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TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS

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Trafficking in persons involves the use of violence, threats or deception to create a pliant and exploitable work force.¹ It is a truly global phenomenon: victims from at least 127 countries have been reported, and victims have been reported in 137 countries.² Given this diffusion, it is difficult to estimate the size of the problem. Many countries have only recently passed, and some have yet to pass, legislation making human trafficking a distinct crime. Definitions of the offence vary, as does the capacity to detect victims. According to official figures, at least 22,000 victims were detected globally in 2006,³ but some countries where human trafficking is known to be a problem do not report detecting victims.⁴

The current best estimate on the global dimension of human trafficking comes from the International Labour Organization (ILO). According to this estimate, at least 2,450,000 persons are currently being exploited as victims of human trafficking.⁵ Using a broad definition, ILO estimated the global economic costs suffered by all victims of forced labour to be US\$21 billion in 2009.⁶ The total illicit profits produced in one year by trafficked forced labourers was estimated at about US\$32 billion in 2005.⁷ The data remain patchy, however, and any global estimate must be regarded as tentative.

The United Nations *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children*,⁸ which supplements the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, is cast broadly enough to encompass a wide range of forms of exploitation, but in practice, two major categories of transnational activity can be identified:

- trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation, and
- labour exploitation, including the use of child labour.

In data recently collected by UNODC on the number of victims detected by state authorities around the world, two thirds of the detected victims were women, and 79% of the victims were subject to sexual exploitation. But these figures should not be mistaken for a description of the total victim pool. Some national laws only address trafficking in women or only recognize victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation as trafficking victims. Even where the law provides for other forms of trafficking, sexually exploited women and children may be prioritized for enforcement and assistance, and so the profile of victims detected may be different from those that are not detected.

Since victims are often recruited by means of deception, traffickers need to gain the trust of potential

FIG. 26:

COUNTRIES COVERED BY THE UNODC/UN.GIFT DATA COLLECTION, 2007-2008

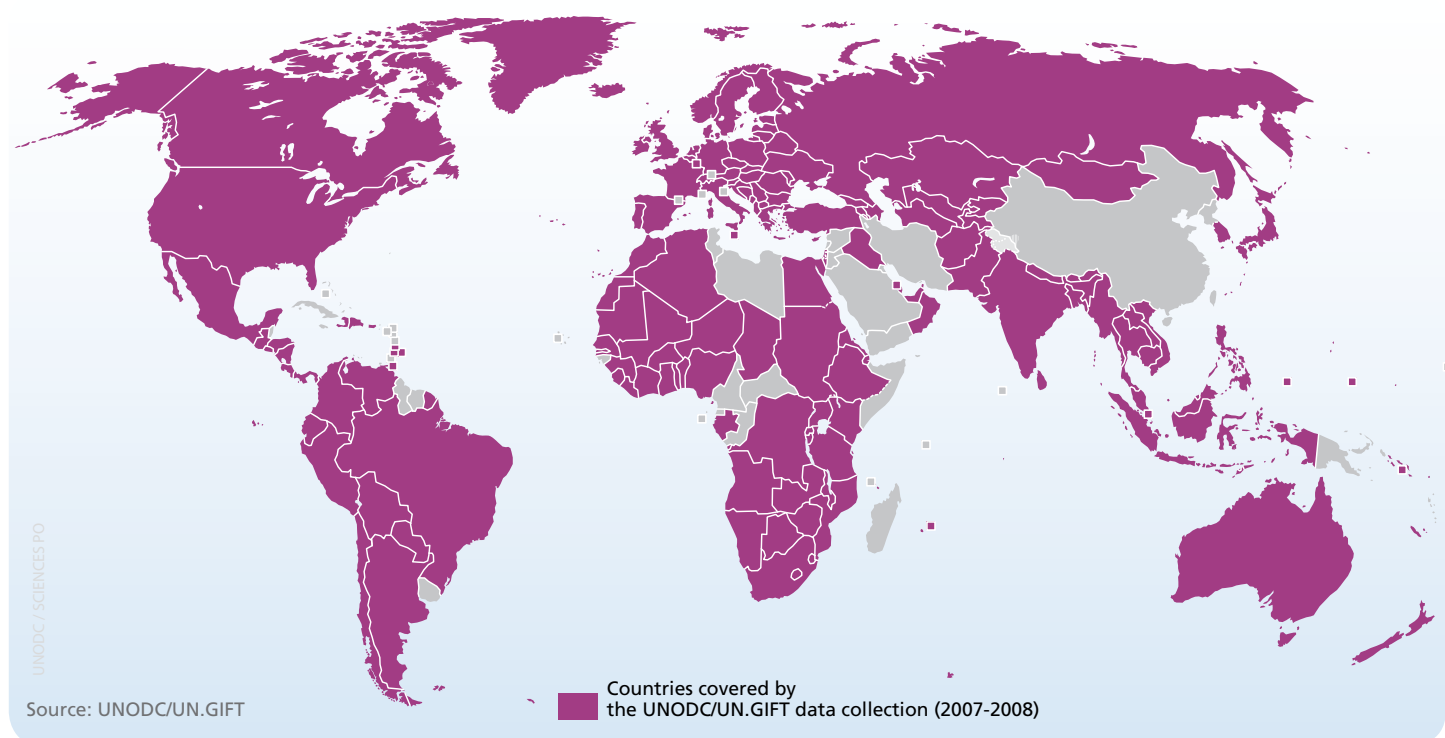
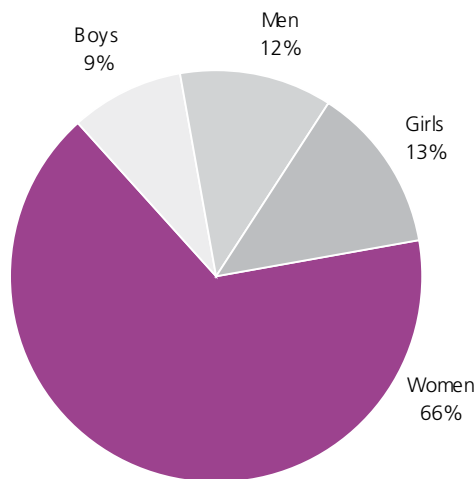


