role of smuggler finishes Richards (2004) and the immigrant is left to his fate [Davidson (2013)]. In case of human trafficking, the process is not limited to transportation but it continues after it. Due to smuggling, human trafficking becomes a conduit into enslavement [Bales, *et al.* (2009)]. Furthermore, coercion, force, violence and threats are involved and the victim is exploited into performing illegal tasks [Joshi (2002)]. Therefore, authorities, NGOs, and other human right organizations have a more sympathetic attitude towards victims of trafficking as compared to those people

who are voluntarily smuggled to other countries (Bhabha and Zard, 2006) since smuggling is regarded as a direct act of crime against state as well as other legal immigrants.

3. DRIVING FACTORS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Various authors have worked on different factors that contribute to human trafficking. As pointed out earlier, such authors have viewed the problem from varying perspectives such as criminology, sociology, economics, human rights, globalization, legislation, and many others. At its core, modern day slavery is considered a human rights issue long before it was considered as crime or migration issue [Gallagher (2008)]. It is impossible to discuss all factors present in literature in detail. However, the factors considered in the present study along with their effect on modern day slavery are discussed below.

3.1. Economic Disparity

Economic disparity is one of the often-cited factors in the literature of human trafficking [Gallagher (2008)]. "Accumulation of wealth at one pole is therefore, at the same time, accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance and mental degradation at the other." [Karl Marx, (2008) p.645]. The income difference between the rich and the poor is increasing with every passing day. This income disparity has created different social classes. In developing countries, wealthy people usually hold political powers. Such people control legislation in order to safeguard their own economic interest and they ensure that poor people do not climb up in the social ladder. Such people then use the under privileged people as slaves through different means.

International Labour Organization regards debt bondage as one of the prime sources of exploiting economic disparity to trap people in subjugation [Crane (2013)]. "Debt Bondage is the state arising from a pledge by a debtor of his own personal services or of those of a person under his control as security for a debt, when the length and nature of the services are not defined nor does their value diminish the debt" [Degorge (2006) p. 658]. Pitiable economic condition forces people to borrow money from wealthy persons. However, they are unable to pay back these loans and they are pressed to work as free labour for their lender. This practice is common in rural areas of sub-continent of South Asia where children work as bonded labour in order to repay loan of their deceased parents [Uddin (2014)]. Many people willing to migrate illegally are themselves unable to pay for these migration expenses and they commit with

the financing trafficker to pay back once they reach their destination [Mahmoud and Trebesch (2010)]. The traffickers finance migration of these persons and in return compel them to work for the traffickers until the debts are paid which may take months or even years [Davidson (2013)]. In extreme cases, traffickers force families back at home to pay off the debts [Chin (1999)].

Subjugated persons are even powerless to quit their jobs knowing that they will still have to repay their charges of migration. Such victims are also denied the right of free movement since they are unable to move without consent of their 'owner' [Davidson (2013)]. The kafala system, "a system of sponsorship used to regulate certain categories of migrant workers in Gulf Cooperation Council states and Lebanon (especially domestic, construction, and agricultural workers), that ties workers to the employers who sponsor their visas" (Davidson, 2013; p. 183) is a notorious example of exploitive powers associated with debt bondage.

3.2. Poverty and Low Wages

Poverty caused due to socio-economic disparity Fosu, (2010) is another motivation for a person to leave his home country for migration Pande (2014) and it is the most critical push factor in the study of human trafficking [Crane (2013)]. People belonging to poor sections of the society are more vulnerable to modern day slavery [Andrees (2008)] as they are totally dependent upon the wages they have earned. These people are left with no other option than to work in harsh conditions and they subsequently enter in "voluntary form of slavery" (Degorge, 2006; p. 662). Such people are entirely dependent on their employer and they have to take petty loans in order to fulfil their basic needs. However, their wages are low to the extent that they cannot repay these loans (Limoncelli, 2009) and are forced to work in eternal slave-like conditions even in their own country of birth. In such a situation, it is not "possible to draw the line between slavery and 'free' wage labour through reference to the voluntariness with which the labour is performed" [Davidson (2010) p. 246].

Furthermore, deregulation of labour market has resulted in lower real income for the families implying that people have to work for more hours to survive [Lebaron and Ayers (2013)]. This problem is more profound in lower wage group and resulted in an escalation of child labour. It is this very poverty that forces parents to even sell their parents [Pande (2014)]. Generally, women are given less wages as compared to men making the former more prone to subjugation [Limoncelli (2009)]. The socio-economic disparities are also creating a gap between the developing and the developed countries [Fosu

(2010)]. Women working in forced sex-industry originate from low income countries such as Philippines, Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, Vietnam, Nepal, Bangladesh, Nigeria, China, former Soviet Union and Central and Eastern European Countries [Hodge and Lietz (2007); Samarasinghe and Burton (2007)]. However, it is important to bear in mind the difference of poverty level of two countries when considering the movement of people across regions [Plant and Geneva (2007)]. Traffickers capitalize this difference and lure people living in relatively poor regions to more prosperous ones.

