Human Trafficking Indicators, 2000-2011: A New Dataset

Richard W. Frank
University of Sydney

Abstract: This manuscript presents the Human Trafficking Indicators (HTI), a new dataset on human trafficking patterns and government anti-trafficking efforts in 179 countries from 2000 to 2011. This is the first dataset to broadly capture different trafficking types and disaggregated measures of government responses. These data enable the cross-national study of seven types of trafficking including forced prostitution, labor, domestic servitude, and debt bondage. The HTI also includes measures of a government's law enforcement efforts, protective services, and prevention efforts. This paper presents an overview of the dataset, some initial trends, and implications for trafficking research.

Keywords: human trafficking, forced labor, forced prostitution, child trafficking

JEL Codes: F22, J47, O15, R23

Corresponding author: Richard W. Frank (richard.frank@sydney.edu.au)

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Data availability: The latest version of the HTI are available for download at humantraffickingindicators.org. Yearly updates will be made available every December.

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Human Trafficking Indicators, 2000-2011: A New Dataset

In recent years the illicit trafficking in human beings is estimated to have grown to the point of rivaling drug and arms trafficking in its incidence and economic effect.[1] Between 600,000 and 800,000 people were trafficked globally in 2005, and by 2009 an estimated 12.3 million adults and children had been illegally trafficked.[2] Other estimates place the number as high as 29.8 million.[3]

While the majority of countries in the international system experience some form of human trafficking, scant cross-national research exists on its supply and demand factors. States from Chile and Colombia to Georgia and France take substantial efforts in prosecuting human traffickers and protecting victims, while others like Saudi Arabia, Niger, and North Korea do not (US State Department, 2010). What explains the differing responses? Researchers cannot say in any broadly cross-national sense. In part this is attributable to the inherent empirical difficulties when studying any type of illegal activity—the relevant actors have incentives to hide their actions. This difficulty, however, is not insurmountable, and researchers have productively studied other illegal activities like drug smuggling (Cornell, 2005; Reuter & Greenfield, 2001) and illicit weapon sales (Small Arms Survey, 2003). Due in part to this sort of data limitation as well as normative interest, most human trafficking scholars focus on the experiences of current and former victims rather than the transnational dynamics of human trafficking flows or the efforts that governments take (or do not take) to prevent human trafficking. Specifically, human trafficking research to date focuses mostly on the experiences of women and children trafficked for sexual exploitation in part because women and girls are found to be trafficked disproportionately to men—representing up to eighty percent of those trafficked internationally (Di Nicola & Cauduro, 2007; UNODC, 2009). However, others suggest that the relative scale of forced labor is still unknown (and could be far larger) in part because forced labor is less visible and harder to track (UNODC, 2009: 51). Either way, less research has been conducted on trafficking for other types of non-sexual labor purposes like domestic servitude, child soldiering or debt bondage.

Furthermore, given the significant and global scale of human trafficking there is little systematic scholarly work examining what motivates human trafficking supply and demand—besides general statements about individual economic hardship and a lack of political capacity or will (Tyldum, Tveit & Brunovskis, 2005). One frequently cited additional trafficking cause is civil conflict. "Areas of conflict and post-conflict as well as transitioning states," the US State Department (2003: 8) explains, "are easy targets for those interested in plundering a country's resources, including exploitation of its people." While child soldiers are often recruited during civil wars, other forms of trafficking are directly or indirectly linked to civil conflict. "Civil wars," Steele (2006: 80) argues, "increase the opportunities for trafficking networks and decrease opportunities for civilians." Civil conflict also depresses economic growth, which often leads to legal migration—a pool in which traffickers often prefer to swim (Shelley, 2010). Sex

[1] Schauer & Wheaton (2006: 164-165), quoted in Wheaton, Schauer & Galli (2010: 114).
[2] US State Department (2010).
[3] Walk Free Foundation (2013)

trafficking also occurs during conflict as women and girls are trafficked to conflicted areas often out of state control (Hausner, 2005; US State Department, 2003: 8).

So while the literature suggests that economic hardship and civil war can precipitate human trafficking, data have not been available to systematically test such arguments. This project begins to fill this significant gap by coding the cross-national variation in human trafficking flows and government responses to them.[4] This manuscript introduces a new dataset on human trafficking patterns and government efforts at combatting trafficking and presents some initial findings. The Human Trafficking Indicators (HTI) dataset codes information about human trafficking flows between 179 countries and within them from 2000 to 2011.[5] It also includes disaggregated measures of government efforts at prosecuting traffickers, protecting victims, and preventing future trafficking. The rest of this article describes the HTI's coding process, its variables, several initial trends, and theoretical and policymaking implications.

