Human Trafficking and Migration: Concepts, Linkages and New Frontiers

Michael Chibba

International Centre for Development Effectiveness & Poverty Reduction

Abstract

The way we think about human trafficking and migration is changing. Moreover, at the global, regional and national levels of policy-making, practice and advocacy, trafficking is showing signs of developing into a mainstream topic, and with it, so are directly related migration issues. To keep abreast of developments, a pertinent question to ask in the contemporary context is: What are the key conceptual issues, linkages and new developments? This paper responds to this question with a four-fold focus. First, the main concepts and definitions are discussed. Next, the multidisciplinary nature of the subject matter is highlighted. An outline of some of the most interesting new developments is then presented. Finally, concluding remarks are offered. Furthermore, a fresh perspective on human trafficking and migration is advanced in three ways: (1) by engaging in a discussion of selected conceptual issues and advancing a contemporary definition of trafficking; (2) by emphasizing a seven-point common framework (and global platform) and by suggesting that the 'theoretical divide' in migration studies can be potentially bridged through the study of the trafficking-migration nexus; and (3) by highlighting several new frontiers, especially in the policy and practice areas, that nonetheless have implications for research, theory and study.

Policy Implications

- The UN definition of human trafficking (hereinafter also referred to as trafficking or trafficking in persons) needs to be updated to keep abreast of policy, program and related changes that have transpired over the past dozen years or so. A revised (contemporary) definition of trafficking, that includes the fundamental role of migration and two processes – traditional and new - has implications primarily for policy and practice; but also, nonetheless, for research, theory and study as well.

- There are seven key thrusts that need to be pursued as part of a common framework to tackle trafficking and related migration issues. These include good governance, integrity in the national security apparatus, inclusive development, human rights and business approaches, international and regional cooperation and partnerships, binding international legal obligations, and oversight bodies. In addition, a global platform, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), is highly recommended to galvanize efforts towards action at the global, regional and national levels.

- The trafficking-migration nexus holds promise in facilitating a modicum of convergence in the theoretical divide – i.e. intrastate vs. interstate - that currently prevails in migration studies. The study of trafficking therefore has lessons and opportunities for advancing migration studies.

- Along with high profile advocacy (by politicians such as Barack Obama and Hilary Clinton), several new frontiers have emerged in recent years that collectively suggest that trafficking is developing into a mainstream issue in various policy arenas (global, regional, and national). While the migration dimension has been of general interest in the context of trafficking, it now merits incremental attention in the debate on trafficking and migration. As such, there is a fundamental need to identify, monitor, and evaluate the rapid changes that are unfolding in human trafficking and the trafficking-migration nexus in order to formulate relevant and sustainable policy and program solutions, and to chart a new course in academic research and study.

Key concepts and definitions

'When the international community came together in 2000 to draft a treaty on trafficking, attention was squarely on the 'movement' aspect of the very narrow issue of cross-border sexual exploitation of women and girls. However, trafficking quickly and unexpectedly became an umbrella term for a wide range of forced and exploitative labor practices that had traditionally only been dealt with at the edges of international law and policy '(Gallagher, 2011, p. 4).

In the contemporary context*, migration* entails the movement of a person or a group of persons, across an international border (interstate) or within a country (intrastate). As explained by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), 'It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes …' (IOM, 2013a, p.5)

Meanwhile, since 2000, when the United Nations (UN) adopted the *Protocol to Prevent, Supress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime* (part of the UN's 'Palermo Protocols')*, human trafficking* has been defined as follows:

Trafficking in persons is the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purposes of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of

others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (UN, 2004, p.42)

It should be evident – even if based on these definitions alone – that that there exists a special nexus between trafficking and migration. However, nuanced interpretations emanating from attempts to understand the linkages can leave the subject matter prone to being easily misunderstood – for example, see the discussion that follows and, for contradictory statements on the nature of the nexus (Anti-Slavery International, 2003, pp. 3–4). Accordingly, a useful question to ask to clear the air is whether migration is a part of human trafficking or vice versa?

The IOM, as an institutional leader in issues of migration, has asserted that it 'operates from the outset that trafficking in persons needs to be approached within the overall context of managing migration' (IOM, 2013b, p.3). This policy statement on its approach does not, in itself, say anything about whether one phenomenon is part of the other. However, as an intergovernmental and international organization in the field of migration, it is to be expected that the IOM is inclined to approach trafficking within the context of 'managing migration'.

