CENTRUM STOSUNKÓW MIĘDZYNARODOWYCH
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

REPORTS
AND ANALYSES

3/2011

HUMAN TRAFFICKING – CHALLENGES AND THREATS FOR ALL PARTIES INVOLVED – PERSPECTIVE OF CEE REGION

Magdalena Pasiut

Contents

GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS....3
ABSTRACT....3
INTRODUCTION....4
1. LEGAL RESPONSES TO TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN....6
1.1. Human trafficking - the controversies around its definition and the Palermo Protocols....7
1.2. Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings....11
2. DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE AND FACTORS WHICH HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO ITS GROWTH....12
2.1. Socio-demographical profile of trafficked women....14
2.2. Economic factors....16
2.3. The demand for services....19
2.4. A migration problem....20
2.5. The role of interest groups....23
2.6. Lucrativeness as a major factor in development of trafficking in women....25
2.7. Explaining the growth – the role of globalization and technology....28
2.8. Problem of valuable data....30
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS....33
BIBLIOGRAPHY:....34

GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

CATW - Coalition against Trafficking in Women
CEEC's - Central and Eastern European Countries
CIS - Commonwealth of Independent States
EEA – European Economic Area
ILO – International Labour Organisation
IOM - International Organization of Migration
La Strada - La Strada Foundation against Trafficking in Women - Poland
NGO – Non–Governmental Organisation
NIS - New Independent States
OSCE - The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
STOPVAW – The Stop Violence against Women
TIP - Trafficking in Persons
THB – Trafficking in Human Beings
TW – Trafficking in Women
UN – United Nations
UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN.GIFT B.P. - United Nations Global Initiative to Fights Human Trafficking Background Paper
UNODC – United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UN TOC - The United Nations Convention on Transnational Organized Crime

ABSTRACT

In seeking to better understand the significance and danger of trafficking of human beings (the majority of victims being women) in modern reality, this paper explores the damages caused by this phenomenon and the ensuing factors. In particular, this paper examines one of the hot spots, relevant regions, which are Central and Eastern European Countries. It declares that understanding the need for rapid changes in human trafficking might have a significant role in combating this criminal activity. Many authors argue that this challenge weakens the state's ability to control borders and migration flows, and to protect its own citizens. The existence of trafficked women within the EU may be treated as an evidence of a breach of security, the failure of the immigration mechanism or an attempt to address trafficking through changes in border control. Therefore, this analysis argues that trafficking in women constitutes a challenge for the whole community. However, because of the location of the examined region its main focus is on Europe Eastern border. In addition, it is argued that trafficking is an issue that requires a co-ordinated and cohesive response which is aimed at obtaining a united approach. Presented paper shows that this approach frequently constitutes a bone of contention amongst involved parties.

HUMAN TRAFFICKING – CHALLENGES AND THREATS FOR ALL PARTIES INVOLVED – PERSPECTIVE OF CEE REGION

Magdalena Pasiut[1]

INTRODUCTION

Human trafficking is a global phenomenon. The Council of the European Union (2004) states in the Hague Program that '*The citizens of Europe rightly expect the European Union, while guaranteeing respect for fundamental freedoms and rights, to take a more effective, joint approach to cross-border problems such as illegal migration, trafficking in and smuggling of human beings, terrorism and organized crime, as well as prevention thereof*'. This statement underlines that this phenomenon has become a serious challenge for fundamental freedoms, rights and social order, for instance, communal terrorism threat.

In addition, Piotrowicz (2002: 263) argues that, this phenomenon is one of the greatest challenges to law enforcement agencies in post-communist Europe and the whole world. Berman (2003: 50), recalls the US Department of Justice declaration that trafficking in women (TW) is *'(...) a grave threat to the security (...) of the entire world community'* and this phenomenon constitutes a case of the loss of control over borders. These women enter a state illegally or violated visa regulations, earn untaxed and illegal income and maintain disapproved by society, mostly sexual activities. In the result, their presence exposes the state inability to manage the political community. Berman (2003: 63), points out that *'(...) Unable to arbitrate and no longer in control,* [this problem] *the state seems unable to provide security in the traditional sense'*.

Human trafficking occurs not only between cities, across borders, but over oceans too. According to the International Organization of Migration (IOM) about four million people fall victim to trafficking every year (Galiana, 2000: 5). Recently, public attention from the La Strada Foundation in Poland, an international network of nine human rights NGOs, has identified several human trafficking hot spots in South-East Asia, India, Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC's). This analysis focuses only the CEEC's.

La Strada, on its website, claims that women and girls from the New Independent States (NIS) and the CEEC's[2] constitute a new wave of trafficking victims into the European Union (EU) countries. This is the result of the strong demand for women's domestic, caring, and sexual labour in contemporary Europe, which promotes migrations from CEEC's. It has

[1] Magdalena Pasiut currently works as a Researcher for the INTEGRACE Project (*Integrating Refugee and Asylum-seeking Children in the Educational Systems of EU Member States: Evaluation and Promotion of Current Best Practices*) organized by the Centre for the Study of Democracy of Sofia, Bulgaria. She has a BA in Sociology, Multimedia and Social Communication at the University of Science and Technology, Cracow, Poland (2007) and a MA in Contemporary European Studies from the Sussex European Institute at the University of Sussex, Brighton, UK (2009).

[2] NIS countries: Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Belarus, Moldova, the Russian Federation and Ukraine. CEEC's countries: the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland.

been estimated that up to 120,000 women and children are being trafficked into Western Europe each year, the majority of them from the NIS and the CEEC's (EC, 2001).

This number is continuously growing. Hogarth and Salt (2000) point out those women from CEECs are replacing TW from Asia and the developing world. The figures above confirm the scale and seriousness of this problem. Moreover, many women originating from the NIS are being trafficked via third party countries before ending up in the EU Member States. The phenomenon of re-trafficking within the EU has also been noted as a new and developing issue (EC, 2001). This and the other issues above show the complexity of the problem and difficulties in its potential control.

According to International Labour Organisation (ILO, March 2009) women are principally trafficked for sexual exploitation and are less often subjects of forced labour. According to the Global 2009 Report on Trafficking produced by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) sexual exploitation was identified as the most frequently reported form of trafficking of women. However, in some countries in Western - Central Europe and in East Asia, trafficking for forced labour accounted for as much as 35% of trafficked people. (UNODC, 2009: 6; 50).

In comparison, other forms of exploitation such as: forced or bonded labour, domestic servitude, forced marriage, organ removal, exploitation of children accompanied by begging mothers (often with babies or children), warfare and pornography are less often identified and reported in official statistics. However, despite the high levels of reporting and the focus of authorities on trafficking for sexual exploitation the types of trafficking outlined above occur frequently and require more attention (UNODC, 2009: 6).

Trafficking interlinks large numbers of people, institutions and attitudes, making it difficult for any organisation to define, understand and prevent this phenomenon. Trafficking has been defined by different stakeholders as an issue of one or more of the following conceptions: border security, migration, state sovereignty, organised crime, prostitution, morality issues, human rights, violence, gender equality, and economics. It can involve governments, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), border guards, police, social workers, media, church, young women, bar owners, traffickers and the general public. So far, no single explanation exists or theory adequately explains the modern phenomenon of trafficking. As Berman (2006: 30) outlines TW is not only a historical problem but a global issue which involves many transnational forces.

According to Haynes (2004: 223) human trafficking generates at least $7billion a year and, after drugs and weapons trafficking, has become the third largest worldwide criminal business. In addition, modern trafficking can be considered as a product of globalisation where it sits alongside the general increase in transnational travel and international commerce.

1. LEGAL RESPONSES TO TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN

There are several United Nations conventions and regional instruments from the international legal framework within which states are obliged to define their own laws in order to address the problem of TIP. The most directly relevant to the issue of human trafficking are:

a) The UN Convention on Transnational Organized Crime (2003)[3] and its the Trafficking and Smuggling Protocols (2003, 2004)[4]; and
b) The Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (2008)[5] as a regional instrument relating to Europe (including non-member states).

However, there are other relevant international legal instruments. They include: humanitarian, human rights and other legal instruments of general application; instruments against trafficking or slavery in general, and instruments concerning slavery or trafficking relating specifically to sexual exploitation. Other more general instruments concerning human rights and social development are also relevant to the prevention of trafficking. These instruments often focus on reducing the risk factors for exploitation of people in countries of origin and seek to improve general economic and social conditions thus reducing the likelihood of people being trafficked. These include:

a) Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed by the General Assembly in its resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948
b) Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, of 28 July 1951 United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 189, No. 2545
c) International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 45/158 of 18 December 1990
d) Convention concerning Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers, 1975 (Convention No. 143), of the International Labour Organization United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 1120, No. 17426
e) Convention concerning Forced or Compulsory Labour, 1930 (Convention No. 29), of the International Labour Organization United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 39, No. 612
f) Convention concerning the Abolition of Forced Labour, 1957 (Convention No. 105), of the International Labour Organization United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 320, No. 4648
g) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 34/180 of 18 December 1979 United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 1249, No. 20378
h) Slavery Convention, signed at Geneva on 25 September 1926 United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 212, No. 2861
i) United Nations Millennium Declaration, adopted by Heads of State and Government at the Millennium Summit of the United Nations on 8 September

[3] Dates of entering into force

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

2000 General Assembly resolution 55/2 (see particularly paras. 9, 25 and 26) (UNODC Toolkit, 2008, p. 16-22).

1.1. Human trafficking - the controversies around its definition and the Palermo Protocols

In 2000, two new protocols to the UN Convention were drafted focusing on Transnational Organized Crime and specifically the trafficking and smuggling of human beings. These Trafficking and Smuggling Protocols, more commonly known as the Palermo Protocols, came into force on 23rd of December 2003 and 28th of January 2004, respectively. The Protocols are framed around a central issue which seeks to clarify the difference between coerced and consensual irregular migrants. Those who are trafficked are assumed to not have given their consent and are therefore considered to be "victims", while people who are smuggled, but having given consent, are considered to have willingly engaged in criminal activity. In addition, there is also a gender dimension to these distinctions. These who are smuggled are mostly assumed to be men, while victims of trafficking are typically women and children as they are often targets of "protective concern" (Bhabha, 2005).

The Trafficking in Persons Protocol has three basic purposes (art. 2):

1. to prevent and combat trafficking;
2. to protect and assist victims of trafficking; and
3. to promote co-operation between States parties in order to meet those objectives.

Anderson and Andrijasevic (2008: 136) underline that *'(...) border controls and police cooperation, not human rights protection, lies at the heart of both the smuggling and trafficking protocols'*. These Protocols are not a human rights instrument as they are designed to facilitate co-operation between states to combat organised crime rather than to protect the victims of the crime. The Protocols were signed by 117 countries, but ratified by 132 UN member countries (Source: United Nations Treaty Collection website). The protocol clearly sets out the three core elements/processes involved in the trafficking of human beings. These include the act (what is done), the means (how it is done) and the purpose (why it is done). As can be seen in Table 1 below, these elements each contain examples of the type of acts associated with them.