3.3. Unemployment Level

“Closely linked to poverty is unemployment, especially structural unemployment, where lack of appropriate skills among workers and limited job opportunities in the region may accentuate the push of poverty.” [Crane (2013) p. 55]. People, particularly in under-developed countries, have limited job opportunities and they have to perform odd duties in harsh environments. They are exposed to greater exploitation from their owner since they have no other job opportunities. Even the educated people are forced to do jobs that are far below their qualification to fulfil the basic needs of their families.

Some claim that privatization of industries has increased unemployment and job insecurity [Lebaron and Ayers (2013)]. Human traffickers take advantage of the demand of cheap labour in developed countries and use these unemployed people to fulfill this shortage [Agbu (2003)]. They entice people by telling them success stories of those who have illegally migrated to other countries and are making money [Zhidkova (2015)]. This lures desperate men and women to move to “greener pastures abroad” [Agbu (2003) p. 1]. In case of women, the problem is aggravated since gender discrimination and social inequality leaves less formal jobs for them. Women from lower caste and small farmer families have few job options and they are easily trapped in bonded labour practices [Sharma (2007)]. Such factors compel women to work in “informal economy” under “exploitive labour conditions” [Limoncelli (2009) p. 80].

3.4. Social Progress

People of a socially developed country will have better income and more job opportunities, and such a prosperous society will be lesser prone to modern-day slavery. Governments of such countries provide unemployment allowance and will ensure availability of basic human needs even to jobless or

deprived persons. Such governments also give facilities to individual and small business enterprises in obtaining credit on easy terms and conditions; thus reducing threat of modern slavery [Crane (2013)].

On the other hand, low social progress makes people more vulnerable to human trafficking and slavery. Poor sections of the society are deprived of the “security net” (Limoncelli, 2009) and “in the absence of alternative employment options, and without a social safety net, the offers from recruiters are (or appear to be) a family’s best hope for economic survival” [Crane (2013) p. 55]. Such people are forced to migrate for better earning. But they become more susceptible to exploitation and other harm (Jones, *et al.*, 2007) by traffickers as well as their employers in migrated country.

Private organizations through initiatives like corporate social responsibility (CSR) also try to help a society combat human trafficking. Earlier, the concept of CSR was limited to education, environment protection, and charity [Esrock and Leichty (1998)]. Now, today the scope of CSR has broadened and organizations are giving special attention to philanthropic practices [Smith and Betts (2015)]. Private organizations are particularly cognizant of the human trafficking and ensure that their products are not used by traffickers. Smith and Betts (2015) quote the example of Microsoft who ensures that their products are not used by traffickers. Organizations also refrain from conducting any business with organizations involved in forced labour.

3.5. Education Level

Education level is another crucial factor that may prevent abuse of a person from a human trafficker. In the first place, they will be aware of the illegal means employed by the traffickers. They would be better aware of the rules and regulations regarding legal migration for job and will follow the due course to get employment in their country of desire. An educated person with a good skill set is likely to secure a better job in a renowned organization that has a good history of employee welfare. Contrarily, people with “low levels of education are more prone to fall prey to traffickers than others” [Andrees (2008) p.11]. An illiterate person is more likely to be lured by traffickers [Crane (2013)]. This is particularly true for women with low educated and limited professional skills who are easily trapped by traffickers [Uddin (2014)].

3.6. Population Growth Rate

A rapid population growth is considered to be a supportive factor for human trafficking. A higher population growth rate is observed in under

developed countries. These countries are already characterised by low job opportunities, minimum wages, and pitiable social progress. A higher population rate adds to the miseries of nationals of such countries and makes them more vulnerable to modern slavery. These countries prove to be a breeding ground for traffickers and they can get cheap 'raw material' for their illegal means. It is global trend that families with lesser income tend to have a larger family size. In such families, parents pay little attention to the upbringing and education of their children and regard them as a source of income by employing them in different industries where child labour is acceptable. Uddin (2014) notes "millions of children work in hazardous situations in the glass bangle factories, brick kilns and circus industry where Indian, Bangladeshi and Nepali children are trafficked and exploited" (p. 22). Thus, children in third world countries play a vital role in supporting their families [Polakoff (2007)]. Therefore, it can be concluded that citizens of a country with higher population growth rate are more prone to the risks of modern-day enslavement.