A related point is that the UN and other multilateral organizations view the trafficking-migration nexus from the perspective of member states, inclusive of the rights of the state or from the viewpoint of national interest. Thus, certain member nations of international organizations are inclined to view trafficking within the context of overall migration (e.g. as in Australia's case - see Larsen 2010, p.1) for the purpose of formulating policy, especially immigration policy, and related laws. At the same time, certain UN members (such as Canada, Denmark and Belgium) also seek to uphold human

rights and provide some measure of protection to victims of trafficking. This dual stance is understandable as migration is something that powerful and rich nations – known for their democratic governance and the rule of law - can have a direct role in and thus 'control' to a significant extent. This is not the case with trafficking, over which no nation has any direct control. Hence the focus on 'managing migration' on the one hand, and providing educational programs, assisting victims, prosecuting traffickers, and so forth within the context of an indirect role for the state, on the other hand.

Meanwhile, certain NGOs (such as the Solidarity Center) have argued, albeit with the mandate to promote the welfare and rights of migrant workers, that trafficking can occur at any point during migration. Unfortunately, this interpretation is seen by some observers and lay persons as suggesting that perhaps trafficking is but a part of migration. In the *context of trafficking*, this is not only untrue but it paints a partial and misleading picture for several reasons.

First, the UN definition of trafficking includes 'transportation' and 'transfer' as integral parts. Thus, it can be inferred that migration is part of trafficking. For illustrations, see the cases noted below under 'New Frontiers' and the randomly selected 'case of Marni' in Southeast Asia (ICMC, 2010, p.100). Second, a related point is that as the transportation and transfer of victims is *induced* by the trafficker for the purpose of exploitation, migration is *de facto* a fundamental part of trafficking from the perspective of the trafficker, criminal gangs, and others engaged in the trafficking business. Third, in the context of prostitution and sex trafficking of women and girls - which account for about 80 per cent of the victims of trafficking according to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC 2007, p. 3) – trafficking is not 'a point on the migration line' as claimed by the Solidarity Center. Instead, the victim is fully cognisant of the fact that she has been trafficked into prostitution, but usually only *after* migration has been completed. Ultimately, when the chain of events in trafficking is *fait accompli*, it dawns on the victim that, in the grand scheme of trafficking, migration is essentially a necessary step to eventual exploitation. In short, migration is but a fundamental part of trafficking (and vice versa only in the overall context of migration studies or within the broad confines of a discourse on migration).

Another definitional issue that arises with respect to the UN definition is that UN agencies, such as the UNODC (2012, p.1), assume that trafficking has three elements, namely, 'actions', 'means' and 'purpose'. However, globalization and rapid and profound changes in economies, especially in the last decade, and coupled with the spread of new technologies and the internet in particular, necessitate the inclusion of 'process' as an additional key element.

Indeed, the current reality is that trafficking entails four key elements: (1) the 'actions' – i.e. the recruitment, luring, transportation, and receipt or final processing of persons trafficked; (2) the 'means' – the use of deception, coercion, and threat or the use of force; (3) the 'process' – i.e. use of the *traditional* human trafficking process; but also, increasingly, the use of a *new process* driven in part by technology and the internet (e.g. to support cyber-sex exploitation that does, nonetheless, require some measure of migration of victims); and (4) the 'purpose', which is exploitation – i.e. in one or more of the following ways: pornography, cyber-sex, prostitution, other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour, slavery, servitude, and removal of organs. These four elements have never been clearly identified before in the literature, and this paper suggests that the expanded definition embodies the contemporary approach to trafficking, with migration continuing to be an integral aspect.

Of the two distinct processes that are at play in the trafficking-migration nexus today (note that exploitation could be considered as the third part of the nexus, though that will be elaborated in a different paper), the first process is *traditional*, and it has inspired definitions such as the UN one. In it, trafficking unfolds as a grand process involving people at each and every phase – and it is entirely people-centric, with migration as an integral part, and culminates in exploitation, including sexual and/or physical abuse. The victims are women, children and men.
The new (and second) process of trafficking relies on the use of technology and the internet. Migration is still involved, both intrastate and/or interstate. And recruitment, deceit, and exploitation are present in this process as well. A revised definition is therefore required that clarifies the fundamental role of migration in trafficking and the existence of the two processes in the contemporary context.