Table 1: Elements of trafficking based on the definition given in the Trafficking in Persons Protocol

ACT		MEANS		PURPOSE	
Recruitment Transport Transfer Harbouring Receipt of persons	+	Threat or use of force Coercion Abduction Fraud Deception Abuse of power or vulnerability Giving payments or benefits	+	Exploitation, including Prostitution of others Sexual exploitation Forced labour Slavery or similar practices Removal of organs Other types of exploitation	**= TRAFFICKING**

Source: UNODC Toolkit to Combat Trafficking in Persons October 2008 (2nd edition): 3

This definition outlined in Table 1 above and contained in the article 3 of the protocols aims to provide consistency and consensus on the phenomenon of trafficking in persons around the world. Furthermore, article 5 of the Trafficking Protocol requires that the conduct set out in article 3 should to be criminalised in domestic legislation. The latter does not need to follow precisely the language set out in the Trafficking Protocol; however it should be adapted in accordance with domestic legal systems in order to realise the concepts contained in this Protocol.

There has been a large amount of controversy surrounding the development and implementation of these Protocols. Gallagher (2002: 27) states that their contribution to eliminating trafficking and smuggling is at best uncertain. That victims caught up in those networks often have little willingness to co-operate with national authorities and remain largely unknown. As a result it could be seen to facilitate the functioning of traffickers and their operations. In addition, it provides little, if any assistance or protection to victims. Rather than addressing a problem of TIP the Protocols could be seen as contributing to the confusion surrounding the development of strengthened border controls at a national level and upholding the right to asylum.

Outshoorn (2005: 150) states that the Coalition against Trafficking in Women (CATW) view is that the TIP Protocol holds that any migration that involves sex services, constitute a form of trafficking and all migrant sex workers are victims of trafficking regardless of whether they provided consent or not. Outshoorn following Caucus says that TIP Protocol

intentionally does not define "the exploitation of prostitutes of others or other form of sexual exploitation" in order to create a compromise between the abolitionists and feminists. Therefore, it has not ended the discussion on trafficking in relation to migration, slavery and prostitution. It is being criticized for leaving too much to the ratifying states and lacking mandatory protection for victims.

Moreover, some authors argue that *'(…) the trafficking/smuggling distinction is underpinned by and reproduces a hugely problematic model of gender difference'* (Anderson and O' Connell Davidson, 2004: 21-22). There is a common opinion that traffickers are men while victims are women and children. Trafficking in Persons Protocol places women and children together as categories of persons requiring special protection. This is considered by some as an infantilisation of women and minimises the human rights violations against migrant men (Anderson and O' Connell Davidson, 2004: 21-22). However, some of the problems seem to be solved by this Protocol but simultaneously some more questions arise as reason of different priorities presented by major actors in combating this phenomenon.

Distinguishing between trafficking in persons and smuggling of migrants

It is often a case that trafficking victims are mistaken as smuggled migrants and as a consequence it can have serious implications for the victims. As a result it is important to explore the key differences between these two groups. However, it has to be noted that in practice this can be difficult as the categories can overlap because:

a) smuggled migrants may become victims of trafficking;
b) traffickers may operate as smugglers and use the same routes; and
c) conditions for smuggled persons may be so terrible that it can be difficult to believe that they gave their consent to be kept in such conditions.

Despite this, as is shown in Table 2, there are several key differences between trafficked persons and smuggled migrants.

Table 2: Key differences between trafficking in persons and smuggling of migrants

	Trafficking in persons (adults)	Trafficking in persons (children)	Migrant smuggling
Victim's age	Over 18	Below 18	Irrelevant
Mental element	Intention	Intention	Intention
Material element	Act Means Exploitative purpose	Act Exploitative purpose	Act: Procurement of an illegal entry Purpose: for financial or other material benefit
Consent of the trafficked or smuggled person	Irrelevant once the means are established	Irrelevant; means do not need be established	The smuggled person consents to the smuggling
Transnationality	Not required	Not required	Required
Involvement of an organized criminal group	Not required	Not required	Not required

Source: UNODC Toolkit to Combat Trafficking in Persons October 2008 (2nd edition): 5

Smuggled migrants typically agree to being smuggled while trafficked persons do not or are not aware of what is really going to happen to them. Their rights are often abused by debt bondages, deprivation of liberty and lack of control over their own labour. In addition, taking into consideration transnationality, smuggling involves illegal border crossing and entry into another country while trafficking can take place inside the same country. Trafficking can involve both illegal and legal border crossing. Finally, the relations between smuggler and migrant typically end after the border crossing while victims of trafficking are often forced to work to generate ongoing profits for traffickers. As a result, the trafficker often generates profits through the continued exploitation of victims as well as the fees paid to move people while smugglers receive only the fees for the act of smuggling between borders (UNODC Toolkit, 2008).

As Anderson and O'Connell Davidson (2004: 20-21) argue the boundary between trafficking and smuggling is clouded and often ambiguous. The two Protocols thus allow States to distinguish deserving "victims of trafficking" from undeserving "partners in smuggling" without actually providing any' *(…) guidance on how trafficked persons and smuggled migrants are to be identified as belonging to either of those categories'* (Gallagher, 2002: 27). That undoubtedly leads to difficulties in establishing effective measures and solutions to tackling this problem.

The issue of consent

The issue of consent was a highly contentious topic during the development of the Trafficking in Persons Protocols. Many of these issues are still discussed and a high level of dissent still exists between many of the key stakeholders. Article 3 (b) of the Trafficking in Persons Protocol states that if a victim's consent to the intended exploitation is obtained through any "improper means" (i.e. threat, force, deception, coercion, giving or receiving of payments or benefits, abuse of power, or position of vulnerability) then the consent is negated and cannot be used to absolve a person from criminal responsibility.

However, it has to be noted that, in some cases victims lured by a false job offer agree to be smuggled abroad but do not consent to any subsequent exploitation. In addition, according to the Protocol, the fact that victim knew that s/he was going to work as a prostitute does not make it less harmful. It does not matter that victims were aware of the nature of the work, the gravity of the offence remain as they were not aware of the working conditions (UNODC Toolkit, 2008: 5-6).

In summary, trafficking occurs when consent is not given. However, even when consent is given at one stage, it does not mean it was given for all aspects of the trafficking/smuggling of the person. Without clear consent at every stage of this process, trafficking can generally be seen to have taken place. But as Doezema (2002b) argues a notion of "consent" presented by Protocol is largely inadequate to serve as the basis for political strategies to protect the rights of migrants.

1.2. Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings

In order to combat more effectively THB and protect the rights of the citizens of Europe and elsewhere, upon which the Council of Europe was, established the Council decided to develop a new instrument to help in the fight against trafficking. The Convention Action against Trafficking in Human Beings was established in 2005 and it went some way further than the UN Protocols in the protections if offered to victims of trafficking. The Convention's scope was broadened to include in all forms of trafficking. Additionally, the Convention established a monitoring mechanism to ensure that all signatories of the Convention implement the different legislation within their own nation states.

It was adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 3rd of May 2005 and opened for signature in Warsaw on 16th of May 2005, at the Third Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Council of Europe and came into force in 2008. Up to the date 26 countries have ratified it. Surprisingly it has also been signed but not yet ratified by remaining 15 Council of Europe member States among which are some of the major destination and origin countries of THB like: Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Netherlands, Turkey and Ukraine (Source: the Council of Europe website). As is seen the Convention is not restricted to the Council of Europe members States; non-members States and the European Community also have the possibility of becoming Party to the Convention.

Moreover, this Convention is based on recognition of the principle, already stated in Recommendation No R (2000)11 of the Committee of Ministers on action against THB for the purpose of sexual exploitation that trafficking in human beings constitutes a violation of

human rights and an offence to the dignity and integrity of the human being. This comprehensive treaty aims to prevent trafficking, protect the rights of victims, prosecute traffickers, and provides measures to:

a) raise awareness;
b) identify victims;
c) protect and assist victims both physically and psychologically with their reintegration into society;
d) grant renewable residence permits where victims' personal situations so require;
e) criminalise trafficking; and
f) protect the privacy and safety of victims throughout judicial proceedings.

This Convention applies to:

a) all forms of trafficking whether national or transnational and whether related to organised crime or not;
b) whoever the victim women, men or children; and
c) whatever the form of exploitation sexual exploitation, forced labour or services (Council of Europe: Fact sheet, 2004).

In order to monitor the implementation of Convention by Parties GRETA[6] and has just started to operate in this year. It is responsible for regularly drawing reports and evaluating the measures taken by the states bounded by the Convention. The states that do not fully follow measures contained in Convention will be required to step up their action.

However, as Askola (2007: 157-158) argues this recent development gives rise to fears over the migration control approach embraced by the EU being imported into organisations based on promoting human rights. There is also concern that this Convention, rather than prioritising the situation of victims is remarkably reminiscent of the EU instruments adopted and adds little in terms of hard obligations to protect victims. This could be seen on the residence permit example to which access is limited. In addition, the provision on the non penalisation of victims seems to be too narrow, because it brings to attention the question whether any "trite" human rights dimension has been affected at all. Finally, it brings concerns over ratification by the broader Council of Europe audience. As is seen, still the major destination and origin countries have not signed it.

2. DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE AND FACTORS WHICH HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO ITS GROWTH

In order to prevent and combat the THB, one must distinguish the multiple phenomena that have led to its emergence and growth in the 20th and 21st centuries. Although some scholars (Haynes, 2004: 221-222; Shelley, 2003: 245) say that trafficking in this part of the world is a relatively new phenomenon the United Nations have addressed this problem for more than fifty years through the implementation of the 1949 Convention on the Suppression of the

[6] Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings

Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others. A rapid economic transformation associated with low incomes and high levels of unemployment, gender discrimination drove people abroad in the search for better living conditions often using illicit means (Jandl, 2007).

Somewhat unexpectedly, soon after the fall of the Berlin Wall women offering sex for sale started to appear on the highways across the region. It soon became cheaper to move victims of trafficking from Eastern or Central Europe to Western Europe than from Africa, South America or Asia. The supply and demand of sex workers was in part facilitated by the dissolution of the former Soviet Union, political and economic liberalization. High profits soon fuelled the phenomenon of THB transferring this region into one of the global hot spots for this kind of crime (Surtees, 2008: 40). By the end of the twentieth century many other kinds of trafficking had also experienced rapid growth and expansion into new markets, including the trafficking in organs.

According to Surtees (2008: 40) Central Europe increasingly became a transit point for THB. Countries such as the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland developed prolific sex industries, which involve trafficking for sexual exploitation. Kligman and Limoncelli (2005: 122) noticed that the key role in emerging of such criminal activities is played by Marx's concept of "class". According to Kligman and Limoncelli *'It is striking how important class is as a variable in trafficking: Poverty, urban and especially rural, is a consistent factor, historically and comparatively'*. Those authors present a correlation between national poverty rates and possibility of being a sending country. If the national poverty rate is higher in one country, there would be an increase in mobility of its citizens prepared to take risk and trust traffickers (Kligman and Limoncelli, 2005: 122).

Nevertheless, the examples of Bosnia – Herzegovina, Kosovo or Serbia show there is an exemption from this rule as they are all comparatively poor countries but these are destination points for Eastern European women too (Source: World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, 2001). The military events in these countries have also contributed to trafficking in women who were paradoxically also exploited by the peacekeeping forces and civilian humanitarian personnel sent to protect them. This happened despite the existence of the 1993 Code of Conduct for all UN peacekeeping missions, which stipulates that peacekeepers should not indulge in immoral acts of sexual, physical or psychological abuse or exploitation of the local population or United Nations Staff, especially women and children. Nonetheless, in accordance with The Stop Violence against Women (STOPVAW)website, there is no mechanism to call peacekeepers to account to this code and as Haynes argues (2004: 236) *'(...) these international organizations have still failed to enforce internal rules or laws against frequenting brothels'*. In fact sometimes they received no punishment even when caught on misconduct.