Data Collection

Accurate data on the actual numbers of people trafficked are difficult to come by (Cho, 2012b)[6], but there are other ways to begin to measure the extent of human trafficking and governments' responses to it. In developing an approach to measuring human trafficking it is possible to learn from similar datasets on other human rights violations like the Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Data Project (Cingranelli & Richards, 1999). CIRI codes data on physical integrity, labor, and gender rights, and it relies on annual State Department and Amnesty International (AI) reports as sources. CIRI has developed three-category variables on the levels of various human rights observance.[7] Categorical measures like CIRI's using comprehensive and systematic yearly reports have enabled a large amount of work on human rights—from responses to terrorism (Piazza & Walsh, 2009) to interstate conflict and shared norms (Peterson & Graham, 2011), human rights treaty commitments (Hathaway, 2007) and international trade (Hafner-Burton, 2005).

Fortunately, there are several sources similar to the State Department and Amnesty International reports that focus on human trafficking. Since the passage of the 2000 *Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act*, the US State Department's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (ONCTP) has released an annual Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report. The TIP report includes all countries where there is evidence that

[4] This data project was created as part of a book project focused on the quantitative analysis of human trafficking patterns around the world and government responses. For more information see http://www.humantraffickingindicators.org.

[5] Yearly updates will be made available online at the HTI's website. A separate data project undertaken with Beth Simmons codes trafficking corridors from particular source states, through transit states, to particular destination states. For more details see Frank and Simmons (2013).

[6] Although see Walk Free Foundation (2013) for a recent attempt at estimating trafficking numbers.

[7] Noticeably absent from CIRI is a human trafficking variable, in part perhaps due to human trafficking not being discussed in depth in either the State Department or Amnesty International reports over their reporting periods.

there are a significant number of trafficking incidents.[8] They define "significant" as anything over 100 people trafficked. These reports are probably best known for grouping states into four tiers (Tiers I, II, II Watch List (IIWL), and III)[9] according to their efforts in prosecuting, protecting, and preventing human trafficking—the so-called 3P's. A country's TIP tier placement is based on its compliance with the State Department's standards for the elimination of trafficking according to the 2000 Act.[10] Tier I countries fully meet the minimum standards. Tier II states do not meet the minimum standards but are making significant efforts to do so. Tier IIWL states do not meet the minimum standards and make significant efforts with qualifiers. Tier III states do not meet the minimum standards and are not making significant efforts. While some have begun to use the TIP tiers in empirical models, this is problematic for several reasons. For instance, tier determinations are at substantial risk of being politically charged (Friedrich, Myer & Perlman, 2006). While states are supposed to move from IIWL to III after three years as an IIWL, there are a number of cases where states have remained IIWL for far longer. Furthermore, tier II is often seen as being too broad a category to be theoretically meaningful; in 2009 seventy-six states (44%) were tier II.

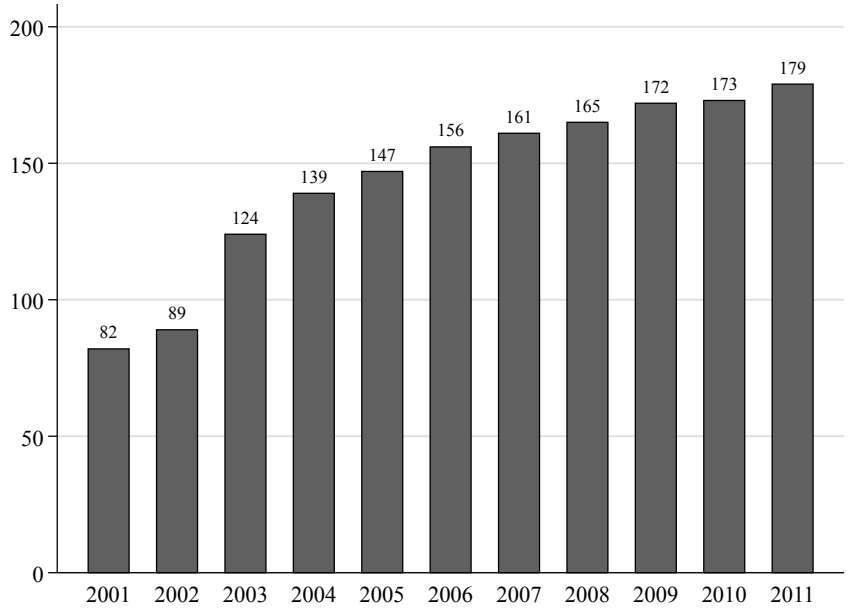
Nevertheless, the TIP reports more generally do have significant advantages over other potential sources for human trafficking information. Most notably, they are the only source I am aware of that provides *yearly* updates on human trafficking patterns. To date, the only other viable contender, the UNODC's trafficking report, has only been published in 2006, 2009, and 2012. By contrast, the TIP reports allow us to see how trafficking flows and counter-trafficking efforts vary both across space and across time while also using clear and consistent definitions of trafficking types including an explicit threshold of severity. Therefore, the HTI largely relies on the TIP reports as source material.[11]

Variable Description

The HTI data are grouped into four sections. The first section includes types of trafficking and is geared towards understanding the trafficking challenges a state faces—including whether it is a source, transit, or destination country and whether it has internal trafficking. The remaining three sections of the HTI focus on government efforts at prosecuting traffickers, protecting victims, and preventing future trafficking.