At this juncture, it is useful to discuss the difference between human trafficking and smuggling. According to Vayrynen (2003), these are different concepts. He argues that human smuggling is a special case of illegal immigration that contravenes the rights of the state, whereas trafficking violates human rights. As he puts it,

'The difference between these two different types of intentionalities is usually captured by using the concept of 'smuggling' to refer to illegal immigration in which an agent is involved for payment to help a person to cross a border clandestinely, while 'trafficking' involves coercion and victimization. This dichotomy has been emphasized in the UN-directed Vienna process on transnational organized crime. Its main implication is that 'smuggling' is a migration issue that has to be dealt with by legal and bureaucratic means, while 'trafficking' is a human rights issue and, as a consequence, the victim deserves protection.' (Vayrynen, 2003, p.17; but Salt and Hogarth, 2000 also present a similar argument)

Taking a different approach, Pia Oberoi, of the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), argues that the distinction between the two is primarily legal and it is difficult to clearly separate these concepts in practice. Trafficking and migrant smuggling, she argues, are often interrelated and almost always '(involve) shifts, flows, overlaps and transitions. An individual can be smuggled one day and trafficked the next.' As a case in point, consider the facts discussed at a workshop (GAATW, 2011, p. 32) that was attended by 30 migrant women from Myanmar who had paid a smuggler to enter Thailand. The women reported that they were lied to and ended up being 'exploited' (i.e. probably as sex workers) once they reached their final destination in Thailand. Half of the women present at the workshop said that 'smuggling and trafficking' were the same in their experience. This example (and countless other cases of smuggled migrants throughout the world) challenges the clear- cut distinction between trafficking and smuggling that is part of the UN's Palermo Protocols. In reality, this fuzziness of concepts often results in misidentification of migrants, and a loss of rights of certain trafficked individuals. The few exceptions include Belgium, where both smuggled and trafficked persons (and especially those who have experienced aggravated smuggling or violations of their human rights) have access to the protection and assistance otherwise normally given only to victims of trafficking. In short, and barring aberrations, the strict definitions provided by the UN are dated, can be misleading, and have several other drawbacks from a contemporary viewpoint.

A multidisciplinary approach (or, Can't see the forest for the trees?)

'It ought to concern every person, because it's a debasement of our common humanity. It ought to concern every community, because it tears at the social fabric. It ought to concern every business, because it distorts markets. It ought to concern every nation, because it endangers public health and fuels violence and organized crime. I'm talking about the injustice, the outrage, of human trafficking, which must be called by its true name – modern slavery.' (President Barack Obama, 26 Sept. 2012, quoted in the US Department of State's 2013 Trafficking in Persons Report, p. 7)

As both trafficking and migration are multidisciplinary subjects, it follows that, whenever possible, a multidisciplinary perspective should be used. Yet, for most of us, our specializations can compromise our understanding of the subject matter if the focus is on the 'trees' (e.g. details on a specific case or based solely on one narrow field of study) as a partial perspective on the scope and nature of the 'forest' (the bigger picture) is obtained. To shed this bias, in *Understanding Human Trafficking*, Chibba (2012) presents a multidisciplinary treatise that exposes the various perspectives on trafficking, and in particular informs us of concepts, approaches, dimensions, linkages, lessons and recommendations, including the following:

(1) The historical context of trafficking and migration suggests ancient roots that are deeply embedded in societal, economic, and business dimensions of the early civilizations. In comparison, the relevance and ethical importance of human rights only entered the picture on the global stage after the Second World War.

(2) Over the past quarter century, security issues, poverty, and the rule of law have featured prominently on the subject matter. Recently, issues of inclusive development have also had a bearing on a broad scope of developmental matters and human rights, including trafficking and migration.

(3) Other than the human rights approach to trafficking that is at the core of initiatives by the UN and other multilateral and bilateral institutions, there are at least two other definitional perspectives. The first is that human rights are necessarily tempered by specific cultural contexts (beliefs, values and norms); and the second is that the legal dimension is viewed as being paramount in many nations (though

certainly not all, nor would a majority of developing countries endorse it).

