AN ASSESSMENT OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE GLOBAL COUNTER-HUMAN TRAFFICKING MECHANISMS

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ABSTRACT

The goal of this paper is to explore the effectiveness of the global anti-human trafficking mechanisms and to highlight some of the reasons why the menace of human trafficking has not been eradicated. The paper adopts secondary data from various sources for analyses. The study affirms that human trafficking is a global crime against which many actions aimed at prevention, protection and prosecution have been taken. Not only does the fight against human trafficking depend on the individual will of independent States, but many countries have inscribed the anti-human trafficking efforts within the framework of the larger fight against transnational organised crime. The paper concludes that the strategies for the effective fight against human trafficking must be sustained and codified within the criminal and human rights domain and should be tackled along the models of sociological approach.

Keywords: Human Trafficking, Transnational Crimes, Forced Migration.

1. INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of trafficking in persons has grown in recent years and continues to grow, especially due to factors like globalization, economic disparities between different parts of the world. The growth has persisted in spite of the adoption of measures by States individually and collectively, and by private actors like non-governmental organisations to fight it.

Human trafficking is often given varied definitions by different authors, but the most common one is that given by the anti-trafficking protocol. There is no generic definition of trafficking in persons. For example, it is questionable whether a person necessarily has to be moved from one place to another for there to be human trafficking. There are also questions as to the forms and standard of exploitation that constitute human trafficking. Does human trafficking apply only to sexual exploitation or also to labour exploitation? How do we define the kind of work that constitutes trafficking? For the purpose of this work, we shall not look at the debate around the definition of human trafficking, but shall make use of that given by the anti-trafficking protocol as the widest definition of the term.

The 2000 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime defines Trafficking in Persons as:
The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.¹

Trafficking in persons is “a crime that is more accurately described as enslavement the exploitation of People, day after day for years on end²”. It can be termed as modern day slavery. While many persons call it modern day slavery, Louise Shelly describes it as “traditional slavery with modern technology³”.

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), “human trafficking is a crime against humanity.”⁴ It is the violation of a fundamental human right i.e. the right to freedom of movement. This new form of slavery has been banned, both by anti-slavery legislation and by specific legislation against trafficking in persons. Some examples of international legislations abolishing this ill are the 1921 International Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children, the 1926 anti-slavery convention, the 1949 United Nations Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others.

Human trafficking is a phenomenon that is widespread and affects many people in almost if not all countries of the world. Most books and reports on the subject do not provide exact statistics on the total number of persons trafficked in the world over a period of time. These statistics are hard to come by given the complex and hidden nature of the phenomenon. The UNODC in its 2012 report⁵ borrows from the International Labour Organisation figures on forced labour, which places the number of victims of forced labour at 20.9million people, to say that these include victims of forced labour. According to former United States President, George W. Bush, “each year, an estimated 800,000 to 900,000 human beings are bought, sold or forced across the world’s borders⁶”. According to the United States of America Department of States, 27million men, women and children around the world are victims of human trafficking⁷. However, what books and reports bring out clearly is that the majority of trafficked persons are women and children. UNODC 2012⁸ states that women and girls together account for 75percent of trafficked persons and children account for 27percent.

There are a number of factors that favour the birth and the growth of the trade in persons for exploitation. Globalisation and its effects such as the development of inequalities, the persistent wars in some areas of the world, statelessness, vulnerabilities, abject poverty, the existence of an international economy of sex, trafficking in drugs and other transnational crimes are some of the factors that have favoured the continuous

² Antonio Maria Costa in United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, February 2009, Global Report on Trafficking in Persons
⁵ UNODC, Global Report on Trafficking in Persons, 2012, United Nations Publication, Sales No. 13.IV.1
⁷ Department of State, United States of America, Trafficking in Persons Report, June 2012, page 9
⁸ op.cit
existence of trafficking in persons. According to the UNODC, the most common form of human trafficking (79 percent) is sexual exploitation while the second most common form is forced labour (18 percent). Because of the growth of the problem over time and space, it becomes necessary to wage a global war against the crime. The idea of a war against human trafficking is not new.

