

An Analysis of Human Trafficking Indicators on Guam

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Abstract

As human trafficking continues to be a global problem, the effects of modern day slavery have the potential to be detrimental on the island of Guam. Unenforceable legislation, contradictive policies, and controversial immigration laws are presented and examined in order to better understand the risks of human trafficking on Guam. Interviews with a former brothel owner and survivor provide vital insight into sex trafficking on Guam. Comparatively, interviews with Guam Department of Labor and U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement offer a deeper view into labor trafficking potentials, specifically with the ensuing military build-up. A further engagement of more than 170 sources contributes to this examination. Altogether, this paper addresses the forms of human trafficking that exist on Guam, considers historical factors, analyzes legislation and government policies, examines causation and cultural dynamics, details immigration factors, identifies the gaps in anti-trafficking efforts, and creates recommendations on how Guam can improve upon them.

“I know for a fact that there is human trafficking on Guam. It may not be the type that people know about. It’s a little bit different.” – Human Trafficking Survivor

“They are trying to say... Prostitution is not a victimless crime. If you are the prostitute you don’t think so, but if you’re the law you think so... now that I’m out of it and I can see clearly... it is not a victimless crime.... A lot of them are from abused families, runaways, and rape victims and stuff like that. A lot of ‘em don’t know any better.” – Previous Brothel Owner

“Most of these massage parlors on Guam, there is this old lady who comes to greet you and then she takes you to a different room and then another lady comes into massage you and it’s a lady who’s wearing almost nothing... They [government] know most of those places are illegitimate but they keep them open because they’re bringing in revenue. Then you think about how much revenue are they really reporting? Cause some of the stuff they do is under the table.” – Chamorro Massage Therapist

“I know the human trafficking from the Chamorro aspect... but what I’m talking about is when there are men, who have drugs, and are giving you drugs... known drug dealers, and they have weapons and it’s kind of like a silent understanding... they don’t say... actually, yes, they have said, ‘You’re going to have sex with this person,’ and then they use fear because they have done things in the past... I know people who have killed people.” – Human Trafficking Survivor

We hit massage parlors with Public Health and Rev and Tax [regulations]... we can shut it down [prostitution] but then we will drive it into neighborhoods... into the houses. – Guam Department of Labor

She said, 'Oh I think the military needs that sort of stuff'... No they don't. The military does not need to have massage parlors so they can go and get their rocks off...' – Chamorro Massage Therapist

"I don't think any woman would do that by choice [sex work] I mean even in the old times I don't think they were doing it by choice.... I mean I know there are some girls... that want to be strippers... but they don't know what they're getting into." – Human Trafficking Survivor

"I think about it now and I was crying out for help..." – Human Trafficking Survivor

Although slavery is commonly perceived to be a transgression of the past, human trafficking is more pervasive today than any other point in history. The slavery market has woven its way into every country and affects virtually every community. Victims are subjected to injustices that occur in lawful and illicit markets that are located in both the private and public spheres. The U.S. Department of State "Trafficking in Persons Report," (2013) estimates that nearly 27 million people are still enslaved globally and its prevalence is increasing. The International Labor Organization reports that forced labor in the private economy generates US\$ 150 billion in illegal profits per year and human trafficking has become the second largest criminal industry in the world today surpassing the illegal arms trade ("International Labor Mission: Facts and Figures," 2015).

As human trafficking continues to be a global problem, the effects of modern day slavery have the potential to be detrimental to the island of Guam. The U.S. Attorney for Guam, Alicia Limtiaco states (2015):

Human trafficking is an issue in Guam... Unfortunately victims are lied to, they're deceived, they are made promises. They are then forced into becoming a prostituted worker or to perform other labor. Again, for little or no pay, under abusive or threatening situations, and again through force, fraud, or coercion," (Baza, 2015, para. 3)

Guam identifies slavery as a recent problem, yet its pervasiveness is evident. In Guam, a myriad of factors influence the overall trafficking climate. This paper will address the forms of human trafficking that exist on Guam, consider historical factors, analyze legislation and government policies, examine causation and cultural dynamics, detail immigration factors, identify the gaps in anti-trafficking efforts, and create recommendations on how Guam can improve upon them.

Commonly referred to with terms such as "modern slavery," "human trafficking," and "trafficking in persons"; The United Nations Protocol and the U.S. State Department define the act of "human trafficking" as the recruitment, transportation, and harboring of persons, by means of the use of force, fraud, or coercion, for the purpose of sexual exploitation, forced labor, and domestic servitude. (UN Protocol 2000, p. 2; "2013 Trafficking in Persons Report"). However, the concept of "trafficking" is vague and ambiguous. It has become an umbrella term to define illegal immigration, modern day slavery, prostitution, and the sexual exploitation of women (Gulati, 2011, p. 363). Human beings are bought and sold as commodities for profit at the high cost of human integrity with little to no ramifications. Traffickers use violence, threats, deception, debt bondage, and other manipulative tactics to ensnare victims. ("Polaris Project Human Trafficking Overview," 2015). Recognized forms of human trafficking include sex trafficking, child sex trafficking, forced labor, domestic servitude, and debt bondage.

Within Guam, the history of slavery is imbedded both in the past as well as in today's growing economy. As Douglas Oliver (1961) states,

The rape of Oceania began with Guam. Two and a half centuries before the unsuspecting savages of Polynesia welcomed white masters to their shores, Guam's fate was sealed. Magellan led the procession in 1521 and left the usual calling cards. (Souder-Jaffery, 1992, p. 30).

The 'discovery' of the Philippines and the Mariana Islands by Magellan and the colonization of Guam by the Spaniards had horrific ramifications for the cultural integrity and freedom of the Chamorro people. Throughout the 16th century, detailed accounts by Magellan and fellow travelers allude to not only enforcement of Christian doctrine but also active participation by the colonizers in the global slave trade. However, it is important to note that the Chamorro people were not immune to similar practices by their own people. Accounts of prostitution, although considered a prestigious role by the ancient Chamorro, would be identified as slavery today (Souder-Jaffery, 1992, p. 83-84)

Reports of slavery on the island have been documented well into the 21st century. For example, slavery and abolition rhetoric was used to justify U.S. colonialism. One of the first proclamations by Guam's first Navy Governor Richard Leary was to abolish peonage, as a show of altruism that American colonization would not continue the "evil" legacy of the Spaniards (DeLisle, 2008). Nevertheless, much like the abolition of slavery in the United States with the passage of the 13th Amendment, the call for the end of peonage had little to no effect on the end of trafficking on Guam. Japanese work camps, labor exploitation, comfort women, and "Taxi Dancers" have been considered standard throughout the 20th century. While today, domestic servitude, forced labor, debt bondage, and brothels masquerading as legitimate businesses, are commonplace.