[8] The TIP reports include territories like Hong Kong, Puerto Rico, and the Netherland Antilles as well as United Nations' recognized countries.
[9] The tiers are defined in more detail below. Tier IIWL was first coded in the 2004 TIP report.
[10] As outlined in more detail in US State Department (2012: 37-43).
[11] Other data projects also rely mostly (if not exclusively)) on the US State Department's Reports including Cho, Dreher & Neumayer's (2012) 3-P Index data and Kelley's (2012) Quality of Elections dataset. Other sources are possible. For instance, the non-governmental organization (NGO) the Protection Project has cross-sectional descriptions of trafficking for sixty-four countries (as of December 2012). The UNODC and Protection Project reports have been used as robustness checks of the TIP reports (Cho, Dreher, and Neumayer, 2012 also used the UNODC reports in robustness checks). Future research will incorporate other sources as robustness checks as well as supplementary sources when possible. For an argument against adding new sources to an existing data coding effort see Chojnacki et al. (2012).

Figure 1. Growth in the number of countries with reported trafficking



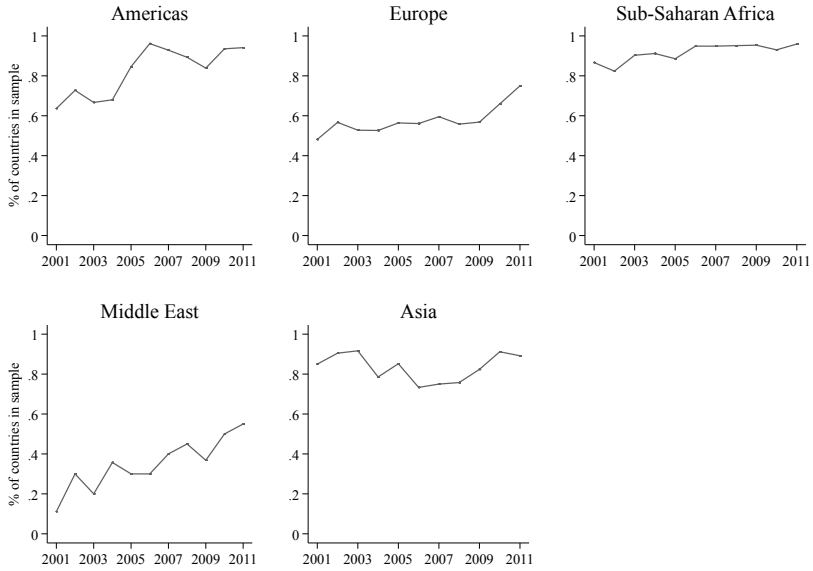
This project follows the UN's definition of human trafficking. The United Nations *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children* defines human trafficking as:

> "[T]he recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of 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." [12]

The unit of observation is the country-year.[13] There are fifty-five substantive variables coded. They are summarized in Appendix Table 1 and 2. Overall, intercoder agreement was 93.2%.[14] It is important to note that the TIP reporting period does not match the calendar year but instead stretches from April to March.[15] The number of countries coded has expanded in the last decade as more information is gathered and human trafficking flows spread to new countries. As Figure 1 demonstrates, the 2001 TIP report includes eighty-two countries while the 2011 report includes 179.

[12] US State Department (2004: 9). A person, therefore, does not need to be physically transported from one location to another, either internally or cross-nationally, to be a victim of trafficking.
[13] This project codes all countries with populations greater than 500,000 people.
[14] Two coders coded the same thirty percent of available country-years in coding 2000 to 2010 reports.
[15] Thus, the 2010 report covers April 2009 to March 2010 and was released in June 2010. A lagged version of an HTI variable for 2009, for example, would cover April 2007 to March 2008. It is important to keep this in mind when including HTI variables in empirical models.

Figure 2. Source countries by region



Types of Trafficking

Existing research on why people are trafficked from one country to another suggests that poverty and insecurity makes states more likely to be *sources* of trafficking victims, while wealthier more developed countries are more likely to be *destination* countries (Laczko, 2007; Cameron & Newman, 2008). Further, certain regions of the world are more likely to be sources for some types of trafficking than others; while some countries only have internal trafficking problems.

The HTI starts with four general measures of whether states are *source*, *transit*, and *destination* countries for human trafficking and whether they have *internal* domestic trafficking. For example, the 2010 TIP report (US State Department, 2010: 301) states that "Sri Lanka is primarily a source and, to a much lesser extent, a destination for men and women subjected to trafficking in persons, specifically forced labor and forced prostitution.") Consistent with previous research the HTI suggests that there are substantial differences across continents. Figures 2 and 3 show that Sub-Saharan and Asian states are more likely to be source countries than those in Europe or the Middle East, which are more likely to be trafficking destinations.

Compared to international flows, internal trafficking is often overlooked in the relevant literature.[16] This is surprising in part because our data suggest that some types of internal trafficking (child labor trafficking for instance) are growing more rapidly than others. Figure 4 shows the frequency of internal trafficking across different regions and suggests that the number of states with internal trafficking has declined in the Western Hemisphere while increasing markedly in Europe.