Women and girls mostly from Moldova, Romania and Ukraine who were often promised lucrative jobs in Western Europe typically found themselves trapped in debt bondage and forced prostitution. Wars in those regions had facilitated not only trafficking in women/girls but also drugs, arms under the control of traffickers, mafias and corrupted officials. That played a key role in diversification of trafficking (Haynes, 2004: 236).

Human Rights Watch (2002) reported the engagement of SFOR[7] in illegal activities such as being customers of trafficked women or as outright buyers of them or their documents. Local police officers who were part owners of nightclubs and bars held trafficked women, guards, customers or informants for brothel owners. The international officials allowed a trafficking network to flourish, in which women were tricked, threatened, physically assaulted and sold as chattel (Human Rights Watch, 2002). Such patterns were not only limited to the Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the war in Iraq has also enabled a flourishing sex trade (Kligman and Limoncelli, 2005: 128).

2.1. Socio-demographical profile of trafficked women

As Morawska claims (2007: 98-99) women, including underage girls, constitute over 90 per cent of persons trafficked from East and South-Eastern Europe into Western Europe. It is estimated that underage girls group represent an average of 15 to 30 per cent of all trafficked women. The remaining group of adults (50 - 60 per cent of trafficked persons) consists of 20-25 percent young women aged 18-25. Most of these women are unmarried and without children.

The majority of adult trafficked women from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe have complete or partial secondary education with only 15 to 20 per cent having some post-secondary schooling. Interestingly, trafficking victims from Asia typically have a much lower level of education. Some 70 per cent of trafficked women come from mid-size to large urban cities.

The most frequently identified "push" factors for young women from Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and Ukraine is a combination of economic and cultural ones fuelled by a Westernised media which increase frustration of those women in a low socio-economic status. Before the collapse of communism, women led as Shelley (2003: 239) says *'(...) "dead end lives", but could not even think about re-locating within Soviet Union, let alone outside it'*. Younger victims are attracted by the vision of an adventure and the possibility of earning large amounts of money and finding a handsome and rich husband. Many of the women involved could be perceived as "risk takers" who see a chance to achieve more outside of their homeland than they would be able to otherwise achieve.

Furthermore, as some scholars argue and empirical data shows, high percentages of trafficked women were prior to being trafficked were subject to domestic violence and spousal abuse. That violence, as underlines Shelley (2003: 239), has a very long history in Russian society and was popularised and tolerated by the state under the communist regime. These abused women are more often targeted by the traffickers. The demise of the USSR which caused a drop in the living standards can be seen as contributing to a rise in domestic and sexual violence, eventually creating a number of "push factors" for trafficking. In addition, discrimination on various grounds is a deep-rooted reason behind this activity. It has to be noted that a general failure to protect the rights of women within their homeland is a factor triggering their movement. Moreover, the lack of employment and limited access to education has made them susceptible to being traded later on. In a similar vein, discrimination based on ethnic or racial background has contributed to the growth of trafficking (Obokata, 2006: 44).

[7] The NATO stabilization force

In contrast, some scholars are presenting a different profile of trafficked women. They claim that many young women from developing countries are in fact *'(...) travellers, working their way around world, and sometimes that work involves sex work'* (Agustín et. al, Outshoorn, 2005: 148). Those women are rational actors aiming to provide as many benefits as they can for themselves. That just occasionally brings them into abusive situation or sex slavery. Agustín (2003: 377-378; 2007: 191) claims that many women working in the sex industry in rich countries are not so different from women migrants working in domestic labour or in such businesses as dancers, barmaids, and waitresses. Agustín goes on to state that both media and academics are obsessed with "trafficking". This obsession removes all of the experiences of migrants who do not engage in sex work and contribute to a climate that ignores the social problems of women migrants. It feeds the isolationist proposals aiming to keep women in their home countries.

In addition, some research indicates that a large percentage of trafficking victims are aware that they will be working in sex industry, and *'(...) although this does not mean they loved the idea or had many other options, it does mean they were not completely deceived'* (Agustín, 2005: 102). Agustín is aware of the fact that migrants do not know how using false documents will make them complicit and vulnerable for traffickers in consequence. In spite of that this Agustín treats both sides as members of transaction, during which both sides try to get a better deal and take advantage of whatever opportunities arise.

Following this point of view, Davies (2009) says that there is a substantial group of migrant women who encounter trafficking but who are not "Natashas"[8]. Those other women are entering and leaving trafficking and they have little in common with the experiences of "Natashas". This scholar points to the diversity in trafficking in women which requires deeper analysis.

Presented by Davies (2009), an example of Russian migrant Mariska, who developed a career as an escort in London exploring how "vulnerable and good" and "manipulative and bad" some migrant women could be. This woman was hoping for serious relationship, marriage and a secure family life, however, she was using men for facilitation of entry, obtaining resident status in England and improving her financial situation. Following Hughes and Raymond, Davies claims that this woman is a victim of sex trafficking. The demand of men for sexual services has caused her migration trajectory into prostitution. Her desire for love and intimacy, her experiences in migration made her a victim of trafficking, even without being "Natasha". This woman represents "Other Women", a new category of trafficking victims which disturbs the complacent and established rules of some of the institutions which are intended to restrain such transgressive women. Those provisions of the UN protocols which address the TIP, portray her as a criminal, an illegal alien.

According to Davies (2009) women simultaneously present their dichotomy as exploited victims and competent migrants exercising their freedom to travel in Europe. A number of existing agencies using the Internet are aiming to arrange relationships that are entered into by some women for the purpose of acquiring residency in the EEA. Therefore, a "mail order brides'" system is being considered as a form of abusive sex trafficking.

Although there is a growing amount of socio-demographic data on trafficked women it is clear that simple definitions of who is and who is not a victim of trafficking is not

[8] Young women from outside of European Economic Area (EEA) who through deception or coercion are subjugated into sexual slavery as being the most typical victims of trafficking

helpful. It could be argued that a much deeper analysis is required in order to better understand the development of the problem and to enable a more robust methodology for identifying the true victims of human trafficking. Research clearly shows how powerful a desire for a better life is and in what circumstances migratory trajectories are impacted. Do the "Natashas" portrayed as overwhelmingly naive and poor women who are unable to resist sexual exploitation. requiring law enforcement and NGO intervention to rescue them from harm, really constitute the essence of the problem? As it was said during a recent (21-22 of May 2009) International Conference on Trafficking in Persons in Palermo Italy, the failure of the "Natasha" myth presents the framing of major problems in trafficking such as an inadequate conceptualisation of trafficking which constitutes the barrier to assisting many traumatised migrants who suffered serious harm (Davies, 2009: 3).

2.2. Economic factors

Economic disparity both within and between countries is another factor that promotes trafficking. Trafficking largely takes place from low-income countries to high-income countries, where a demand for cheap and low status labour exists. Typically, traffickers target women and girls who are economically disadvantaged in their home country or region who are then transported them to wealthier countries or regions.

There are no doubts that poverty and limited economic opportunities are primary factors in the lives of women/girls who are trafficked, voluntarily or not. Of the world's poor, the majority, as claims STOPVAW on its website, are women. They have less access to the formal labour sector either in the poor or in more developed regions (Lap-Chew and Wijers, 1997: 45). The lack of financial resources to emigrate legally pushes women to often ask men to pay smugglers to move them (Shelley, 2003: 238). In addition, women more frequently than men have the additional economic burden of caring for children. They often also have to face discrimination that limits their educational and employment opportunities. In the employment setting, women are often the last hired and the first fired. Moreover, women also disproportionately experience sexual harassment in the workplace. This situation forces many of them to look abroad for work and makes them particularly vulnerable to exploitation (Lap-Chew and Wijers, 1997: 45-53; Shelley, 2003: 238).

The economic status of women is worse in countries undergoing economic transition. All of the countries in the Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union have experienced dramatic economic and political transitions as they move from centralised economies to free market systems. While there is tremendous variation in how individual countries in this region have experienced the transition, women have been negatively impacted by high unemployment rates and the loss of social programs that existed in the past. For many women in post-Soviet countries, the transition has meant they are less economically independent than they were previously. Outshoorn (2005: 148) argues that, the introduction of markets in Central and Eastern Europe and structural adjustment policies result in gender segregation lines on the labour market, limitation of jobs and often making their care work for their families their sole responsibility.

Coercion in the time of financial crisis

The recent global financial crisis has triggered serious slowdowns in the world economic growth including recession in the largest industrialized countries. Many enterprises have stopped hiring and many are laying off workers in considerable numbers. In Central and Eastern Europe (non-EU) and CIS the economic growth rates of seven per cent or higher since 2003 declined to six per cent in 2008 and are likely to drop further in the next few years. A sharp drop to 3.3 per cent is expected during 2009 (Awad, 2009).

Table 3: Unemployment rates by major regions of origin (%)

	2007	2008	2009
Central & South Eastern Europe & CIS	8.4	9.0	10.5
Russian Federation	6.1	6.3	8.5

Source: Awad, Ibrahim (2009) 'International Migration Programme. The global economic crisis and migrant workers: Impact and responses', ILO: 8

As is outlined in Table 3 above, already high unemployment rates have risen further. Economic growth rates in the Russian Federation also experienced a negative growth in the beginning of 2009 and unemployment has risen substantially. Already, through those economic pressures increased levels of protectionism, nationalism, discrimination, violence and xenophobic protests are beginning to occur. A number of trade unions in some countries have already called for restrictions on the entry of non-EU foreign workers (Awad, 2009).

Taking into account women's position in the global labour market and the impact of the current economic crisis Global Employment Trends for Women (March 2009) states, that in developed economies there are some signals that the crisis may be at least as harmful for men as for women. Moreover, the latter continued to have disadvantaged positions on the global labour market. This report highlights that women are often trapped in insecure employment situations with low productivity and low earnings. In waged and salaried employment across all sectors, women face persistent earning gaps which cannot be justified by differences in skills and experience. However, between 2007 and 2008, as is shown in Table 4, the unemployment rate increased for both men (0.4 percentage points) and women (0.3 percentage points) which, as a result slightly reduced the gender gap in unemployment rates.

Table 4: Unemployment rate in Central and South Eastern Europe (non-EU) & CIS by sex (%)

	2007	2008
Female	8,1	8,4
Male	8,6	9,0

Source: Global Employment Trends for Women March 2009, ILO: 36

As it was predicted by some of the specialists, a global financial crisis brought increase in the specter of human trafficking around the world. That fact has been confirmed by data gathered and presented in Trafficking of Persons Report 2009. This analysis identifies two major trends:

a) a shrinking global demand for labour; and
b) a growing supply of workers willing to take even greater risks for economic opportunities.

The coexistence of both of them seems to be a recipe for greater forced labour of migrant workers and area for making some profits by traffickers and exploitative employers who prey on an expanding pool of more vulnerable and unprotected workers in this region. In addition, unstable economic situations make more people susceptible to the false promises of traffickers. As Kloer (2009) says people become desperate and willing to take riskier jobs, parents may be pulling out their children from schools to work in factories with exploitative conditions, women in abusive relationships may be less likely to leave their partners just as a few jobs are available. The trafficked victims in prostitution may find decreasing number of customers. Consequently, that may bring increasing violence as they will not be able to make enough money for the pimp. Moreover, trafficking has a broad global impact. It weakens legitimate economies, fuels violence, threatens public health and safety, shatters families, and shreds the social fabric that is necessary for progress (Kloer, 2009).