3.7. Corruption

Corruption also contributes towards widening of human trafficking since "corruption is both an underlying root cause and a facilitating tool for human trafficking" [Agbu (2008), p. 1]. Corruption of officials sometimes thwarts fight against trafficking. Even officials in the judiciary and law enforcing departments are found to be involved in this heinous crime [Studnicka (2010)]. The use of corrupt means by traffickers such as bribing law enforcing officials or judges can undermine judicial and legal fight against human trafficking [Richards (2004)]. Odunga (2001) reports that a former Nigerian policeman was apprehended by the authorities for being involved in the trafficking of 33 young girls aged between 18-20 years. This corruption facilitates human trafficking at different stages, for example forging fake documents, letting people with insufficient documents enter in the country undetected, as well as turning a blind eye towards exploitation of immigrants [Uddin (2014)]. Such practices facilitate human trafficking and the corrupt personals even become accomplices to trafficking. For this reason, Bales (2005), in his multivariate model, has regarded corruption to be the most sensitive factor in predicting human trafficking.

3.8. Government Response and Legislation against Trafficking

The preceding discussion indicates that human trafficking and modern day slavery have their roots in the government's inability to respond to this

problem [Studnicka (2010)]. Good governance is a “key regulatory factor” in combating modern day slavery as lacking of the same results in thriving of human trafficking [Crane (2013) p. 57]. Human trafficking is viewed by some as an outcome of the inability of the government to control the behaviour of its citizens and criminals [Yaklasimi *et al.* (2010)]. Legislation and government responsive measures against human trafficking can be categorized into prevention of any prospective persons, prosecution of perpetrator of trafficking, and protection of victims of trafficked persons [Samarasinghe and Burton (2007)]. It is imperative that government should focus on both short term and long term preventive measures and ensure gender and racial equality, participation of females in labour market, protection of interests of labours, balance between employees and employers, and greater economic liberty to citizens. Last but not the least; active protection of the victims is also important so that they are not re-trafficked in some other region [Lindstrom (2007)].

3.9. Globalization

Globalization is explained as “increasing volume and speed of flows of capital and goods, information and ideas, people and forces that connect actors between countries” [Keohane, (2002) p. 194]. Globalization is considered as an outcome of capitalization as it has facilitated transnational use of capital, resources and labour, as well as cross border trade. However, a great number of theorist and researchers consider that globalization has increased human trafficking [Agbu (2008); Bales (2005); Degorge (2006); Samarasinghe and Burton (2007); Uddin (2014)] and human trafficking is considered to be a “dark side of globalization” [Limoncelli (2009) p. 72]. They regard globalization to be responsible for “demise of state sovereignty” because interaction between actors in different countries can take place without consent of the government [Zhidkova (2015)]. Thus, globalization has led to “transnational crime” by increasing the pressure on international borders [Studnicka (2010)]. Further, globalization has increased flow of information and communication, made transportation between countries easier as well as facilitated in transfer of money and credit [Keohane and Nye (1971)]. All these factors have facilitated human trafficking between countries. Bales (2005) claims that globalization has increased trade between countries but it has also promoted cross border transfer of illegal immigrants. “The search for cheap labor in the name of globalization is done at the expense of needy workers.” [Nagle (2008) p.139]. A few postulate that globalization has increased trafficking through poverty (Lebaron and Ayers, 2013) and in doing so has increased the gulf between the

rich and the poor thus enticing people in poor countries to move towards rich ones [Agbu (2008)]. For example, Polakoff (2007) has discussed the effect of economic globalization on poverty and discusses how economic globalization has made poor families dependent upon the earning of their young ones through child labour.

3.10. Economic Development and Liberalization

The policy of capitalist governments to liberalize the economy is a direct consequence of globalization. This issue is highlighted by Morgan (2006) in his classical text “Images of Organization” wherein he represents organizations as an instrument of exploitation as one metaphor to see organizations. He shows how multinational organizations use the natural resources of a country in order to serve their own good. They enter in a particular country under the disguise as a benefactor who will transfer technology and expertise to increase the capacity of the country. However, they are actually taking advantage of the available natural resources and cheap labour to accomplish their own purpose. Neoliberal policies adopted by many countries have increased the susceptibility to subjugation (Castles, 2003; Truong, 2003) due to which gap between the poor and the rich is increasing [Limoncelli (2009)]. This capital globalization has turned people into a mere commodity (Bales, 2012; Pande, 2014; Vayrynen, 2005) treating living beings on the traditional demand/supply nexus which was once considered only for material objects. Privatization and deregulation of labour market has given more bargaining power to the owners. Employers can now dictate their own terms in determining wages and job conditions for the employees. This has eroded the effectiveness of labour unions [Lebaron and Ayers (2013)]. Marxist theorists equate exploitation of labours as slavery (Manzo, 2005) because workers have no freedom to withdraw from this entrapment. Modern proponents of Marxism regard contemporary capitalism, similar to medieval feudalism, as a tool for exploitation of poor labour [Laycock (1999)]. Hence, adhering to Marxist school of thought, it can be inferred that the level of economic activity in a particular country always serves the purpose of the elite and poor section has little benefits from the economic development.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study is aimed at determining the relative importance of different factors that may contribute towards vulnerability to enslavement. The most cited factors found in the literature of human trafficking were considered. These

