

The Materialization of Human Trafficking in the Middle East and Impediments to its Eradication

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As a continental hub that connects Asia, Africa, and Europe, the Middle East offers a strategic location for the trafficking of persons from poor to richer states. Extreme poverty, coupled with the corporate and royal wealth of the Gulf States, creates a regional dichotomy in which Middle Eastern states serve as ‘source,’ ‘transit,’ and ‘destination’ countries for human trafficking. Discrepancies in defining human trafficking within the region, as well as the controversial and illicit nature of the practice, cause research to be sparse and with very few first-hand sources. Nevertheless, this paper examines available literature on the subject and addresses the materialization of human trafficking in the Middle East, offering an analysis about legislative and socio-cultural impediments to its eradication.

The Materialization of Human Trafficking in the Middle East

The most common forms of human trafficking in the Middle East include: sex trafficking of women and children; child trafficking for the purpose of begging or camel racing; and the forced labor of migrant workers in low-skill economic sectors, most notably forced domestic labor. Although not all cases of forced labor are instances of human trafficking, the vulnerability of individuals subjected to forced labor conditions—in which involuntary work or service is extracted from a person under the menace of penalty—frequently renders them susceptible to human trafficking.

Migrant workers from Asia and Africa immigrate to the oil-wealthy Gulf States, Israel, and countries of the Mashreq region in search of employment in agriculture, construction, or domestic service. Accounts from migrant workers in Yemen, Israel, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon reveal exploitative labor practices that denote qualifiers of human trafficking: the appropriation of legal documents; restrictions on movement; withheld wages; excessive work hours with little or no food and water; physical abuse; and the use of coercion to maintain employment (de Regt, 2006). Many migrant workers enter these countries willingly but subsequently find themselves ensnared in situations of forced labor. Some ways in which this occurs is through recruitment agencies charging excessive and typically illegitimate fees, which subjugate migrants to forms of debt-bondage, or employment contracts, signed by workers while in their country of origin, are annulled upon arrival in the Middle East and are substituted with new contracts that require longer hours and less pay.

Accounts of forced labor practices are particularly prevalent in cases of domestic workers—the privatized nature of domestic work and government reluctance to regulate household matters provide a conducive environment for exploitation. As a result, migrant domestic workers are frequently subjected to excessive work hours and sexual abuse by male household members. Reports of sexual and physical abuse, including torture and forced abortions, led the governments of Sri Lanka, Indonesia, and East Timor to ban their citizens from accepting work as domestic servants in Syria. Bans have also been established by the Ethiopian and Philippine governments to prevent their

nationals from working as maids in Lebanon. Additional reports indicate cases of migrant domestic workers who fled abusive employers only to be kidnapped and sold into the burgeoning Middle Eastern sex industry.

Sex trafficking within and to the Middle East is escalating. Displaced populations, increased sex tourism, and the reconstructed tradition of early marriage have directly fueled the problem. Conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan have also produced large populations of forced migrants vulnerable to trafficking. Instability and violence have displaced nearly four million Iraqis, forcing them to live in poverty as refugees in neighboring countries. There are accounts of desperate Iraqi families abandoning their children at the Syrian border, where traffickers are known to provide forged documents for women and girls in exchange for their sex work in nightclubs or brothels. Additionally, a high international presence of troops and contractors stimulates demand for the trafficking of women within and into Iraq for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

Over one million displaced Afghans live in Iran. Due to vulnerability and impoverishment, many end up trafficked to Europe or other Middle Eastern countries. Trafficking networks through Iran, however, most commonly lead to Dubai. Along with Afghan refugees, poor Iranian women with no alternative methods for income, readily find themselves trafficked into Dubai's underground sex market. The prominence of sex tourism in Dubai originates from the multiple conflicts in the Gulf region and the ensuing demand for sex generated by a continuous international military presence. Sex tourism in the Middle East, however, has been rapidly expanding outside of just Dubai. Eastern European, African, and Central and Southeast Asian women and children are trafficked into other 'destination countries' of the commercial sex trade, such as Israel and the United Arab Emirates (U.A.E.) more broadly. Upon arrival, these women and children are repeatedly raped, bought and sold as if they were commodities, and kept under lock and key in slavery-like conditions. Although women of poor countries supply this international political economy of sex, it is the demand generated by men from industrialized states that sustains the trade.

