

Migration Trends in Central Asia and the Case of Trafficking of Women

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After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the elimination of state regulation of population movements, migration from, to and within Central Asia has become an acute and continuous process.¹ It has substantial political, social and economic implications, negatively affecting the economies of the countries from which the migration outflow occurs. Traditionally, the Russian workforce in Central Asia tended to dominate the industrial, technical, educational and medical care sectors.² However, in the years since 1991, with the dramatic outflow of highly qualified professionals of Russian, German and Jewish origin, most Central Asian societies have experienced a “brain drain” and deterioration in the quality of education, medical fields, and other sectors of the economy.

Central Asian republics rightfully have been called “an astonishing ethnic mosaic.”³ Such multi-ethnicity is the result of the following factors:

- Pre-Soviet Russian Tsarist imperialistic expansion policies, which encouraged resettlement of Russians in Central Asia;⁴
- Repression and massive deportation of people to Central Asia by Stalin;
- Forced relocation of ethnic Germans, Greeks, Crimean Tatars, Koreans and Turks during World War II;⁵
- World War II and post-war reconstruction-era relocation policies, when industrial plants and factories with their entire workforce were relocated to Central Asia;
- Soviet policies of sending young graduates and professionals to work in the Central Asian republics.⁶

The migration of non-titular ethnic groups to the region continued to increase until the end of the 1950s. It reached its peak in 1959, when 45 percent of the region's population (over 10 million persons) were immigrants.⁷ However, in the following 30 years, the number of indigenous populations in Central Asia increased threefold due to a higher birth rate, while the immigrant population grew by half.⁸

Nonetheless, by the late 1970s, migration trends began to change: some regions of Russia experienced labor deficits and became attractive areas for relocation because of the higher wages. In the 1980s, the Russian labor market became more favorable and the government actively promoted migration to Russia and Ukraine, not only by Slavs but also by the ethnic populations of non-Slavic republics.⁹ During President Gorbachev's "perestroika" reforms, restrictions on travel outside the Soviet Union finally were lifted, though at first only the selective emigration of Jews, Germans and Greeks was allowed.¹⁰ Eventually, from 1988 on, all individuals were permitted to migrate out of the country, although many republics still retained exit visa policies.

Migration within and outside Central Asia can be classified as internal, external and transit migration, as well as permanent and temporary (labor) migration. In general, ethnic minorities tend to migrate permanently out of Central Asia. Most of the migrants are ethnic Russians, who numbered more than eight million in Central Asian republics as late as 1995.¹¹ Table 18-1 shows the extent of this migration by country. In 1989, there were 388,000 Russians in Tajikistan, making up 7.6 percent of the population;¹² more than 100,000 Russians left the republic in 1992 alone.¹³ By 1996, the Russian population in Tajikistan had decreased by a factor of two and represented 3.4 percent of the population. The civil war that broke out in 1992 and the rapidly deteriorating economy were among the reasons for the massive exodus of Russians as well as much of the Tajik population.¹⁴ During the war years, approximately 300,000 Tajik citizens left the country, while another 692,000 were displaced to other parts of Tajikistan.

Similarly, in Uzbekistan before independence, 60 percent of the population of Tashkent, the capital, were Russians. By 1993, Russians composed only 40 percent of Tashkent's inhabitants.¹⁵ The overall Russian population in Uzbekistan decreased from 8.3 percent in 1989 to 5.6 percent in 1996, spurred by the departure of 363,000 people.¹⁶ Tatars also left Uzbekistan: between 1989 and 1996, their number decreased from 657,000 to 343,000.¹⁷

In Kazakhstan in 1989, ethnic Kazakhs were a minority in their own country, making up only 39.7 percent of the population. By 1999, the proportion of Kazakhs had increased to 53.4 percent. This increase was again partly caused by migration of ethnic people, specifically Russians who comprised 37.8 percent of the population in 1989 dropped to 30 percent in 1999. Overall, between 1989 and 1999, the “European”¹⁸ population in Kazakhstan decreased from 44.7 to 34.7 percent.¹⁹

In Kyrgyzstan, out of 102,000 ethnic Germans living in the country, 80,000 left between 1991 and 1996.²⁰ In addition to the typical causes behind the migration of minorities from Central Asia, the main impetus for the German exodus was the program run by the German government to accept and assist German descendants from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Russians also departed in significant numbers. Where they once comprised 21.4 percent of the Kyrgyzstan population in 1989 the figure had dropped to 12.5 percent by 1999.²¹

Turkmenistan has had the lowest migration rate among the Central Asian states. The proportion of non-Russian minorities in Turkmenistan decreased only slightly, from 18.5 to 18 percent between 1989 and 1996. The Russian population decreased from 9.5 percent in 1989 to 6.6 percent in 1996. Such low rates of migration can be explained by the absence of ethnic violence in the country, the dependence of the Turkmen gas industry on Russian personnel,²² and government policies that allowed dual citizenship with Russia. However, this policy was reversed in 2003: Turkmen citizens now have to either give up Russian citizenship or leave the country. As a result, it has been reported that emigration of non-titular citizens from Turkmenistan is on the rise.²³

Motivating factors behind the decision of non-titular populations to migrate from Central Asia include: ethnic motives,²⁵ economic motives, uncertainty about the future and desire to provide a better future for children, isolation from Russia, anti-democratic regimes, social and political instability, poor ecological conditions, criminal situations, and other personal motives (family unification, health problems, desire/need for a different climate, etc).²⁶ In addition to the permanent external migration, people from Central Asia have begun to migrate to other countries for temporary jobs, and engage in shuttle trade and other kinds of commercial migration. A substantial number of migrants (mostly women) engage in the shuttle trade, traveling to other countries to purchase goods to be resold in their home countries. Typical destination countries include China, the United Arab Emirates, Turkey and Russia. The traveling

Table 18–1. Population Change in Central Asia by Ethnicity, 1989–1996²⁴

	Percent		Thousands	
	1989	1996	1989	1996
Tajikistan				
Tajiks	62.1	68.1	3,172	4,006
Uzbeks	23.4	24.4	1,198	1,435
Russians	7.6	3.4	388	199
Other	6.9	4.1	350	244
Uzbekistan				
Uzbeks	71	76.6	14,142	17,614
Russians	8.3	5.6	1,653	1,280
Tatars	3.3	1.5	657	343
Jews	0.5	0.1	94	18
Germans	0.2	0.1	40	22
Other	16.7	16.3	3,318	3,730
Kazakhstan				
Kazakhs	39.5	47.0	6,535	7,781
Russians	37.7	33.9	6,228	5,615
Germans	5.8	2.6	957	426
Other	17	16.4	2,817	2,721
Kyrgyzstan				
Kyrgyz	52.0	59.9	2,230	2,721
Russians	21.4	15.6	917	707
Uzbeks	12.8	14.1	550	640
Ukrainians	2.5	1.6	108	73
Germans	2.4	0.5	101	21
Jews	0.1	0.0	6	2
Other	8.9	8.3	379	381
Turkmenistan				
Turkmen	72.0	75.4	2,536	3,163
Russians	9.5	6.6	334	278
Other	18.5	18.0	653	757