factors include: poverty level and low wages, unemployment, social progress level, education, literacy and skill level of citizens, population growth rates of the country, corruption, government response, and legislation against trafficking, globalization and economic development. Secondary data regarding these factors is collected from different reliable sources. Data for 124 countries for year 2014 was gathered. Year 2014 was selected as the data related to all variables was readily available for this year. The chosen countries exhibit variation in the level of vulnerability to enslavement, GDP per capita, social progress, etc. This helped in gauging the relative importance of different factors in predicting vulnerability to enslavement. A complete list of countries considered in the study is available with the authors.

1. The dependent variable, human trafficking or modern day slavery, is measured with the help of 'Vulnerability to Enslavement'. 'Vulnerability to Enslavement' examines the effect of different contextual factors that make citizens of a country susceptible to trafficking. This is an aggregated measure of 37 variables grouped into five dimensions. These dimensions are government policies to fight modern slavery, presence of human rights protection laws in the country, socio-economic development of country, the extent of state political stability, and the level of women rights and gender discrimination [Global Slavery Index, (2014)]. For Year 2018, North Korea, Eritria, Burundi, Central African Republic, and Afghanistan were the top five countries with highest prevalence of modern slavery.
2. To measure low wages, we use the measure "Minimum wage for a 19-year old worker or an apprentice (US\$/month)" and data about the same are collected from Doing Business Report 2014. This measure is a part of 'employing work', which "measures flexibility in regulation of employment relating to hiring, work scheduling, redundancy rules and redundancy costs." [Doing Business (2014), p. 118].
3. Data regarding unemployment is taken from World Bank database. This data describes the percentage of people unemployed in a particular country relative to total labour force of that country.
4. Social progress is measured by Social Progress Imperative (SPI) Scale recently developed by Michael Porter and his colleagues. This scale ranks countries on the basis of 54 indicators related to social performance, health services, basic and higher education, security situation, environment sustainability, communication facilities, access to information, and tolerance in society [SPI Report (2014)].
5. In order to measure education level of a country, data of 'mean years of

schooling' from Human Development Report is used. In this measure, the average number of years spends by the citizens of the country with age 25 years and above is considered. However, the years repeated in a particular class are not considered in this measure.

6. Data regarding percentage annual population growth are obtained from World Bank database.
7. Data regarding corruption are obtained from Corruption Perception Index, a quantitative scale developed by Transparency International. The scale ranks countries from 0 (very clean) to 100 (highly corrupt).
8. Data regarding government response against slavery are gathered from Global Slavery Index. Government response is measured by collecting pertinent data regarding five different objectives that include survivors of human trafficking, judicial system against the crime of trafficking, accountability mechanism provided by central government, attitudes, social system, and institutions to combat trafficking and business and government procurement initiatives to providing goods and services to traffickers. For Year 2018, governments of Netherlands, United States and United Kingdom took concrete steps for combating slavery; whereas governments of North Korea, Libya, Eriteria, Central African Republic etc. failed to take appropriate actions. Similarly, governments of Georgia, Maldova, and Senegal displayed strong responsive against slavery relative to their GDP (PPP).
9. For globalization, both Social and Economic Globalization are considered and "KOF Index score of social globalization" and "KOF Index score of economic globalization" is used for both respectively. While globalization is restricted to integration of production and development, social globalization entails the interaction between different social groups which are geographically separated.
10. For economic development, GDP per capita, PPP (current international \$) is used as appropriate measure and data regarding this is obtained from World Bank database.