According to the TIP 2009 report, in Eastern Europe, some of the international organisations and local authorities have already discovered a rise in victims of labour exploitation. The global economic downturn is exacerbating this trend. For instance, in Belarus, more than 800,000 citizens are believed to be "missing," presumed to be working voluntarily or otherwise in Russia. Workers earning low wages or losing their jobs are willing to take an illegal work abroad. Indeed, reports state that in Moldova, Europe's poorest country, one-quarter of the population has migrated with some 25.500 being a victim of trafficking. At the same time Ukrainian officials reported only 53 criminal cases of labour exploitation in 2008, and only 23 in 2006. A recent ILO's report published in May 2009 reported that the number of identified victims of forced labour in Ukraine now surpasses the number of sex trafficking victims (see Table 5 below).

Table 5: Trafficked persons in Ukraine: Forms of exploitation

Type of exploitation	2004	2005	2006	2007	First six months of 2008
Labour	189	232	319	500	306
Sexual	403	558	597	584	229

Source: Report of the Director-General: The cost of coercion, ILO: 21

It could be argued here that economic pressures and demand for low cost labour may establish larger demand for traffickers' services. This analysis warns that vulnerable workers, particularly migrants, including young women and children are more exposed to forced labour because under conditions of hardship they will be taking more risks than before.

To conclude, as Kloer (2009) states, economic pressure can both drag people into trafficking, and make the trafficking worse for those already suffering. Moreover, as more people become vulnerable to trafficking, fewer are likely to find local sources of assistance. Facing increasingly thin "safety nets" provided by their governments or the governments of labour demand countries even in the best of times, workers now seem less likely to find services or legal recourse available to them when they face forced labour. Additionally, the tough times are also affecting the work of anti-trafficking NGOs, which often provide crucial services in the absence of adequate government or private sector programs. Donors are tightening their belts, and organisations are finding it difficult to continue their operations. To sum up, the current crisis fuels supply and demand. It limits governments and other institutions' activities and leads to exacerbation of this phenomenon.

2.3. The demand for services

In the discussion about factors contributing to trafficking in women, the demand side of the equation cannot be ignored. As Agustín claims (2007: 53) Europe has a strong demand for migrant women in three areas: 1) cleaning, cooking and housekeeping inside private houses; 2) caring for sick, disabled, elderly or children there; 3) and providing sex. The great majority of these jobs are unregulated and outside of formal employment practices. This results in women's rights/employment rights often being abused. The section below explores these issues in more detail.

Market demand, from male sex clients creates a strong profit incentive for traffickers to recruit and entrap more female victims, fueling the growth of trafficking in persons. Prostitution and related activities, including pimping and patronising or maintaining brothels, play a significant role in fueling the growth of modern-day slavery by providing a cover behind which traffickers for sexual exploitation operate.

As women are often trafficked for sexual exploitation, the demand for their services must be recognized as one of the roots for examined phenomenon. Where prostitution is legalised or tolerated, there is a greater demand for human trafficking victims and nearly always an increase in the number of women and children trafficked into commercial sex slavery. As Anderson and Davidson (2004: 8) argue *'(…) "prostitute" is often taken to refer to a category of person (a sub-person) rather than a category of "worker", and as such, cannot be imagined as a rights-holder'*.

In addition, it is noted that the visibility of women near the clients' workplaces eventually led men to engage with them. Davies (2008: 126) recalls the results of The National Survey of Sexual Attitudes and Life Styles, which found that men in London were more than twice as likely to pay for sex as men in Britain, in general. It is possible that the supply of sexual services has generated increased demand. However, it is critical that governments take action to fight commercial sexual exploitation as in Sweden, were the purchaser of sexual services is criminalised because it pushes the female sex workers to hide their existence, which makes it more difficult to combat such activity. However, this has led to an increase in the amount of such crimes since 1999. A National Criminal Police Report found that Sweden's sex trade was in danger of becoming more violent in the future, as the

law in fact encouraged more women to be brought from other countries. The new law is protecting the criminals who now control the industry (Jordan, 2002: 31).

As well as prostitution, trafficking is also driven by the demand for cheap labour. For instance, there is a great demand, in some prosperous countries, for domestic servants who sometimes fall victim to exploitation or involuntary servitude. Domestic servitude is particularly difficult to detect because it occurs in private homes and is unregulated by public authorities (Agustín, 2003; TIP Report, 2007).

In some parts of Europe, middle- and upper-class families for centuries preferred to hire live-in maids, servants, nannies who are present from morning to night to perform a wide range of tasks around the home and children. The demand is even greater nowadays as quite often both partners in relationship leave the house to work and simultaneously extended families are reduced to their nuclei (older people, aunts, uncles are rarely members of household). Eventually, this generates a need for outsiders to be brought into their life for a looking after their children and house. That creates a great field for traffickers as providers of cheap domestic labour (Agustín, 2003; TIP Report, 2007).

Victims of involuntary domestic servitude as is reported in TIP 2007 are generally isolated from the outside world. They are being confined to the house and as some victims reported they are not allowed to speak to neighbours or guests, to make phone calls, or even write letters to their families. They are treated as slaves, often sexually abused, working twenty hours a day, seven days a week without proper food or accommodation for a small amount or no money at all. The law in this case often favours abusive employers because many countries do not protect domestic servants. Moreover, they are even obliged by some local authorities to have employer's permission for leaving household or the country (ILO's Report, May 2009: 29-30).

This lack of protection and accurate sanctions towards employers makes domestic servants highly vulnerable to abuse not only by employers but local authorities as well. Often after traumatised experiences, afraid of forcible deportation they return home having lost recruitment fees they invested and wages earned there, as well as months or years of their lives. The traffickers, however, remain free (ILO's Report, May 2009: 29-30; TIP Report, 2007: 13).

2.4. A migration problem

The section below discusses how issues of national sovereignty and legitimate migration impact on the flows of illegal migrants and trafficked persons. In particular, the focus will be on the ways in which conceptions of trafficked and smuggled persons are conceived within modern Europe.

Radhika Coomaraswamy, former UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women explaines that '*The root causes of migration and trafficking greatly overlap. The lack of rights afforded to women serves as the primary causative factor at the root of both women's migrations and trafficking in women. By failure to protect and promote women's civil, political, economic and social rights, governments create situations in which trafficking flourishes'* (TIP 2009: 36).

Trafficking and migration have many of the same attributes and drivers, because they have many of the same root causes and are driven by the same mechanisms. In this section attention is focused on the aspect of border-crossing and illegal residency. However, it has to

be noted that THB may occur within countries, when no borders are crossed. Traffickers may also arrange authentic travel documents and visas, so a migrant can enter into a State legally. While the lack of viable and legal migration options leads people into trafficking, the fear of deportation often keeps them in their current conditions. As is being shown by John and Benjamin Davies (2008: 124) on the example of trafficked women in Albania, trafficking often becomes another migration tool. They see that trafficked persons are not only victims, but also rational actors, who calculate costs and benefits.

As was stated in a recent UK House of Lords bill:

The migratory pressure on Europe's borders will grow because there are a growing number of failed states where a combination of economic incompetence, uncertainty of property rights, corruption, internal conflicts, political anarchy and repressive regimes has created intolerable conditions for the local population. Conditions may also be intolerable in states where poverty is endemic, or in those which, though once prosperous, are now ravaged by war. It is therefore inevitable and predictable that people will attempt to escape to countries which they see as offering a chance of a better life'' (The UK House of Lords, 2008: 11).

Facilitating trafficking in women by immigration policies and border controls

As Obokata (2006: 45) argues, restrictive immigration policies and laws, and strict border controls are also reasons behind people looking for help among traffickers and smugglers. This is especially visible in Western European countries. It is important to note that the majority of trafficked women are not from EU member's states[9] or the Schengen Area[10] and have to apply for entry visa. The visa programmes of most states favour high-skilled workers and are designed to stop the flow of illegal migrants, especially those looking for unskilled/low-skilled jobs. Such factors made it difficult for legal movements. However, it has to be noted that not all of those trafficked enter and stay illegally on a permanent basis in the EU territory. Many travel to pursue seasonal employment opportunities and then leave in search of new work opportunities when the season has ended. This can mean that enforcements against illegal migration do not always lead to a decrease in trafficking (Jordan, 2002: 29; Obokata, 2006: 100).

The gap between strict immigration policies and the need for migrant labour can provide a perfect environment for trafficking of women. Such women are more likely to accept attractive offers of work abroad made by individuals, strangers, unscrupulous agencies or media advertisements recruiting for westbound travels. Many of them start off being smuggled, with the intention of working illegally abroad, and are unaware of the smuggler/trafficker's real intentions. However, weak border controls and untrained immigration officials make it possible for victims of trafficking to be transported both through transit countries and to destination countries without detection (Jordan, 2002: 29; Lee, 2007: 2; Surtees, 2008: 43; according to STOPVAW website).

[9] For instance Ukraine with one the highest number of victims

[10] Bulgaria and Romania are members of EU since 2007 but still are waiting for accession into Schengen area, while Poland and Hungary are there relatively short time its members, just from 21st December 2007

Boundary Crisis

According to Ann Stoler (et. al, Berman, 2003: 49) boundary crises occur at historical moments when new orders emerge to overtake older ones instead of diminishing them. Nowadays forces associated with globalisation such as: regional integration (for instance, emerging EU, Schengen area) and immigration forge the appearance of loss of individual and national control over the everyday life. As Berman (2003: 49) says the Maastricht treaty contributed to the perception that a crisis over boundaries is under way in Europe, because it shows problems arise around the four fundamental freedoms of European integration[11].

The 1995 Schengen emerge dissolving the existing internal borders between member states and the reinforcement of the external ones. While Maastricht instituted "free movement of people", Schengen designated how some people (EU member states) are freer to move than non-EU citizens. Dissolving national borders undermines the traditional sovereignty of the state as *"(…) citizenship is a core feature of state sovereignty [and] states rely on a high degree of exclusivity of identity drawn by their citizens to maintain power within their jurisdictions"*"(Agnew et. al, Berman, 2003: 51). Eventually, European countries sought to stabilize their control over the political communities by fighting with immigration, which is often being seen as a threat to national identity already blurred by globalization.

Trafficking has risen in this environment and *'(...) and function, in part, as a site at which to assuage this sense of crisis and loss of control'* (Berman, 2003: 49). Taking into consideration sex- trafficking, Berman claims that '(...) *discourses function as a constitutive part of border issues, they become a means through which the state redresses this "grave threat" to security, can claim control over the border and perform the role "securer of nation'* (Berman, 2003: 50). As Aas (2005: 200-201) argues, security is essentially connected to the globalizing processes and taming potentially risky migrations. This measure to combat trafficking has been appropriated also as an immigration control measure, rather than having as their main goal to help abused migrant women.

Moreover, as Berman (2003: 54) presents, trafficking in especially 'white' women disrupts the ability of the state to distinguish between member and non-member of the political community; they *'(…) transgress rather than reinforce the boundaries of the state and thus become a mark of the erosion of state power'* (Agnew et. al, Berman, 2003: 54). Berman (2003: 55-56) also recalls Doty's point of view, that the apparent inability of the state to control the flow of people challenges the foundational elements of the nation-state such as the unity of people which is represented by a state and the ability of the state to control movements. As those challenges are established the state appears less and less able to name and to represent the political community.