In a region where *shari'ah*, or Islamic law holds ubiquitous jurisdiction and prostitution is considered a form of adultery and a criminal offense, it has been imperative for sex tourists and human traffickers to legitimize the practice in some way. Hence, sex tourists and human traffickers have reconstructed traditional notions of temporary marriage. In exchange for a sum of money, temporary marriages can be entered into without witnesses or registration, and men have the right to terminate these marriages at any time—even within a few hours. The conditions of temporary marriage leave women vulnerable to sexual exploitation and provide a religious and legal means to legitimize prostitution and sex tourism. There are reports of girls as young as seven, who were bought by Saudi nationals under the pretenses of temporary marriage, only to become their "husband's" sexual slaves.

Legal and Socio-Cultural Impediments to Anti-Human Trafficking Measures

Combating the aforementioned manifestations of human trafficking in the Middle East faces significant legal obstacles. Many countries have not yet criminalized *all* forms of trafficking and fail to provide any protection or assistance to victims. Middle Eastern countries that have not yet

enacted comprehensive anti-trafficking legislation include Syria, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Morocco, and Kuwait. The Kuwaiti government refrains from defining human trafficking, while Saudi Arabia has denied that human trafficking even takes place within the kingdom. Additionally, Libya, Lebanon, and Egypt need to criminalize *all* forms of human trafficking. Additionally, most legal systems in the region omit migrant and domestic workers from national labor laws despite their particular susceptibility to exploitation. Furthermore, Middle Eastern criminal codes directly reflect the cultural values and attitudes about gender and sexuality that legitimize male dominance. These norms and values, and their legal manifestations, create gender double standards that serve as impediments to anti-trafficking measures.

Gender biases in the Middle East establish women as inferior to men. Historically, Middle Eastern laws have identified women as merely reproductive, sexual beings that should be subservient to men and the state. Modern legal codes continue this trend by omitting criminal penalties for gender-related violence such as crimes of honor. The notion that men hold power over women compounded with a sense that the state will overlook gender-related violence, accommodate the rationalization of trafficking women for the purpose of fulfilling male needs. In governments run primarily by men, these legal traditions and socio-cultural gender constructs hinder implementation of anti-trafficking legislation.

Unfortunately, countries that have enacted anti-trafficking legislation for sex trafficking often neglect to apply that same legislation to perpetrators and victims of forced labor. Israel provides modest protection and services to victims of sex trafficking, yet denies similar care to the majority of forced labor victims. Moreover, the exclusion of domestic and migrant workers from national labor laws allows employers to become the sole enforcers of labor standards, creating fertile grounds for exploitation and abuse. The U.A.E. does not even recognize people forced into labor as trafficking victims, because they often enter the country voluntarily. This, however, becomes a moot point according to the UN's Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, part of what is commonly referred to as the Palermo Protocols—which established the internationally recognized definition for human trafficking—because the consent of a victim of trafficking becomes irrelevant when a means of coercion or trickery is used to obtain that consent (United Nations, 2004).

Anti-Trafficking Improvements and Conclusions

Despite the aforementioned impediments to eradicating human trafficking in the Middle East, progressive reforms have been implemented. The government of Oman conducted seminars on workers' rights and launched a public outreach campaign on labor issues. In addition, Jordan has amended its labor laws to cover agriculture and domestic workers. In regards to socio-cultural endeavors, there are increasing discussions amongst academics and international actors about combating human trafficking in accordance with the principles of Islamic law. In 2002 the Saudi Arabian Grand Mufti issued a Fatwa against abuse of foreign labor by Saudi employers and in 2009 Qatar commenced a public outreach campaign that involved local imams in advocating anti-trafficking norms. *Qur'anic* law states: "And force not your maids to prostitution, if they desire chastity, in order that you may make a gain in the goods of this worldly life." Utilizing traditional

texts and respected cultural figures is essential for reversing local traditions of gender biases and historical ties to labor exploitation.

Despite this progress, regional anti-trafficking measures remain insufficient. Middle Eastern governments need to continue anti-trafficking legislative reform, public outreach, and increase prosecution efforts against *all* forms of human trafficking. Governments need to recognize and assist victims of human trafficking as victims, rather than perpetrators of crimes committed directly as a result of being trafficked. Finally, in order to implement effective anti-trafficking measures, Middle Eastern governments and international actors need to consider the influences of poverty and socio-cultural gender biases as contributory factors to human trafficking in the region.

Annotations

Amnesty International. 2000. "Israel: Human Rights Abuses of Women Trafficked from Countries of the Former Soviet Union into Israel's Sex Industry." Available online: <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/MDE15/017/2000>.