In fact, Guam attempted to regulate the estimated 100 nightclubs/bars, estimated 70 massage parlors, and numerous other adult entertainment businesses. Proposed in 2010 by Vice-Speaker B.J. Cruz and major stakeholders within the tourism industry, the government of Guam considered the formal establishment of a red-light district (Bill 314-30). Although controversial, the proposed Bill 314-30, capitalized on the military buildup while also ensuring that Guam maintains a façade as a clean family-oriented destination. Adult-oriented businesses such as strip clubs, massage parlors, and nightclubs would have been re-zoned and regulated in a way that many business owners argued would have dire economic repercussions (Cruz, interview, August 24, 2015).

Moreover, adult-oriented businesses are predisposed to unlawful activity, especially prostitution. While some argue that the legalization of prostitution and specified zoning of adult-oriented businesses will improve the working and safety conditions for sex workers; a 2013 study of 150 countries conducted by the London School of Economics and Political Science found that, "the scale effect of legalized prostitution leads to an expansion of the prostitution market, increasing human trafficking," (Cho, 2013, para. 1). Zoning an exclusive adult-entertainment district on Guam could create a pathway for prostitution and human trafficking on a larger scale. More dangerously, the magnitude of its effects will become difficult to detect as the marketplace goes further underground.

At this time, Guam does not have the legal capacity or policies in place to benefit from the formalization of a red-light district. Passage of the bill would have negative consequences when equated to other cities that have similar designated districts. Within these major cities, such as Amsterdam, regulation and active investigations by law enforcement have been consistent and proactive; yet, these major cities still identify that the human trafficking problem is, "out of control," (Rae, 2014). Conversely, Guam has been inconsistent with investigations and enforcing

policies regarding such activities. Members of the Guam Human Trafficking Taskforce (2015) note that because of Guam's deficiencies and slow approach to investigations, Guam's inaction semi-condones illegal sex work making a designated adult-entertainment district an infallible way to ensure the sex trafficking marketplace will thrive.

The notion that adult-oriented businesses and prostitution are synonymous with trafficking in persons is, in fact, anything but new. Limtiaco usurped that legalizing prostitution through a quasi red-light district, would have been a policy decision by the legislature, and not something her office supported. Instead, Limtiaco suggested using a different approach, (Limtiaco, Personal Interview, September 18, 2015). In 2008, a diverse task force developed legislation to combat the astounding number of underground brothels operating as massage parlors. Bogus massage businesses operate under the veil of legitimacy by interfacing within normal government and regulatory infrastructures, which are weak, ("Fake Massage Businesses in the United States," 2011). These extensive, sophisticated organized crime networks advertise services such as acupuncture and Chinese therapeutic massage in order to evade detection.

The role of massage parlors as a front for brothels is a Guam secret that is not really a secret. Since their first appearance in 1984, parlors have found a way to thrive within a system that enjoys turning a blind eye (Schumann, 2004). James Gilan, Public Health Director, stated,

It would be extremely naïve of us to pretend that we don't know what occurs in massage parlors. The true activities occurring at these facilities are well known and these establishments have been in business for decades. Until recently, even this department's rule and regulations for massage parlors, which were adopted thirty years ago, indirectly acknowledge the illicit activities, by requiring the employees at massage establishments to get tested every three months for sexually transmitted diseases such as gonorrhea, HIV, and syphilis. (Ridgell, 2011)

Within the tourist area of Tumon, massage parlors are located every 1,000 yards. Occasionally, multiple parlors exist within the same building. According to Eugene Cruz, a licensed massage therapist, any parlor that does not require a formal education or follow health board guidelines should be considered an illegitimate business (Personal Interview, September 24, 2015). The majority of massage parlors that operate along the Tumon strip, according to Cruz, are illegitimate. Approximately 75% of the parlors are open 24 hours a day, seven days a week with the remaining open daily until 4:00 a.m. The price for the average massage on Guam is \$40, but a "special" massage is \$100 or more, depending on what services are included. New girls are advertised each month directly mirroring their short-term visas. Red blinking lights, employees wearing suggestive clothing, and women approaching 'customers' outside of the parlor make these illicit massage businesses easily recognizable.

Shockingly, numbers show that there are more massage parlors on Guam than McDonald's, Wendy's, KFC's and Burger King Restaurants combined (Anderson, 2013). The only requirements for opening and operating a massage parlor on Guam are a business license and a sanitary permit. Comparatively, the only requirement for being a masseuse is a health certificate. A health certificate for this level of skill requires only a tuberculosis test and documentation. No credentials, formal education, or specialty training are required (10 GCA Health and Safety § 22-22101-22109).

Requirements for massage therapists on Guam are equally lax. Although the Department of Public Health and Human Services requires a health certificate and a professional license for massage therapists, procuring one can be done with few restraints. Current law states that the Board of Allied Health Examiners (BAHE) shall name valid educational programs and establish

minimum standards for an apprenticeship program. However, the BAHE has yet to determine these standards. Essentially, any massage parlor legitimate or illegitimate can testify that their employee has met standards to become a massage therapist (Cruz, Interview, 2015). Conversely, 45 states in the continental U.S. require some type of licensing for massage therapy (Licensure and Certification, 2015).

The 2009 proposal, Bill 268-30, attempted to combat the current low standards required for owning, operating, and practicing massage (Won Pat & Muna-Barnes, 2009). It was created through a task force that incorporated testimony from the numerous government entities involved throughout the massage business certification process. Stakeholders called upon the task force to create tougher legislation that afforded regulators an opportunity to ensure certificates were awarded to legitimate establishments and therapists. The proposed bill also granted public employees training to identify red flags and initiate investigation processes. The law would mandate individuals, who provided massage or spa services, to procure a license, and put safe guards in place to close current loopholes. However, Bill 268-30 was met with criticism. The task force did not involve massage parlor owners or victims of human trafficking in their bill development process. Furthermore, 2009 was an election year. Many saw the bill as too aggressive and the political climate at the time made it difficult to win supporters. Lack of testimony from the main players and the political calendar were some of the reasons for the lack of movement and the eventual demise of the bill (Limtiaco, Personal Interview, 2015). Aside from attempts to strengthen current laws and procedures, the interagency task force also enhanced efforts to identify and deter the proliferation of illegal massage parlor activities.