(4) Trafficking today embodies a new or modern form of slavery as it is illegal and it involves the following: the use of force, threats, coercion, deception, and/or fraud for the purpose of exploitation.

(5) There are various channels of transmission at play in the trafficking-migration nexus, including at the interface between governance structures (or lack of them) and security matters (e.g. the use of child soldiers procured through trafficking, often during times of conflict, internal strife or war). Other channels emanate from political, social, economic, institutional, and cultural issues.

(6) Is tight border security an acceptable and successful solution to curtail trafficking and illegal migration? Probably not, for two reasons: (i) tight border security, as some scholars have argued, can itself lead to human rights violations; (ii) traffickers simply move their transit and entry points into other parts of a nation and through the use of other tactics to gain access to a country. In Canada, for instance, ships transporting refugees and smuggled and trafficked individuals have successfully entered the country in recent years to circumvent immigration laws and avoid the normal border security channels.

(7) Poverty is a contributing factor in the operations of the trafficking trade and related migration. Poverty assures that an ample supply of innocent and desperate humans can be duped into becoming victims in the trafficking trade.

(8) China has different lessons to offer. Legal (i.e. policies supported by laws and prosecution in court of crime syndicates), cultural (e.g. the state largely ignores the societal preference for male children that promotes a thriving trade in male children) and political (e.g. the *hukou* system that limits rural-urban migration and provides a boost to trafficking) approaches - not human rights based ones - are taken to address trafficking and migration matters. Moreover, China's focus is on the supply side and the demand side is largely ignored.

Furthermore, on the policy and practice fronts, there are seven key thrusts that need to be pursued as part of a common framework to tackle both trafficking and related migration issues (Chibba 2012). These include good governance, integrity in the national security apparatus, inclusive development, human rights and business approaches, international and regional cooperation and partnerships, binding international legal obligations, and oversight bodies. In addition, a global platform, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), can be instrumental in facilitating planning, policy formulation, implementation and change.

The discussion under key concepts and definitions concluded that migration is a fundamental part of trafficking, whether interstate, intrastate, or both. However, migration studies have thus far essentially failed to fully consider and integrate the trafficking-migration nexus in theory because of the prevailing bias in favour of either internal or international migration (but not both). As noted by King, Skeldon and Vullnetari (2008, p. 2):

'Amongst the many binaries that dissect the field of migration studies – forced vs. voluntary, temporary vs. permanent, legal vs. illegal, etc. – one stands out as a most fundamental bifurcation, that between internal and international migration. There have emerged, over the past half-century or so, two almost separate literatures, written from different conceptual, theoretical and methodological standpoints, which rarely talk to each other … this division 'both hampers the development of migration theory and hinders our understanding of the role which migration plays in processes of population change'.

Convergence in migration theory – given the theoretical divide between internal and international migration - can potentially occur in the debate on migration and development (King, Skeldon and Vullnetari, 2008, p. 48). To date, the vast potential that the trafficking-migration nexus holds to bridge the gap has been overlooked by scholars of migration studies. However, the policy and practice areas – discussed thus far in this paper and under 'new frontiers' below - are thriving and offer lessons for policy-makers and scholars.

New frontiers

By 'new frontiers' is meant recent developments in trafficking and directly related migration issues that signal a departure from the *status quo.* These frontiers are in the areas of practice and/or policy, and involve new phenomena, new initiatives or

programs, new policies and/or other contemporary interventions. In addition, there is a contemporary landscape – in the sense that the new frontiers are facilitated by new technology, the internet, new channels (to commit crime and/or take advantage of administrative and security loopholes), and also by new laws, and advocacy by certain political leaders (e.g. Barack Obama as quoted above). Path-breaking and new initiatives that are introduced or discussed below include: (1) cyber-sex trafficking, (2) reporting and protection, (3) a new focus on the rich and the privileged, (4) mobile forensics, and (5) the 'slavery footprint'. Besides cyber-sex trafficking and the role of a few privileged members of society who engage in illegal migration and trafficking, the remaining new developments are in the areas of identification, protection, prevention and prosecution.