Annotation: This report offers several testimonies from victims of human trafficking, which highlight the methods and manifestations of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation in Israel. Amnesty International reveals that every year thousands of women and girls are trafficked from countries within the former Soviet Union to work in Israel's sex industry. Their findings are based on research conducted in Israel in 1999, when the organization interviewed several incarcerated sex workers from the former Soviet Union who claimed to be victims of human trafficking. The report suggests that Israeli authorities often compound the problem by treating victims as criminals or illegal aliens. The effectiveness of governmental institutions and trafficking-relevant legislation are also examined, ultimately concluding that in regards to human trafficking, Israel has failed to uphold its commitment under international law.

Anti-Slavery International. 2006. "Trafficking in Women, Forced Labour and Domestic Work in the Context of the Middle East and Gulf Region." Available online: http://www.antislavery.org/includes/documents/cm_docs/2009/t/traffic_women_forced_labour_domestic_2006.pdf.

Annotation: Anti-Slavery International was founded in 1839 and has since worked to eradicate all forms of slavery by investigating and reporting on instances of slavery and human trafficking around the world. This working paper discusses the migration of women to the Middle East and Gulf states for the purpose of employment as domestic workers and how this migration influences human trafficking. It provides evidence that many of these women are trafficked into forced labor. After being trapped in exploitative situations, they face legal, social, financial and cultural obstacles to securing their freedom. Anti-Slavery International provides a thorough analysis of these obstacles and the underlying experiences of migrant domestic workers in the

Middle East. Additionally, the organization examines whether gender plays a role in exploitation and trafficking in this region.

Bertone, Andrea Marie. 1999. "Sexual Trafficking in Women: International Political Economy and the Politics of Sex." *Gender Issues* 18 (1): 4-22.

Annotation: This article provides a gender perspective on human trafficking. It claims that the demand for sex trafficking is fueled by a patriarchal world system, in which international subcultures of submissive women from poor states are desired. The author discusses the trafficking of women and girls for sexual exploitation in the context of globalization, arguing that the origins of sex trafficking rest in the international capitalist market system. She analyzes both the supply and demand side of the international political economy of sex, concluding that while this economy is supplied by women of the third world, it is demand generated by men from industrialized and developing countries that sustain the trade. In addition, the author offers an interesting review of international anti-human trafficking legislation that preceded the Palermo Protocol--the authoritative legal piece on human trafficking adopted by the United Nations in 2000.

Boubakri, Hassen. 2004. "Transit Migration between Tunisia, Libya and Sub-Saharan Africa: Study Based on Greater Tunis." In *Migrants in transit countries: sharing responsibility for management and protection*. Regional Conference on Migration, September 30-October 1, 2004, - Istanbul, Turkey: Council of Europe. Available online: http://www.coe.int/t/dg3/migration/Source/IstanbulRegConf/MG-RCONF_2004_9e_Istanbul_conference_Proceedings_en.pdf.

Annotation: This report draws attention to shifting migration patterns within North African countries--specifically Tunisia. Previously areas of only out-migration, these countries are now becoming transit zones for the movement of people from Sub-Saharan Africa into Europe. Although this report does not specifically address human trafficking, it provides data about transit migration to and from North African countries. Because of the region's proximity to Europe and loose immigration enforcement, high migration flows contribute to the establishment of smuggling networks that partake in human trafficking. The author concludes that knowledge of migration in this region remains extremely limited; however, analyses of transit migration patterns are essential in understanding trends of irregular migration--like human trafficking.

Budiani-Saberia, D.A. and F. L. Delmonico. 2008. "Organ Trafficking and Transplant Tourism: A Commentary on the Global Realities." In *American Journal of Transplantation* 8: 925-29.

Annotation: The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that organ trafficking accounts for 5-10% of worldwide kidney transplants each year. Hence, the authors seek to illustrate the characteristics and scope of global organ trafficking. This report describes how organ 'tourists'

travel to underdeveloped countries to purchase organs from the poor and vulnerable who have no other means for subsistence. It is based on the authors' personal visits to numerous countries as well as field research conducted by the Coalition for Organ-Failure Solutions. The authors propose an approach to eliminating organ trafficking by allowing organ donations from deceased donors--a practice forbidden in some Middle Eastern countries such as Egypt--thus alleviating shortages of organs for transplant. This report also considers the WHO Regional Consultation on Developing Organ Donation from deceased donors, which was held in Kuwait City and attended by multiple Middle Eastern countries, as a regional effort to eliminate organ trafficking.