Population changes due to natural increase/decrease as well as emigration/immigration. Source: Tim Heleniak. The Changing Nationality Composition of the Central Asian and Transcaucasian States." *Post-Soviet Geography and Economics* 38, No. 6: 357–378.

conditions of such migrants are usually miserable, and they are subject to harassment from corrupt customs and law enforcement officers. They also may have to pay high "passage fees."²⁷

Hundreds of thousands of Central Asians have left their homes for other CIS countries in search of better work opportunities. Many leave their families behind and send remittances back home. Russia is the most popular destination country for such labor migrants. It is estimated that over 160,000 Tajik citizens work in Russia, primarily in the construction sector and open markets where unskilled labor is in demand.²⁸ They tend to concentrate in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Samara, Volgograd and major cities of Western Siberia. Overall, anywhere between 200,000 to 400,000 Tajik citizens are labor migrants in other Central Asian countries and the Russian Federation.²⁹ Similarly, the Kyrgyz also migrate in large numbers to the Russian Federation for work. In addition, it is estimated that 6,000³⁰ to 50,000³¹ Kyrgyz migrants are working in Kazakhstan.³² Many of them work on tobacco plantations, often living in horrendous conditions and abused by the plantation owners. The United States is also a growing destination for emigration. Over 500 Kyrgyz citizens are estimated to be working in the New York area, as nannies, maids, care-givers to senior citizens and other low-level jobs. Typically, these migrants arrive in the United States on tourist visas and stay to work for a few years with the intention of saving their wages to take back home and support families in Kyrgyzstan.³³

Internal migration is also an acute problem in Central Asia. The collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in the breakdown of industry, the collective farm system and the rural infrastructure of the region. Unemployment soared as land was privatized, and jobs that were traditionally available at collective farms disappeared. Salaries for teachers, doctors and others became irregular, and many schools and hospitals were forced to close. Even those institutions that remain open, experience chronic shortages of personnel. These circumstances forced rural residents to move to the cities in search of employment and educational opportunities.³⁴

Internal migration includes internally displaced persons (IDPs), who have to move within the territory of their country. For example, over 100,000³⁵ persons were displaced during the 1980s and 1990s because of the environmental disaster in the Aral Sea region.³⁶ In addition, over 161,000 persons³⁷ were forced to leave the Semipalatinsk area, a nuclear testing site.³⁸ In Kyrgyzstan, at least 17,000 people had to migrate between 1992 and 1997 because of landslides, mudflows, floods and earthquakes.³⁹ Overall, according to the estimates of the United National High Commis-

sioner for Refugees (UNHCR), at least 250,000 people have been forced to leave their homes in Central Asia because of ecological disasters.⁴⁰

Another aspect of migration that affects Central Asia is transit migration of third country nationals en route to more developed countries. The lax border control that accompanied the demise of the Soviet Union opened the region, to human smuggling criminal networks and migrants from as far away as South Asia and Africa en route to Western Europe.⁴¹ This issue presents a particular challenge to law enforcement agencies in the region, as the smuggling of migrants often involves fraudulent passports and/or visas. Central Asian republics have reported irregular migrants originating from China, Pakistan, Afghanistan, India and Iran.⁴²

Refugees who had to flee their homes because of the brutal civil war in Tajikistan, the ethnic violence against Meskhetians in Uzbekistan, the continuous fighting in Chechnya, and the crimes of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan constitute another major group of people on the move in Central Asia. UNHCR estimates that 600,000 refugees were displaced within Tajikistan as a result of the civil war that killed at least 20,000 people. Over 60,000 Tajik refugees fled to Afghanistan, and another 13,000 sought refuge in Kyrgyzstan.⁴³ By 1996, almost all internally displaced Tajik refugees returned to their homes. Seventy five percent of Tajik refugees who fled to Afghanistan also have returned. Over 74,000 Meskhetians fled from the Ferghana valley in 1989 because of serious outbreaks of ethnic violence. Two-thirds of them found asylum in Azerbaijan, while the remaining group moved to Russia.⁴⁴

Overall, it is likely that migration in Central Asia will continue as regional economies deteriorate. Since channels for legal labor migration are limited, irregular migration is likely to prevail. The consequences of this migration are serious for the countries concerned, as well as for labor migrants themselves. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) reports, "99 percent of labour migration in the Eurasian Economic Union formed of Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, and Belarus is irregular. Due to their irregular situation, most labour migrants do not benefit from the same protection rights other regular citizens enjoy and are thus more vulnerable to exploitation by underground employers."⁴⁵ The most despicable form of irregular migration is human trafficking. The trafficking of human beings for the purposes of sexual exploitation, which is becoming a salient characteristic of migration dynamics in Central Asia, is the most onerous form of migration throughout the region.

Human Trafficking: The Scope of the Problem

Trafficking in women is a modern form of slavery that exists in most countries of the world. It is a transnational global problem and one of the fastest growing criminal enterprises. Traffickers find it attractive because the profits are enormously high and the risks are low. Each year, illicit profits from trafficking in women generate an estimated seven to 12 billion dollars for organized criminal groups.⁴⁶ Trafficking in persons has increased significantly since the end of the Cold War, as borders have become more open, and more people, especially women, have become economically vulnerable. For many years, Thailand and the Philippines have been the main source of young women, but Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union are rapidly becoming growing markets. The increase in trafficking in women is an unintended consequence and a “female underside” of globalization.⁴⁷ This chapter seeks to illustrate trafficking patterns in Central Asia through analysis of existing data, conversations with women’s rights activists, Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs), international organizations in Central Asia, and personal observations in the field.

Given the complex nature of trafficking, it is not surprising that there are many debates as to its definition. The IOM, a Geneva-based intergovernmental organization, defines trafficking as occurring when: “a migrant is illicitly engaged (recruited, kidnapped, sold, etc.) and/or moved, either within national or across international borders; Intermediaries (traffickers) during any part of this process obtain economic or other profit by means of deception, coercion and/or other forms of exploitation under conditions that violate the fundamental human rights of migrants.”⁴⁸ *A Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children* supplementing the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime of 2000, offers a more comprehensive definition of trafficking.⁴⁹

Political, economic and social changes, which took place after the Soviet Union collapsed, resulted in poverty and unemployment, and created a pool of women from which traffickers could recruit. Thousands of women are lured into prostitution under false pretenses of high paying jobs abroad as waitresses, dancers, models and au pairs. Impoverished women of Central Asia are an easy target for traffickers, who take advantage of the high level of unemployment among women, their poverty and the lack of a stable future.