Cyber-sex trafficking

The second process of trafficking, introduced earlier, is perhaps best appreciated in the case of cyber-sex trafficking, which is increasingly on the radar as it is often labelled as child pornography, a criminal offence (though adult pornography is more prevalent). The social and especially psychological implications of cyber-sex trafficking are profound and have a lasting impact on children (under the age of 18 in many countries such as the US and Canada).

In the Philippines, for instance, children, often from the poor countryside or remote areas, are misled into believing, sometimes by a relative, that there is decent work awaiting them in a nearby urban center. Upon arrival at their destination, they are exploited through cyber-sex trafficking. What is cyber-sex trafficking? It is trafficking that involves cyber-sex dens, which operate with very little equipment - computers and cameras primarily – and perhaps a half-dozen or so girls between the ages of 13 to 18, who are coerced or forced to pose naked and to do simulated sex acts for clients worldwide. The clients pay a fee for each minute of service over the internet. The girls are often forced to watch the men they serve on screens. Law enforcement agencies are increasingly addressing this form of trafficking and migration. For example, the testimony of three Filipino girls helped convict a Pennsylvania man who had been involved in a cyber-den. He was sentenced to serve 12 years in a US federal prison for child pornography (de Leon, 2013)

To be sure, cyber-sex trafficking can and does also include adults (over 18) and explicit sex acts are shown on the web, with access available for a fee to clients worldwide. There are many websites offering such services, and many of the actors are victims of trafficking. Migration plays an ancillary role in cyber-sex trafficking, both cross-border and within a country.

Program to combat cyber-sex trafficking and related online sexual exploitation in Canada

How does one combat cyber-sex trafficking? This is a new frontier in trafficking and migration in terms of policy and programs. The Government of Canada is currently in the process of enacting new legislation to address the challenges it poses.

In practice, victim identification is the first step to tackling this problem. Cybertip.ca (TIPS) offers such a service. TIPS is operated by the Canadian Centre for Child Protection (CCCP), an NGO, to encourage the reporting of online sexual exploitation of children, including cyber-sex trafficking.

'Created in September 2002 by the Canadian Centre for Child Protection, cybertip.ca receives over 1,000 reports per month from Canadians. All reports concerning incidents that are potentially in contravention of the Criminal Code of Canada are sent to police for possible investigation and any information about a child potentially in need of protection is sent to child welfare (agencies).' (CCCP, 2012)

As such, the program focuses on reporting, identification, and protection of children who are exploited, including those that are trafficked, missing or subject to travel/migration. To add 'teeth' to the victim identification program, the legal and policing environment needs to be strengthened, and this is precisely what is currently happing in Canada. In addition, monitoring and evaluation needs to be undertaken to assess the effectiveness of such programs. And, on the whole, migration plays a peripheral role in the CCCP program.

Holding the privileged accountable

Another trafficking phenomenon that has, until recently, passed unnoticed is the role of a few privileged members of society (loosely defined as the rich) in Canada and the US who engage in modern slavery of domestic help. Initially recruited through a legal migration channel (e.g. through a temporary visitor's visa or a short-term worker's visa), the 'domestic' ends up being an illegal migrant and a trafficked person after the visa expires. The domestic does not leave the country and return home but instead works as a modern-day slave for the 'rich' person who initially

sponsored her. While this scenario is not 'new' per se, the focus on this practice, and the determination of the state and federal authorities to seek justice, is new. Thus, in this sense, holding the privileged accountable for their illicit actions is indeed a new frontier in the fight against trafficking and illegal migration.

In Canada, trafficking charges are rare, but a case currently under prosecution highlights the state's desire to tackle trafficking and illegal migration that emanates from the role of a privileged person (Hutchinson, 2013). The case in question follows on the heels of a recent conviction of a Canadian for trafficking of a Filipino nanny under similar circumstances - i.e. what started as legal migration with a 6-month worker's visa led to modern slavery after expiry of the visa (CBC, 2013).

Similar cases are also taking place In the U.S. at the behest of the state, concerned citizens, and victims. For example, a Saudi princess is being prosecuted for human trafficking for holding a domestic worker against her will and forcing her to work under slave-like conditions in California. A human trafficking ballot initiative was passed last year by California voters and this has resulted in a new directive to investigate and prosecute such cases of human trafficking with the help of local police and Federal immigration authorities (Taxin, 2013).