Calandruccio, Giuseppe. 2005. "A Review of Recent Research on Human Trafficking in the Middle East." *International Migration* 43 (1-2): 267-99.

Annotation: This article addresses both legal and illegal migration in the Middle East, focusing on countries in the Mashreq and on the Arabian Peninsula. In his analysis, the author chooses to exclude North African countries due to their historic, linguistic, and cultural ties with Europe. Calandruccio asserts that international migration between Mashreq countries follows an intra-regional pattern in which migrants are drawn to the labor markets of the Gulf countries. Although this article is geared towards addressing migration within these regions in general, Calandruccio's discussion of human trafficking as a form of irregular migration illuminates the types and practices of human trafficking that are unique to the Gulf and Mashreq countries.

Chatelard, Géraldine. 2002. "Jordan as a Transit Country: Semi-Protectionist Immigration Policies and Their Effects on Iraqi Forced Migrants" Working Paper No. 61. In *New Issues in Refugee Research*. Rober Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute: Florence, Italy. Available online: <http://www.unhcr.org/3d57aa757.html>.

Annotation: This working paper discusses forced migration due to conflicts in Iraq and the many Iraqi migrants that have immigrated to neighboring states due to displacement. Of these neighboring states, Chatelard focuses on Jordan--specifically the type of treatment migrants receive there and the effects of Jordanian smuggling networks on Iraqi migrants. Sophisticated smuggling networks connect Jordan to several European countries and other regional trafficking-destination countries, such as Iran or Turkey. Therefore, Chatelard asserts that Iraqi migrants in Jordan face the highest risk of being trafficked to Western Europe or other Middle Eastern states. This paper only briefly addresses the trafficking of Iraqis from Jordan, but nevertheless touches on the relationship between conflict, forced migration, and human trafficking.

Coluccello, Salvatore and Simon Massey. 2007. "Out of Africa: The Human Trade between Libya and Lampedusa." *Trends in Organized Crime* 10 (4): 77-90.

Annotation: In light of an escalation of human trafficking and smuggling casualties discovered on Italian coasts, Coluccello and Massey offer an in depth investigation of the illicit transport of humans from North Africa to Europe, analyzing specifically the nature of smuggling networks within this region. With particular attention given to Libya, the authors conclude that these trafficking networks are small, complex criminal associations that do not resemble hierarchical, mafia-like organizations. Additionally, this article examines the mechanisms and processes utilized by criminal networks in facilitating the illicit transport of humans.

Dahan, Yossi and Nomi Levenkron. 2003. "Women as Commodities: Trafficking in Women in Israel 2003." *The Hotline for Migrant Workers, Isha L'Isha - Haifa Feminist Center, and Adva Center*. Available online: http://www.hotline.org.il/english/pdf/Women_as_Commodities_Trafficking_in_women_in_Israel_2003_Eng.pdf.

Annotation: "Women as Commodities" discusses the trafficking of women into the Israeli sex industry, effectively conveying the experiences of these victims as sex slaves and documenting violations of their human rights. The article reviews supply and demand aspects of global and local trends that have generated an increase of women trafficked into Israel since the 1990s. The authors argue that indifference to this phenomenon by the public and government agencies indicate that the sex trade is not considered illegitimate in Israeli society and this contributes to the high demand. This article offers a thorough review of the plight of human trafficking victims, exposing myths and realities of their experiences in Israel. It also examines the legislative, enforcement, and judicial approaches of Israeli authorities in regards to trafficked women and how authorities employ methods of protection and rehabilitation for these victims.

Davidson, Christopher. 2008. "Dubai: The Security Dimensions of the Region's Premier Free Port." *Middle East Policy* 15 (2): 143-60.

Annotation: This article explores international security concerns in Dubai, one of which is human trafficking. The author addresses Dubai's history of slave trading and how similar trends have manifested recently in cases of human trafficking. The article discusses different types of human trafficking in Dubai--from child camel jockeys to sexual slaves--identifying practices employed by traffickers and the impact of recently implemented anti-human trafficking policies. The author dubs Dubai as "the region's primary center for modern-day slavery," arguing that many young women have been trafficked to Dubai to supply an explosion in sex tourism and the prostitution industry. However, the article mainly focuses on international security concerns in Dubai, and human trafficking to the region is but briefly discussed as one of these concerns.

de Regt, Marina. 2006. "Ethiopian Women Increasingly Trafficked to Yemen." *Forced Migration Review* 25, *People Trafficking: Upholding Rights and Understanding Vulnerabilities*. Available online: <http://www.fmreview.org/textOnlyContent/peopletrafficking.htm>.