[16] Exceptions like Bales (2004) do exist.

Figure 3. Destination countries by region

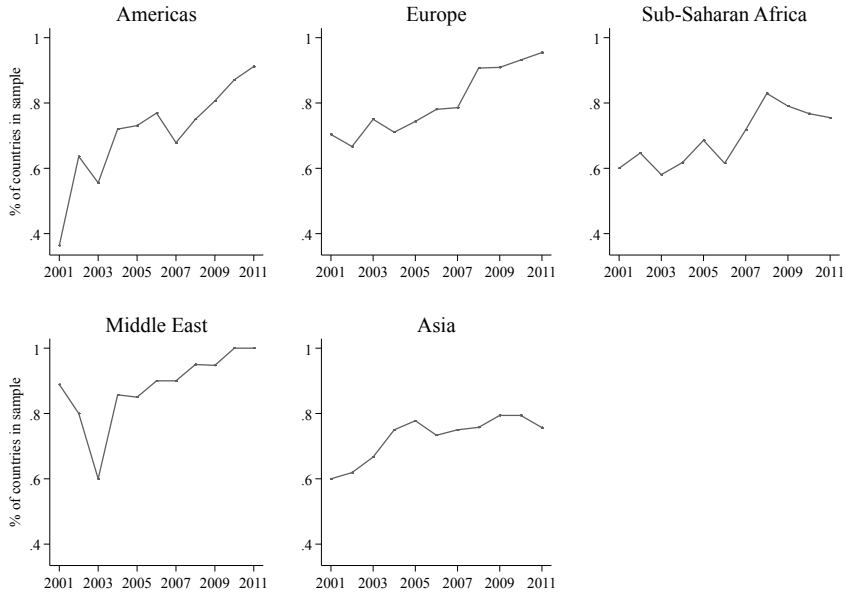
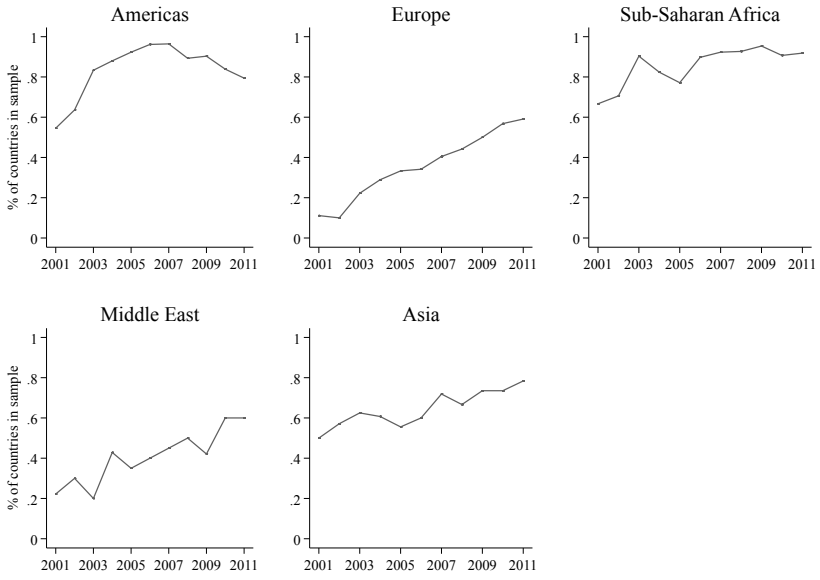


Figure 4. Internal trafficking



The HTI then disaggregates these flows into seven trafficking types,[17] which are then broken into twenty-eight variables coding for each of the seven types whether a state was a source, transit, destination, or internal trafficking country.

[17] There are more than seven indentifiable trafficking types; I initially focus on these particular types as I see them to be of particular theoretical or policymaking importance. Others types include forced marriage, kidnapping for adoption, begging, and organ removal. These will be added in future versions of the HTI.

The TIP reports are focused on the 3P's (prosecution, protection, and prevention) not the number of victims trafficked—beyond whether or not there are more than 100 victims in the reporting period. Therefore, we code *yes*/*no*/*no mention* for each of the twenty-eight variables in this section. This operationalization differs from CIRI, which uses three-category scales (e.g. severly restricted, somewhat restricted, unrestricted), and the Political Terror Scale (Gibney, Cornett & Wood, 2012), which uses a five-category scale (from secure rule of law to widespread terror). These more informative scales are possible in part because the US and AI human rights reports specifically focus on the severity of human rights violations.

The variables in this section are coded *yes* if there are reports of actual trafficking instances, even if the number of victims is unconfirmed beyond the 100-person threshold.[18] Proving a negative (no trafficking exists) is difficult to do in the case of illicit flows, so we differentiate between cases where a trafficking type is not mentioned and cases where the report explicitly states that a type of trafficking *did not occur* in the reporting year. For example, "Albania is a country of origin for women and girls trafficked transnationally and internally for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation; it is no longer considered a major country of transit, and it is not a significant country of destination," (US State Department, 2007: 51). Prostitution transit and destination are then coded no for Albania in 2007. There are, however, very few no's (far less than one percent of the observations) in the seven trafficking types. For statistical analysis, it is up to the individual user to decide whether or not to combine no mention's and no's.