The presence of trafficked people or illegal migrants, especially East European women in Europe indicates the boundaries crisis and sovereignty of the nation-state. They do transgress, especially sex workers, the material and symbolic boundaries of the nation. Since they stay illegally and in some cases enter the EU territory illegally, earn untaxed and illegal income and maintain an 'illicit' sexuality, their presence exposes the inability of the state to designate and to maintain the political community. According to Berman (2003: 63) they are *'(…) unable to arbitrate and no longer in control, the state seems unable to provide security in the traditional sense'*.

[11] The free movement of goods, capital, services and persons

Summary

According to Agustín (2005: 108 -109) the huge interest and concern for trafficking in the governmental organisations, NGOs and in media is running ahead of theoretical understanding and factual evidence. Consequently, it is influencing the implication of policy measures designed to combat trafficking. That is why these measures may not work or may have unintended side-effects, such as the potential exploitation of 'anti-trafficking' arguments by anti-immigrants politics. As a result, migrant' women who were forced to travel to Europe might be repatriated or deported without investigating their cases. It seems that trafficking may be co-opted as a device to control the growing migration of women. It has been argued that European government's approach to trafficking is often a part of the problem rather than solution, because instead of solving this problem they cease the right of asylum in Europe, one of the most fundamental human rights (Anderson and O' Connell Davidson: 2004: 15).

2.5. The role of interest groups

This section discusses the existence of key interest groups, which identify the issue of trafficking differently and have different political agendas. Such groups, whilst contributing to a lively debate, can lead to a lack of co-operation and partnership in combating THB from CIS and CEECs. Furthermore their activities could be seen as harmful to a number of migrant/trafficked women.

Anderson and O' Connell Davidson (2004: 5-6) identify three major groups who have a significant voice in the debate on trafficking:

a) National Governments – their primary interest. as mentioned earlier, is often associated with concern about irregular immigration or transnational organised crime, which are seen as a threat to national security, particularly post September 11;
b) Feminist "abolitionist" NGOs – who tend to place trafficking on the top of political agenda, as they see trafficking as a key mechanism for an increasing globalisation of female sexual exploitation; and
c) Migrant workers', or other labour organizations, human rights agencies and NGO's. These organisations tend to approach this phenomenon on the basis of violation of fundamental human rights.

Those various stakeholders view the issue of trafficking through the lens of different political priorities. Anderson and O' Connell Davidson (2004: 14) identify two key strands to the ongoing debates on trafficking. First, concerns the tension between government's obligations to promote and protect human rights and the desire to control irregular migration. Second is a concern with conflicting views of the relationship between trafficking and prostitution.

As John Davies and Benjamin Davies (2008: 114) state some of those political agents benefit from the moral panic associated with trafficking. It is argued that *'(…) these more sophisticated political actors rather than organised criminals and the clients of sex workers are the most important stakeholders in sustaining or exploiting trafficking harm'* (John and Benjamin Davies 2008: 114). Berman (2006: 7) claims that they implement stringent anti-immigration procedures to affect increased control over borders in the name of fragile sovereignty and against 'likely-to-happen' security threats. They do not respond to the needs of migrant women and the real needs of the countries of destination for the labour of migrant women. However, they do reduce women's autonomy and promote abstinence rather than sex

worker empowerment, such as HIV prevention (Doezema, 2002a). In addition, many governments still refuse to acknowledge that trafficking is a problem (Jordan, 2002: 29).

Marieke van Doorninck (2008: 33) argues that much work undertaken by NGO's is directly influenced by governments as they are increasingly funded directly by government agencies. In particular, they decide on how, when, where and to whom services are delivered. This scholar says that often NGO's are executing governments' obligations under international law to provide services to trafficked persons, which may lead to the situation in which the State (not NGO's) decides who is being served. Thus NGO's actions are often limited. They may find themselves in a situation where they feel obligated to co-operate with voluntary return programs despite their belief of free choice to migrate and improve someone's life.

Furthermore, Davies (2002; 2008) suggests that those inadequate policies have established the areas in which traffickers can operate, that many previously useful migration networks have intentionally been reconstructed as high risk environments for women. That is why Davies (2008: 115) refers to creators of those policies as "political traffickers". According to this academic, governments and NGO's belong to them.

As Davies argues (2008: 124), the labour of women is needed, and the possibility of accessing safe mobility programmes would allow migrant women to engage in sexual labour more safely than obtain another employment for which women are increasingly required. Some women treat their participation in sex work as a way to other occupations or for underage girls as part of a transition to adulthood. It is assumed that if a direct access to other labour was provided, many of them would not even enter sex work at all. This undoubtedly constitutes a challenge for policy makers.

At the same time the other concerns highlight conflicting views on the relationship between trafficking and prostitution. On the one side stand "feminist abolitionists" who argue that prostitution is reducing women to "bought objects" and is harmful for women. Thus, according to them there is no distinction between "forced" and "free choice" prostitution, and tolerating such activities is an abuse of human rights. Prostitution is a form of sexual slavery and trafficking is one form of them (Anderson and O' Connell Davidson, 2004: 16)

One the other side there are feminists, who treat prostitution as a form of service work, which is not more degrading for women than many other forms of work. However, they make a strong distinction between "free choice" prostitution and all forms of forced and child prostitution. They see actions which penalize or criminalize this activity as a denial of human rights to self determination. As opposed to the feminist abolitionist they do not agree that prostitution leads to the demand for trafficking but they do believe that it is lack of protection for sex workers, which leaves room for extreme exploitation and trafficking (Anderson and O' Connell Davidson, 2004: 16).

To conclude, Haynes (2004: 229) argues that *'(…) trafficking in human beings is a very serious topic in its own right, but the gravity and emotional impact of the topic unfortunately render it vulnerable to political manipulation'*. The discussions between identified interest groups are often heated and bitter, as all sides are accusing each other of using an issue of trafficking as an instrument for pursuing their own interest. It seems that all of them tend to forget the most important issue in this debate, namely, that there is a serious problem which has to be solved. However, as long as the main actors are divided and cannot find consensus or common approach, it will not be solved. Finding a way to resolve these difficulties and establishment of co-operation network constitute a serious challenge for all of

them, not only regarding flows from Eastern European countries but from all countries of origin in trafficking around Europe.

2.6. Lucrativeness as a major factor in development of trafficking in women

This section analyses the impact of petty criminals, organised trafficking networks, corruption and the profit which they make on sustaining this criminal activity. It is argued that low- risk and high-profits are undoubtedly contributing to the increase in the scale of trafficking in persons and the way it is operating.

The role of organised and petty criminals in sustaining trafficking in human beings

Sassen (2007) says that in the past trafficking was mostly the trade of petty criminals. Today it is increasing constantly and operates on a global level. The growth of organized crime in modern times is a product of globalisation (Obokata, 2006: 29). There are some reports that organized crime groups are creating intercontinental strategic alliances through networks of co-ethnics among several countries. Those alliances facilitate transportations, distributions and provisions of false documents.

Trafficking in women has proven to be a significant source of income for organized criminal enterprises. It is a large and rapidly growing component of transnational crime. In addition, it is growing so rapidly and is so globalised that trafficking groups can co-exist rather than fight each other as is happening in the drug trade (Shelley, 2007: 133). By some estimates, trafficking is the fastest growing source of profits for organized crime rings. Overall, it has become the third largest criminal business worldwide.

Trafficked women can be sold and resold, and even forced to pay back their purchasers for the costs incurred in their transport and original purchase. Traffickers typically charge the women inflated prices for securing the alleged jobs, travel documentation, transportation, lodging, meals, and incidentals. To increase profits, the women are typically kept in poor, crowded conditions. It is also common for trafficked women to be charged to buy their passports back. Traffickers often rely on the confiscation of travel documents (passports), identity cards and airline tickets as a means of gaining and exercising control over a victim. Without these vital documents migrants are vulnerable to arrest, punishment, and/or deportation. The threat of these punishments is used by traffickers or exploitative employers as a form of legal coercion or abuse of the legal system (TIP Report, 2007).

Haynes (2004: 223) claims that traffickers can earn up to $250,000 from each trafficked women. According to Sassen (2007: 160), women from Eastern Europe are highly prized because of their appearance and proximity to other European women, which makes them harder to be identified as victims of trafficking. Criminal gangs typically earn between $500 and $1,000 per women delivered. The profits made from trafficking of human beings are then often used to finance other criminal activities; for example, extortion, money laundering, bribery of public officials, drugs, gambling, and falsification of documents (Obokata, 2006: 31).

However, human traffickers are not always motivated only by profit. Shelley (2007: 120) found that some of them become involved in this activity to fund an insurgency, guerrilla movements or even terrorist groups. There is some evidence that a terrorist in prison in Europe ran a prostitution ring of trafficked women from Moldova in order to support Hezbollah. Moreover, there is a nightclub with trafficked Russian-speaking victims in Turkey which belongs to Kurdish criminals funding the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and Marxist guerrillas in Nepal, and which is trafficking girls to India.

The rings of traffickers are vast, well connected to police and government officials, well hidden, and reach across borders and continents. These criminals also traffic weapons, drugs, and use trafficking in human beings to bring in initial cash flow to support the riskier traffic in drugs and arms (Haynes, 2004: 226). Compared to drugs or arm trafficking, trafficking in women is said to be relatively low-risk as its detection capabilities of the law enforcement agencies are not as strong as those adopted to combat other forms of trafficking. Due to this the penalties are less severe (Obokata, 2006:27).

Traffickers are, as Aradau (2008: 27) presents, following Finkenauer, often young criminals, attracted by the possibility of earning easy money, even at the cost of profiting from girls/women that were school mates, or neighbors in their own town /village. However, those victims prepared for that from an early age could be traded by own families too (McCabe, 2008: 25). Legitimate entities like private corporations, overseas marriage consultant agencies, au pair agencies, job recruitment agencies have also become part of trafficking problem (Obokata, 2006: 32). Their plays are creative and ruthless, designed to trick, coerce, and win the confidence of potential victims. Very often these ruses involve promises of marriage, employment, educational opportunities or better life.

Organized crime groups involved in human trafficking are operating in analysed regions mainly through loose networks, rather that mafia-type, hierarchical organizations. Some of them do show a hierarchical structure while others operate more often through personal contacts or pay some other groups for certain activities. Amateur or low-level traffickers are most likely to be involved in recruitment process in their own country, while small or medium groups are more often permanent members of the operation involved in all its stages profited directly from the exploitation. International or high level networks are involved in operations in source, transit and destination countries. This includes not only recruiting and exploitation of victims but also high-level corruption, money laundering and document forgery. At this level profits are usually being reinvested in other transnational crimes. Europol informs that the most frequently reported nationalities of organised crime involved in trafficking in persons in the EU are: Albanian, Bulgarian and Lithuanian (United Nations Global Initiative to Fights Human Trafficking Background Paper – UN.GIFT, B.P. 027, 2008: 11).