Trafficking in human beings is a multifaceted problem and it takes various forms—sweat shop labor, domestic servitude, begging, trafficking of boys to be used as camel jockeys, and sexual exploitation. Trafficking in women for the purposes of sexual exploitation is a more dangerous form of trafficking in humans compared to others because victims are exposed to serious health risks, including sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and HIV/AIDS. Trafficking in children and men also occurs, but the majority of victims are women. In Central Asia, the trafficking of women is a new phenomenon. Prior to 1992 virtually no cases of trafficking in women were reported from this region to the West; since the break-up of the Soviet Union, the phenomenon has reached epidemic proportions.

It is difficult to determine how many women have been trafficked abroad from the former Soviet Union. The trafficking “business” keeps a low profile, victims are threatened by the traffickers to remain silent, and no official statistics are available. Estimates of how many people are trafficked worldwide vary significantly. The U.S. Government estimates that approximately 800,000 to 900,000 persons are trafficked each year.⁵⁰ Other reports state that up to four million people are trafficked around the world annually.⁵¹ The estimates of the number of persons trafficked into the United States annually vary from 18,000⁵² to 50,000.⁵³ Other sources estimate that up to 175,000 persons are trafficked from Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS annually.⁵⁴ In the case of Central Asia, the IOM estimates that approximately 4,000 women from Kyrgyzstan, about 5,000 from Kazakhstan,⁵⁵ and 1,000 from Tajikistan are trafficked abroad each year. There are no estimates on the scale of trafficking from the other Central Asian republics, but the U.S. Government deems Uzbekistan to have a significant number of trafficking cases.⁵⁶

Most of the research on trafficking has been conducted in the traditional sending and receiving countries by the IOM, NGOs, and independent researchers. In light of the changes in the post-Cold War era, IOM has conducted studies in the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union (Ukraine, Moldova, the Kyrgyz Republic, Armenia, Georgia and Tajikistan) that have become a major source of trafficked women. These studies identify the scope of trafficking in human beings, trafficking routes, common destination countries, methods of recruitment, trafficking networks, profile of victims and estimates of the number of trafficked women.

Nature of the Problem

One of the first writings on sexual exploitation of women from a feminist and human rights perspective was undertaken by Kathleen Barry in the 1970s. Her *Female Sexual Slavery* was ground-breaking research on forced prostitution and trafficking in women, at a time when there was a belief that “women are not forced into prostitution; sexual violence is simply part of their work, and further, that some women are made for that.”⁵⁷ Most of the prior research on prostitution looked at female motivation rather than the circumstances that got them onto the streets. Barry came up with the concept of female sexual slavery and defines it as follows:

Female sexual slavery is present in all situations where women or girls cannot change the immediate conditions of their existence; where regardless of how they got into those conditions they cannot get out; and where they are subject to sexual violence and exploitation.⁵⁸

Barry’s definition of female sexual slavery reflects the situation in which many trafficking victims find themselves. The majority of trafficked women are kept in squalid conditions in a state of virtual house arrest and are transported only to and from work. Even when women have relative freedom of movement, their illegal immigration status, inability to speak the local language, lack of documents, and fear of being arrested, mistreated, or deported, keeps them from seeking help from local law enforcement authorities.⁵⁹

Human trafficking is often viewed from the perspective of international migration. As Paul J. Smith points out, international migration is often explained by a basic “push” and “pull” model: “economic deprivation, high fertility, and unemployment (push factors) in lesser-developed countries work in concert with such elements as family reunification, higher wages, and increased demand for labor (pull factors) in industrialized countries, to create an influx of immigrants.”⁶⁰ This model holds true for the trafficking phenomenon as well. Poverty, unemployment and lack of future perspectives are among the push factors; demand for “services” and potentially higher wages are the pull factors in receiving countries, for women taking the risk of going abroad and getting trafficked.

Bolstering the pull factors are “stories of better opportunities overseas,” which are often naive and unrealistic. During a study of trafficking from the CIS, one respondent said she knew she would have to engage in prostitution, but she thought it would be similar to the film *Pretty Woman*, where one man would support her.⁶¹ One could argue that this is an extreme level of naiveté, but considering that the former Soviet coun-

tries were totally isolated from the rest of the world for almost 70 years, these kinds of illusions are not surprising. Ideas of the lifestyle in Western countries, and especially the United States, are drawn mainly from the movies and soap operas televised on a daily basis. Women watching “Santa Barbara” and “Dallas” expect to have the kind of life they see in the movies once they get to the West. They do not anticipate being manipulated, deceived, or physically abused, and believe nothing bad could happen to them in wealthy countries.

Though limited, existing literature provides some insight into the links between human trafficking and organized criminal groups. In most cases, trafficking is carried out by organized criminal groups with extensive international links.⁶² These criminal groups intimidate the trafficked women and threaten retaliation against family members at home if the women do not obey them.⁶³ In the same vein, Sietske Altink of the Dutch anti-trafficking NGO *STV* writes:

As the traffickers are highly organized, most of their victims dare not speak out. Ana from the Dominican Republic said, “They were like a mafia. I couldn’t even discuss my situation with other girls. Whenever I told someone my story, the next day the traffickers knew that I had talked. The man who kept me prisoner explicitly forbade me to speak to other girls. If these criminals have the address of your parents’ home, they can keep you a prisoner. They say you endanger your father and mother when you don’t obey them. That’s how the traffickers subdue us.”⁶⁴

Root Causes of Trafficking

In general, women get trafficked because of poverty, unemployment, the low social status of women in their home countries, lack of opportunities and prospects for the future, and in many cases, because of an idealistic view of the Western world and the wealthier countries in general. All of these rationales can be found in Central Asia. Poverty in Central Asia has reached unprecedented levels: 51 percent of the Kyrgyz population lives below the national poverty line, as do 34.6 percent of Kazakh citizens and 26.5 percent of the Uzbeks. Forty four percent of Turkmen live on less than \$2 a day.⁶⁵ The population groups most affected by poverty are women, children, and the elderly. Women are the first ones to lose their jobs due to downsizing and economic shifts.⁶⁶ The National Statistics Committee of Kyrgyzstan reports that 70 percent of women in Kyrgyzstan are suffering from financial difficulties.⁶⁷ The unemployment rate is very high, and even

those who are employed, make an average of \$28 per month.⁶⁸ As the 2000 IOM survey of trafficking victims in Kyrgyzstan reports:

Seventy nine percent of the respondents said that unemployment drove them to look for work abroad. The main reasons they were working as commercial sex workers abroad were said to be related to their lack of money and hopes for a better future. The lack of alternative opportunities encourages them to take risks. In focus groups discussions the women said that they want more for themselves and their families than to just earn enough money to feed themselves. They want a better life.⁶⁹

Even when women are employed, they often face job discrimination and sexual harassment at work. In many businesses throughout the CIS, it is not uncommon for a male boss to demand that his female subordinate engage in sexual relations with him.⁷⁰ Newspaper job advertisements targeting women often mention “no hang-ups,” as one of the qualifications required for the job.⁷¹ Not surprisingly, when women are promised payment of \$60,000 a year to work abroad,⁷² an amount they could never dream of at home, it is not very difficult for them to be enticed by such lucrative “job offers.”

The collapse of the Soviet Union resulted not only in poverty and unemployment but also in the drastic deterioration of the system of social protection. Many of the social services taken for granted under the Soviet system are no longer offered. Before the collapse of the Soviet Union, day care for children, education at all levels, and medical services were provided by the government. Now many day care centers have closed and the remaining ones are unaffordable to most parents. Health care and education systems also are closed or deteriorating, due to lack of funding.⁷³

The social status of women in Central Asia has been on the decline in the last decade as well. As the economic situation continues to worsen, more and more men lose their jobs, often plunging them into a spiral of alcoholism and abuse of the family at home. Increasingly, women have become the victims of domestic violence, while local law enforcement officials refuse to take this offense seriously.⁷⁴ Domestic violence is one of the major reasons why children run away from home. Street children, in turn, are especially vulnerable to being recruited by traffickers. Further, young girls from households where domestic violence is the norm, grow up “seeing women as inferior beings that men can use and abuse as they please.”⁷⁵ The mistreatment or abuse they receive in trafficking situations only confirms their worst fears.

In addition, since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Central Asian nations have witnessed a revival of “national traditions,” which often come into conflict with Soviet policies that promoted women’s equality. Not long after independence, politicians began advocating a return to “traditional roles” for women, which is interpreted by many as an attempt to “drive women out of the labor force and higher education and back into the home.”⁷⁶ The Parliament in Kyrgyzstan has discussed seriously legalizing polygamy, and ultimately, rejected the proposal by only a small margin.⁷⁷ Unofficially, polygamy is not uncommon in Central Asian republics.⁷⁸ The deteriorating economic situation, high unemployment among women, religious and traditional sentiments, as well as the consequences of the civil war (in Tajikistan) are cited as some of the reasons why polygamy is spreading across Central Asia;⁷⁹ traditional male chauvinism is another. This dramatic decline in women’s social status has created a situation favorable for traffickers.

Recruitment of Women in the Countries of Origin

Traffickers use the following methods to recruit victims:

- Advertisements in newspapers;
- Marriage agencies or mail-order-bride agencies;
- Friends, relatives, or acquaintances;
- The “Second Wave” (trafficked women returning to recruit other women);
- False marriages (women marrying a false groom who is, in fact, a trafficker);⁸⁰
- Kidnapping.

Advertisements in newspapers are the most popular recruitment method because traffickers can reach a wide pool of potential victims. Such advertisements usually offer young women highly paid work abroad as waitresses, dancers, or shopkeepers.⁸¹ When a woman responds to an advertisement, the traffickers sometimes sign a “contract” with her that promises high earnings, but also stipulates that travel expenses as well as room and board will be deducted. Room and board often can eat up over half of their daily earnings. Women also are bound to pay back the travel expenses that are “calculated” at rates often exceeding the real cost of transportation by as much as three to five times. According to the Global Survival Network, an NGO based in Washington, trafficking networks in Russia and the Newly Independent States (NIS) charge women anywhere from \$1,500 to \$30,000 for their “services” in facilitating documentation,

jobs, and transportation.⁸² This leaves victims with a huge debt that takes months, if not years, to pay off. The women often are deprived of all their earnings until this “debt” is paid in full, which makes them, in fact, indentured servants.

Mail-order-bride and marriage agencies via the Internet have become increasingly popular among women who want to marry a foreigner. Their hope is to improve their economic situation and/or escape their native country, where they see no prospects for the future. Most of these women are somewhat naively searching for happiness, and often become victims of men who “order” them only to sell them to pimps.⁸³ The paramount problem is that mail-order-bride agencies do not conduct any screening of their male clients, some of whom may have a history of violence or criminal background. As a result, mail-order brides may become victims of abuse. In a recent case, a 20 year old mail-order-bride, Anastasia Solovieva-King from Kyrgyzstan, was murdered by her American husband, Indle King. He had been married twice before, both times through matchmaking agencies. Within a month of marrying Anastasia, the man was writing to other prospective mail-order-brides. Two years later, as his marriage to Anastasia started falling apart, he wrote to more women and began planning to marry another mail-order-bride.⁸⁴ Following the murder of Anastasia King, the U.S. Congress proposed a bill in 2003, that would allow foreign mail order brides to check the criminal background (including protective orders issued because of domestic violence allegations) of their potential grooms. If such legislation had been in place, Anastasia Soloeiva may have learned that her prospective husband’s first wife had obtained a protective order against him in 1995.⁸⁵

Some victims of trafficking have indicated that they have been recruited by friends, relatives or acquaintances. These people gained the woman’s confidence, then offered them highly paid work abroad, often sharing their alleged “experience” and showing off newly purchased goods or property.⁸⁶ “Second wave” recruitment occurs when trafficked women return home to recruit other women. For some women this is the only way they can return home—a common ploy for pimps is to pose a condition that the trafficked woman find someone else to replace her. Other women become recruiters voluntarily, making a profit from other women’s victimization. One woman who had been trafficked from Kyrgyzstan expressed her intention to become a trafficker: “In the future I want to become an agent myself. I think I could be very successful. I could recruit girls to send to Kazakhstan, there’s money to be made there too. I can earn more working for just three months abroad, than I can earn in five years here. A

pimp earns at least \$5,000 from each woman he takes on.”⁸⁷ The cycle can be self-perpetuating. There are also cases of women who have not been recruited being kidnapped off the streets.⁸⁸

Transportation to Destination Countries and Involvement of Government Officials

In most cases traffickers arrange for a woman’s travel documents, visas and airline tickets. Occupations typically listed on a victim’s visa applications include dancer, entertainer, student or au pair. Tour firms are found to assist in the trafficking of women and girls abroad, claiming they are “shop-tourists” who buy goods abroad to resell them in their home countries.⁸⁹ Having entered the country with fake passports, women usually overstay their visas, which makes them even more vulnerable because they are viewed by the local police as illegal immigrants.