5. RESULTS

In the beginning, descriptive statistics was used to perform Uni-Variate Analysis on the variables mentioned in Table 1. Mean and Standard Deviation was used as a measure of Central Tendency and Variable of the data. Results on these Descriptive Statistics of variables are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Variables

Variable	Data source	Number of obs.	Mean	Standard deviation
Vulnerability to Enslavement	The Global Slavery Index 2014	124	46.32	17..40
GDP Per Capita	World Bank database	124	18,356.48	6904.26
Social Progress Imperative	Social Progress Imperative Report 2014	124	63.92	14.19
Unemployment Rate	World Bank database	124	8.98	6.47
Government Response against enslavement	The Global Slavery Index 2014	124	42.08	16.51
Minimum wage for a 19-year old worker	Doing Business Report 2014	123	400.50	613.15
Percentage growth of population of country	World Bank database	124	1.29	1.25
Mean years of schooling in years	Human Development Report 2014	124	8.49	3.13
Corruption Perception Index	Transparency International	123	44.52	19.62
KOF score of Social globalization		124	52.41	21.95
KOF score of Economic globalization	KOF Globalization Index	120	62.10	15.63

Bi-Variate Correlation Analysis, using Pearson Correlation Method, was performed to check the strength of relationship between variables under study. Results of this correlation analysis are given in Table 2. All the relations were statistically significant except of unemployment rate which is surprising. Furthermore, vulnerability to enslavement has negative relationship with all variables except population growth rate. However, this claim will be fully tested when both factors will be viewed holistically with other variables.

Table 2 also indicates that relations of all predicting variables with the dependent, except unemployment rate, were particularly strong as the absolute value of Pearson Correlation in all relations is above 0.5. Vulnerability to enslavement has the strongest correlation with the Social Progress Index. This confirms the importance of social progress in reducing human trafficking and different forms of modern day slavery. Similarly, Corruption and Government Response is the second and third strongest factor respectively which affects human trafficking. The relationship of vulnerability to enslavement with social globalization is stronger as compared to the corresponding relationship with economic globalization.

For the main part of data analysis, different regression models are generated through combination of factors. All these models fulfill the requisite conditions of Multiple Regression Analysis. Results of these regression models are shown in Table 3. Before running the analysis, all requisite conditions of regression were checked. For example, auto-correlation between observations and multi-collinearity between variables was checked with the help of Durban-Watson Statistics and Variance Inflation Factor respectively and was found within the satisfactory range.

In the first model, a conventional approach is adopted and variables related to social and economic progress of the country are included. In this model, GDP per capita has the greatest value of unstandardized coefficient and it bears a positive sign. This means that for a unit increase in the value of GDP per capita, there is an almost 10 times increase in the value of vulnerability to enslavement. This model had the highest value of R^2 among all models confirming that the variables included in this model are most sufficient to explain any variation in the value of vulnerability to enslavement.

Table 2. Correlation between variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Vulnerability to Enslavement	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
GDP Per Capita	-0.713**	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social Progress Imperative	-0.920**	0.806**	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployment Rate	0.013	-0.110	-0.012	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Government Response against enslavement	-0.828**	0.563**	0.743**	-0.004 ¹	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Minimum wage for 19-year old worker	-0.654**	0.611**	0.609**	-0.045	0.490**	1	-	-	-	-	-
Percentage growth of population of country	0.598**	-0.329**	-0.630**	0.194	-0.556**	-0.250**	1	-	-	-	-
Mean years of schooling in years	-0.751**	0.659**	0.837**	0.026	0.625**	0.464**	-0.653**	1	-	-	-
Corruption Perception Index	-0.831**	0.782**	0.823**	-0.043	0.664**	0.609**	-0.423**	0.623**	1	-	-
KOF score of Social globalization	-0.812**	0.858**	0.906**	0.047	0.670**	0.571**	-0.560**	0.792**	0.766**	1	-
KOF score of Economic globalization	-0.664**	0.638	0.638**	0.132	0.573**	0.386**	-0.491**	0.692**	0.639	0.754	1

Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed) **

In the second model, the effect of economic globalization, unemployment, and social progress are investigated. Results show that SPI was the most sensitive variable while others were insignificant. In the third model, GDP per capita along with minimum wages, corruption perception, and social globalization are checked. In this model, GDP per capita, corruption and minimum wages were found to be negatively related with enslavement, while social globalization was positively related. In Models 5, 7 and 9; different social variables, other than SPI, were tested and the results were found in agreement with the extant literature.

In sixth model, government initiatives to strengthen GDP, enhance social progress, and response against trafficking were investigated. Government response was found to be negatively related with human trafficking. Similarly, in the eighth model, government response to curb trafficking through increased education, employment opportunities, and population control are tested. In this model, population growth was the most sensitive variable emphasizing the importance of population growth in increasing trafficking.

In the tenth model, the effect of social globalization and government responses against human trafficking is brought under consideration. In this model, government response against slavery had the highest value of un-standardized coefficient. In Model 12, government response is checked with other social variables and all variables were found to be statistically significant except unemployment.