Progressive anti-massage parlor advocates, U.S. Attorney Limtiaco, Speaker Judith T. Won Pat, Ed.D., and Legislative Secretary Tina Rose Muna Barnes, lobbied the passage of the Guam Human Trafficking and Criminal Exploitation Act of 2009 (GHTCEA). As Guam's first anti-trafficking law, it had seven main provisions: (1) define human trafficking; (2) ensure proper protection of identified victims of human trafficking by law enforcement and other entities; (3) details prosecution and criminal guidelines; (4) establishes the Guam Human Trafficking Task Force; (5) ensures research, publications, and community awareness and training programs are routine; (6) encourages non-government organization collaborative efforts; and (7) lists human trafficking victim's rights.

The GHTCEA of 2009 was drafted following the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) Model State Anti-Trafficking Criminal Statute (Model Law). "The Model Law is not enacted legislation but rather a practical tool for state legislatures to use when enacting actual anti-trafficking statutes" (Tanagho, 2015, p.899). Model Law was written in 2004 by the Civil Rights Division and the Office of Legal Policy. The U.S. Senate fully endorsed the law, recognizing that there is a strong need for uniformity in definitions and concepts across state lines, ("Model State Anti-Trafficking Criminal Statute," 2007). Guam's greatest strength for the passage of their first anti-trafficking law was using a DOJ recommended model to ensure continuity across state and territorial lines. Since Guam's trafficking cases have required partnership with federal agencies, ensuring minimal confusion was imperative. However, this model was intended to only be a tool. Additional considerations, such as local relevant laws, were intended to strengthen the legislation.

Currently, Guam's law mirrors the base model with few variances. Most problematic, was the absence of the "Appropriation of Funding" clause. Without this provision Guam's anti-trafficking law is twenty pages of strong wording at best. Guam's legislatures should ensure that a new trafficking law does not contain unfunded mandates, and authorizes appropriations to fund training, investigations, prosecutions, and victim-witnessed services. It should fund service

providers and advocates who provide services and shelter to trafficked victims. It should ensure that housing is available for persons immediately after being removed from the trafficking situation, as well as in the long term. (“State Model law on Protection for Victims of Human Trafficking,” 2005). Thus far, the burden has been placed on social service providers to allocate costs for trafficking victims and services. Poorly trained and underfunded local government entities are also expected to bare some of the burden.

Unfortunately, the current territorial legislation governs these requirements without any explanation on how these providers are able to comply. On the federal level, VTVPA (2000) authorizes Congress to appropriate funds for anti-trafficking activities coordinated by the Attorney General and the Secretary of Health and Human Services, among others. Entities fund U.S. organizations to provide comprehensive services for trafficked persons. These services include legal assistance, shelter, medical and mental health services, and crisis counseling. To date, neither the service providers nor Guam based government organizations have received any funding.

Moreover, the GHTCEA of 2009 conflicts with other current Guam legislation. According to the 26.03 Victim Immunity from Prosecution clause (2009),

(a) In any prosecution of a person who is a victim of trafficking in persons, it shall be an affirmative defense that he or she was under duress or coerced into committing the offenses for which he or she is being subject to prosecution.

(b) A victim of trafficking in persons is not criminally liable for any commercial sex act or illegal sexually-explicit performance committed as a direct result of, or incident or related to, being trafficked...

This provision conflicts with Article 1 of the Public Indecency Law which not only makes it illegal to loiter for the purpose of soliciting to engage in prostitution but also makes it a criminal offense to participate in the act of prostitution. This law has been used to penalize victims, rather than penalizing those who victimize them. Prostituted men, women, and children are treated as criminals; yet, overwhelming evidence has shown that the majority of prostituted persons are victims of crime, who have been sexually trafficked or exploited, (Dempsey, 2014).

For trafficking survivor ‘Amanda’, the gap in law caused the criminal justice system to fail her repeatedly. Various members of organized crime and boyfriends forced Amanda into prostitution. When a law enforcement officer found her soliciting on the streets of Tumon, he treated her not only as a criminal but called her demeaning names such as “crack whore” (Anonymous, Interview, September 26, 2015). She was jailed, pushed through various systems, and then court ordered to receive drug treatment at an additional facility or face jail time. When asked why she did not cooperate with police, Amanda said it was out of fear. “I know some girls, they’re even called prostitutes, and the police will have sex with them sometimes, and check them on the street and stuff like that. One of them even bashed a girl’s head with a beer bottle” (Anonymous, Interview, September 26, 2015). She is one of many women on Guam who the justice system has failed to identify as a victim due to inadequate criminal laws. Her case further demonstrates a need for current legislation to be re-written, and new trainings to be performed for law enforcement and service providers.

However, sex trafficking does not simply exist because its victims are vulnerable; it exists because there is a demand for commercial sex that traffickers can exploit and profit from, (Durchslag, 2012). “Individuals who buy commercial sex acts create the demand for sex trafficking...many buyers may be unaware, ill-informed, or in direct denial of the abuse realities of sex trafficking situations as they exist within the broader sex trade.” (“Why Trafficking Exists,” 2015). Therefore, an effective approach to the prevention of trafficking and exploitation is a

victim-centered approach through the Nordic Model. The Nordic Model is a set of laws and policies that decriminalize individuals in prostitution and instead call on law enforcement and the government system to provide them with support services, compassion, and exit programs (“What is the ‘Nordic Model’,” 2012). The model recognizes that sex trafficking is a criminal industry that operates on the market principles of supply and demand. Within this archetype, men who pay for sex create the demand, while the traffickers, pimps, brothel owners, or other facilitators profit from the demand.

Other countries that have applied the Nordic Model to decriminalize prostitution have noted extremely positive results (“What is the ‘Nordic Model’,” 2012). Since the introduction of the law, street prostitution has decreased and the countries have become an undesirable destination for pimps and traffickers (“What is the Nordic Model’,” 2012). Other applications of this law include “John Shaming” provisions that have also yielded positive results. While “John Shaming” is not a new strategy, it has gained momentum in the fight against prostitution and human trafficking globally (Aleaziz, 2014). It includes tactics such as public shaming (posting photos on social media pages, in newspapers, or bill boards), sending “Dear John” letters to family members, jail time, driver’s license suspension, car impounding, hefty fines, and community service requirements (Deconstructing the demand for prost). Such tactics could be very effective on Guam, a country that prides itself on family values.