More broadly, the HTI differentiates between two main types of human trafficking—forced commercial sexual exploitation and other types of forced labor. ***Forced prostitution*** variables are coded yes if the report states that a state has a significant amount of trafficking for forced prostitution, commercial sexual exploitation, or the sexual exploitation of children. Like most other forms of trafficking, the data suggest that more and more states are witnessing forced prostitution, and Figure 5 shows that states are more likely to become destination than source states over the last decade.

Forced labor variables are coded yes if a country has a significant amount of people trafficked for any type of forced labor[19] including agricultural work, construction, sweatshops, involuntary servitude, domestic servitude, bonded labor, begging, and various forms of forced child labor. Figure 6 suggests that labor traffickers (like those for prostitution) are branching out to new destination states faster than source states.

[18] There are several datasets, most notably the International Organization of Migration's (IOM, 2012) Counter-Trafficking Module, that capture the number of victims helped by international and nongovernmental organizations, but it is difficult to tell whether these numbers consistently reflect comparable amounts of unaided victims. A recent dataset by the Walk Free Foundation (2013) does estimate cross-sectional numbers of victims. We do not code trafficking if the report states that a country is "at risk of" trafficking.

[19] The TIP reports use the words "labor" and "work" interchangeably.

Figure 5. Child and adult prostitution

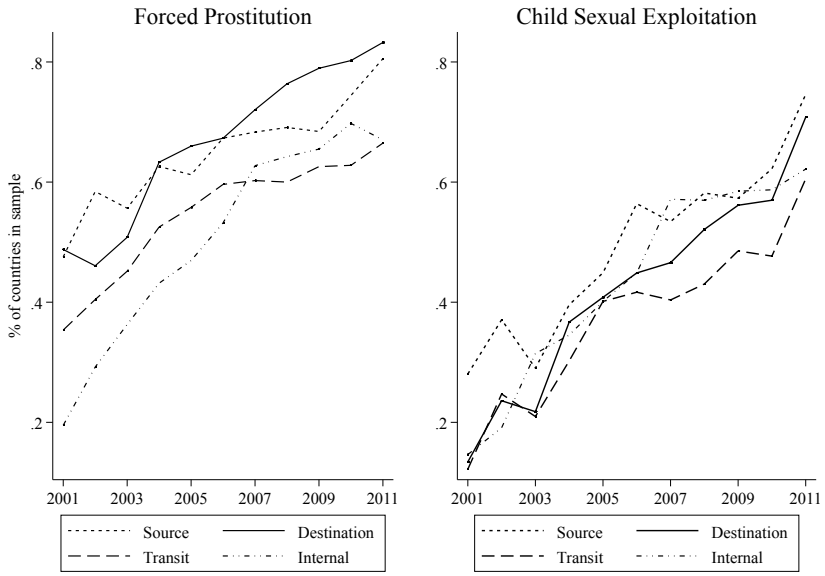
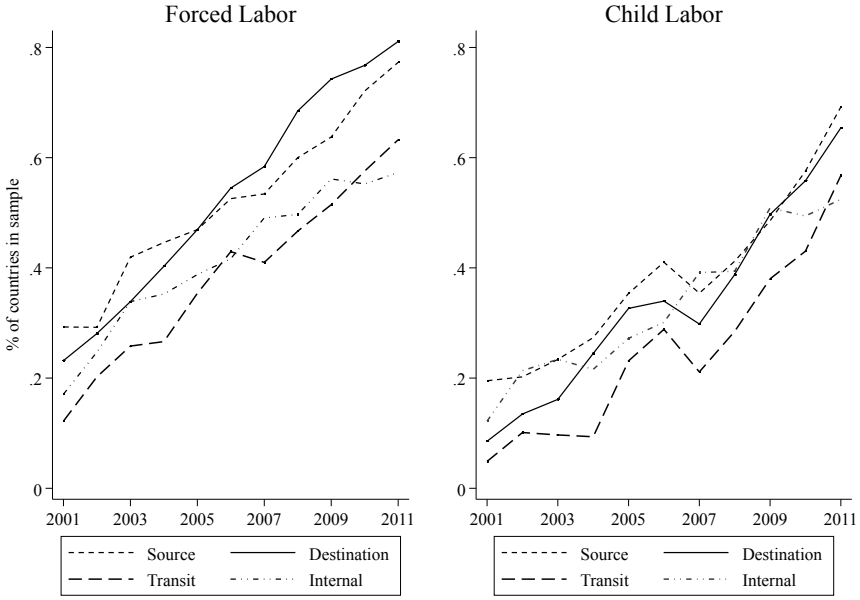