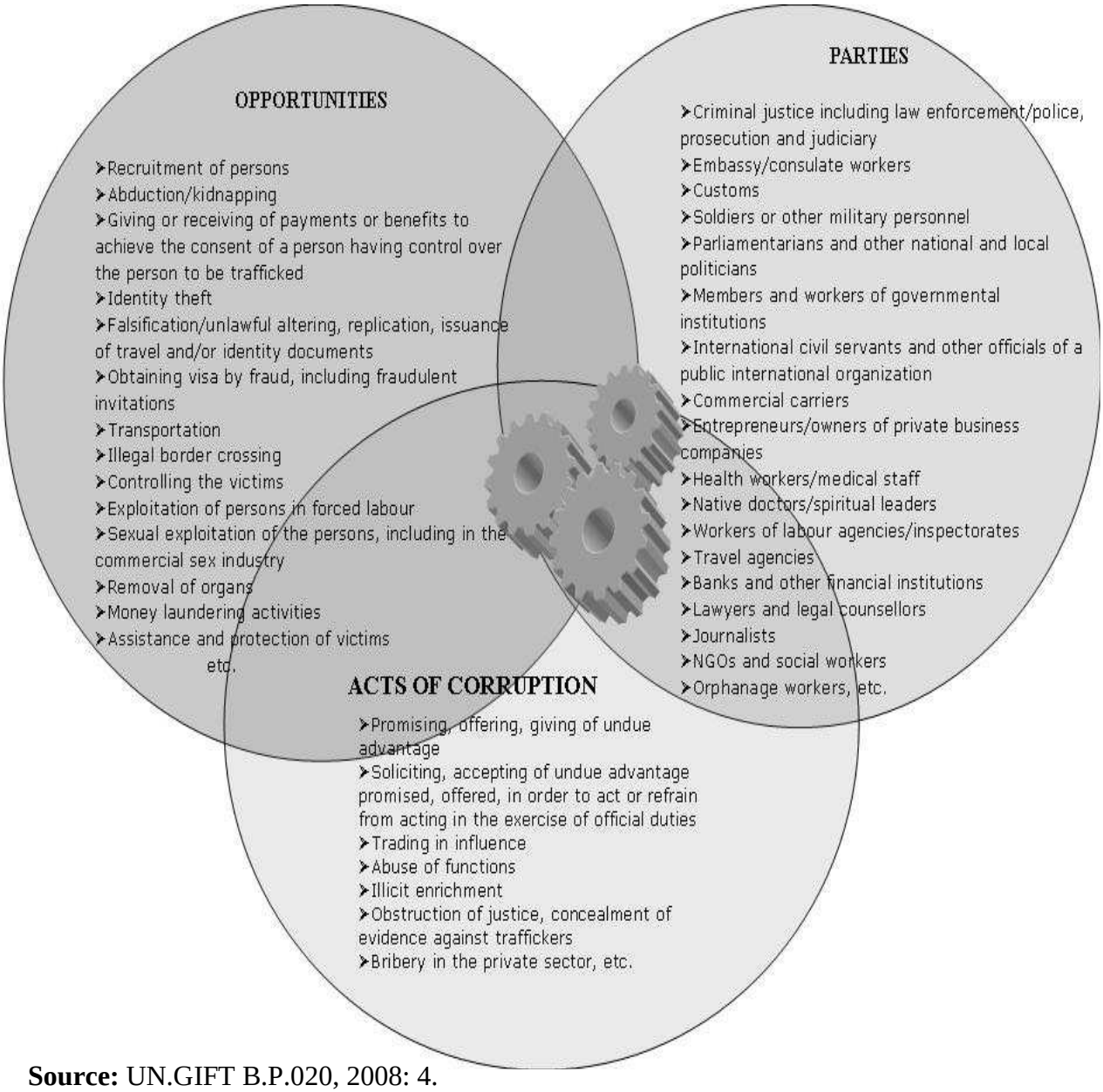
In Central and Eastern Europe women are often seen as commodities to be dealt in by trafficking groups. Such groups typically:

a) focus on short-term profits;
b) view women as readily available "natural resources" like furs or other commodities;
c) sell women to proximate crime groups;
d) use profits for material consumption such as buying cars; and
e) violate human rights as they exist to derive long-term profits from women (UN.GIFT B.P. 027, 2008: 6).

Corruption

Corruption is one of the major facilitating factors to the crime of trafficking in persons, since the proceeds from this crime feed the political corruption as pay-offs are often made to police, border guards, and politicians to sustain this activity. Importantly, corruption can create safe havens for the collected profits. The possibilities for corruption to sustain trafficking in persons seem to be endless; the diagram below can only illustrate some aspects.

Diagram 1: List of possibilities for corruption to sustain THB



Source: UN.GIFT B.P.020, 2008: 4.

It is worth noting that corruption could be a vicious circle as it is used to facilitate the recruitment, transport and exploitation of victims of this criminal activity. In addition, it may prevent justice and ensure that profits made by traffickers will stay in their hands. Eventually, it is not only active actors like traffickers contributing to the scale of the subject of this analysis, but passive ones as well, those who are willingly being bribed by them. What makes this crime worse is that it is simultaneously a low-risk and high profit one. Commonly offered and accepted corruption can also influence which routes are taken by traffickers (Shelley, 2007; UN.GIFT B.P. 020, 2008: 4).

Moreover, corruption erodes a victim's confidence in law enforcement and may prevent their escape or acceptance of assistance. Surtees (2008: 49) recalls an example of a victim interviewed who described (when testifying against her trafficker) how during the court recess he had stood together with police officers laughing and joking. There are many similar examples that identify close relations between officials and the traffickers, who enable them to operate with minimal risk.

Furthermore, it is argued that such historical corruption resulted in less alertness towards risk of trafficking. For example, in Eastern Europe, especially during communism, corruption was so common in people's everyday life, that many of them may not have seen a difference between obtaining travel documents legally or illegally, as one would be asked for a bribe in either case. There are no doubts that such factors as presented above, combined with poverty, low wages and some factors presented in Diagram 1 are contributing to its scale, and by that facilitate trafficking in persons (Jordan, 2002: 29; Shelley, 2007; UN.GIFT B.P. 020, 2008)

Summary

In Summary, as outlined above, numerous factors are contributing to the increase of trafficking in human beings. It is worth noting, based on available information from UN.GIFT (B.P. 027, 2008: 17) with reasonable degree of certainty, that despite of a significant increase in law enforcement activities Eastern European trafficking in persons has not diminished.

2.7. Explaining the growth – the role of globalization and technology

The increased speed and ease of communication is an important characteristic of globalised world. *'Traffickers in some countries are no longer uneducated, "paan-chewing" men, but carry cell phones, video cameras, and speak cultured English instead, allowing them to exploit women and children more efficiently and effectively than ever before'* (Skinner and Maher et. al, UN.GIFT B.P. 017, 2008: 2). Traffickers are as diverse as the countries in which they operate. However, all of them are benefiting in their criminal activities through advances in technology, which are improving speed of conducting transactions, for example, they can operate from prison even as it was reported in Estonia (Sykiotou, 2007).

Especially the quadruple rise of the Internet users during last nine years(according to the Internet Usage Statistics website) in the world has had a major impact. Organised groups are able to buy and sell women with the ease of a mouse-click. In the countries of the former USRR there exist hundreds of thousands of websites promoting brides, nannies, housekeepers etc. In addition, websites promoting sexual services, sex tourism have mushroomed, and at

the same time the number of Internet users is continuously growing, which consequently leads to increase of a virtual market. However it has to be noted here, that the Internet can also be used to recruit into trafficking for purposes other than sexual exploitation, such as begging, forced labour (Sykiotou, 2007).

Certainly, access to advanced technologies facilitates their business. They can use chat rooms to exchange information on sex tourism sites around the world, social media and social networking to target, stalk, and land victims, as well as to convey, buy, and sell pornographic records of sex trafficking. Instant messaging is used to communicate in real time with victims or targets and more. It is highly beneficial in recruitment process because many job offers are placed there (Sykiotou, 2007). The danger posed by the Internet has been highlighted by the La Strada Foundation in Poland, which reported that 30% of its clients (trafficked victims) were recruited through the Internet. In addition to phones and the Internet, traffickers may also be using new ubiquitous technologies such as chips, global positioning systems, and biometric data (TIP Report 2008).

Moreover, anonymity of users, possibility of working at home, difficulty to trace them, lack of appropriate legislation or State policy to responded to the phenomenon are highly advantageous for traffickers. For instance, peer-to-peer networks and file swapping programs allow them to share illegal material by finding and downloading files online without leaving traceable transmissions. They can operate in many countries. Eventually, with increased globalisation, trafficked women are often found far from their countries of origin (Shelley, 2007: 119-120; TIP Reports; UN.GIFT B.P. 017, 2008).

It is not known whether the use of new technologies has increased trafficking in human beings, but it is believed that it facilitates their actions (UN.GIFT B.P. 017, 2008). The arrival of mobile phones has facilitated traffickers' activities as they can be programmed to transmit false identification. Pre-paid cards can be used easily and anonymously not only for mobile phone but also for landline telephones. Moreover, the widespread of e-business has brought them enormous benefit as it allows the exchange of money and services with the high level of anonymity. Web sites (especially pornographic sites) can also use payment methods such as e-gold and Web money – virtual charge cards, which make it difficult for the police to follow the money trail (Sykiotou, 2007; UN.GIFT B.P. 017, 2008).

According to Sykiotou (2007: 31) the recruitment sites used by traffickers are typically: marriage agency sites (which can act as mail-order bride agencies or dating clubs), escort service sites, dating clubs, employment sites (home helps, waitresses/bartenders, au pairs/carers, models, dancers/hostesses, building trade/factories/agriculture etc.) and educational courses. According to Sykiotou, they operate in the grey zone between organised crime, illegal employment and sub-standard work and their practices often escape state regulation and the normal labour inspection routines.

Researchers suggest that victims are usually recruited in their own countries, where an incomplete or incomprehensible job contract is signed. The necessary documents (visa, work permit etc.) are then procured by the agency, which normally charges a fee or provides the victim with a "loan" to cover the costs. Persons recruited are often assisted by "agency representatives" and, on reaching their destination are taken over by a local contact. Supposedly for their own protection, their papers are often taken from them. Without papers and often without knowing the local language and environment, they are easily manipulated (Sykiotou, 2007). Similar procedure is used towards victims recruited through adverts in newspapers or by other people.

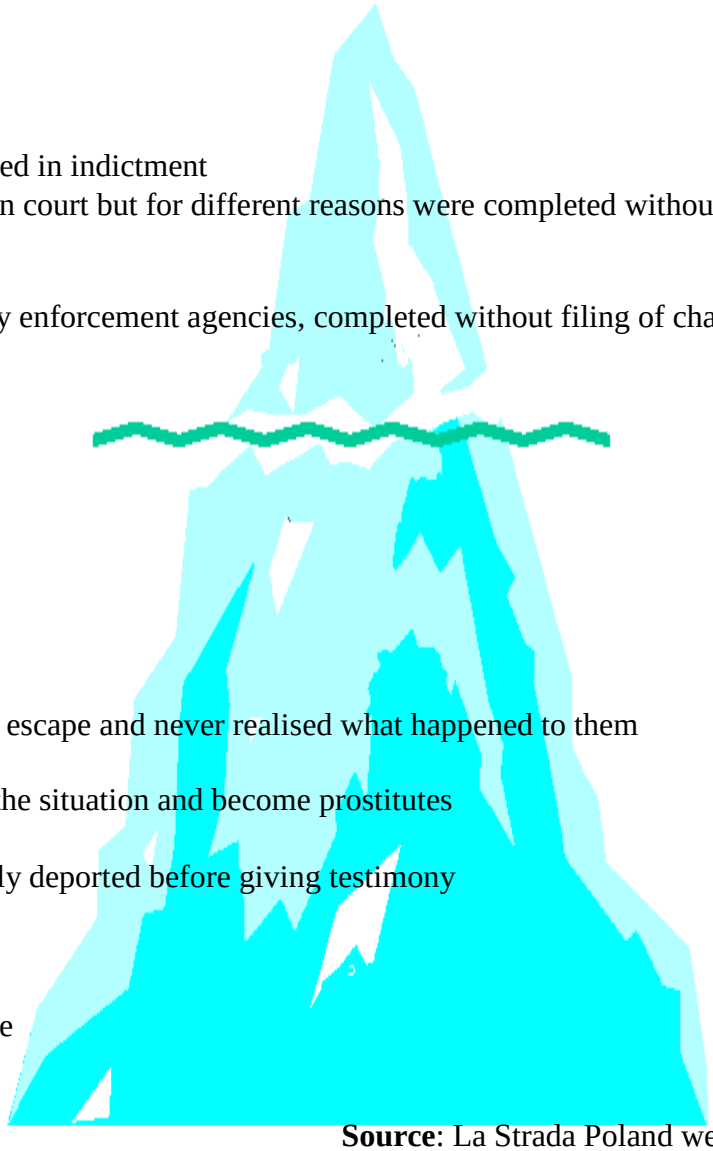
It should be noted that operating system used by the above mentioned sites is almost unregulated. Those businesses, especially International Matchmaking Organizations, models or hostesses are looking for attractive young women or girls, who are being well checked before any contract is completed while they fail to screen or scrutinize their employer's background completely. The latter are not being checked for a criminal record and there is no formal obligation to disclose the marital status of the male clients (UN.GIFT B.P. 017, 2008: 9).