In the Models 11, 13 and 14, SPI was used along with government response, GDP per capita, and other social variables. In Model 12, GDP per capita had the highest value of un-standardized coefficient and it was again found positively related when used in combination with SPI. This model has the second highest value of R^2 that gives a clue of the predicting ability of variables included in this model. In Models 13 and 14, SPI was the most sensitive variable in predicting vulnerability to enslavement. In Model 14, both social and economic globalization was used with SPI along with corruption and government response. In this model, economic globalization was statistically insignificant whereas relationships of all other variables with vulnerability to enslavement are found in alignment with the prediction of literature.

In the last model, all the variables, except SPI, were included. SPI was excluded because its presence resulted in the violation of the condition of multi-collinearity. The result of this model is aligned with the view of Neoliberals since GDP per capita, unemployment, social globalization, and economic globalization were positively related with the outcome. But, all these variables were statistically insignificant raising doubts about the generalization of this result. All other variables considered in the model are statistically significant. While population growth was found to be positively related, all remaining variables were negatively associated with vulnerability to enslavement.

Table 3. Different Regression Models

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
GDP Per Capita	10.60 (2.49)		-3.13** (2.96)			10.70 (2.51)	-0.92** (3.69)				11.42 (2.85)				3.77** (2.98)
Social Progress Imperative	-1.11 (0.11)	-1.13 (0.07)		-1.23 (0.11)		-1.12 (0.11)			-1.22 (0.08)		-1.23 (0.13)		-0.92 (0.10)	-0.77 (0.10)	-
Unemployment Rate		0.07** (0.08)				-0.034** (0.06)		0.11** (0.10)		- (0.09)**		0.04** (0.08)	- (0.026)**		0.07** (0.08)
Government Response against enslavement	-0.27 (0.04)					-0.27 (0.04)		-0.57 (0.07)		-0.41 (0.05)	-0.29 (0.04)	-0.38 (0.05)	-0.33 (0.05)	-0.36 (0.05)	-0.38 (0.05)
Minimum wage for 19-year old worker	-0.004 (0.001)		-0.003* (0.001)		-0.006 (0.003)	-0.004 (0.001)		-0.009 (0.003)		-0.004* (0.02)		-0.004 (0.002)	-0.004 (0.002)		-0.004 (0.002)
Percentage growth of population	0.094 (0.59)				2.57 (0.67)			3.13 (0.74)	-0.43** (1.07)			1.82 (0.63)			1.87 (0.62)
Mean years of schooling in years				0.52** (0.33)	-1.39 (0.32)		-1.01 (0.45)		0.35** (0.39)		0.06** (0.33)	-0.98 (0.30)	0.18** (0.36)		-0.83 (0.4)
Corruption Perception Index			-0.37 (0.05)		-0.43 (0.05)		-0.39 (0.05)			-0.28 (0.04)		-0.30 (0.04)		-0.18 (0.04)	-0.29 (0.04)
KOF score of Social globalization			0.33 (0.08)	-0.005** (0.07)			-0.27 (0.08)			-0.06** (0.06)			0.09** (0.06)	0.09* (0.06)	-0.09** (0.07)
KOF score of Economic globalization		-0.007** (0.07)					-0.01** (0.08)		-0.01** (0.06)		0.007** (0.05)			0.018** (0.05)	-0.03** (0.07)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Constant	87.41 (6.18)	118.22 (2.93)	92.93 (8.85)	120.13 (3.89)	75.86 (3.31)	87.99 (5.00)	90.54 (10.07)	69.16 (3.36)	122.21 (5.14)	90.27 (1.93)	91.59 (5.99)	82.85 (3.30)	113.76 (3.71)	112.46 (3.37)	72.63 (9.07)
No of Valid Observations	123	117	119	122	122	123	116	123	117	122	120	122	123	119	119
Probability of Shipro-Wilk test	0.366	0.107	0.054	0.050	0.059	0.418	0.087	0.742	0.063	0.256	0.307	0.094	0.124	0.098	0.382
Durban Watson Statistics	2.056	1.925	1.935	1.947	2.038	2.061	2.012	2.043	1.915	2.035	2.084	2.033	2.090	2.167	2.044
Value of R ²	0.9227	0.8810	0.8406	0.8730	0.8357	0.9228	0.8433	0.7991	0.8824	0.8866	0.9121	0.8935	0.9072	0.9121	0.8966

Note: Values represent un-standardized coefficients while those in parenthesis are standard deviation of un-standardized coefficients.