Figure 6. Adult and child forced labor



Two specific types of forced labor frequently mentioned in the literature—debt bondage and domestic servitude—are also coded. Trafficking that leads to ***debt bondage*** includes any type of debt bondage, including children paying off adults' debt or migrants paying off exorbitant broker fees for relocation and employment. Fifteen percent of HTI's observations have some form of debt bondage. Trafficking ending in ***domestic servitude*** includes forced domestic labor of either adults or children. These workers' "workplaces are informal, connected to their off-duty living quarters, and not often shared with other workers. Such an environment, which often socially isolates domestic workers, is conducive to nonconsensual exploitation since authorities cannot inspect private property as easily as they can inspect formal workplaces," (US State Department, 2011: 8). Forty-three percent of the sample states had domestic servitude with most states having internal trafficking for this purpose.

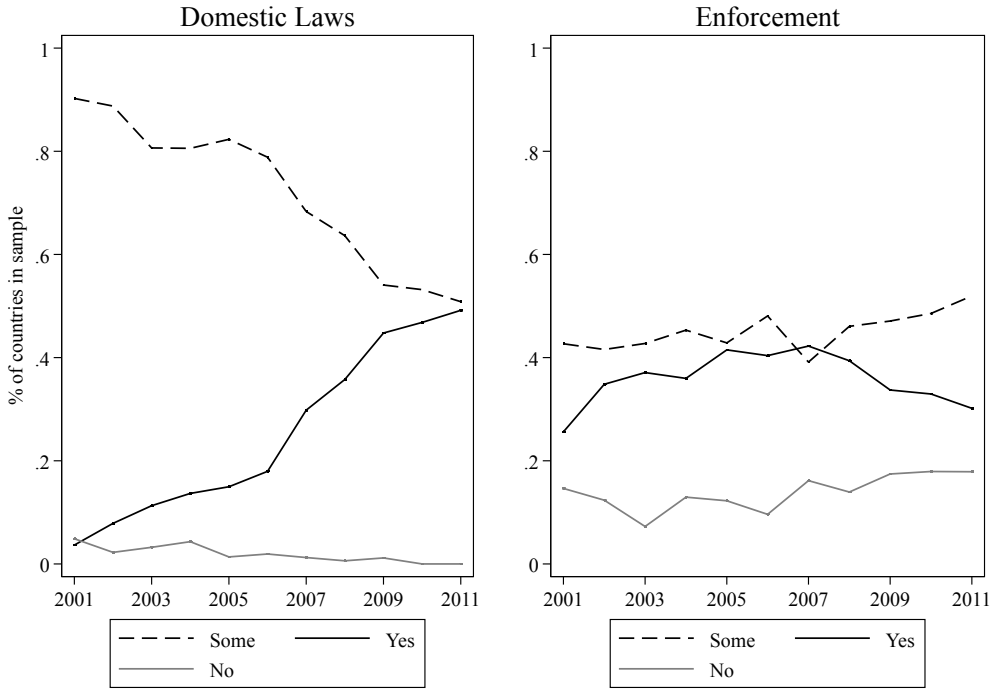
Trafficking in children—Previous research (e.g. Dottridge, 2002; Honwana, 2007) suggests that child trafficking is a significant and enduring problem, so I specifically code whether children in particular were exploited. ***Child prostitution*** variables are coded yes if the country has victims of forced child prostitution or substantial sexual exploitation of children. A country is coded as having ***child labor*** if trafficking for forced child labor is a problem including agricultural work, construction, work in sweatshops, involuntary servitude, domestic servitude, bonded labor, begging, or working as camel jockeys. We also capture if children are trafficked to fight as ***child soldiers*** as well as to serve as porters, cooks, or other jobs for armed groups (Rosen, 2005).

Government Responses

Unlike the specific types of trafficking above, there has been some recent cross-national research on how governments respond to trafficking. Most of this work uses either the TIP tiers or Cho, Dreher & Neumayer's (2011) aggregate 3P index. As mentioned above, using the TIP tiers is problematic due to inconsistent coding and political considerations. As for the aggregate 3P Index, the differences between it and the HTI are significant and worth discussing. The 3P Index includes three five-category measures of prosecution, protection, and prevention, which is then further aggregated into an overall fifteen-point score. While I think this score can be of use for those looking for an overall measure of a government's response to human trafficking, similar to other scales by Freedom House (2012) or Polity (Marshall, Jaggers & Gurr, 2012), the HTI's goal is disaggregation—to gather as finely grained data as possible to allow research on specific human trafficking topics. It is then possible for scholars (if so motivated) to construct their own indices appropriate to their research interests, using a measurement model such as one of the models proposed by Armstrong (2011), Quinn (2004), Trier & Jackman (2008) and many others.

Therefore, I code government responses in a number of variables including whether there are domestic laws prohibiting trafficking, whether these laws are enforced, how victims are treated, and what prevention efforts governments make.