The war on human trafficking grew out of the law and order agenda of American zero tolerance-style ‘war on crime’ policies since former President Nixon identified illegal drugs as ‘public enemy no.’1 in the 1970s.10

The term war here is used to show the seriousness of the problem. In international relations, for example, war often intervenes as a last resort to solve very serious problems after other peaceful means like negotiation and diplomacy have failed, without necessarily putting an end to these means. In the same way, different approaches are necessary to comprehend and solve this very serious problem. These measures and approaches are different components in the fight against human trafficking which are similar to battles in a war. What then are these extreme measures that need to be taken to solve the problem? One can only arrive at such measures after understanding the global pattern of the crime and the faults in the measures that have up till now been used in the fight against trafficking in persons.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Trafficking in persons continues to exist and even to grow in spite of the fact that mechanisms have been and are being adopted and measures are put in place to fight the ill at the global level, at regional levels and even at the level of individual States. Many writings on the issue, in measuring the success of anti-trafficking efforts emphasise on the adoption of mechanisms put in place and the number of prosecutions and convictions instead of looking at the increase or reduction in the total number of persons trafficked. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2002), 134 countries and territories worldwide have criminalised trafficking by means of a specific offense in line with the Trafficking in Persons Protocol. The Global Law Enforcement Data shows a year by year increase in the number of prosecutions for human trafficking since 2009. Even before the year 2000 when the Trafficking in Persons Protocol was adopted; many countries were already addressing trafficking in persons.

The key problem is that in spite of the seemingly visible results of anti-trafficking efforts, the phenomenon continues to exist and even seems to grow. There are even predictions that the number of trafficked persons will continue to grow in the near future. According to Shelly (2010: 4, 315 and 318), “the problem is significant and increasing as both demand and supply for people is rising... Human trafficking will remain a defining problem of the twenty first century...Trafficking is probably the fastest growing form of transnational crime”. If in spite of the measures which have been taken this far, and which have of course yielded some fruits, the tendency is for human trafficking to continue to exist and grow, there is need to review the means that have been employed this far against it. What therefore should be done to eradicate the ill?

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12. Department of State, United States of America, Trafficking in Persons Report, June 2012 p 46
The main objective of this work is to attempt to bring out approaches that could be effective in the global war against human trafficking. In order to achieve this, it is important to:

- Bring out the global pattern in the flow of trafficked persons;
- Understand the measures that have this far been taken in the fight against human trafficking;
- Operate a critique of the measures that have been taken in this fight; and lastly
- Arrive at more effective approaches that together with the measures that have this far been taken can go a long way to reduce and even eradicate trafficking in persons and its effects.

2. MATERIALS AND METHOD

This paper is basically based on secondary research work. It makes use of already existing information. The sources of such information include books on the subject, reports on previous research works, newspaper, magazine, journal and articles, data and other information from governments and non-governmental organisations. The paper is exploratory based on qualitative and quantitative analyses.

The choice to proceed through the secondary information is based on the scope of the work which is very large. The geographical area, covered by the work is very broad. As such, for primary research to be carried out in such a vast area there should be a mobilisation of a lot of resources which often requires more sophisticated procedures that can often be met only by global organisations.

Moreover, the subject of the study, trafficking, is a very complicated one such that a research which aims at collecting field information should limit itself just to that. This is so because the data and statistics on the phenomenon are not easy to get because the population subject to the study constitutes what Di Nicola in Lee et al., calls a “hidden population” which is difficult to access because its members are neither easily identifiable nor easily found. The analysis in this work, therefore makes great use of interpretation, particularly the deductive reasoning method.

3. RESULTS

3.1 The Global Nature Of Human Trafficking

It is important in the determination of global approaches to comprehend and fight human trafficking to first of all understand it as a global crime. It is a global crime because it is present and affects almost all countries of the world, and also because it is a form of transnational organised crime. Trafficking in persons undermines Nation States and State control. “In many parts of the world, much trafficking occurs within the country or the region; however, women and children increasingly travel long distances to their end point” (Shelly, 2007: 119). The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2009: 57) identifies three dimensions of the flow of trafficking in persons; trans-regional trafficking, intra-regional trafficking and domestic trafficking. Trans-regional trafficking occurs when a victim is trafficked from one region to another. Intra-regional trafficking occurs when a victim is trafficked between different countries within the same region, and domestic trafficking occurs when victims are citizens of the country in which they are exploited.