*Significant at p<10%

** Statistically insignificant for all other p<5%.

6. DISCUSSION

Contradictory results are obtained about the effect of GDP per capita on vulnerability to enslavement. For example, in Models 3 and 7, GDP per capita is negatively associated with enslavement. Therefore, these results support the view that lower level of GDP results in higher risk of modern day slavery [Plant and Geneva (2007)]. However, in both these models GDP per capita is statistically insignificant meaning that the results of this model cannot be generalized. On the other hand, in Models 1, 6, 11 and 15 GDP per capita is found to be positively related with enslavement that is contradictory to the results of Models 3 and 7. Except Model 15, GDP per capita was significant in all other models suggesting that these results can be generalized. A possible explanation rests in the fact that GDP increase in most of the countries has actually resulted in a decrease of human trafficking as we have noticed for European and North American countries. But the same cannot be true for many countries particularly the rich Arab countries. Despite their higher GDP per capita, the Arab countries are particularly notorious about modern slavery practices.

It is also interesting to note that GDP per capita becomes positively related with vulnerability to enslavement when other factors, especially SPI, are incorporated in regression model. Whenever GDP was used with SPI in any model, it was found to be positively associated with trafficking. However, when used alone GDP per capita was negatively related to trafficking. This may be attributed to the collinearity between both variables as economic development is a part of SPI. Moreover, such variation in the results about GDP suggests the limitation of using data for only one year. Had longitudinal data been used, the results would have been different. Therefore, precise evidence could not be obtained from this study whether GDP per capita results in increased economic activities and more job opportunities for people as claimed by supporters of liberalization and free economy, or GDP per capita growth is merely a tool to increase wealth of the rich and exploitation of poor as believed by the followers of Marxism and Neo-liberalism [Laycock, (1999)].

Social progress index was used in eight different models in combinations with other factors. SPI was included because Lebaron and Ayers (2013) have pointed out that research in the field of trafficking has considered it on an individual level without considering the social aspect of domination and exploitation. In all the models, this variable has a negative relationship with vulnerability to enslavement. Moreover, in all models, SPI was statistically significant. This study confirms the view of social theorist that

governments should not solely focus on increasing GDP of its country. Rather, it should perform its duties as a welfare state and give due focus to social well-being of all of its citizens. Government should give special attention to the economically, socially, and culturally deprived sections of the society such as women and minorities, and should work towards the social development of these sections.

As stated above, contrary to the literature, unemployment rate of the country was statistically insignificant which raises doubts on the generalization of this variable. Effects of this factor on vulnerability to enslavement are not consistent. In a few models, unemployment was positively related with vulnerability while in some it was negatively related. Hence, there is no conclusive evidence how this factor effects human trafficking. It is also important to note that unemployment is not significantly related to any of the variables, suggesting that some other more comprehensive measure of unemployment may be considered in place of simple unemployment rate.

Just like SPI, government's responses against trafficking are negatively related to modern day slavery. Although, the sensitivity of this variable is not as high as SPI; a consistently negative relationship of this variable and vulnerability to enslavement exists that is statistically significant in all models. This shows the importance of social progress in combating human trafficking. Unfortunately, governments in third world countries have neglected the importance of socio-economic factors that pushes people towards trafficking [Chuang (2006)] and focus only on prosecution of culprits [Limoncelli (2009)]. Even in the developed countries, the legislation is somewhat ex-post facto that allows traffickers to be one step ahead of the legislation against trafficking [Brewer (2009)]. There should be a pro-active approach in the legislation and measures to combat human trafficking.

In a similar vein, minimum wages given to the workers or apprentice of 19 years have a negative relation with the dependent variable. However, in all models the value of un-standardized coefficient is minimal, implying that this factor has little effect on human trafficking. In other words, if a person is getting a decent enough salary in his home country, he or she will be less likely to contemplate moving to another country for better income.

The population growth rate was positively related to vulnerability to enslavement. This is consistent with the view that higher population rate in a country provides a breeding ground for the traffickers and they can recruit more people from such countries. Except two models, value of un-standardized coefficient for this variable was greater than 1, showing that this variable produces a relatively stronger change in the value of vulnerability of

enslavement. However, in one case i.e. Model No 9, this variable is statistically insignificant. These results confirm the claim of many theorists that rapid population growth results in over-supply of labour force and potential slaves [Manzo (2005); Bales (2012)].