FIG. 27:

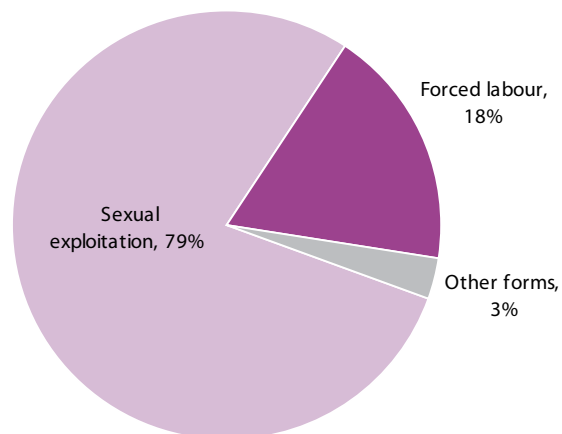
PROFILE OF VICTIMS IDENTIFIED BY STATE AUTHORITIES IN 61 COUNTRIES, 2006



Source: UNODC/UN.GIFT

FIG. 28:

DISTRIBUTION OF VICTIMS IDENTIFIED BY STATE AUTHORITIES ACCORDING TO THE FORM OF EXPLOITATION, 2006



Source: UNODC/UN.GIFT

victims. For this reason, recruitment is often carried out by nationals of the same country as the victims. The use of women to recruit other women has been documented by studies conducted in this field.⁹ For most forms of crime, women are much less likely to be perpetrators than men; human trafficking appears to be an exception. The victims' trust is also needed at destination to reduce the risk of escape. An analysis of the nationality of the victims shows that in destination countries, traffickers are often either nationals of the destination country or of the same nationality as the victims.

Trafficking for sexual exploitation

Whether the number of victims of sexual exploitation is greater than the number of victims of labour exploitation is debatable, but it is clear that the countries of the world regard the former as the greater problem. This is in keeping with the general tenor of criminal law: in most countries, sexual violation is considered an aggravating factor in any form of assault. The crime of forced prostitution garners more outrage than other forms of forced labour, and so many countries have laws aimed specifically at this practice.

For most people, the world of commercial sex is unknown terrain. While as much as half the young people in some developed countries will experiment with illicit drugs, a much smaller percentage have

any experience with commercial sex. This makes it difficult for policymakers to weigh the evidence and generate a reasonable assessment of the nature and scope of the problem.

To come up with an accurate estimate of the scale of human trafficking for sexual exploitation, it is helpful to get some sense of the size of the market for commercial sex (see Box later in this chapter), since trafficked women are but a subset of a larger body of commercial sex workers. The purveyors of trafficked women are in direct competition with both domestic and international sex workers who were not trafficked. Those who traffic women also have to consider costs. Trafficking in women can be an extremely labour-intensive process, and the prices victims reportedly command have consequently been very high. All of these factors act as constraints on the demand for women trafficked for sexual exploitation.