Almost every trafficking network in Central Asia has a contact who makes it possible for them to obtain genuine state issued passports at the passport issuing department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.⁹⁰ This indicates that corrupt local law enforcement officials are an integral part of the trafficking chain. If a woman does not have a passport, or is underage, a fraudulent passport is arranged for a bribe, ranging from \$100⁹¹ to \$800.⁹² Corrupt law enforcement officials have a monetary motive for facilitating the trafficking of women—salaries at the government agencies are very low, and corruption is a way to supplement their income. Another reason why government officials are reluctant to intervene in human trafficking is due to fear of reprisals by organized criminal groups.⁹³

It also has been reported that law enforcement officials in some receiving countries are involved in trafficking. For example, women under the age of 31 are not allowed to enter the United Arab Emirates, which is a major destination for women trafficked from Central Asia, unless accompanied by male relatives. When 15 and 16 year-old girls enter the U.A.E with passports that indicate they are over 31, traffickers bribe the immigration officials at the airport to let the girls pass through immigration control.⁹⁴ Trafficking victims interviewed by the IOM in the Kyrgyz Republic, reported that 73 percent of them were harassed by the customs and law enforcement officers upon return. As one of the women recounts, “When I got to Almaty, the customs officials took \$500 cash off me, they also took my jewelry. They said, ‘We know what you are. It’s written all over your face.’ Then the cops stopped us and said ‘We know what you’ve been doing.’”⁹⁵

The Role of Organized Criminal Groups in Trafficking

The former Soviet republics are experiencing an organized crime epidemic. The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) estimates that some 8,000 criminal gangs operate throughout the NIS.⁹⁶ About 200 are now global conglomerates and operate in 58 countries of the world.⁹⁷ Twenty six of them have established a presence in the United States.⁹⁸ Overall, organized criminal groups from the CIS are involved in all types of criminal activities, including, but not limited to: money-laundering, drug-trafficking, gambling, prostitution, trafficking in women and children, child pornography, contract killings, racketeering, banking and insurance fraud, extortion and kidnapping for ransom.⁹⁹ The trafficking networks are controlled by criminal gangs that provide security, logistical support, liaison with brothel owners in many countries, and false documents. According to Marco Gramegna of IOM, there are large-, medium- and small-scale networks of trafficking women.¹⁰⁰ Large-scale networks recruit women in a seemingly legal way, as language students or au pairs, which leads to the conclusion that these networks have extensive international contacts. The medium-scale networks usually traffic women from one country, while the small-scale networks traffic a few women at a time when a brothel owner places an “order.”¹⁰¹ In many cases, trafficking is carried out by organized criminal groups with foreign connections.¹⁰²

The fact that organized criminal groups in various states of the former Soviet Union have links with each other allows them to organize illegal trafficking effectively. For example, Russian and Ukrainian women are trafficked through Georgia to Turkey and the Mediterranean.¹⁰³ Tajik women are trafficked to the UAE, Russia, Turkey and other countries transiting through NIS states.¹⁰⁴ Women from Kyrgyzstan are trafficked to the UAE, Turkey and European countries through Kazakhstan and directly from Kyrgyzstan.¹⁰⁵ According to Louise Shelley, “While the links among the States have declined since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the organized criminals still manage to function effectively together. And in the Russian Far East you see links with Korean and Japanese organized crime groups that are facilitating the trafficking of women.”¹⁰⁶

Methods Used by Traffickers to Control Women

The Dutch NGO working against trafficking in women, *Stichting Tegen Vrouwenhandel* (STV), reports that organized criminal groups involved in trafficking are extremely violent and use every kind of threat to intimidate women. The so-called “red mafia” are said to have made a

woman dig her own grave and have taken women's family members hostage in order to force them to comply or keep silent.¹⁰⁷ As Shelley points out, "many of the women refuse to cooperate with the authorities because there is little or no protection, and they face deportation and threats against their families if they cooperate with foreign law enforcement."¹⁰⁸

Once a woman is in trafficker's hands, the latter uses any and all means to control her: violence, including sexual assault, threats to the victim's family, drugs, and threats to turn the woman over to unsympathetic local authorities. Traffickers take away women's passports immediately upon arrival in the receiving country, either by force or by claiming that they need to extend the visas. Passports then are kept hostage to control the victims. According to Human Rights Watch, the most common form of coercion is debt bondage.¹⁰⁹ Women are told they must work without wages until they repay their purchase price and/or travel expenses. Employers also maintain their power to "resell" indebted women into renewed levels of debt. In some cases, women find that their debts only increase and can never be fully repaid.¹¹⁰ It also seems that pimps/traffickers let some women keep just enough of their earnings to take back home to attract other potential victims.

Trafficked women who do not obey the rules are treated severely. The corpses of several hundred trafficked women, strangled, shot or beaten to a pulp, are found in Europe every year.¹¹¹ Europol believes that many more bodies are never discovered. The Russian organized criminal groups are especially known for their cruelty. As Friedman puts it, "Russian mobsters, in the United States, simply don't play by the unwritten rules of the acceptable uses of gang-land violence."¹¹² And IOM reports that, "The organized gangs of traffickers who lure and smuggle young women into prostitution are ruthless."¹¹³ One trafficked victim from Kyrgyzstan testified, "Russian pimps, unlike most European ones, are also hardened criminals. It's no big deal for them to kill someone. They're the greediest, cruelest people in the world. They warned me, 'If you try to go to the police, we'll kill you.' I believed them."¹¹⁴

What is Being Done to Fight Trafficking?

The U.S. Government passed the Trafficking Victims Protection Act in 2000 to combat trafficking in persons. Among other provisions, this federal law provides for punishment of traffickers, protection of trafficking victims and monitoring of other countries' efforts to fight trafficking. The law also requires the State Department to submit an annual report to Congress on the status of trafficking worldwide. This report rates coun-

tries' efforts in combating human trafficking by placing them in "tiers." Tier 1 countries are those whose governments "fully comply with the Act's minimum standards." Minimum standards for the governments include prohibiting and punishing trafficking, as well as making serious efforts to eliminate trafficking.¹¹⁵ Governments of countries in Tier 2 do not fully comply with the minimum standards, but are making significant efforts to do so. Tier 3 countries do not comply with the minimum standards and are not making significant efforts to comply with those standards.