According to research conducted by the Polaris Project (2015), demand thrives when there is low risk and high profits (“Overview Human Trafficking,” 2015). Both of these factors are present on Guam as the risk is low and the profits are high. Guam’s current ability to identify traffickers or victims and their approach to anti-trafficking enforcement laws demonstrates little to no anti-trafficking presence by law enforcement. There is strong evidence that corruption has played a substantial role. In 2013, two Guam police officers were found guilty of kidnapping, rape, and promoting prostitution. Both officers frequented The Blue House, a brothel that masqueraded for four years as a karaoke lounge until it was raided in 2008, (*United States of America v. Song Ja Cha*). According to victim testimony, the officers were friends with the brothel owner, and the officers would threaten to arrest the victims if they did not comply with the owner or if they attempted to run away. The survivors were mainly Micronesian women who were lured to Guam with false promises of high-paying jobs at restaurants or stores. Once in Guam, the women were forced to work at The Blue House for mere dollars a day. The brothel owner withheld food if the women disobeyed her and even forced one woman to get an abortion after a customer impregnated her. However, it was not until four years later, after a newspaper investigation, that public outcry prompted Governor Eddie Calvo to conduct an independent investigation of Guam Police Department’s involvement in the operations of the Blue House (Miculka, 2013). The investigation led to the arrests and conviction of both officers. The case is currently under appeal (Limitaco, Personal Interview, September 18, 2015).

The overarching foundations for human trafficking on Guam include geographic, environmental, economic, and social conditions. These conditions all include main indicators of a perfect storm for trafficked victims and have turned Guam into a marketplace that meets the demand for illicit sexual and labor based activities. Guam has close proximity to East Asia, Southeast Asia, and to the outer Mariana islands. Its strategic significance is due to the fact that it is the only island for 5,000 miles between Hawaii and Asia that boasts a protected harbor and ample land for major airports. Moreover, “this geography means that whoever controls Guam has access by air and sea to China to the west, to Hawai’i and North America to the east, to Southeast Asia from the north and to Japan from the south” (Rogers, para. 2). This location has led to the

inevitable migration of peoples to Guam starting in the form of colonialism for the past five hundred years under the rule of Spain, Japan, and America (Misco & Lee, 2012, p. 24). Guam was liberated from Japanese control by the United States in 1944 and established the Organic Act in 1950, which designated Guam as an unincorporated territory of the United States. The Organic Act led to the creation of a unique form of U.S. citizenship in which the people of Guam have limited rights. According to the United Nations, Guam is still one of 16 remaining colonies in the world (Lange, 2008, pg. 2). As an unincorporated territory, immigrants, migrants, workers, and tourists are still attracted to Guam as it presents an Americana image of amenities, as well as being a gateway to America (Quimby, 2011, pg. 362).

The value of this island is reflected in the military presence on Guam, under the Joint Region Marianas, which includes Anderson Air Force Base and the Naval Base at Apra Harbor. In fact, Joint Region Marianas is listed as one of the six most important U.S. military bases, as it services nuclear submarines to aircraft carriers (Widome, 2006, p. 2). According to the revised Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement (SEIS, July 2015), the ensuing military build-up on Guam will “begin to increase from 25 Marines and eight family members this year to 2,990 Marines and 908 dependents five years from 2015” (Daleno, 2015, para. 1). An influx of construction workers, skilled-workers, massage parlor workers, and strippers is anticipated to coincide with the increase of military personnel. Within the next five years alone, a projected 13,000 jobs will be created between Guam and the Commonwealth Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) due to the military build-up and the increase of Chinese visitors. Rather than the intense boom and sharp decline originally forecasted in 2010 concerning Guam’s military build-up, reports indicate an anticipation of 13 years of moderate construction activity with a gradual phasing down of activities (SEIS, p. ES-4). “By 2021, civilian labor force demand with the proposed action would be 11.9% higher than it otherwise would have been, without the project”; less than half of the projected jobs will be held by residents of Guam (p. 464).

History has demonstrated that militarization increases the demand for trafficking based on sexual and labor services. In the 1980s, the U.S. Subic Bay Naval Base in the Philippines was the largest U.S. military base outside of America with an estimated \$500 million generated by the brothels surrounding it (“United States: Address Role of U.S. Military in Fueling Global sex Trafficking, 2013). Although the base closed in the 1990s, the commercial sex industry that was surrounding the once-large U.S. military presence still persists today, (“United States: Address Role of U.S. Military in Fueling Global sex Trafficking, 2013). Where there is a large military population, there will be a significant and concurrent growth of the commercial sex and trafficking industry. One study, which focused on men who buy sex, found that 21 percent of the men interviewed had been in the armed forces. Of those one-quarter (26%) had bought a woman in prostitution during their time in the military service (Farley, 2011). Former U.S. anti-trafficking Ambassador John Miller stated in 2004, “Human trafficking, especially for women and girls forced into prostitution, has followed demand where a multitude of U.S. and foreign aid workers, humanitarian workers, civilian contractors, and yes, U.S. uniformed personnel operate,” (“United States: Address Role of U.S. Military in Fueling Global sex Trafficking, 2013).

In 2012, The Korea Times reported that, according to one estimate, more than one million Korean women had been used in prostitution by U.S. troops since 1945 despite the military’s zero tolerance policy (Young-jin, 2012). The Guam Naval Fleet and Family Services Unit have also observed dramatic increases of sexual assault and possible trafficking violations in correlation with submarines and naval ships arriving in port (Guam Human Trafficking Task Force, personal communication, 2014). The U.S. government and military have responded to the link between

military personnel and sex trafficking with harsher violation articles as well as required human trafficking trainings.

Military human trafficking training programs led to the discovery of modern day slavery in war zones by military sub-contractors. In 2011, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed a lawsuit to enforce the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) as a request aimed at tackling an underreported problem of trafficking and abusive treatment of foreign workers on U.S. military bases. More than 70,000 low-wage workers, commonly known as third country nationals or “TCNs”, worked for U.S. military contractors to provide the military with essential services such as construction and cleaning. Many of the workers were brought to these bases through a convoluted system of sub-contracting that is filled with corruption, debt bondage, and coercion (“Your tax Dollars at Work? U.S. Military Contractors and Human Trafficking in War Zones,” 2011). “In essence, despite a 2002 presidential directive that set a ‘zero tolerance’ on human trafficking, modern day slavers have been operating with impunity under the aegis of the U.S. government,” (Newman, 2012). War zones are not exclusive to these violations. Many migrants relocate to Guam and may be vulnerable to similar practices.