Figure 1: Domestic regional and trans-regional flows of trafficking in persons, 2007-2010 (percentage of all trafficking flows)

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Source: UNODC 2012, p 41

Figure 1 shows the proportion of the trafficked persons worldwide who either stay within the countries of origin, regions of origin, or move from one continent to another, or from one region to another. The statistics given are based on a research carried out in 132 countries of the world by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

Human Trafficking affects all countries of the globe and no one is left out. Countries are either countries of origin, of transit or countries of destination. Sometimes, the same country serves one, two or all three purposes. However, human trafficking is more present in some countries than others and the level of activity, according to recruitment, transit and exploitation varies from one country to another. Figures 2 and 3 below show the spread in the global nature of trafficking. The figure 2 shows the implication of different countries of the world as countries of origin, while figure 3 shows the implication of countries as those of destination. The representations provided by these figures are based on the extent of reporting from the various areas of the world.

Figure 2: Countries of origin as measured by the extent of reporting of trafficking

![Figure 2: Countries of origin as measured by the extent of reporting of trafficking](image)

Source: UNODC 2006, p38
3.2 The Fight Against Trafficking This Far

Combating human trafficking is very difficult given the hidden nature of the crime and the corruption of security agents as well as the involvement of some high ranking officials of the countries concerned. There is often the lack of evidence and witnesses due to the fear of prosecution for involvement in the crime. In many cases, traffickers bribe their way through border securities. Moreover, the involvement of high ranking personalities often deters the engagement in the fight against human trafficking. “After the ouster of President Akayev of Kyrgyzstan, his wife was found to have derived significant profit from her role as a facilitator of labour trafficking”\(^\text{14}\). In spite of these difficulties, a lot has been done to fight human trafficking. It is important to understand what has been done to fight human trafficking this far.

The fight against human trafficking has been characterised by what Lee (2011:127) calls “transnational policing”. Transnational policing comes in here due to the transnational nature of organised crime and in particular trafficking in persons and the requirement of the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime, 2000, for an extensive transnational police cooperation in extradition, mutual legal assistance, training and technical assistance. The Action Group to End Human Trafficking and Modern Day Slavery, an American organisation, in making its recommendations for the fight against human trafficking specified that the recommendations should be used in the United States of America and abroad\(^\text{15}\). According to Bowling\(^\text{16}\), “transnational policing takes place at different socio-spatial levels”. These levels are five in number; we have the local, the national, the regional, the international and the global levels. At the local level, we can cite the Little Tokyo Service Centre in the United States of America, which provides emergency housing for victims of trafficking in Los Angeles. At the national level, the United Kingdom Human Trafficking Centre (UKHTC) made of members of police, crime prosecution service, serious organised crime agency, and social services, “offers law enforcement a 24/7 support line for tactical, immigration, victim and legal advice and has sought to raise awareness

\(^{15}\) The action group to end human trafficking and modern day slavery, November 2008, Recommendations for Fighting Human Trafficking in the United States and Abroad, Transition Report for the Next Presidential Administration
\(^{16}\) Ben Bowling 2009 in Maguy Lee 2011 p 129
amongst police forces about human trafficking in a number of ways. At the regional level, countries of the Black Sea Region have looked for ways to fight human trafficking by enhancing boarder protection through better cooperation between their coast guards in the framework of South East European Cooperative Initiative (SECI) or the Black Sea Border Coordination and Information and Information Centre (BBCIC). Also, EUROPOL is also very active in fighting human trafficking in Europe. At the global level, the International Police Organisation (INTERPOL), works to fight human trafficking by taking concrete action in the field to dismantle human trafficking network, puts in place technical networks and systems for sharing information, strengthens approaches by working across sectors and brings together experts from across the world to work on the subject.