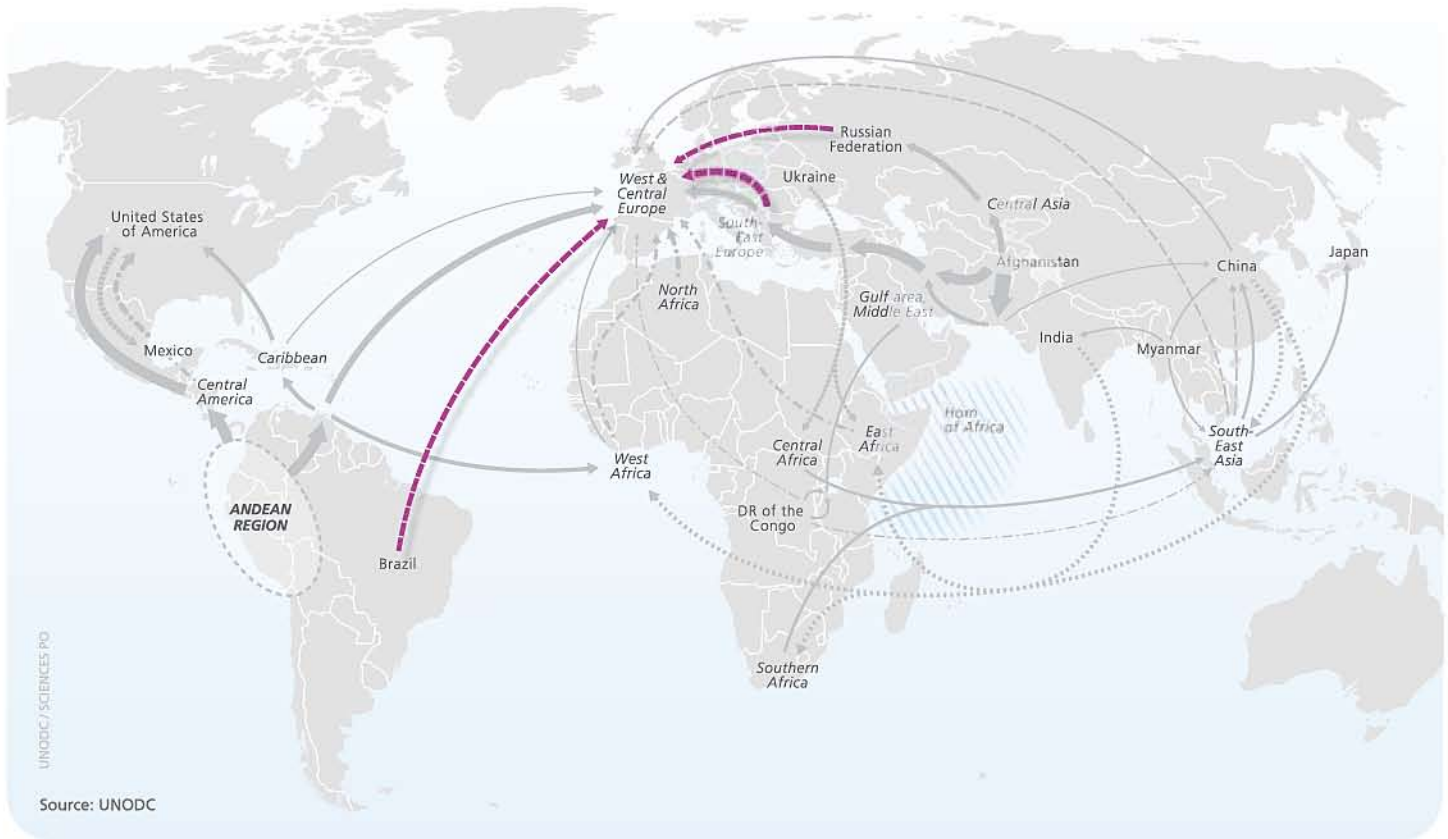
Sudden geopolitical or economic shifts, such as the end of the Cold War, the integration of China into the world economy or violent conflicts like the Yugoslav Wars can create new opportunities for human traffickers. The end of the Cold War was key in precipitating one of the best documented human trafficking flows in the world: the movement of Eastern European women into West European sex markets. Today, women of more nationalities (at least 95) have been trafficked into Europe than to

any other known destination. In addition, new (previously undetected) nationalities have increasingly been detected among trafficking victims in Europe. This problem is the subject of the flow study below.