To conclude, traffickers do not have to see their victims in old-style "red light areas" or put them on the streets as they can deal with potential customer anonymously online, on the phone or using other advanced technologies (TIP 2007 Report). This allows clients to go to nondescript addresses in towns not previously associated with the sex trade. In such settings, victims are less likely to attract police attention, and can be strictly controlled at all times. This clearly has implications for law enforcement, which is no longer just a matter of trawling the well-known areas, arresting traffickers and rescuing victims. Unfortunately, things are now a much more complicated. Traffickers have a commodity which full value can be realised only by making victims available to clients, to whom their services are offered.

2.8. Problem of valuable data

The scale of publications on trafficking in persons has grown hugely in the last decade, however, it has to be emphasized that the lack of reliable data on these practices remains the main cause of concern. La Strada Poland on its website, compares trafficking in people to the tip of the iceberg since the statistics reflect only a small part of it.

Figure 1: Comparison THB to the tip of the iceberg



Source: La Strada Poland website

According to Wijers and Lap-Chew (1997: 15) creating valuable database appeared to be virtually impossible. These scholars indicate three major reasons for dearth of statistics. Firstly, there is a significant lack of systematic research and where it exists, the issues may differentiate. This is due to the lack of consistent and unambiguous definition of this phenomenon, as some of the countries are still looking for one, for example Poland. Secondly, many practices are in theory illegal, clandestine or criminal and thus more or less hidden. Thirdly, the issue of prostitution, which is considered to be illegal, has been widely neglected by many governments and international organisations.

Furthermore, it is very difficult to obtain accurate numbers of trafficked victims because the existence of this phenomenon has not yet been fully recognized by some countries, and it involves hidden population (UN.GIFT B.P. 024, 2008). According to Askola (2007: 16), estimates present in the literature on this subject, quoted often as “official truths”,

are without strong empirical evidence. In addition, they crucially depend on what some researchers set out to examine and how they define "trafficking". Despite that, Adams (2003: 136) reports, that there are examples of notorious exaggeration of the extent of trafficking by police. The reasoning behind it is a justification of increased powers and resources and enforcement of harsh immigration policies by the government. Doezema (2002a: 5), quotes Zizek who claims that*'(…) facts never speak for themselves but are always made to speak'*. Governments are willing to use described instrument to be able to infringe upon the migrants and sex workers' rights in the name of protecting borders, in spite of the fact, that data used to support this kind of policies is not always accurate.

Moreover, in many countries there is a lack of specific legislations related to the crime of trafficking in persons. This is due to the UN Protocol and Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings not being ratified by those countries. This is arguably the most serious obstacle in countering this crime as in the absence of legislation, it is very difficult to punish and bring traffickers to justice. Another problem arises out of differences over the legal age of minors as not all the countries apply definition contained in the UN Protocol. Finally, a major problem for gathering accurate data is the fact that not every trafficking act is reported. The reason for this is that the victims are unwilling to report the offences or they are not identified as victims of this activity. Without the central database is hard to identify any trends (UN.GIFT B.P. 024, 2008).

The UNESCO's on its website summarizes the problem:

When it comes to statistics, trafficking of girls and women is one of several highly emotive issues which seem to overwhelm critical faculties. Numbers take on a life of their own, gaining acceptance through repetition, often with little inquiry into their derivations. Journalists, bowing to the pressures of editors, demand numbers, any number. Organizations feel compelled to supply them, lending false precisions and spurious authority to many reports. The UNESCO Trafficking Statistics Project is a first step toward clarifying what we know, what we think we know, and what we don't know about trafficking.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This phenomenon indicates boundary crisis in the whole of Europe as well as the crisis of sovereignty of the member states. As discussed above, there are discrepancies in available data, problems with its definition and difficulties in the identification of victims. A question arises whether we actually have victims of trafficking or just migrants trying desperately to improve their living conditions. Most migrants are aware of what is going to happen; however they still believe that nothing wrong will happen to them. In addition quite often victims are not aware that their rights are being abused. In some cases after discovering the truth. Victims are too ashamed of what happens to them or too afraid to take any legal steps against perpetrators. Lastly, the law enforcement agencies are having difficulties in investigating these cases.

These unknown facts and lack of common approach to this problem undoubtedly constitute huge challenges for policy makers. Therefore, in order to successfully address this problem the following recommendations should be implemented:

- Firstly, a detailed research by independent researchers representing all of the involved agents should be conducted. From methodological point of view it is impossible to approach this problem and successfully combat THB without knowing its essence. Reliable databases should be established and unique roles of gathering data should be clearly specified and used by all agents.
- Secondly, there is a necessity to review the actions taken so far by public institutions and their legal bases. This is essential in order to adjust them to the new conditions, needs, challenges, identified reasons standing for the lack of co-operation among them. It may be a good solution to establish a unit of independent experts monitoring other institution. In addition, the states have to provide better economic opportunities for women, for instance, the regularisation of sex work, implementation of workplace regulations for sex workers, enforcement of existing laws against sexual assault and formation of sex workers unions as strategic means. According to Berman (2006: 13) that could significantly reduce trafficker's opportunities to abuse rights of migrant women, especially in the sex industry.
- It is advised that the Labour Inspectors and Police visits should be more frequent and more precise especially in high risk THB work places. In order to avoid misuse of visa, all of the documents required should be carefully investigated; especially criminal records or legal status of subject offering jobs abroad. It is important to raise awareness among citizens via all of available technologies. However, there is a need for regulations which will clearly indicate how this problem should be presented. It is not another way to sell news but a serious problem which constitutes a threat to social order.
- Finally, implementation of a comprehensive and unambiguous definition of THB in domestic criminal law and other regulations. It is strongly recommended that the latter should clearly explain what a THB is and how it should be approached. It is very important to shorten the time of proceedings which consequently will improve efficiency of enforcement agencies and will help to gain victims' trust. We have to be aware that trafficking in women is not the instrument of achieving one interest but a problem which should make us all concerned.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

A. Books:

1) Aas, Franko, Katja (2005)' Getting ahead of the game': border technologies and changing space of governance', in: *Global Surveillance and Policing. Borders, security, identity,* Elia Zureik, Mark B. Salter (eds), Willan Publishing
2) Agustín, Laura (2007), 'Sex at the Margins. Migration, Labour Markets and the Rescue Industry', Zed Books London and New York
3) Aradau, Claudia (2008) 'Rethinking Trafficking in Women. Politics out of Security', Palgrave Macmillan
4) Askola, Heli (2007) 'Legal Responses to Trafficking in Women for Sexual Exploitation in the European Union, Hart Publishing
5) Hogarth, Jennifer; Salt, John (2000), 'Part 1. Migrant trafficking and human smuggling in Europe: A Review of the evidence', in: *Migrant trafficking and human smuggling in Europe: A Review of the evidence with case studies from Hungary, Poland and Ukraine,* Frank Laczko and David Thompson (eds.), IOM
6) Lap-Chew, Lin; Wijers, Marjan (1997)'Trafficking in Women. Forced Labour and Slavery-like Practices in Marriage, Domestic Labour and Prostitution, Foundation Against Trafficking in Women
7) Lee, Maggy (2007)'Introduction: Understanding human trafficking', in: *Human Trafficking,* Maggy Lee (eds.), Willan Publishing p.1- 26
8) McCabe, Kimberly A. (2008) 'The Trafficking of Persons. National and International Responses', Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., New York
9) Morawska, Ewa (2007)'Trafficking into and from Eastern Europe', in: *Human Trafficking,* Maggy Lee (eds.), Willan Publishing p. 92-116
10) Obokata, Tom (2006) 'Trafficking of Human Beings from a Human Rights Perspective: Towards a Holistic Approach', Martinus Nijhoff Publishers
11) Sassen, Saskia (2007)' A Sociology of Globalization', W.W. Norton & Company New York London
12) Shelley, Louise (2007)' Human trafficking as a form of transnational crime' in: *Human Trafficking,* Maggy Lee (eds.), Willan Publishing p.116-137

B. Articles and conference papers:

1) Adams, Nikki (2003) 'Anti-Trafficking Legislation: Protection or Deportation?, *Feminist Review* No. 73 Exile and Asylum: Women Seeking Refugee in 'Fortress Europe', p. 136-139
2) Agustín, Laura (2005), 'Migrants in the Mistress's House: Other Voices in the "Trafficking" Debate', *Social Politics* 12: 1, p. 96-117
3) Agustín, Laura (2003), 'A Migrant World Services', *Social Politics* 10: 3, p.377-396
4) Anderson, Bridget and Andrijasevic, Rutvica (2008) 'Sex, slaves and citizens: the politics of anti-trafficking' *Soundings* 40, p. 135–145.