Four Central Asian countries have been reported in the State Department's 2003 trafficking report. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan have been placed in Tier 2, while Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan have been placed in Tier 3.¹¹⁶ Governments that are not making significant efforts to combat human trafficking might be subject to sanctions from the United States, including withdrawal of certain types of U.S. aid. Uzbekistan, until recently, did not even recognize trafficking as a problem. One of the limited preventive measures taken by the government of Uzbekistan is denying exit visas to young women.¹¹⁷ Despite numerous known cases of trafficking from Kazakhstan, and many reported investigations, the Kazakhs have not convicted any of the traffickers.¹¹⁸ However, new anti-trafficking legislation was passed by the lower houses of the Parliament both in Kazakhstan and Tajikistan in the spring of 2003.¹¹⁹ Kyrgyzstan is reported to be making "significant efforts" to combat trafficking and has introduced draft anti-trafficking legislation to the Parliament.¹²⁰ It is interesting to note that both Kyrgyzstan and Pakistan, U.S. allies in the war against terrorism, were moved up from their rankings as Tier 3 countries in 2002 to Tier 2 in 2003, raising the question of whether this was done for political reasons.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Trafficking in women is a fundamental human rights violation that needs to be combated at the national and international levels. The consequences of trafficking are grave, both to the women and the countries involved. According to Marco Gramegna of the IOM, the consequences of trafficking are a threat to legal migration and growth in clandestine immigration.¹²¹ Both of these problems could have substantial implications for political, economic and diplomatic affairs of the sending and receiving countries. At the human level, victims of trafficking face intolerable situations, including sexual and physical abuse, and deprivation of their basic human rights and dignity.

There is a glaring need for comprehensive trafficking research in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. Such research is essential to

thoroughly assess the scope of trafficking from these countries, identify the main destination countries, study how people are trafficked, and who the traffickers are. Based on the results of such studies, the respective governments should be able to design and implement strategies to fight trafficking.

Trafficking is driven by poverty and unemployment of women, as well as by demand in the receiving states. To solve the problem by tackling its root causes would be the optimal solution, which, unfortunately, is an enormously complex and multidimensional task. Such a solution, however, cannot wait until the local economies recover and all women are employed. The international community must confront this issue and take aggressive steps to stop the trafficking of women and children.

The following steps might be carried out in “sending” countries, including the five Central Asian states, to help alleviate the problem:

- Foster creation of job opportunities for young women;
- Improve law enforcement efforts to prevent and punish trafficking of women;
- Crack down on official complicity in trafficking of women (including stricter control over issuing passports) and combat corruption which fuels organized crime;
- Carry out information campaigns in the media and on TV about the nature, realities and risks of “lucrative” job offers;
- Provide legal, medical and psychological assistance to victims of trafficking;
- Guarantee safety to victims who testify against the traffickers through witness protection programs.

The following actions should be considered by “receiving” countries:

- Amend laws, including immigration law, to exempt victims of trafficking and/or servitude from being prosecuted for illegal status that have resulted directly from these practices. Deportation may be appropriate, but punitive measures, including detention, should be waived;
- Prosecute traffickers and enable victims to bring lawsuits against traffickers by granting temporary residence permits for the duration of the case;
- Impose tougher penalties for trafficking. The United States has already taken such measures with the adoption of the Victim Protection Act of 2000;

- Protect safety of victims of trafficking through strong witness protection programs;
- Ensure that victims of trafficking have access to essential social services, including shelter and medical care;
- Distribute information brochures at the receiving countries' Embassies abroad with each visa issued to a woman, on the realities and risks of being trafficked and what to do if she finds herself trafficked and abused abroad.

Trafficking in persons is an acute problem in Central Asia and is likely to increase as the economies continue to worsen, unless the region's governments and the international community take serious measures to fight this phenomenon. Organized criminal groups in both sending and receiving countries are actively involved in trafficking. All countries involved, sending, receiving and transit, should continue their efforts to crack down on organized crime. International cooperation and coordination between law enforcement agencies is crucial for combating trafficking in women. When available, the information needed to prosecute the traffickers and protect the victims should be made available to all parties.

Trafficking occurs because women are poor and desperate, do not have any prospects for improvement in their lives at home, and possess illusions and unrealistic expectations about what awaits them abroad. Traffickers take advantage of these circumstances and exploit them. However, trafficking would not be so profitable if there was no demand in the wealthier countries. It is obvious that the government authorities in sending countries are involved in the trafficking process at various levels, but are the authorities in the receiving countries also looking away from the problem? How aggressively governments combat this problem in the next few years will determine if the international community is going to eliminate this modern form of slavery in the twenty-first century.

Notes

¹ Rafis Abazov, "Economic Migration in Post-Soviet Central Asia: The Case of Kyrgyzstan," *Post-Communist Economies* 11, no. 2 (1999), 237.

² Paul Kolstoe, *Russians in the Former Soviet Republics* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press), 219.

³ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Central Asia on the Move," *Refugees Magazine*, May 1, 1996; Internet available from <www.unhcr.ch>; accessed September 25, 2003.

⁴ For example, 1,500,000 Russians had moved to Turkmenistan by 1917. More Russian immigrants arrived in Central Asia after 1918, seeking to escape hunger and civil war.

⁵ See Yuriy Kulchik, et al., *Central Asia After the Empire* (Chicago, IL: Pluto Press, 1996), 3; Rafis Abazov, "Economic Migration in Post-Soviet Central Asia: The Case of Kyrgyzstan," *Post-Communist Economies* 11, no. 2 (1999), 240.

⁶ International Organization for Migration, 2001, "Internal Migration in the Kyrgyz Republic," 3.

⁷ Yuriy Kulchik, et al., 4.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Zhanna Zaionchkovskaya, "Migration Patterns in the Former Soviet Union," in the Conference Report *Cooperation and Conflict in the Former Soviet Union: Implications for Migration*, RAND, 1996, 15; Internet available from <<http://www.rand.org/publications/CF/CF130/>>, accessed September 19, 2003.

¹⁰ Ibid., 18.

¹¹ Galina S. Vitkovskaya, "Relocation to Russia from the States of Central Asia: Understanding the Decision to Migrate" in the Conference Report *Cooperation and Conflict in the Former Soviet Union: Implications for Migration*, RAND, 1996, 113; Internet available from <<http://www.rand.org/publications/CF/CF130/>>, accessed September 19, 2003.

¹² Tim Heleniak, "The Changing Nationality Composition of the Central Asian and Transcaucasian States," *Post-Soviet Geography and Economics* 38, no. 6: 373.

¹³ "The Russians Say Goodbye to All That," *The Economist* 328, no. 7827 (Sept 4, 1993), 38.