Trafficking for labour exploitation

Trafficking for the purpose of forced labour appears to be limited to labour-intensive enterprises with rigid supply curves: typically, the so called *dirty, dangerous or demeaning* jobs. As a country develops and public welfare protections are established, fewer citizens are willing or able to take on these jobs at an internationally competitive wage. In some circumstances, demand for trafficked labour, including the labour of children, can be generated. Coerced labour is more profitable for short-run productions. The longer the exploitation, the lower the net productivity of the coerced labourer and the greater the risk to the offender.

There are many factors that can render a source country vulnerable to human trafficking, the most commonly cited of which is poverty. But there are many poor countries that do not seem to produce large numbers of trafficking victims, so poverty alone is not enough to explain the phenomenon. Diaspora populations in destination countries are surely one factor, as is the presence of organized crime in the source country.¹⁰



2.1. To Europe¹¹ for sexual exploitation

Route

Source:	<i>World (main origin: the Balkans and former Soviet Union)</i>
Vector to destination:	<i>Mainly by land, also sea and air</i>
Destination:	<i>West and Central Europe</i>

Dimensions

Annual flow of new victims:	<i>About 70,000 victims (based on two-year turnover)</i>
Volume of market (stock):	<i>About 140,000 victims</i>
Value of market (stock):	<i>US\$3 billion per year</i>

Traffickers

Groups involved:	<i>Western European, Balkan, Eastern European, North African, Turkish, Nigerian and Chinese groups</i>
Residence of traffickers:	<i>Origin and destination countries</i>

Threat

Estimated trend:	<i>Stable</i>
Potential effects:	<i>Human rights violations</i>
Likelihood of effects being realized:	<i>Very high</i>

What is the nature of the market?

A greater variety of nationalities has been found among human trafficking victims in West and Central Europe than in any other part of the world, and most of these victims (84%) were trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Both the detection rate and the type of exploitation detected are affected by enforcement patterns, however. In 2006, the entire Western Hemisphere only recorded some 150 convictions for human trafficking, which is about the same number as Germany alone. It is difficult to say to what extent this is indicative of a greater problem or whether it is simply a matter of greater vigilance.

In recent years, the majority of human trafficking victims detected in Europe have come from the Balkans and the former Soviet Union, in particular Romania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, the Russian Federation and the Republic of Moldova. Victims from at least some of these five countries have also been located in all parts of Europe. But the dominance of these groups appears to be changing as new source countries emerge on the European scene.

Although trafficking from South America occurs in a smaller number of countries, it is often severe in the places where it does occur. The main destinations for South American victims are Spain, Italy,

Portugal, France, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria and Switzerland.¹² Almost all of this trafficking is for the purpose of sexual exploitation and it includes transgender victims.¹³ Among South Americans, Brazilian victims have been increasingly detected in Europe. Trafficking originating in this country mainly affects the poor communities of the north (such as Amazonas, Pará, Roraima and Amapá), rather than the richer regions of the south.

Trafficking from Africa affects mainly West African communities, in particular Nigerian women and girls.¹⁴ Trafficking originating from North Africa (Morocco and Tunisia) is still very limited, but may be increasing. Trafficking from East Africa (Uganda and Kenya) is found mainly in the United Kingdom.¹⁵