5) Anderson, Bridget; O'Connell, Davidson, Julia (2004) 'Trafficking – a demand led problem? Part I: A Review of Evidence and Debates. Stockholm: Save the Children.
6) Awad, Ibrahim (2009) 'International Migration Programme. The global economic crisis and migrant workers: Impact and responses', International Labour Organization
7) Berman, Jacqueline (27-29 March 2006), 'Trafficking in the Illicit: From Trafficking in East and Central European women to the biopolitical management of migration', Conference for History, Gender and Migration Ecole Normale Superieure and Universite Paris
8) Berman, Jacqueline (2003) '(Un) Popular Strangers and Crises (Un) Bounded: Discourses of Sex Trafficking, the European Political Community and the Panicked State of the Modern State', *European Journal of International Relations* 9: 1, p. 37-86
9) Bhabha, Jacqueline (2005)'Trafficking, Smuggling, and Human Rights' available on: http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?id=294 (12.08.2009)
10) Davies, John (2009), 'Conceptual Adultery: leaving "Natasha" for the "other" Women in Trafficking', *Sussex Centre for Migration Research*, University of Sussex, UK, p.1-18
11) Davies, John; Davies, Benjamin (2008) 'How to Use a Trafficked Women: The Alliance between Political and Criminal Trafficking Organizations' , *Recherches sociologiques et anthropologiques 1*, p.114-131
12) Davies, John (6th of March 2002)'The Role of Migration Policy in creating and sustaining trafficking harm', Durbar Sex Workers Peace Conference Kolkata
13) Doezema, Jo (2002a) 'The ideology of trafficking', presented at: Work Conference *Human Trafficking*, November 15th 2002, Center for Ethics and Value Inquiry (CEVI), Ghent University
14) Doezema, Jo (2002b) 'Who gets to choose? Coercion, consent, and the UN Trafficking Protocol', *Gender and Development* 10: 1, p. 20-27
15) van Doorninck, Marieke (2008), 'The Anti-Trafficking Circus: What role do NGOs play? in: *Alliance News. EUROPE: An Overview of Recent Developments* No.30, GAATW, p. 31-36
16) EU Commission (2001) EU Press Release: EU Urges Higher Priority for Fight against Trafficking in Women and Children, 7 March. Brussels: EU Commission
17) Galiana, Carmen (March 2000). 'Working Paper: Trafficking in Women"', European Parliament, Directorate General for Research: Brussels,
18) Gallagher, Anne (2002) 'Trafficking, smuggling and human rights: tricks and treaties', *Forced Migration Review* 12, p. 25-28
19) Haynes, Dina, Francesca (2004), 'Used, Abused, Arrested and Deported: Extending Immigration Benefits to Protect the Victims of Trafficking and to Secure the Prosecution of Traffickers', *Human Rights Quartely* No.26, p. 221-272

20) Iglicka, Krystyna, 'Poland: Between Geopolitical Shifts and Emerging Migratory Patterns', *International Journal of Population Geography* 8 (2002), 153-164
21) Jandl, Michael, (2007) 'Irregular Migration, Human Smuggling, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union', *International Migration Review* 41:2, p.291-315
22) Jordan, Ann D., (2002) 'Human Rights or wrongs? The struggle for a rights-based response to trafficking in human beings', *Gender and Development* 10: 1, p. 28-37
23) Kloer, Amanda (16th of June 2009) 'Hilary Clinton: Global Economic Crisis Fuels Trafficking' available on: http://humantrafficking.change.org/blog/view/hillary_clinton_global_economic_crisis_fuels_trafficking (13.07.2009)
24) Limoncelli, Stephanie ;Kligman, Gail (Spring 2005) 'Trafficking Women after Socialism: To, Through, and from Eastern Europe', *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society* 12: 1, p. 118-140
25) Okólski, Marek (2000), *Recent Trends and Major issues in International Migration: Central and East European Perspective,* Blackwell Publishers
26) Outshoorn, Joyce (2005),), ' The Political Debates on Prostitution and Trafficking in Women', *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society* 12: 1, p. 141-155
27) Piotrowicz, Ryszard (2002), 'European Initiatives in the Protection of Victims of Trafficking who Give Evidence Against Their Traffickers', *International Journal of Refugee Law,* 14: 2/3, p.263-278
28) Salt, John; Stein, Jeremy (1997), 'Migration as a Business: The Case of Trafficking', *International Migration* 35: 4, p. 467- 494
29) Shelley, Louise (2003) 'The Trade in people in and from the Former Soviet Union', *Crime, Law, Social Change* 40,p. 231-249
30) Surtees, Rebecca (2008) 'Traffickers and Trafficking in Southern and Eastern Europe: considering the Other Side of Human Trafficking', *European Journal of Criminology* 5:1, p. 39-68
31) Sykiotou, Athanassia P.(2007) 'Trafficking in Human Beings: Internet Recruitment', Council of Europe
32) Świerczyńska, Katarzyna (1.01.2009) 'Przełom w sprawie Janet z Nigerii'('Breakthrough in the case of Janet from Nigeria'), article published on dziennik.pl portal, available on: http://www.dziennik.pl/wydarzenia/article290543/Przelom_w_sprawie_Janet_z_Nigerii.html (12.08.09)
33) Świerczyńska, Katarzyna; Walczak, Daniel (5.11.2007) 'Porywali dzieci i zmuszali matki do żebrania' ('Kidnapping of children and forcing mothers to begging')article published on dziennik.pl portal available on: http://www.dziennik.pl/wydarzenia/article57085/Porywali_dzieci_i_zmuszali_matki_do_zebrania.html (8.08.09)
34) The Race Dimensions of Trafficking in Persons - Especially Women and Children (31 Aug – 7 Sept 2001), World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance: Durban, South Africa

Available on: http://www.un.org/WCAR/e-kit/issues.htm (11.07.2009)
35) The Vienna Forum to Fight Human Trafficking 13-15 February 2008, 027 Workshop: 'Transnational Organized Crime – Impact from Source to Destination', Austria Center Vienna UN. GIFT Background Paper available on: http://www.ungift.org/ungift/en/vf/backgroundpapers.html (8.08.2009)
36) The Vienna Forum to Fight Human Trafficking 13-15 February 2008, 020 Workshop: 'Corruption and Human Trafficking: The Grease that Facilitates the Crime', Austria Center Vienna UN. GIFT Background Paper available on: http://www.ungift.org/ungift/en/vf/backgroundpapers.html (8.08.2009)
37) The Vienna Forum to Fight Human Trafficking 13-15 February 2008, 017 Workshop: 'Technology and Human Trafficking', 'Corruption and Human Trafficking: The Grease that Facilitates the Crime', Austria Center Vienna UN. GIFT Background Paper available on: http://www.ungift.org/ungift/en/vf/backgroundpapers.html (8.08.2009)
38) Zieliński, Robert (13.01.2009), 'Kolejna ofiara handle ludźmi' ('Another victim of human trafficking') article published on dziennik.pl portal available on: http://www.dziennik.pl/wydarzenia/article296376/Kolejna_ofiara_handlu_ludzmi_w_Polsce.html (14.07.09)

C. Reports:

1) Human Rights Watch November 2002 ' Hopes Betrayed: Trafficking of Women and Girls to Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina for Forced Prostitution' available on: http://www.hrw.org/legacy/reports/2002/bosnia/ (18.07.2009)
2) Omyła, Małgorzata (2005)'Polacy o zjawisku handlu kobietami. Komunikat z badań' ('Poles about trafficking in women. News realise from research'), *Public Opinion Research Center* available on: http://www.mswia.gov.pl/portal/pl/390/2174/Dokumenty.html (25.07.2009)
3) Report of the Director-General: The cost of coercion May 2009 available on: http://www.ilo.org/global/Themes/Forced_Labour/lang--en/index.htm (18.08.2009)
4) Trafficking in Persons Report UN:
   Year 2009 available on: http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2009/index.htm (18.07.09)
   Year 2008 available on: http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2008/index.htm (18.07.09)
   Year 2007 available on: http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2007/index.htm (18.07.09)
   Year 2006 available on: http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2006/index.htm (18.07.09)
   Year 2005 available on: http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2005/index.htm (18.07.09)
   Year 2004 available on: http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2004/index.htm (18.07.09)
5) The ILO Global Employment Trends for Women, March 2009 available on: http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/strat/global.htm (18.07.2009)
6) UNODC Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2009 available on:

http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/frontpage/unodc-report-on-human-trafficking-exposes-modern-form-of-slavery-.html (14.07.2009)
7) UNODC Toolkit to Combat Trafficking in Persons October 2008 (2nd edition),available on: http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/publications.html (18.07.09)

D. Official documents
1) Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings available on: http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/QueVoulezVous.asp?NT=197&CM=8&DF=09/09/2009&CL=ENG (12.08.09)
2) European Union, *The Hague Programme: Strengthening Freedom, Security and Justice in the European Union*, 13 December 2004, 2005/C 53/01, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/41e6a854c.html (19.07 2009)
3) Fact sheet (2004) 'Draft Council of Europe Convention on Action against trafficking in human beings', Council of Europe
4) Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, "Trafficking in Human Beings: Implications for the OSCE": Warsaw, 2000.
5) Polish Penal Code available on: http://www.lexadin.nl/wlg/legis/nofr/eur/lxwepol.htm (14.07.09)
6) Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime available on: http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XVIII-12-a&chapter=18&lang=en (12.07.09)
7) UK Parliament, House of Lords (2008), 'FRONTEX: the EU external borders agency European Union' - Ninth Report, European Union Committee, London, 26 February, available on:(18.08.2009)

E. Websites
1) Central Team for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, Human Organs, Child Pornography and Pedophilia established at the General Headquarters of Police available on: http://www.policja.pl/index.php?dzial=161&id=2535 (14.07.2009)
2) Child Rights Information Network 'POLAND: UN expert on trafficking issues recommendations' (article published on 08.06.2009) available on: http://www.crin.org/resources/infodetail.asp?ID=2043 (15.08.2009)
3) Council of Europe available on: http://www.coe.int (12.08.09)
4) FRONTILNE: Sex slaves. 'Estimating the numbers' available on: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/slaves/etc/stats.html (9.07.2009)
5) Human Trafficking Studies Center at Institute of Social Prevention and Resocialisation at University of Warsaw available on: http://www.ipsir.uw.edu.pl/informacje_o_instytucie/katedry_i_zaklady/katedra_kryminologii_i_polityki_kryminalnej/osrodek_badan_handlu_ludzmi (12.07.2009)
6) Internet Usage Statistics available on:

http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm (26.07.2009)
7) La Strada Foundation against Trafficking in Women – Poland available on: http://www.strada.org.pl/ (12.07.2009)
8) The Ministry of Interior and Administration the Unit for Trafficking in Human Beings available on: http://www.mswia.gov.pl/portal/pl/395/4727/English_version.html (21.07.2009)
9) The Statistics of Border Guards in Poland available on: http://www.strazgraniczna.pl/wps/portal/tresc?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=pl/serwis-sg/polskie_formacje_graniczne/zestawienie_statystyczne/ (10.09.2009)
10) The Stop Violence against Women available on: http://www.stopvaw.org/Stop_Violence_Against_Women.html (18.07.2009)
11) The World Bank – Data and statistics for Poland available on: http://www.worldbank.org.pl (8.08.2009)
12) UNESCO Trafficking Statistic Project available on: http://www.unescobkk.org/culture/our-projects/protection-of-endangered-and-minority-cultures/trafficking-and-hivaids-project/projects/trafficking-statistics-project/data-comparison-sheet/ (18.08.2009)
13) United Nations Treaty Collection available on: http://treaties.un.org (12.07.09)

Center for International Relations

The CIR is an independent, non-governmental think-tank, dedicated to the study of international relations and those foreign policy issues, which are of crucial importance to Poland, Europe and transatlantic relations. CIR carries out its own research projects, prepares reports and analyses and participates in international projects in cooperation with similar institutions in several countries. The center's activities are analytical and educational in character. Since it was founded in 1996, the CIR has become an influential forum for foreign policy analysis and debate, involving leading politicians, diplomats, civil servants, local government officials, businessmen, journalists, students and representatives of other NGOs.

Our goals are:

- to strengthen Polish foreign policy and to deepen the knowledge of international relations in Polish society,
- to deepen the understanding of the aims of Polish foreign policy among the political, diplomatic and journalist elites in other countries as well as to make Polish leaders aware of the foreign policy objectives of other countries.
- to influence the most important elements of the foreign policy debate in Poland and abroad

CIR's President and Founder is Ambassador Janusz Reiter.

CENTRUM STOSUNKÓW MIĘDZYNARODOWYCH
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ul. Emilii Plater 25
00-688 WARSZAWA
tel: (+48 22) 646 52 67, 646 52 68
fax: (+48 22) 646 52 58
e-mail: info@csm.org.pl
www.csm.org.pl