¹⁴ International Organization for Migration, 2001, "Deceived Migrants from Tajikistan: A Study of Trafficking in Women and Children," 10.

¹⁵ "The Russians Say Goodbye to All That."

¹⁶ Tim Heleniak, no. 6: 375.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Russian, Ukrainian, Belarus, Polish, and German nationalities.

¹⁹ Peter Sinnott, "Population Politics in Kazakhstan," *Journal of International Affairs* 56, no. 2 (Spring 2003), 105.

²⁰ Rafis Abazov, "Economic Migration in Post-Soviet Central Asia: The Case of Kyrgyzstan," *Post-Communist Economies* 11, no. 2 (1999), 247.

²¹ International Organization for Migration. 2001. "Internal Migration in the Kyrgyz Republic," 11.

²² Tim Heleniak, no. 6: 374.

²³ "Flight From Ashgabat," Institute for War and Peace Reporting (Central Asia), no. 220, July 25, 2003.

²⁴ Population changes due to natural increase/decrease as well as emigration/immigration. Source: Tim Heleniak, no. 6: 357-378.

²⁵ "Ethnic motives" are concerns about "ethnic policy," including seizure of power by the titular ethnic group and intent to create a monoethnic state; "ethnic discrimination," including non-titular ethnic groups becoming second-class citizens and experiencing civil rights infringements, employment discrimination, unequal access to higher education, etc.; popular nationalism, including experiences with harassment, hostility; "language barrier," including lack of schooling in Russian, lack of information in Russian, unofficial status of the Russian languages, etc.; "other ethnic-based reasons for discomfort," including local cultural traditions, communication difficulties, desire to live among people of the same nationality, ethnic barriers to family creation, etc. (Source: Galina S. Vitkovskaya, "Relocation to Russia from the States of Central Asia: Understanding the Decision to Migrate" in the Conference Report *Cooperation and Conflict in the Former Soviet Union: Implications for Migration*, RAND, 1996: 126; Internet; available from <http://www.rand.org/publications/CF/CF130/>, accessed September 19, 2003.

²⁶ Galina S. Vitkovskaya, "Relocation to Russia from the States of Central Asia: Understanding the Decision to Migrate" in the Conference Report *Cooperation and Conflict in the Former Soviet Union: Implications for Migration*, RAND, 1996, 126; Internet available from <<http://www.rand.org/publications/CF/CF130/>>, accessed September 19, 2003.

²⁷ International Organization for Migration, 2001, "Deceived Migrants from Tajikistan: A Study of Trafficking in Women and Children," 11.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Official estimate is 6,000-7,000.

³¹ Unofficial estimate.

³² "Poverty Fuels Labour Migration in the South. Poverty is Rife in Some Parts of Southern Kyrgyzstan." *Gazeta.kg*, August 15, 2003; Internet available from <<http://www.gazeta.kg/view.php?i=1852>>, accessed on September 30, 2003. Also see Labor Migration Project documents, International Organization for Migration; Internet available from <<http://www.iom.elcat.kg/labourmigration.html>>, accessed September 30, 2003.

³³ Personal communication with a Kyrgyz labor migrant, September 19, 2003.

³⁴ "Internal Migration in the Kyrgyz Republic," 4.

³⁵ Over 50,000 persons from this area were displaced to Uzbekistan, 30,000 to Kazakhstan and 13,000 to other CIS states.

³⁶ "Unable to Cope: Out-Migration from Karakalpakstan," *Medicines Sans Frontieres*: 24; Internet; available from <http://www.msf.org/source/countries/asia/aralsea/2003/karakalpakstan/unable.pdf>; accessed September 25, 2003. Also see United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Central Asia on the Move." *Refugees Magazine*, May 1, 1996; Internet' available from www.unhcr.ch; accessed September 25, 2003.

³⁷ 45,000 persons relocated elsewhere in Kazakhstan, and 116,000 persons moved to other CIS countries.

³⁸ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Central Asia on the Move." *Refugees Magazine*, May 1, 1996; Internet' available from www.unhcr.ch; accessed September 25, 2003.

³⁹ "Internal Migration in the Kyrgyz Republic," 16.

⁴⁰ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Central Asia on the Move," *Refugees Magazine*, May 1, 1996; Internet available from <www.unhcr.ch>, accessed September 25, 2003.

⁴¹ International Organization for Migration, "Geopolitical Factors Shaping Migration in Central Asia," Internet available from <<http://www.iom.int/austria/tcc/>>, accessed September 25, 2003.

⁴² International Organization for Migration, "Compilation of Recent Migration Information from Eastern Europe and Central Asia"; Internet available from <<http://www.iom.int/austria/tcc/>>, accessed September 25, 2003.

⁴³ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Central Asia on the Move," *Refugees Magazine*, May 1, 1996; Internet available from <www.unhcr.ch>, accessed September 25, 2003.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ "Deceived Migrants from Tajikistan: A Study of Trafficking in Women and Children," 11.

⁴⁶ Donna Hughes, "The 'Natasha' Trade—The Transnational Shadow Market of Trafficking in Women," *Journal of International Affairs* 53, no. 2 (Spring 2000), 625.

⁴⁷ Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie R. Hochschild, eds., "Introduction," *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy* (New York, NY: Metropolitan Books, 2003), 3.

⁴⁸ International Organization for Migration (IOM). 1999. "Trafficking in Migrants, IOM Policy and Responses," Working Paper (March).

⁴⁹ The Protocol defines trafficking as "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by the threat or use of force, by abduction, fraud, deception or coercion or the abuse of power or by 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; exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, the removal of organs for illicit purposes or servitude."

⁵⁰ U.S. Department of State, 2003. *Trafficking in Persons Report*, Washington, D.C.; Internet available from <<http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2003/>>, accessed September 12, 2003.

⁵¹ Amy O'Neill Richard, "International Trafficking in Women to the United States: A Contemporary Manifestation of Slavery and Organized Crime," U.S. State Department, November 1999, 3.

⁵² U.S. Department of State, 2003. *Trafficking in Persons Report*.

⁵³ Amy O'Neill Richard, 3.

⁵⁴ Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Proposed Action Plan 2000 for Activities to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Warsaw, November 1999.

⁵⁵ International Organization for Migration, "Trafficking in Migrants," no. 23 (April 2001); Internet available from <http://www.iom.int/documents/publication/en/tm_23.pdf>, accessed September 12, 2003.

⁵⁶ U.S. Department of State, 2003, *Trafficking in Persons Report*.

⁵⁷ Kathleen Barry, *Female Sexual Slavery* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1979), vii.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, xi.

⁵⁹ International Organization for Migration (IOM). 2000. "Trafficking in Women and Children from the Kyrgyz Republic."