Annotation: This article is a condensed account of Ethiopian women who are trafficked to Yemen as domestic workers. It notes letters sent by domestic workers that describe deception, physical abuse, unpaid salaries, confiscated passports, and situations of debt-bondage. The author analyzes increased demand in Yemen for domestic workers--despite it being a relatively poor country--and socio-cultural elements that designate Ethiopian women appropriate as domestic servants for middle-class Yemeni families. The majority of recruitment agencies that arrange employment for Ethiopian domestic workers in the Middle East are non-registered, illegal organizations that may thus be considered traffickers. However, the author mentions efforts made by the Yemeni government to counter these illegal trafficking organizations and encourage legal avenues for Ethiopians to work as domestics.

Degorge, Barbara. 2006. "Modern Day Slavery in the United Arab Emirates." *European Legacy* 11 (6): 657-66.

Annotation: This article addresses three forms of slavery--the exploitation of children as camel jockeys, the sexual enslavement of women, and migrant workers who become enslaved--practiced in the United Arab Emirates. Degorge argues that the rapid modernization of the Gulf States has concealed practices of slavery from public attention and that a deeper awareness of the nature and scope of modern-day slavery is necessary for its abolishment. She regards human trafficking as the modern-day slave trade and evaluates current definitions of slavery, how they apply to practices in the Middle East, and slavery as a constant feature in Middle Eastern history. This article provides an excellent and fluent discussion of the manifestations of modern-day slavery in the United Arab Emirates as a case study and highlights factors that contribute to the pervasiveness of slavery in the Middle East as a whole.

ECPAT International and The Body Shop. 2009. "Sex Trafficking of Children in the Middle East." In *Stop Sex Trafficking of Children and Young People*. ECPAT International and The Body Shop. Available online: http://www.ecpat.net/EI/Publications/Trafficking/Factsheet_Middle_East.pdf.

Annotation: End Child Prostitution Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes, also known as ECPAT International, is a global network of organizations and individuals who work toward eliminating the trafficking of children for sexual purposes. This report is used as a resource for the STOP campaign, which was designed to raise public awareness about child sex trafficking, prostitution, and pornography. The report draws on statistics and analyses conducted by UNICEF, the U.S. State Department, the UNODC, and Middle Eastern newspapers to present a general, yet well researched, synopsis on sex trafficking of children in the Middle East. As part of this synopsis, the report reviews questions such as who gets trafficked, who creates demand, who are the traffickers, and what measures Middle Eastern governments are taking to assist victims and prevent child trafficking.

Ellman, Michael and Smain Laacher. 2003. "Migrant Workers in Israel - a Contemporary Form of Slavery." The Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network & The International Federation for Human Rights. Available online: <http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/2003/fidh-opt-25aug.pdf>.

Annotation: This report is the result of a joint investigation conducted by the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) and the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network (EMHRN) on the situation of migrant workers in Israel. It notes that 60% of foreign workers in 2003 were illegal and examines how an illegal status leaves workers vulnerable to abuse, exploitation, and the violation of their rights under Israeli and international law. This vulnerability of illegal migrant workers often renders them victims to human trafficking. The authors explain that even legal foreign workers are completely controlled by their Israeli employers, most of whom keep workers' passports illegally. This report concludes that under the current system the rights of both legal and illegal migrant workers--who comprise 13% of the Israeli workforce--are continuously abused.

Frykberg, Mel. 2007. "Israel's Miserable Record in Human Trafficking: Israel's Ambitious Building Programme Continues but at Considerable Cost in Terms of Human Misery." *Middle East*:24-25.

Annotation: This article relays an interview with an impoverished Turkish laborer in Israel. He describes the inhumane living and working conditions that migrant construction workers in Israel are forced to tolerate and the exploitation inflicted by their employers. Israeli employers regularly seize and withhold passports, refuse to grant pay for months, and threaten deportation when migrant workers contest abuse. The article offers a glimpse of the exploitative labor practices in Israel that often result in cases of human trafficking and is valuable in that it includes interviews with migrant construction workers. However, the *Middle East* is a monthly magazine that provides news but also opinions and commentaries on issues in the region.