In fact, the Guam Department of Labor, Alien Labor Processing Administrator, Processing and Certification Division (GDOL-ALPAPCD) argues that foreign construction workers are vulnerable to such labor trafficking violations (Massey, Interview, September 25, 2015). Newly hired migrants, primarily Filipinos, will fill the majority of these military build-up sub-contractor positions through H-2B visas. The H-2B visa program allows U.S. employers or agents to hire and bring foreign citizens into Guam to fill temporary nonagricultural jobs. Within the continental United States, a tight cap limits the number of foreign workers to 60,000 per year. However, the laws on Guam follow a different path—a hybrid of U.S. mainland and CNMI ruling. “At the moment...the national ceiling on H-2B visas does not apply to Guam, and the Guam Governor's Office plays the role usually played by the U.S. Department of Labor in the issuance of H-2B permits... the H-2B workers from the Philippines, the main source nation, are free of payroll taxes because of a treaty with that nation” (North, 2012, para. 71). Thus, the cap for H-2B visa quotas will be removed in order to fill positions with needed and skilled workers. As of June 2015, there were 1,537 H-2B visas approved by Guam DOL, which exceeds previous levels on Guam since 2010. Of these visas, the overwhelming majority issued refers to construction workers. However, according to Greg Massey, current administrator of DOL-ALPAPCD, the usual second number is filled by massage therapist (Massey, Interview, September 25, 2015). Massey stated that the current number of H-2B visas reflects a healthy economy and that there is substantial construction work already occurring on the military bases.

The question is begged - will an increase of foreign workers potentially increase the risks of trafficking amongst these immigrants? A study by Pia M. Orrenius and Madeline Zavodny (2009) identifies that immigrants are more likely to work in risky jobs than U.S.-born workers and to have more work-related injuries and fatalities: “The authors conclude that immigrants work disproportionately in more dangerous industries and occupations, than U.S.-born Americans” (Zuehlke, 2009, para. 2). Data indicates that on the opposite end of the spectrum, immigrants who have lived in the United States for a substantial length of time tend to work in safer jobs compared to those with low English skills and education. On Guam, many of the immigrants are a vulnerable population, specifically those with poor English language skills.

Massey asserts that his department conducts inspections on work sites on a regular basis, approximately once or twice a year, unless the office receives tips or complaints, which prompt a more aggressive investigation. GDOL-ALPAPCD coordinates with other agencies, such as Guam

Department of Public Health and Social Services (GDPHSS), the Fire Department, and Guam Revenue and Taxation in order to conduct inspections. These departments work to “ensure construction and daily activities on Guam are conducted in accordance with applicable federal and Guam laws and regulations to ensure a safe working and living environment for Guam residents to live and work” (SEIS, 2015, p. 322).

These agencies tend to be understaffed. For example, the GDOL-ALPAPCD is funded primarily through the fees from the working visas of \$1,091 each, wherein \$91 is allocated to GDPHSS, \$700 to Guam Community College for apprenticeship and training, and \$300 to GDOL-ALPAPCD. The small amount of funds designated for GDOL-ALPAPCD; therefore, remain insufficient. Seed money for organizations, such as GDOL-ALPAPCD, is required to provide a robust system of inspection, investigation, and enforcement of labor laws. From 2004 to 2013, the persons that obtained permanent residence in Guam have remained consistent with an average of 1,400 each year (Yearbook, 2013, p. 16). Additionally, the Guam Visa Waiver Program for certain citizens is for temporary travel, i.e. tourists. In 2013, Guam saw a total of 1,050,007 visitors for tourism and business. A total of 997,324 arrived under the Visa-Waiver program, and only 22 were aliens that were apprehended (p. 81, 93).

Even with a framework of regulation, human trafficking has existed and has the propensity to continue to exist as demonstrated by the notorious Vic Rama case. Ramachandran Vadivello, more commonly known as Vic Rama, construction owner of Transrama Guam was convicted of 18 U.S.C. § 1341, Mail Fraud, 18 U.S.C. § 1546(a), Visa Fraud, and 18 U.S.C. § 37, Conspiracy to Commit Money Laundering. He was sentenced to six months of home confinement followed by five years of probation. Rama had to pay restitution of \$117,197.29 to ten H-2B workers from Indonesia and Malaysia (DOJ, 2014, para. 1, 2). According to an interview with the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (Matunguihan & Shiroma, Interview, September 15, 2015), the violations that Rama was charged with held more weight than a case for labor trafficking. Expectantly, the prosecutors chose to proceed with the stronger case of fraud and money laundering. Prosecuting human trafficking cases under other guises is a common practice. At times the labor violations committed are clear or more established legally, leading “prosecutors to believe there is a greater chance of a conviction” (Farrell et al., 2012, p. 10). Although more effective at times for conviction, these cases are harmful, as they are not reported in the Trafficking In Persons (TIP) report. Thus, charging crimes under a different label may not show the actual vulnerabilities of a nation.

The TIP Report is a credible and international indicator list; whereas, the U.S. Department of State gathers information from embassies, nongovernmental organizations, published reports, government officials, news articles, academic studies, research trips, etc. in order to garner information on countries efforts to combat human trafficking (TIP, 2015, p. 47). Countries are then assigned one of four different Tier ratings [1, 2, 2 Watch List, & 3] based on compliance with the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000, which has an aim, “to combat trafficking in persons, especially into the sex trade, slavery, and involuntary servitude, to reauthorize certain Federal programs, to prevent violence against women, and for other purposes (TVPA, 2000, sec. H .R.3244)”

The Tier ratings are reported annually and are based on a government’s action to end human trafficking rather than the proclivity of trafficking incidents. Countries on Tier 1 status are not necessarily void of human trafficking incidents within their borders, but submit to a higher level of government action. These countries acknowledge human trafficking and put forth substantial efforts to end it. Tier 2 countries do not fully comply with the TVPA’s minimum

standards, but are making efforts in the process to fulfill their requirements. The Tier 2 Watch List consists of countries that fail the TVPA's minimum standards. Additionally these countries have shown to produce either severe forms of trafficking or have shown that it has been significantly increasing (Castillo, 2012, p. 1-3). However, countries can only remain on the Tier 2 Watch List for two consecutive years (except in the instance that they are making substantial changes in policies and enforcement on human trafficking) before they are deduced to a Tier 3 level or elevated to a Tier 2 level. Tier 3 rating identifies countries, "whose governments do not fully comply with minimum anti-trafficking standards and are not making significant efforts to do so" (CNN, 2013, para. 2). The Tier 3 classification includes Iran, Russia, and North Korea, which are also open to sanctions from the U.S. government.