At the various levels, a number of actions are being taken. These actions are in line with the requirement for the fight against human trafficking through prevention, prosecution and protection included in the Palermo United Nations Anti-Trafficking Protocol. At the global level, many countries have gained awareness as to the seriousness of the problem and have adopted the 2000 Protocol; such that in 2008 there were 117 signatories, and 124 parties to the convention and in 2012, 152 countries had ratified the Protocol. Apart from ratifying the Anti-Trafficking protocol, many countries have also adopted national anti-trafficking legislations. The Republic of Cameroon adopted Law No 2005/015 of 29 December 2005 Relating to the Fight Against Child Trafficking and Slavery. It also drafted a law to criminalise adult trafficking in 2006, but it has not yet been promulgated into law. A comprehensive anti-trafficking law in Cameroon was passed in December 2011. The United States of America has four legislations dealing specifically with trafficking in persons; The Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act 2000, The Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorisation Act 2003, The Trafficking Victim Protection Reauthorisation Act 2005, and The Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorisation Act of 2008.

The criminalisation of the act has been accompanied by many cases of prosecution and conviction. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime Global Report on Trafficking 2012, between 2007 and 2010, 5,500 persons to 7000 persons were convicted annually for trafficking in persons, in a study covering 132 countries. According to the Embassy of the United States Trafficking in Persons Report on Cameroon 2012, during the period running from 2011 to 2012, after a comprehensive anti-trafficking legislation was passed in Cameroon, the government conducted five trafficking investigations and obtained two convictions, which is a remarkable improvement compared to the previous years when no account was kept of the anti trafficking struggle.

States have put in place structures and have equipped and enforced the capacities of existing structures to fight against trafficking in persons. An example of a structure put in place to fight human trafficking is the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons and other related matters created in 2003 in (NAPTIP) in Nigeria to enforce laws against trafficking in persons, investigate and prosecute persons suspected to be engaged in traffic in persons, and to take charge and coordinate the rehabilitation and counselling of trafficked persons, and for related matters. The security forces of countries like police forces have been trained on how to detect cases of trafficking in persons. Lawyers and other law enforcement agencies have been drilled on evidence collection. Frontier security forces like the United States of America coastal guards have been very active in the fight against illegal

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17 Sally Lipscombe and Jacqueline Beard, 22 November 2013, Human Trafficking: UK Responses, UK Home Affairs p 18
20 UNODC, Global Report on Trafficking, 2012
immigration and smuggling in particular. Social Welfare institutions have been trained on how to deal with cases of trafficking. Countries have also made use of private organisations. Travel agencies and airport authorities contribute to the detection of fake travel documents and illegal migrants. Many nongovernmental organisations, local, regional and global are active in advocacy against human trafficking. They detect cases of human trafficking and sensitise people on the dangers of the trade. They also carry out studies and produce reports as well as make recommendations in order to enhance State and international actions in the fight against human trafficking. An example of such an organisation is Anti Slavery International which has carried out a number of studies, some of which are used in this work.

4. DISCUSSIONS

4.1 The Current Problems The Counter-Human Trafficking

Although the fight against human trafficking has yielded much fruits, it has also been characterised by some shortcomings. It is for this reason that the trade in human beings continues to exist and that there is even a tendency for it to continue to grow. The fight against human trafficking has emphasised more on prevention and prosecution at the detriment of victim protection and assistance. The Palermo Protocol in Articles 6, 7 and 8 outlines the assistance and protection measures that should be given to victims. These measures include residence permit, housing, information and counselling, medical, psychological and material assistance, employment, education and training opportunities, opportunity for legal redress and compensation, as well as due regards to safety in cases of return. However, these assistance and protection measures are not binding on State parties. The protocol only obliges them to consider implementing them in appropriate cases. By making assistance and protection optional the Protocol reduces the chances for the attainment of the purpose of assisting trafficking victims which are “…to help them recover from serious human rights violations (e.g. Violence, torture, rape, deprivation of liberty, forced labour etc) and to ensure that they are not subject to further harm”\(^{21}\). It is because of the little importance given to victim assistance and protection that most reports on the fight against trafficking give figures on prosecutions but hardly on assistance. Moreover, failure to grant adequate victim protection is detrimental in the sense that it deters trafficking victims from opening up and assisting in the eventual prosecution and conviction of their traffickers.