Holding the small sliver of the rich and privileged members of society accountable and responsible for trafficking and legal (ultimately, illegal) migration of victims is therefore a new frontier in the trafficking-migration nexus. Migration, in this context, plays a fundamental role in trafficking.

Mobile forensics

Mobile forensics is potentially a new frontier as it had not been used to combat trafficking and related migration issues until a year or two ago. It refers to the use of video and still images, email, text and instant messages, and GPS data from mobile devices, to locate victims and traffickers. By looking at links between multiple mobile devices, investigators can potentially identify traffickers and rescue victims (Miller, 2013). However, in addition to being a new tool and technique to combat trafficking and illegal migration, it is also a difficult approach to implement. Another drawback of this tool/technique is that it infringes on privacy and information guidelines and related laws. Nonetheless, law enforcement authorities and federal and local agencies are pursuing this approach in North America, albeit at the experimental level.

The 'slavery footprint' initiative

The Slavery Footprint– an organization bearing this name was created in the US in 2011 - is another new initiative that combats trafficking and addresses illegal migration. It asks consumers to consider their personal contributions towards curtailing trafficking, be it through action against trafficking that targets 'slavery' aspects of supply chains (of manufacturers) or through action against the creation of *demand* for trafficked individuals. In Korea, for example, the US armed forces are reminding and urging servicemen not to visit brothels as prostitution is a major outcome of trafficking and illegal migration.

As ambitious as this initiative is, it is too early to tell if it is or will be successful, though the organization has already won an award and it is expanding rapidly, partially through internet-based programs. The Slavery Footprint symbolizes one of several new frontiers to emerge in the struggle to tackle trafficking and related issues, including illegal migration. *Ex post* evaluations are imperative to assess the effectiveness of such programs.

Overall

Overall, each of these new frontiers is being advanced on the basis of contemporary practices with a fresh perspective that complements the *status quo*. On the theoretical front, convergence in the study of intrastate and interstate migration can be advanced if the future focus of research and analysis is on the two processes identified earlier.

Concluding Remarks

As stated at the outset (in the abstract), the way we think about trafficking and migration is changing. While there is general consensus on the definition of migration, the established definition of human trafficking, which rests on the UN's Palermo Protocols of 2000, is dated, especially within the context of the contemporary landscape which has transformed the scope of trafficking. In addition, two central processes (traditional and new) have surfaced over the last decade or so and these provide an incremental perspective on the subject – a perspective and analysis hitherto unreported in the literature. A new definition of trafficking is required that takes into account the integral role of migration, exploitation and process in the contemporary context. Moreover, the clear-cut distinction between trafficking and smuggling that is

part of the UN Protocols is problematic as these two concepts are not distinct.

On the policy and practice fronts, there are seven key thrusts that need to be pursued as part of a common framework to tackle trafficking and related migration issues. These include good governance, integrity in the national security apparatus, inclusive development, human rights and business approaches, international and regional cooperation and partnerships, binding international legal obligations, and oversight bodies. In addition, a global platform, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), is highly recommended to galvanize efforts towards action at the global, regional and national levels.

This paper has also outlined some of the new frontiers in trafficking and migration that have emerged in recent years – primarily from the policy and practice domains - and these include: (1) cyber-sex trafficking, (2) a new initiative in reporting and protection, (3) a new focus on the rich and the privileged, (4) mobile forensics, and (5) the 'slavery footprint'. The focus on a few rich and privileged members of society is with respect to the traditional process of trafficking – albeit through a unique channel that involves the convergence of the supply and demand sides (as both the trafficker and the customer are the same person). Whereas, cyber-sex trafficking uses a new process that involves intrastate and/or interstate migration. The remaining new frontiers are in the areas of identification, protection, prevention and prosecution.

With respect to theory, the greatest current potential lies in bridging the 'theoretical divide' that prevails between intrastate and interstate migration. The trafficking-migration nexus, however, offers opportunities to explore the linkages on the one hand, and to serve as the context for bridging the theoretical divide on the other hand.

Lastly, In part due to high profile advocacy (notably by politicians), trafficking and the trafficking-migration nexus are emerging as mainstream topics in various policy arenas (global, regional, and national). As such, there is a fundamental need to support new programs, keep track of and evaluate the changes and challenges that are rapidly unfolding, and to advance theoretical research and study in trafficking and migration.