Guam is a unique case due to its territorial status. As a member of the United States it is classified as Tier 1, but Guam should also be included in the Micronesia region, which is on the Tier 2 list. (TIP Report, 2015) The Australian Institute of Criminology (2011) reports that the people movements in the Pacific Islands is commonly noted and, "such movements may be unregulated and coupled with increasing migration, raises the risk of trafficking in persons and similar crimes" (Lindley and Beacroft, p.3) This risky movement is not just seen on the remote Pacific Islands, but the colonial islands, such as Guam where there exists special migration arrangements with America. In fact, the destination of the United States may have strong immigration controls, but these unique territorial arrangements may "increase the risk of trafficking into Pacific Island nations, as people make their way to these islands in order to more easily access entry [into the United States]." Thus, Guam is actually in the ideal position to be a transit point for trafficking persons. (p. 4)

Being in close proximity to Saipan and the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), Guam continues its distinctive role. Finally, in 2014, FSM elevated from a Tier 3 rating to a Tier 2 rating, according to the TIP Report, yet there are still significant strides needed to move into Tier 1 status (Bill, 2014, para. 5). According to the TIP Report,

FSM is a source, transit, and, to a limited extent, a destination country for men, women, and children subjected to forced labor and sex trafficking. The groups most vulnerable to trafficking in FSM include foreign migrant workers and Micronesian women and girls who allegedly engage in prostitution at restaurants frequented by crewmembers of docked Asian fishing vessels. FSM women are recruited with promises of well-paying jobs in the United States and its territories, but are subsequently forced into prostitution or domestic labor upon arrival. Local authorities claim many sex trafficking cases are unreported due to victims' fear of embarrassment in FSM's insular communities. (TIP, 2015, p. 246)

Guam is an access point to nationals from the FSM as Guam is the largest and wealthiest island in Micronesia. It attracts islanders who are looking for work, a more affluent lifestyle, a higher education, and better healthcare. The Compact of Free Association (CFA) assures defense and open immigration to the United States for members of the FSM (Owen, 2008, p. 310). Moreover, the CFA (United States, 1985) provides these opportunities; however, it does not screen for qualifications such as job skills or educational levels. It has left many hopeful islanders economically vulnerable. Although the CFA has benefited many people, it has further solidified Guam as an ideal location for traffickers. Such examples include the 2013 Blue House trial, which involved nine Chuukese women, as well as a reported case of Micronesian women relocating to Guam due to false promises of au pair work by family members. In both cases, women had their

passports stripped from them and experienced constant threats of deportation with no freedom in sight.

Due to Guam's small population of 159,358 there are additional social conditions that create a myriad of tribulations that hinder Guam's anti-trafficking efforts and aid trafficking's growth (U.S. Census, 2010). In comparison to the United States, the intimate and isolated size of Guam's community increases the obstacles of research gathering efforts. Both the Guam Human Trafficking Task Force and The Guam Naval Fleet and Family Services Unit have identified the risk attached to studying and releasing data focused on the identification of victims of human trafficking on Guam. The limited population and geographic size of Guam creates a condition where the public can identify survivors of human trafficking even when the data is under the guise of anonymity. Such topics are taboo and easy identification factors can not only hinder aid efforts but also put victims/survivors at an additional risk for further harm, public stigma, loss of agency, and recapture.

Moreover, the prevalence of human trafficking on Guam is tied to similar gender based issues. Crime and gender based violence within the public and private sphere is prevalent on Guam. The number of woman who identify as rape victims is nearly three times higher than in similar towns in the United States of the same size and is only second to Alaska in having the most rapes per capita with 722 cases of rape reported on Guam between 2005 and 2009 (Brett, 2011). Between 2009 and 2013 the Guam Police Department (GPD) reported more than 2,600 cases of family violence, with 168 of those cases including rape or sex offenses (GPD Uniform Report, 2013, p. 12-20) Furthermore, the Uniform Crime Report stated was a large increase in forcible reported rapes from 40 in 2010 to 106 in 2013, with an additional 111 other types of sex offenses in 2013 (p. 12). Men's acceptance of prostitution is clustered with attitudes that encourage violence and the objectification of women. At this time, there is no existent data that establishes the direct correlation between men most at risk for becoming buyers (Johns) and those who participate in gender based violence. These men demonstrate negative perceptions towards women and perpetrate misogynistic cultural attitudes.

FSM is not the only country with citizens who may be at risk of being trafficked. Considering the unique location and laws of Guam and the varying visa regulations and immigration policies, China must be evaluated. China had a Tier 3 rating in 2013, but was upgraded to a Tier 2 Watch List in 2014. It has remained at that level in 2015. Being that two years is the limit for Tier 2 Watch List rating, China is foreseen to make a Tier status shift by 2016. The HumanTrafficking.org reported that 90% of Chinese migrants entering other countries leave without documents and are migrated through unregulated channels, thus making it difficult for government officials to identify possible human trafficking victims (2011, para. 2). Furthermore, China's Ministry of Public Security reported in January 2011 that the number of Chinese women forced into prostitution overseas is rising and many women fall prey to international criminal gangs (TIP, 2011, p. 123). Such vulnerable Chinese persons may be forced to work not only within the commercial sex industry but also as domestic servants and laborers. Additionally, the scope of the problem will continue to grow. The United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking estimates approximately "600,000 migrant workers leave China annually to work overseas, most of whom are men...The number of female migrants is also rapidly rising, most of whom are young girls ages 17-25 (2011, para. 3, 4).

According to a website dedicated to Chinese tourism in America, Guam will be one of the biggest beneficiaries to receive an increase of Chinese tourists over the next six years (2014, para. 1). The Council of Hemispheric Affairs reports that tourism also increases opportunities for

exploitation (2011, para. 1). Both the Governor of Guam and members of Congress, are backing the push for a joint Visa Waiver with China for CNMI *and* Guam. A letter addressed to the Secretary of the Department of Defense from Governor Calvo and Madeleine Bordallo (2014) stated that the main reason for this push is to increase Guam's economic growth in order to capture the Chinese tourist market (p. 2-3). The risk due to the flood of Chinese immigrants is scarcely mentioned and the responsibility to mitigate risks is deferred to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Homeland Defense and America's Security Affairs. "We understand the FBI still has concerns about the counterintelligence angle of this particular issue... However, we continue to believe that there are workable solutions to mitigate the concerns highlighted by the FBI" (p. 2).