The global war against trafficking as implemented by many countries has been inscribed within the framework of the larger fight against transnational organised crime particularly smuggling and illegal migration. States tend to view it more as a national security issue than as a human rights issue. That is why it can rightly be said that “State policy vis a vis the trade in human beings was and remains a derivative of national interests and is not solely altruistic or idealistic”\(^{22}\). This explains why much effort to fight human trafficking is hardly differentiated from efforts to fight smuggling. Frontier and immigration controls do not make any differences between ordinary cases of smuggling and cases of trafficking. Meanwhile, this distinction is important; with smuggling: the persons in question are criminals and should be punished, whereas with human trafficking, the person in question is a victim who needs assistance and protection. The lack of differentiation leads to further victimisation of trafficking victims as they are punished as criminals or continue to remain at the mercy of their traffickers in cases of refoulement. When they are arrested in host countries, they are treated as criminals. In addition, by inscribing the fight against


human trafficking within the framework of the fight against smuggling, a large number of trafficking cases are not detected. Sometimes, trafficked persons have valid immigration documents and go into the countries of destination legally. Moreover, the tightening of immigration control as a means to fight human trafficking could push “larger proportions of unauthorised and forced migrants into the hands of professional smugglers or traffickers, making little impact of the social causes of trafficking, and generating troubling consequences for illegal migrants” like asylum seekers. This is particularly true as force migrants like those fleeing wars and disasters are ready to do almost anything to leave even if it includes following professional smugglers.

The current fight against human trafficking depends very much on the will of the independent States. States have to sign international conventions prohibiting the crime, pass national legislations on the issue and even put in place implementation and enforcement mechanisms. This means that if a State does not take any action against the trade, there is no way culprits can be punished and victims obtain relief. We can see this clearly in the case of “Arch de Zoe”, in the Republic of Chad 2007 in which a supposedly humanitarian French NGO was caught attempting to traffic over 103 Chadian children to France under the pretence that they were Darfur orphans being taken for medical treatment whereas they were children with living Chadian parents. The suspects were neither tried nor prosecuted for the crime in Chad but were handed over to the Republic of France after a series of negotiations between both countries. The president of the organisation had the greater sentence amongst all the convicts, which was a two year prison term. It is clear that the duration of a prison term has an effect on its ability to deter crime. Probably the prison term would have been longer had the trial taken place in Chad. Dependence on the will of States to fight trafficking in persons also has a drawback in the sense that the implementation of anti-trafficking measures will be hampered where top State officials are involved. Moreover, some States might have the will but not the ability to fight human trafficking. This is particularly true for weak States and in times of armed conflict. In addition, many States are not yet party to the anti-trafficking protocol and do not take the measures stated in it to fight trafficking.

A look at current measures to fight human trafficking reveals that priority has been given to the criminal approach at the detriment of the social and even the human rights approaches. Human trafficking has been looked at this far just as a crime and this can be attested by the various mechanisms that have been put in place to fight the ill. Immigration control agents and other law enforcement agents have gained greater capacity to enforce enacted laws, evolution reports emphasise on prosecutions and convictions. It is for this reason that the current fight against human trafficking has been said to be more directed towards national security concerns. It is for this reason that Kaye (2003) emphasises on the protection of migrants human rights. In the same lights, Lee (2011) and Shelly (2010) militate for a sociological approach to the fight against human trafficking. These two approaches i.e. the migrants human rights and the sociological approach are aimed at putting the victims at the heart of the fight against human trafficking.

### 4.2 Are There Any Workable Strategies To Eliminate Human Trafficking?

Given the shortcomings in the approach currently used to fight human trafficking, it is important to recommend some elements which, if taken into consideration shall make the fight against human trafficking even more effective. Strategies for an effective fight against human trafficking must first of all be global (and include what Lee 2011 calls transnational policing), it must have a criminal approach, a sociological approach, and it must have a human rights approach. Although Lee criticises ‘transnational policings’ ability to stop