Mean years of schooling showed a mixed effect on vulnerability to enslavement. Models 4, 9, 11 and 13 exhibited a positive relation with vulnerability against enslavement which was insignificant in all four instances. Such cases are true for those people who are fully aware of the dangers associated with illegal immigration but still embark on such journeys for better opportunities [Jureidini and Moukarbel (2004)]. On the contrary, in Models 5, 7, 12 and 15 mean years of schooling was found to be negatively related to the dependent variable aligned with the prediction of the literature that a more educated and skilled person will be less prone to forced labour. In only one of the later four cases, this variable was statistically insignificant thereby implying that the negative relationship between predictor and outcome has fairly high generalization ability. Thus, it can be concluded that higher education level, better skill sets and competency level, awareness of the rules, and threats associated with migration can reduce susceptibility to subjugation [Crane (2013)]. On the contrary, Brewer (2009) points out that developing countries have paid little attention to the education of their citizens. This has increased exploitation of workers at the hand of the employers both at home or abroad that may even result in a life-long slavery

As expected from the literature, corruption perception is negatively related to vulnerability to enslavement. This is aligned with the results of Studnicka (2010) who has also found a relationship of corruption and trafficking in the context of Brazil. It is pertinent to bear in mind that corruption perception index is inverse measure of corruption. This means that countries with higher corruption will have low score of corruption perception index and vice versa. Hence, the results confirm that the greater level of corruption contributes to higher risk of human trafficking while nationals and immigrants of countries ranked higher on corruption perception index are less exposed to different forms of modern day slavery. This is consistent with Lyday's findings (2000) who found a positive relationship between corruption and human trafficking at country level. Further, the results of regression models describing the relationship between corruption and vulnerability to enslavement can be generalized as in all models the former was statistically significant.

Lastly, no decisive inference can be drawn from the effect of globalization on enslavement. Results indicate that economic globalization has no significant relation with enslavement and their relative effect on

trafficking when considered in the presence of other variables is very weak. In case of social globalization, the results are even more confusing. In few instances, it is positively related with outcome, while in some this relationship is negative. Similarly, a great deal of inconsistency exists regarding generalization of results of social globalization.

7. IMPLICATION FOR GOVERNMENT

The present paper highlights the importance of social progress in combating slavery. Consistent with the views of Limoncelli (2009), governments should adopt a three-way strategy of prevention, prosecution, and protection to its image and perception in the eyes of citizens. Governments should strive towards progress and development of the society and give special attention to the neglected sections of the society so that they do not end up playing in the hands of traffickers. For example, for people who are unable to acquire loan from conventional banking system, governments can develop microcredit system that reduces unemployment by enabling people to start their own businesses. This will be helpful in prevention of people resorting to illegal immigration.

Empowerment of females, minorities, and the poor through education vocational training and awareness programs will be beneficial in increasing their income level and reducing their exposure to forced labour. For example, government of Thailand, under their program Thai Women of Tomorrow, has created a group of teachers that travels throughout the villages and educates people about child labour and sex trafficking [Samarasinghe and Burton (2007)]. Governments should also make legislation and judicial system of the country effective resulting in prosecution of the criminals involved in this heinous crime. It should also be ensured that there is no aid or relaxation given to the traffickers by government officials because such action not only supports trafficking they also destroys social values, making illegal practices an acceptable norm. Thus, political will and robust legislation are required to reduce corruption and in turn trafficking.

Lastly, the government should provide social care to the victims of trafficking and ensure that they are not re-trafficked in any other exploitive form. In this study, population growth was positively linked with vulnerability to enslavement validating the claim that a country with higher population growth rate results prove to be a haven for human traffickers. Therefore, by keeping population growth in check governments can reduce the susceptibility of their population towards enslavement.

8. CONCLUSION

Human trafficking and modern day slavery practices are a global threat and well-coordinated, multi-pronged initiatives are required to combat it. With this purpose in mind, this study attempted to make an integrative model, comprising different factors cited in the literature, which is helpful in predicating vulnerability to enslavement of a particular country. For this purpose, different regression models were generated through combinations of variables. In all models, SPI, government response against human trafficking, and corruption perception index were consistently negatively related to vulnerability to enslavement. Contradictory results were obtained about the effect GDP per capita on enslavement. Similarly, conclusive evidence about the potential increase in trafficking caused by globalization could not be produced. Like GDP per capita, social globalization was at times positively and sometimes negatively related with enslavement. In few instances, social globalization was insignificant. Same was the case with mean years of schooling. Furthermore, economic globalization was statistically insignificant in all models. Likewise, unemployment rate was also not significant in any of these models. Perhaps some other measures of economic development, globalization, education, and unemployment rate may be employed by the future researchers to get convincing and irrefutable evidence whether relationship of these variables with human trafficking is positive or otherwise. Despite some of the counter-intuitive results, the present study strengthens the importance of social well-being and government response against human trafficking in reducing the vulnerability of people towards slavery.

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