Hosseini-Divkolaye, Nasim Sadat. 2009. "Iran: Migrant Smuggling and Trafficking in Persons." *Forced Migration Review* 32.

Annotation: This article provides a succinct discussion of human trafficking in Iran, identifying Iran's location--as a bridge between Asia, Europe, and the Middle East--and borders with the conflict ridden countries of Iraq and Afghanistan, as contributing factors. Furthermore, available data indicate Iran's weak border management as enabling trafficking networks for narcotics and people. There are currently over one million Afghan refugees living illegally within Iran. The author discusses the vulnerability of this population to trafficking, noting recent reports of Afghan and Iranian children, who have been trafficked to Gulf States for both camel racing and sexual exploitation. The author concludes by mentioning improvements made by Iran with the adoption of anti-human trafficking legislation in 2004, but recommends that Iran increase border control, promote public information campaigns, and train law enforcement officials about human trafficking.

Huda, Sigma. 2006. "Human Trafficking in Lebanon." *Forced Migration Review* 25, People Trafficking: Upholding Rights & Understanding Vulnerabilities . Available online: <http://www.fmreview.org/textOnlyContent/peopletrafficking.htm>.

Annotation: This article offers a succinct overview of human trafficking as a significant problem in Lebanon. It cites foreign women--recruited as domestic workers or for the sex industry--as the primary victims of human trafficking in Lebanon. Despite the large number of migrant domestic workers in Lebanon, domestic workers are excluded from the Lebanese labor code. Additionally, Lebanese authorities often hand over migrant documents to employers, condone restrictions of movement placed on domestic workers, and ignore cases of abuse and withheld wages. To curtail human trafficking in Lebanon, the author recommends strengthening labor laws, adopting legal reforms to criminalize all forms of trafficking, and offering protection to victims.

Human Rights Watch. 2007. "Exported and Exposed: Abuses against Sri Lankan Domestic Workers in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Lebanon and the United Arab Emirates." *Human Rights Watch* 19, no. 16(C).

Annotation: This report offers an in depth analysis of exploited domestic workers in the Middle East and explores the role of governments in perpetuating abuse and neglecting human rights. "Exported and Exposed" focuses on the maltreatment of domestic workers from Sri Lanka and the failure of Middle Eastern governments to provide legislative deterrents against coercive labor practices. Human Rights Watch also exposes failure by the Sri Lankan government to care for and protect Sri Lankan victims. The findings of this report are based on 170 interviews conducted by Human Rights Watch with domestic workers, government officials, NGOs, and labor recruiters in Sri Lanka and the Middle East. Each of these groups offers a different perspective on aspects that make domestic workers more susceptible to abuse, exploitation, and human trafficking in the region.

İçduygu, Ahmet and Sule Toktas. 2003. "How Do Smuggling and Trafficking Operate Via Irregular Border Crossings in the Middle East? Evidence from Fieldwork in Turkey." *International Migration* 40(6): 25-54.

Annotation: This article summarizes trends, perpetrators, and activities of human trafficking in the Middle East. Its premise is that the majority of human trafficking networks are not mafia groups but rather independent, locally operating crime groups. The authors explain that despite the small scale structure of these crime groups, their illicit businesses are run effectively with the use of modern communications technology. Additionally, human trafficking networks are facilitated through national, ethnic, or family connections that span multiple countries. İçduygu and Toktas' data are based on interviews conducted with traffickers and smugglers during five years of fieldwork in Turkey. This article offers excellent analysis of human trafficking that

echoes several reports and journal articles written on the nature of smuggling networks in the Middle East.

International Organization for Migration. 2003. "Arab Migration in a Globalized World." Paper presented at the Regional Conference on Arab Migration in a Globalized World, Cairo, Egypt.

Annotation: This book is a collection of papers presented at the 2003 "Regional Conference on Arab Migration in a Globalized World" held in Cairo. The conference did not directly address human trafficking but provided a forum for dialogue among Arab decision-makers and institutions at the regional and international level to discuss issues in the Middle East that are connected to human trafficking. These issues include: international migration and challenges posed by globalization; characteristics and the magnitude of migration patterns in Maghreb, Mashreq, and Gulf countries; and human rights and foreign contract labor. The papers contained in this book further the discussion of these issues, which are often connected to human trafficking in the region, and provide academic analysis on how migration affects the countries and peoples of the Middle East.

International Organization for Migration. 2004. "Irregular Migration." Available online: <http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/about-migration/managing-migration/managing-migration-irregular-migration/cache/offonce/>.