Michael Chibba is Managing Director, Distinguished Fellow, and Adjunct Professor. He is based at ICDEPR, Toronto, Canada. This paper builds on a talk given on 30 September 2013 at the Centre for Advanced Migration Studies (AMIS), University of Copenhagen, Denmark.

References

Anti-Slavery International (2003). 'The Migration-Trafficking Nexus: combating trafficking through the protection of migrant' human rights'. London: Anti-slavery International.

CBC: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (2013). 'Husband guilty in Filipina nanny human trafficking case'. CBC/MSN news.
http://news.ca.msn.com/canada/husband-guilty-in-filipina-nanny-human-trafficking-case. [Accessed 27 June 2013].

CCCP (2012).
https://www.protectchildren.ca/app/en/overview_cybertip. [Accessed 15 September 2012].

Chibba, M. (2012). 'Understanding human trafficking: perspectives from social science, security matters, business and human rights', *Contemporary Social Science*: Journal of the Academy of Social Sciences, DOI: 10.1080/21582041.2012.727301.

De Leon, S. (2013). 'Cyber-sex trafficking: A 21st century scourge', 17 July 2013.
http://edition.cnn.com/2013/07/17/world/asia/philipp

ines-cybersex-trafficking/?hpt=ias_t2 [Accessed July 17, 2013]

GAATW: Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women (2011). *Smuggling and Trafficking: Rights and Intersections*, Working Paper Series 2011 , GAATW, Bangkok.

Gallagher, A. (2011). 'Understanding Exploitation', *Harvard International Review*, XXXIII (3), Fall. Correspondence.

Hutchinson, B. (2013). 'Trial begins for B.C. woman charged in human trafficking. Domestic helper: companion or slave?' *National Post*, 7 September: p. A8.

ICMC: International Catholic Migration Commission (2010). *Bondaged Souls: Migration and Situation of Trafficking in Sabah, Malaysia*. Geneva: ICMC.

IOM: International Organization for Migration (2013a). 'Key Migration Terms'. http://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/about-migration/key-migration-terms-1.html

[Accessed August 10, 2013].

IOM (2013b). 'Counter-Trafficking'. http://www.iom.int/cms/counter-trafficking. [Accessed 10 August 2013].

King, R., Skeldon, R. and Vullnetari, J. (2008) 'Internal and International Migration: Bridging the Theoretical Divide'. Paper prepared for the IMISCOE 'Theories of Migration and Social Change Conference', St. Anne's College, Oxford, 1-3 July 2008.

Larsen, J. J. (2010). 'Migration and people trafficking in southeast Asia'. *Trends & Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, No. 401 (November 2010). Canberra, Australian Institute of Criminology, Australian Government.

Miller, C.M. (2013). 'Mobile Forensics and Human Trafficking'. Prepared for Officer.com. http://www.officer.com/article/11145118/mobile-forensics-human-trafficking. [Accessed 7 September 2013].

Solidarity Center (Undated). *Facts about Migration and Human Trafficking - Trafficking: A Point on the Migration Line*. (Newsletter/Brochure).Washington, DC, Solidarity Center.

Taxin, A. (2013). 'Saudi Princess arrested in California human trafficking investigation'. The Associated Press / The Canadian Press. http://ca.news.yahoo.com/saudi-princess-arrested-california-human-trafficking-investigation ...

[Accessed 11 July 2013].

UN (2004). *Protocol to prevent, supress and punish trafficking in persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime* ('Trafficking in Persons Protocol'), Article 3, Paragraph (a). New York, UN.

UNODC (2007). 'UNODC launches Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking'. Press Release. 26 March 2007.

UNODC (2012). What is human trafficking? http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/what-is-human-trafficking.html [Accessed 15 September 2012]

Salt, J. and Hogarth, J. (2000). 'Migrant trafficking and human smuggling in Europe: a review of the evidence' 9p. 11-164), in F. Laczko and D. Thompson (eds.) *Migrant Trafficking and Human Smuggling in Europe.* Geneva, IOM.

Vayrynen, R. (2003). *Illegal Immigration, human trafficking and organized crime.* United Nations University, World Institute for Development

Economics Research (UNU-WIDER). Discussion Paper number2003/72. Helsinki, UNU-WIDER.