Figure 7. Domestic laws and their enforcement



Domestic laws and enforcement—Domestic laws are the first line of defense against human trafficking. The variable ***domestic laws*** is coded yes if comprehensive laws prohibiting *all* forms of trafficking have been passed and come into force, even if the report states that these laws are not always enforced. If the country has laws prohibiting one or more types of human trafficking (forced prostitution, for instance), but it does not have a comprehensive law prohibiting all forms of trafficking, ***domestic laws*** is coded as some.[20] Over the last decade more and more countries have passed comprehensive domestic laws. As seen in Figure 7's trendline the number of states with comprehensive human trafficking laws went from only three in 2001 to eighty-eight in 2011, while the number with laws against some form of trafficking went from seventy-four in 2001 to ninety-one in 2011.[21]

Next is the extent to which these domestic laws are enforced. If a country fully investigates and prosecutes cases of human trafficking, ***enforcement*** is coded yes. Enforcement is coded as some if the country does not fully investigate or prosecute human trafficking cases. While more comprehensive laws have been passed over the last decade, their ability to be enforced has remained stable (See Figure 8).

[20] Various terms used in the reports that fall under the some category are: "limited," "minimal," "piecemeal," or terms for laws not specifically related to trafficking.

[21] As a side note, there are some important differences between this variable and the 3P prosecution index. The HTI *domestic laws* variable includes laws about *all* forms of trafficking while the 3P prosecution index focuses exclusively on sexual exploitation.

Also of interest is whether countries are transparent enough to report trafficking prosecutions and convictions. If state or local governments, NGOs, or the domestic media provide information regarding human trafficking convictions for the reporting period, ***conviction information*** is coded yes. The remaining categories are no or no mention. Lastly, the number of ***people prosecuted*** for violations of human trafficking laws is included. If no specific number of prosecutions is mentioned, the number of convictions is used.[22]

Victim Services—In addition to capturing government prosecution efforts, state efforts at caring for victims is also coded. These efforts are important because the rehabilitation and reintegration of victims can prevent the same people from being at risk of trafficking in the future. A country is coded as making ***minimum protection progress*** at providing victim services if the report indicates the government has made progress in protecting victims of trafficking, including sustaining previous efforts.

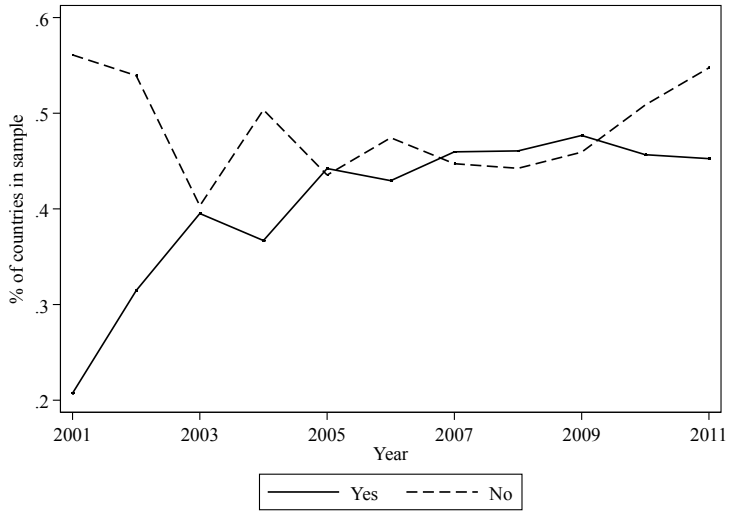
To help human trafficking victims, they have to be identified as such. We therefore code if states have ***formal procedures to identify victims***.[23] If there are no formal or systematic procedures to identify victims of trafficking or if extant formal procedures are limited to a particular city or region within the country, a country gets a *no*. Relatedly, providing victim services is crucial to reintegrating victims into society and encouraging convictions of traffickers (Sadruddin, Walter & Hildalgo, 2005). The variable ***victim protective services*** captures if the government provides victims with protective services itself and not exclusively through NGOs (if at all). Existing programs or victim shelters can be partly staffed or funded by NGOs, however it must be clear that the physical structure and the majority of the protective services are funded, staffed, and operated by the government. These services can include shelter, medical and psychological care, work training, or some other specific program aimed at helping victims of trafficking. ***Victim protective services*** is still coded as *yes* if services are provided through existing non-trafficking-oriented state institutions. It is coded *no* if the government does not provide protective services or that the majority (or all) of victim protective services is provided by NGOs. Overall, eighty-one countries had victim services in 2011, over four times as many as the seventeen countries who did in 2001; however since 2009 this positive trend has been reversed with fewer states providing victim services in 2010 and 2011.

Often, victims are punished for ***acts committed*** after being trafficked. If the report indicates that either federal or local officials arrest, fine, imprison, deport, or in some other way punish victims of trafficking for acts committed as a result of being trafficked this variable is coded *yes*.

[22] By definition, the number convicted is some subset of the number of people prosecuted.

[23] Telephone hotlines are not considered formal procedures. Also, if the report indicates that victims were identified within the country but not how the victims were identified, this is not sufficient evidence to be coded *yes* for this variable.