Annotation: The International Organization for Migration (IOM) is an inter-governmental organization with 127 member states that works to ensure humane management of migration, international cooperation with migration issues, and practical solutions to migration problems. The IOM works in four broad areas of migration management, one of which is forced migration and directly pertains to human trafficking. This website offers an outline of non-region specific consequences of human trafficking on both victims and nation states and also discusses policies that address human trafficking. The IOM website provides a reliable source for obtaining a general perspective on the nature of human trafficking as a global issue for the international community and for specific governments of origin, transit, and destination.

Jureidini, Ray. 2001. "Women Migrant Domestic Workers in Lebanon," in International Migration Papers. International Migration Programme. Geneva: International Labour Office.

Annotation: Jureidini presents an excellent discussion on domestic migrant workers in Lebanon, providing several case studies and an analysis of key factors leading to the vulnerability of these women. The article focuses on the recruitment processes of foreign domestic workers and their living and working conditions in Lebanon. These processes and conditions--such as restricting a workers' freedom of movement and seizing their identification papers--often transform migrant domestic workers into victims of human trafficking and occur readily as part of normalized and accepted labor practices. Jureidini also reviews government reforms and measures related to migrant workers, noting Lebanon's failure to ratify the International Convention of the

Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families as an impediment to progress in anti-human trafficking measures.

Kahale, Salma. 2003. "Exploratory Study on Foreign Domestic Work in Syria,." Damascus: International Organization for Migration. Available online: http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/published_docs/studies_and_reports/syria_domestic_work.pdf.

Annotation: This article evaluates the effects of Syrian law on foreign domestic workers, which denies them protections available to other laborers. Although their employment is typically legal, it is not regulated. Lack of government regulation allows employers to become the sole enforcers of labor standards. However, contracts signed by migrant domestic workers while in their country of origin are usually annulled upon arrival in Syria. Employers then compel the newly-arrived workers to sign different contracts with longer hours and less pay. The author discusses how foreign domestic workers often live in slavery-like conditions, are forbidden to leave the house, and are typically denied adequate food and access to their legal documents. This report establishes a good profile of foreign domestic workers in Syria and how Syrian laws render them vulnerable to trafficking situations.

Kelly, Liz. 2005. "'You Can Find Anything You Want': A Critical Reflection on Research on Trafficking in Persons within and into Europe," in Laczko, Frank and Elzbieta Gozdzia (eds.), Data and Research on Human Trafficking: A Global Survey. International Organization for Migration.

Annotation: With respect to human trafficking, this report evaluates current research, methodological deficiencies, and new approaches to the study of traffickers, advocating a future research agenda that moves beyond highlighting only sex trafficking and includes studies on domestic service and labor exploitation. Although focusing primarily on Europe, the author also addresses trafficking for sexual exploitation, domestic service, and labor exploitation within countries throughout the Middle East. Specifically, the author discusses domestic workers in the Gulf States and how the privatized nature of their employment renders them susceptible to exploitation. Additionally, this report includes an analysis of the Shi'a Muslim practice of temporary marriage--based heavily on research conducted by Mohamed Mattar--as a legitimizing framework for prostitution. Overall, Kelly offers an excellent evaluation of the current knowledge base and framework of human trafficking research.

Mattar, Mohamed Y. 2003. "Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, in Countries of the Middle East: The Scope of the Problem and the Appropriate Legislative Responses." *Fordham International Law Journal* 26 (3), 721: 721-60.

Annotation: Mohamed Mattar is a Research Professor of Law at Johns Hopkins University and is considered an expert in issues pertaining to corruption and transnational crime, human rights,

and human trafficking, specifically in the geographic areas of the Middle East, Persian Gulf, and Iraq. This article should be regarded as a very broad academic overview of the problem of human trafficking in the Middle East as approached from a legislative angle. Mattar argues that anti-trafficking measures in the Middle East are inhibited due to the fact that not every government has criminalized all forms of trafficking in persons; instead, legislation tends only to focus on human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. The article also discusses the lack of protection provided to trafficked victims by Middle Eastern governments. Overall, Mattar provides an essential discussion of legislative challenges to combating human trafficking within the Middle East.

Shahrokhi, Sholeh. 2008. "When Tragedy Hits: A Concise Sociocultural Analysis of Sex Trafficking of Young Iranian Women." *Wagadu: A Journal of Transnational Women's & Gender Studies* 5: 21-31.