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶¹ Cited in Donna Hughes, 636.

⁶² Testimony of Louise Shelley at the Hearing before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe on "The Sex Trade: Trafficking of Women and Children in Europe and the United States," June 28, 1999, 19.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ S. Altink, *Stolen Lives: Trading Women into Sex and Slavery* (London: Scarlet Press, 1995), vii.

⁶⁵ United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 2002*. Internet available from <<http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2002/en>>, accessed September 12, 2003.

⁶⁶ Gillian Caldwell, Steven Galster, and Nadia Steinzor, "Crime & Servitude: An Exposé of the Traffic in Women for Prostitution from the Newly Independent States," (Washington, D.C.: Global Survival Network, 1997), 11.

⁶⁷ International Organization for Migration (IOM) 2000, "Trafficking in Women and Children from the Kyrgyz Republic," 11.

⁶⁸ Cited in Kyrgyzstan Development Gateway <<http://eng.gateway.kg>>, last accessed on July 6, 2003.

⁶⁹ "Trafficking in Women and Children from the Kyrgyz Republic," 11.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁷¹ Donna Hughes, "Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation: The Case of the Russian Federation," International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2002.

⁷² "Slaves of Chicago: International Sex Trafficking is Becoming Big Business," *These Times*, January 8, 2001.

⁷³ "Trafficking in Women and Children from the Kyrgyz Republic," 12.

⁷⁴ Human Rights Watch 2001, "Sacrificing Women to Save the Family? *Domestic Violence in Uzbekistan*," 3.

⁷⁵ Cited in Donna Hughes, "Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation: The Case of the Russian Federation," International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2002.

⁷⁶ "Sacrificing Women to Save the Family?," 7. Also see the UN Press Release "Since Becoming Sovereign State, Kyrgyzstan Committed to Integrating Women into National Programmes of Action, Anti-Discrimination Committee Told," Internet available from <<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/1999/19990122.wom1081.html>>, accessed July 6, 2003.

⁷⁷ "The Stolen Brides of Kyrgyzstan," *The Economist* 341, no. 7993, Nov 23, 1996.

⁷⁸ See "Sacrificing Women to Save the Family?" Also see "Central Asia: Increase in Polygamy Attributed To Economic Hardship, Return To Tradition," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, October 16, 2002, available from <<http://www.rferl.org/nca/features/2002/10/16102002163911.asp>>, Internet accessed July 6, 2003.

⁷⁹ "Central Asia: Increase in Polygamy."

⁸⁰ "Deceived Migrants from Tajikistan: A Study of Trafficking in Women and Children," 15.

⁸¹ International Organization for Migration (IOM). 2000. "Trafficking in Women and Children from the Kyrgyz Republic," 13.

⁸² Gillian Caldwell, Steven Galster, and Nadia Steinzor, 1997. *Crime & Servitude: An Exposé of the Traffic in Women for Prostitution from the Newly Independent States*. Washington, D.C.: Global Survival Network, 14.

⁸³ Donna Hughes, "The 'Natasha' Trade—The Transnational Shadow Market of Trafficking in Women." *Journal of International Affairs* 53, no. 2 (Spring 2000), 635.

⁸⁴ Jim Haley, "King Case Coming to End," *The Daily Herald*, February 21, 2002. www.heraldnet.com.

⁸⁵ "Abuse of Mail-Order Foreign Brides Prompts Effort to Oversee Fast-Growing Industry," Associated Press, July 5, 2003.

⁸⁶ International Organization for Migration 2001, "Deceived Migrants from Tajikistan: A Study of Trafficking in Women and Children," 15.

⁸⁷ "Trafficking in Women and Children from the Kyrgyz Republic," 52.

⁸⁸ "Deceived Migrants from Tajikistan: A Study of Trafficking in Women and Children," 15; *also see* "Trafficking in Women and Children from the Kyrgyz Republic," 14-15.

⁸⁹ "Deceived Migrants from Tajikistan: A Study of Trafficking in Women and Children," 14.

⁹⁰ "Trafficking in Women and Children from the Kyrgyz Republic," 29-30.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹² Gillian Caldwell, Steven Galster, and Nadia Steinzor, 1997, 9.

⁹³ Donna Hughes, "Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation: The Case of the Russian Federation," International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2002, 5.

⁹⁴ "Trafficking in Women and Children from the Kyrgyz Republic," 16.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 45-46.

⁹⁶ Global Organized Crime Project, *Russian Organized Crime* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1997), 2.

⁹⁷ Global Organized Crime Project, *Russian Organized Crime and Corruption: Putin's Challenge* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2000), 7.

⁹⁸ *Russian Organized Crime*, 2-3.

⁹⁹ *See Russian Organized Crime; also see* Robert I. Friedman, *Red Mafiya: How the Russian Mob Has Invaded America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 2000).

¹⁰⁰ Cited in Andrea Bertone, "International Political Economy and the Politics of Sex," *Gender Issues*, 18, no.1 (2000), 4-22.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Testimony of Louise Shelley at the Hearing before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe on "The Sex Trade: Trafficking of Women and Children in Europe and the United States," June 28, 1999.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ "Deceived Migrants from Tajikistan: A Study of Trafficking in Women and Children," 18

¹⁰⁵ "Trafficking in Women and Children from the Kyrgyz Republic," 17.

¹⁰⁶ Testimony of Louise Shelley at the Hearing before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe on "The Sex Trade: Trafficking of Women and Children in Europe and the United States," June 28, 1999, 18.

¹⁰⁷ S. Altink, 1995. *Stolen Lives: Trading Women into Sex and Slavery*. London: Scarlet Press, 125.

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¹⁰⁹ Human Rights Watch/Asia, *Owed Justice: Thai Women Trafficked into Debt Bondage in Japan* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2000), 86.

¹¹⁰ Ralph Regan, Testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. "International Trafficking of Women and Children," Washington, D.C., February 22, 2000. Found online at <<http://secretary.state.gov/www/picw/trafficking/tralph.html>>.

¹¹¹ "In the Shadows," *The Economist*, 356, no. 8185 (August 26, 2000), 38-39.

¹¹² Robert I. Friedman, xvii.

¹¹³ "Trafficking in Women and Children from the Kyrgyz Republic," 27.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 27, 47.

¹¹⁵ U.S. Department of State. 2003. *Trafficking in Persons Report*. Washington, D.C., Internet available from <<http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2003/>>, accessed September 12, 2003.

¹¹⁶ Turkmenistan is not included in the report as no information on trafficking was available.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ Cited in Andrea Bertone, "International Political Economy and the Politics of Sex." *Gender Issues*, 18, no.1 (2000), 4-22.