trafficked persons from reaching their destination, thus leaving them at the mercy of their traffickers, this measure is nonetheless important because the trafficked persons are useful to the traffickers only if the serve the purpose for which they were recruited by first of all reaching the intended destination. Transnational policing is marked by collaboration between countries, especially as far as law enforcement is concerned and the strengthening of border controls. Transnational policing as described by Lee is made up mainly of criminal measures. These measures as stated above include the enactment and adoption of laws, building the capacities of law enforcement agencies. Though many countries and international organisations have adopted the criminal approach, it is however not yet very efficient in solving the problem of human trafficking because of the shortcoming in its implementation. According to the UNODC (2009) between 2003 and 2007, 40 percent of 155countries had not registered any conviction for trafficking in persons and 32 percent had not registered any prosecution. This does not mean that the criminal approach is ineffective in handling the problem; it only shows that there is still a long way to go. By the way, according to the UNODC 2009 the number of convictions has increased, just that it is not proportionate to the growing awareness of the problem. It is for this reason that the criminal approach to fighting human trafficking has not been applied enough, probably due to the lack of political will. There is a need for the prioritization of the problem of human trafficking by States and other Stakeholders. This approach should be used in conjunction with other approaches. One of such measures is to take into consideration the social dimension of human trafficking.

This sociological approach in understanding trafficking is particularly important in defining strategies for the prevention of trafficking as well as for the protection of victims. To Lee (2011:151), we need to “locate trafficking as a social phenomenon rather than (just) a manifestation of transnational organised crime and law and order”. It consists of looking at trafficking more as a social phenomenon than just as a crime. It helps in understanding the motivations on the part of victims and the perpetrators. It enlightens on the rise and the continuation of trafficking in spite of all anti-trafficking efforts as well as the modus operandi of traffickers, the social context and the social realities of trafficking. The sociological approach is important as it permits the criminal approach not to be applied in an indiscriminate way. The sociological approach will reduce the view in immigration services that all illegal immigrants are criminals. While tightening frontier control, room is made for differentiating between different categories of irregular migrants; asylum seekers, smuggled persons, trafficked persons. As such differentiation can clearly be made between victims and criminals. The sociological approach helps in the understanding of the motivation on the part of the victim and allows for their education and the proposal of acceptable alternatives to them.

It is also important to take into consideration the human rights dimension in the fight against human trafficking. Human trafficking should be seen and punished as a violation of human rights in general and not just a violation of migrants’ human rights as stated by Mike Kaye 2003 opcit. He insists on the recognition and protection of the rights of trafficked persons as migrant workers as stated in the United Nations Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and their Families. By looking at human trafficking from this point of view, we eliminate important elements such as the fact that they were forced or coerced to leave their homes and insist only on their current situations. If the human rights dimension in the larger sense is considered, the fight against human trafficking will cease to depend on the individual will of independent States as human rights issues are universal issues. We will be able to experience cases of the international community intervening in cases of gross violations of human rights as it has often done in situations of internal conflicts and other human rights abuses in the name of the responsibility to protect. This time, it will be to fight trafficking in persons. There will therefore be interventions under the
title of the responsibility to protect. Also, taking into consideration the human rights dimension, officials will be able to differentiate cases of trafficking from other forms of illegal migration, and attention will be given to the specific problems of trafficked persons. It will also entail human rights training for peacekeeping officials and their punishment in cases of violation. Shelly 2010, p14, opcit shows that women have been trafficked to service international peace keepers.

5. CONCLUSION

This work which aims at bringing out a critique of the various approaches that have been used in the war against human trafficking starts by showing the global nature of the trade, it then goes ahead to look at the measures that have been used to fight trafficking this far, and operates a criticism of the measures before proposing different approaches that should be taken into consideration. In demonstrating the global nature of the crime, the work looks at human trafficking as a transnational phenomenon affecting all or most parts of the world with women and children forming the majority of trafficked persons and sex trafficking being the most common form. The work brings out the fact that the current measures against human trafficking are based mostly on transnational policing characterised by the enactment of laws and the setting up of structures and international cooperation. The present fight against human trafficking is criticised for laying more emphasis on prevention and prosecution while neglecting victim assistance and protection. It also very much depends on the will of the State which might not be able or willing to fight. In addition, transnational policing lays more emphasis on the criminal approach, neglecting the human rights approach. Moreover, the fight against human trafficking is done within the framework of the larger fight against transnational crime.

The criticisms lead to the conclusion that the war against human trafficking should enclose the criminal approach, the human rights approach as well as the sociological approach. The complex nature of the phenomenon of human trafficking necessitates complex measures in tackling the problem. For this reason, it is imperative for an interdisciplinary approach to be adopted in the fight against human trafficking. By so doing, the limits and shortcomings of some disciplines would be compensated by others.

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