Annotation: Sholeh Shahrokhi offers a rich examination of socio-cultural factors that have contributed to human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation of Iranian women and girls. She also reviews economic factors, such as Iran's poor economy and impoverished living situations, that contribute to human trafficking. However, Shahrokhi asserts that while poverty can be a determinant factor, the trafficking of Iranian girls into Dubai's underground prostitution circles is a cultural construct. To explain this cultural context, the author analyzes gender double standards and how Iranian oral and textual history is used to legitimize male dominance. In order to curtail sex trafficking in Iran, Shahrokhi identifies the need to generate alternative methods of income for women, and for a public education program, focused on forming new gender attitudes and refuting sexually violent local traditions.

United Nations. 2004. *United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and the Protocols Thereto*. New York: United Nations. Available online: <http://www.unodc.org/documents/treaties/UNTOC/Publications/TOC%20Convention/TOCebook-e.pdf>.

Annotation: Originally ratified in 2000, the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime gives the most internationally recognized definition of human trafficking in its Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. 2009. "Global Report on Trafficking in Persons." United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking. Available online: http://www.unodc.org/documents/Global_Report_on_TIP.pdf.

Annotation: As a study of the world's response to human trafficking, this report provides information on 155 countries and territories. Each country's national legislation and enforcement activities are reviewed and based on near-comprehensive data provided by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). This report offers an informative analysis of the worldwide status of anti-human trafficking legislation and trafficking in persons

patterns and flows. However, the individual country profiles lack analysis about the types of human trafficking in each country, possible push and pull factors, and whether the country is a source, transit, or destination country in regards to trafficking victims. Furthermore, the UNODC report is based on voluntary participation and thus provides no data on countries such as Iran, China, and Saudi Arabia.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. 2010.. "Combating Trafficking in Persons in Accordance with the Principles of Islamic Law." New York: United Nations. Available online: http://www.unodc.org/documents/human-trafficking/Islamic_Law_TIP_E_ebook_18_March_2010_V0985841.pdf.

Annotation: Professor Mohamed Y. Mattar, an expert in Middle Eastern issues of transnational crime and human trafficking, drafted this paper under a United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) initiative. This paper addresses human trafficking as a global problem that transcends economic, cultural, and religious divisions--a problem that manifests uniquely in each region but requires international solutions. The authors seek to establish a common interest between Western and Islamic states in combating human trafficking. According to research provided by this paper, International and Islamic Law both contain stipulations that condemn exploitation and slavery. In addition, this paper calls attention to principles under both sets of law that mandate protection to victims of such abuses. Hence, this paper is targeted at Islamic countries, in order to reveal the strength that Islamic law offers in the fight against human trafficking, but also targeted at non-Islamic countries, in order to promote anti-human trafficking alliances with Islamic countries.

U.S. Department of State, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons. 2009. *Trafficking in Persons Report--9th Edition*. Washington, D.C.: Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons.

Annotation: Since 2000, the U.S. State Department has annually issued Trafficking in Persons (TIP) reports that identify efforts by foreign governments to eliminate severe forms of human trafficking. TIP Reports critique the anti-trafficking efforts of foreign governments according to standards established by the U.S. Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA). They also review the attempts of foreign governments to punish trafficking offenders, protect victims, and implement preventative measures. Furthermore, TIP Reports briefly offer recommendations to successfully comply with TVPA standards. Although TIP Reports provide comprehensive and updated information about human trafficking in almost every country of the world, each analysis is very brief and of course U.S.-centric. Moreover, these reports directly affect diplomatic relationships the U.S. has with individual countries, thus creating an opportunity for biases.

Zuhur, Sherifa. 2005. "Gender, Sexuality, and the Criminal Laws in the Middle East and North Africa: A Comparative Study." Istanbul, Turkey: Women for Women's Human Rights and New Ways.

Annotation: This article argues that overcoming human rights violations against women in the Middle East and North Africa will require the reform of laws and criminal codes that legitimize discrimination against women. As such, the author provides a thorough comparative study about the construction and regulation of gender and sexuality in criminal laws. She presents a historical perspective for this study, claiming that Middle Eastern tribal, religious, and colonial laws identified women as reproductive and sexual beings that should rightly be constrained by men, the family, and the state. This article also contains an elaborate section on how issues of sexuality and gender influence Middle Eastern penal codes in regards to sex work and the trafficking of women. It discusses who trafficking affects in this region and contributory factors such as tourism, poverty, and legal 'loopholes' like temporary marriage.