In the same thrust as Calvo and Bordallo, the Guam Visitor's Bureau (GVB) is being very strategic in their plan to increase Mainland Chinese visitors to Guam. GVB has set the goals to increase direct flights by 67%, to raise Guam awareness amongst Chinese tourists within the travel industry, and engage in joint promotions (GVB Annual Report, 2014, p. 28). In 2014, 14,547 Chinese visitors came to Guam, which was a 40% increase from fiscal year 2013 (p. 43). On Guam, Mainland Chinese tourists are required to apply for a regular visa, just as they would to visit the U.S. Mainland. However, these same visitors are able to participate in a visa waiver program coined "parole" to travel to the CNMI, as long as they fulfill certain basic requirements, such as, a round-trip ticket, staying no more than 45 days, and entering CNMI on certain airlines (Chodorow, Residence Permits, 2014).

Human trafficking cases have been rampant in the CNMI until recent years when there was a huge push from the United States federal government to enforce a renewal of immigration and visa laws. As recent as 2014,

The U.S. District Court of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Chief Judge Ramona V. Manglona sentenced Chang Ru Meng Backman, of the People's Republic of China, to 235 months in prison, followed by three years of supervised release, for sex trafficking (FBI: Honolulu Division, 2014, para. 2).

Backman hired a vulnerable Chinese woman to come to Saipan to work as a waitress, a farm laborer, or cleaning person. Once the woman arrived, Backman manipulated the victim by means of control over her debt, lack of legal immigration status, and inability to speak English. Additionally, Backman coerced the Chinese woman into having sex with customers at the Holiday Karaoke Club. This is not an isolated case, as a mere six years prior a similar case was prosecuted. Wei Qin Sun, of China, was sentenced in 2008 for sex trafficking (U.S. of America vs. Wei Qin Sun, 2008). Sun was convicted of coercion and enticement for prostitution, and criminal conspiracy. She served 41 months in prison and probation for three years. Sun had lured a young woman from China to Saipan and promised her a job as a waitress in a karaoke club, but once the young woman arrived Sun informed her that she was to work as a prostitute to repay a \$5,000 recruitment fee and travel expenses. The 2010 State Department Report cited, "71 victims of human trafficking or fraud in labor contracting [were] in the CNMI alone" (2011, para. 1).

This same "parole" visa waiver agreement has been in effect with Russian citizens and Guam since 2012, which has increased the visitors from 2,931 in 2012 to 18,291 in 2014; a 524% increase (GVB 2014 Report, p. 34, 41). Thus, the GVB is very vocal in articulating its desire and potential economic impact on Guam by allowing Mainland Chinese to "parole" to Guam (Paco, 2013, para. 2). This effort is in contradiction to the view of the Department of Homeland Security that reported:

"[D]ue to political, security, and law enforcement concerns, including high nonimmigrant visa refusal rates and concerns with cooperation regarding the

repatriation of citizens, subjects, nationals and residents of the country subject to a final order of removal, nationals of China ... are not eligible to participate in the Guam-CNMI Visa Waiver Program....” (Chodorow, 2012)

Similarly, the decrease of visa regulations or “paroling” for Russian citizens visiting Guam has resulted in an upsurge of direct flights and a notable increase of tourists from Russia (see above). Although such changes are beneficial for the overall economic growth of Guam, lax restrictions has the potential in also benefitting the economic opportunities for Russian traffickers. Following implementation of the decrease of visa regulations, an influx of Russian women and girls have been identified working within businesses notorious for housing illicit trafficking activities. According to Project Protection (2010), “Over 80% of all [Russian] trafficking victims are women and children, with 70% sold abroad to the sex trade” (p. 3). The demand for illicit sexual activity, obtaining labor at a cheap price, and a history of Guam public officials coordinating a human trafficking ring, (ex: blue house¹) makes Guam an ideal location for Russian traffickers. Traffickers receive high payoffs with little to no repercussions. Russia specifically has continued to fail in their compliance with minimum anti-trafficking standards and was reclassified as a Tier 3 ranked country on June 20, 2014 and remains in Tier 3 classification in 2015 (TIP Report 2014 & 2015).

Another country that participates in the Guam Visa Waiver is Korea. Korean passport holders may seek entry into Guam for business or pleasure only for 15 days or less. “A Guam visa waiver traveler cannot extend, adjust, or change his/her status while in the U.S., including Guam, and cannot travel from Guam to another destination in the U.S.” (U.S. Embassy of Korea website, para. 1). In 2014, the GVB reported a total of 1,341,054 visitors. Korea increased by 20%, making up 21.9% of total visitors to Guam (GVB 2014 Report, p. 6 & 41). The growth of Korean visitors is due to United Airlines launching an additional flight and daily service from Incheon and Korean Air flying four times a week from Busan, Korea’s second largest city.

In 2015, this continued growth of Korean visitors is foreseen to increase, as Jin Air will be upgrading airplanes to Boeing 777, which have significantly more passenger capacity compared to current flights. Jeju Air will also start flights from Busan. This increase of Korean visitors is projected to have a beneficial impact on the economy; although, it will also increase the risk for trafficking (p. 7). Massey, Stumpf, and Amanda concurred that the largest syndicate of massage parlor owners are Korean. Most of the girls at these establishments are also from Korea. Massey stated that years ago the GDOL-ALPAPCD had been involved in regulatory busts. Their office determined the most common theme in massage parlors were Koreans who were working on a tourist visa or had overstayed their visa. He continued to warn that if the Mainland Chinese Visa Waiver is instated that he foresees many Chinese citizens following this trend. Furthermore, there is a shift in more Chinese-run parlors, but Koreans are still in the lead of this market (Massey, Personal Interview, September 25, 2015). According to Polaris Project:

The victims are most often Asian women, of diverse ethnicities and nationalities, including Korean, Thai, Chinese, and ethnically Korean-Chinese citizens. Victims may have come to the U.S. on valid visas, fraudulent visas, or may be undocumented and smuggled into the country. (p. 2)

Thus, this examination of visa requirements, immigration laws, and tourism trends for the island of Guam concerning immigrants, migrants, tourists, and workers from the FSM, China, Russia, and South Korea demonstrate that there is a clear link between immigration, reduced visa requirements and trafficking. This information is based on the low Tier levels of the FSM, China,

¹ United States of America v. Song Ja Cha. Case Number CR-08-00008-001; USM Number 02821-093.

Russia, and Korea, decreased visa regulations of these countries, historic trafficking incidents in the area, and increase of tourism and H-2B visas for these countries in the coming years.