Figure 8. Government-provided victim services



Prevention—The last series of variables code government efforts at preventing future human trafficking. One centers on governmental prevention efforts while the rest look at international commitments states have made. If a government is making substantial progress in its efforts to reduce both the supply and demand for trafficking or that it has new programs to prevent trafficking including education and awareness campaigns, documentaries, and information provided to potential victims about the risks of trafficking then we code the state as making ***prevention progress***. The government must make the majority of these efforts within its own borders. Like with ***protection progress***, from 2001 to 2011 the number of states making substantial prevention efforts increased from sixteen to sixty-seven countries.

Lastly, eleven variables capture the dates that a country signed or ratified seven international conventions, laws, or protocols related to human trafficking. These include:

- *United Nations (UN) Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children* (signature/ratification)
- *Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography* (signature/ratification)
- *Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child in Armed Conflict* (signature/ratification)
- *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (signature/ratification)
- *International Labour Organization Convention (ILO) 29, Forced Labour* (date in force)
- *ILO Convention 105, Abolition of Forced Labour* (date in force)

- *ILO Convention 182, Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labor* (date in force)

These seven international efforts affect a country's responsibilities for protecting its citizens from various aspects of human trafficking. These dates can be used to better understand the spread of international efforts at combating various aspects of human trafficking as well as other research areas including the diffusion of international norms and practices.

Conclusion

In summary, this paper introduces and briefly describes new data on human trafficking, and it shows that coding cross-national empirical data on human trafficking levels and government responses is possible and can lead to novel findings and an increased, broader understanding of global trafficking patterns and government responses. It argues that disaggregating this phenomenon into various types of trafficking and capturing government efforts at combatting trafficking will allow for a wide array of future research on one of the world's largest illicit phenomena.

Future research including the larger book project that the HTI is an integral part of can help scholars, practitioners, and the general public better understand (at both the global and national levels) the supply and demand factors underlying human trafficking and the effects that international and domestic policy (whether protective or punitive) is having on the trade and subjection of millions of people.[24]

The policymaking implications are potentially substantial but are in part contingent upon the research that these data enable. The UNODC has outlined best practices for states and anti-trafficking organizations, and the HTI enables research that can hopefully indicate which of these policies are more effective at dealing with different types of trafficking flows as well as describe what states are (and are not) doing to prevent trafficking.

[24] For more details on the book project see the HTI's website.

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Appendix

Table A1. Types of trafficking summary statistics, 2000-2011, N=1,587

Types of trafficking	Yes	No	No mention
Prostitution			
Source	1,057 (67%)	0	530 (33%)
Transit	903 (57%)	2	682 (43%)
Destination	1,101 (69%)	1	485 (31%)
Internal	875 (55%)	0	712 (45%)
Labor			
Source	873 (55%)	0	714 (45%)
Transit	665 (42%)	1	921 (58%)
Destination	928 (58%)	2	657 (41%)
Internal	711 (45%)	0	876 (55%)
Debt bondage			
Source	89 (6%)	0	1,498 (94%)
Transit	24 (2%)	0	1,563 (98%)
Destination	137 (9%)	0	1,450 (91%)
Internal	70 (4%)	0	1,517 (96%)
Domestic servitude			
Source	273 (17%)	0	1,314 (83%)
Transit	93 (6%)	0	1,494 (94%)
Destination	346 (22%)	0	1,241 (78%)
Internal	433 (27%)	0	1,154 (73%)
Child prostitution			
Source	831 (52%)	0	756 (48%)
Transit	642 (40%)	3	942 (59%)
Destination	727 (46%)	1	859 (54%)
Internal	765 (48%)	0	822 (52%)
Child labor			
Source	650 (41%)	0	937 (59%)
Transit	448 (28%)	1	1,138 (72%)
Destination	602 (38%)	1	984 (62%)
Internal	614 (39%)	0	973 (61%)
Child soldiers			
Source	55 (3%)	5	1,527 (96%)
Transit	10 (1%)	0	1,577 (99%)
Destination	18 (1%)	0	1,569 (99%)
Internal	107 (7%)	4	1,476 (93%)

Table A2. Government responses summary statistics, 2000-2011, N=1,587

Variable	Yes	Some	No	No mention
Domestic laws	446 (28%)	1,100 (69%)	26 (2%)	15 (1%)
Enforcement	574 (36%)	723 (46%)	225 (14%)	65 (4%)
Conviction info	1,080 (68%)	--	189 (12%)	318 (20%)
Protection progress	988 (62%)	--	424 (27%)	175 (11%)
Identify victims	186 (12%)	--	556 (35%)	845 (53%)
Victim protection services	669 (42%)	--	762 (48%)	156 (10%)
Punish victims	478 (30%)	--	484 (31%)	625 (39%)
Prevention progress	675 (43%)	633 (40%)	203 (13%)	76 (5%)
Number prosecuted	Mean: 48.78	σ: 184.08	Min.: 0	Max.: 3,144

Note: A dash in the "some" column signifies that this variable does not include "some" as a coding option.