Finally, the recent 2015 TIP Report states that Guam had no new developments to report for the current year. In actuality there were five cases of human trafficking investigated and service providers assisted eleven human trafficking survivors in 2014 (Posmanick & Rustick, 2015, Table A). Without actual convictions these numbers – and survivors – are hidden. Lack of new reports further demonstrates Guam’s inability to cap the demand for human trafficking. Unintentionally, Guam’s lack of reporting has exhibited a message of tolerance for the slavery market. Law enforcement and government agencies have had few preemptive strikes over the years, and with no new reports for 2015 traffickers can predict few consequences with high profits. The numerous massage parlors and influx of migrant laborers for construction and contracting jobs further elucidates the sheer magnitude of criminal trafficking practices Guam has condoned in recent years.

Although Guam’s greatest strength lies in awareness campaigns, no singular human trafficking campaign exists outside of the Guam Human Trafficking Task Force. The academic arena has a sporadic role; and the religious institutions on Guam have little to no involvement; whereas, other religious groups worldwide have been shown to be at the forefront of ending human trafficking. For example, the Catholic Church has multiple organizations internationally, such as the Rescue and Restore Coalition to End Human Trafficking. A difficult realization when Guam has a large religious community. In fact, 85 percent of the population identifies as catholic, yet the anti-trafficking religious impact does not exist (“The CIA World Fact Book: Religions, 2015). Moreover, the Guam Human Trafficking Task Force, academic institutions, and numerous nongovernment agencies have never received any Office for Victims of Crime or Bureau of Justice Assistance grant funds to combat the issue, and there is no state or citywide appropriated funding specified for human trafficking.

In a 2014 proposal, The Guam Human Trafficking Task Force Research & Outreach subcommittee identified gaps and unmet needs of human trafficking victims. Shortcomings included the lack of a universal system for handling of identified victims, few victim services programs for female survivors of human trafficking and even fewer for males, no existent universal intake/referral form, a lack of outreach and educational awareness materials, no methodology to gather information or identify victims and their needs (i.e. no system of gathering data or information on trafficked victims besides prosecution), and there is a lack of a collaborative campaign. These gaps are significant and debilitating. Insufficient research on the climate of human trafficking on Guam negatively impacts the territories’ ability to curb the supply and demand for trafficking in persons. Most significantly, it has hindered any major stakeholder’s ability to receive a multitude of grants, due to the number of cases reported on Guam is significantly less than estimated numbers; which have never, in fact, been released.

The lack of research and poor strategies for data collection harm Guam’s ability to make informed laws that are survivor centered and maintain a victim’s identity. Moreover, insufficient research on the climate of human trafficking negatively impacts a participant's ability to curb demand through awareness programs and the development of strong deterrents. Without rectifying the gaps in research; service providers, law enforcement agencies, academics, public officials, and the general public have access to limited information. The awareness campaigns put forth by the Guam Human Trafficking Task Force or similar agencies will continue to be inadequate until this problem is rectified.

In conclusion, it is clear that human trafficking on Guam is a growing epidemic and it is preventable. If unenforceable legislation, contradictive policies, and controversial immigration laws continue to be ignored, Guam will attract an illustrious marketplace. The overarching foundations for human trafficking on Guam includes historic, geographic, environmental, economic, and social conditions. These conditions must be considered as they all include main indicators of a perfect storm for trafficked victims and have turned Guam into a marketplace that meets the demand for illicit sexual and labor based activities.

Our findings have yielded both positive and negative results for the current climate of human trafficking on Guam. Many people feel deep concern at the widespread injustice endeared by so many, particularly when it is happening close to home. Concerns have led to bill proposals, passage of anti-trafficking legislation, the formation of the Guam Human trafficking Task Force, the development of awareness training programs, and strong interagency collaboration efforts. Yet, our research has determined that human trafficking has the potential to be a growing issue. If the government and other major stakeholders address current weaknesses using a multilevel approach, Guam could be a leading example of anti-trafficking enforcement.

Firstly, we urge members of the legislature to reevaluate the Guam Human Trafficking and Criminal Exploitation Act of 2009. A new law must include an “appropriation of funding” clause to ensure trainings, investigations, prosecutions, and victim-witnessed services are adequately funded. It should stipulate financial assistance for providers who offer services and shelter to trafficked victims. It should ensure that housing is available for persons immediately after being removed from the trafficking situation, as well as in the long term. We strongly recommend that the legislatures consider a compassionate, victim-centered approach in the creation of any new acts involving human trafficking or prostitution. Furthermore, a consideration of the use of the Nordic Model may very well help Guam, as it defines exit program strategies and offers comprehensive training to identify the signs of human trafficking. We recommend the anti-criminalization of prostitution, and encourage laws that target those who fuel the supply and demand for trafficking.

Secondly, the lack of data and research has created a severe handicap for Guam. It is imperative that government agencies, academic institutions, law enforcement, activists, members of the military, religious institutions, and community members work together to rectify such gaps. We encourage agencies and researchers to focus on the “4 P’s” prevention, protection, prosecution, and partnership, as well as work together to identify and report possible cases of human trafficking. By tracking reported cases of human trafficking and developing new research, Guam will be able to design comprehensive prevention programs, provide ample protection for victims, and ensure the prosecution of the perpetrators.

Thirdly, the ability to implement regulations and to research immigration visas and documents is vital. There must be further appropriations of funding allocated to regulators from the Guam Department of Labor, Department of Health & Social Services, and Department of Revenue & Taxation. This allocation of funding is essential, particularly due to the impending military build-up and the potential adoption of the Mainland China Visa-Waiver Program. The U.S. military boom will create a great propensity for the demand of foreign workers, both laborers and prostitutes. The Chinese Visa-Waiver Program would promote a huge influx of Chinese workers, tourists, and ultimately, traffickers and victims. Currently, there are not enough regulators available for this foreseen increase of peoples (Massey). Therefore, funding for more regulator positions and sensitive-training is required in order to stop human trafficking on Guam.

Finally, the ability for Guam to consider the cultural factors that influence human trafficking is imperative. The prevalence of human trafficking on Guam is tied to similar gender based issues. Crime, gender based violence, and the perpetration of rape culture within the public and private sphere is commonplace. Guam should consider a multilateral approach: promoting laws that work to rectify the imbalance of gender inequalities in various capacities, as well as raise awareness of human trafficking. This would be a proactive approach to end the demand for human trafficking. After all, human trafficking is preventable, and Guam has a fantastic opportunity to be a world leader in the fight against it.

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