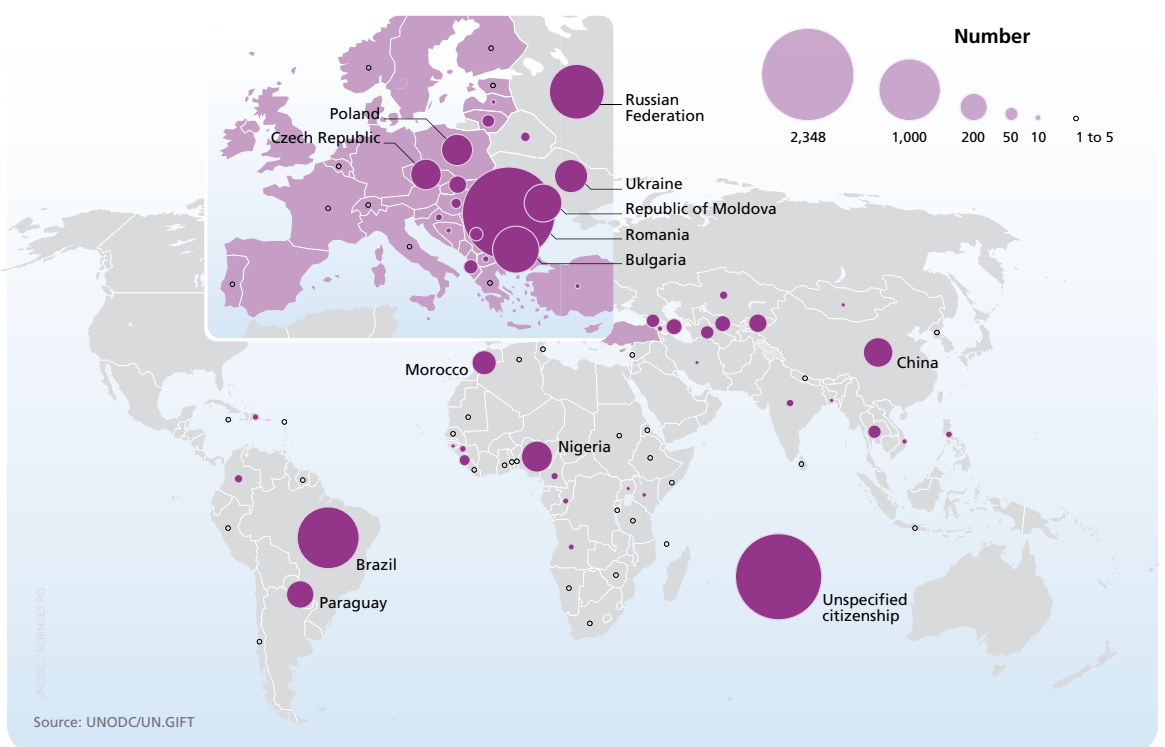
Trafficking from East Asia has traditionally involved mainly Thai women. More recently, Chinese nationals are also affected, as are women from Viet Nam and Cambodia. These women are normally exploited in indoor prostitution, such as massage parlours, saunas or beauty centres.

How is the trafficking conducted?

Every trafficking group has its own modus operandi for the recruitment, transportation and exploitation of victims. The most common recruiting method

FIG. 29:

WOMEN TRAFFICKED TO EUROPE FOR SEXUAL EXPLOITATION (CITIZENSHIP OF VICTIMS DETECTED), 2005-2007



used by Balkan-based groups consists of promises of employment.¹⁶ In Ukraine, traffickers entice 70% of their victims through promises of work, participation in beauty contests, modelling opportunities, affordable vacations, study abroad programmes or marriage services.¹⁷

Trafficking originating from the Balkans, the former Soviet Union and Central Europe is characterized by recruitment conducted by victims' acquaintances. According to studies conducted in the Czech Republic,¹⁸ Poland¹⁹ and Romania,²⁰ the majority of victims are recruited through acquaintances, friends or relatives. Similar patterns have been reported in the South Caucasus.²¹ Studies from Ukraine indicate that 11% of victims were trafficked with the active cooperation of their husbands.²²

While some of these victims are recruited knowingly into prostitution, they may nonetheless end up in exploitative situations through deception, coercion or violence.²³ According to one Ukrainian study, nearly 20% of the victims are promised work as exotic dancers, masseuses and the like. While most of these women understand that they will have to render sexual services, they are unaware of the conditions under which they will work.²⁴

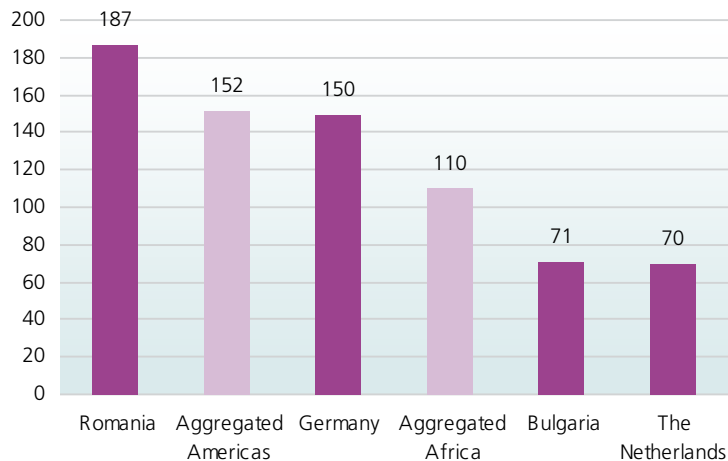
Violence is frequently used to control victims. Trafficking by Balkan-based groups is described as very violent.²⁵ Similarly, Russian organized criminal gangs engaged in human trafficking are reported to adopt particularly harsh methods of control. Often, before being presented to clients, women are raped by the traffickers themselves, in order to initiate the cycle of abuse and degradation. Some women are drugged to prevent them from escaping.²⁶ Studies conducted in Romania, the Czech Republic and Poland show that violence towards the victims normally occurs at the destination site.²⁷

Because of the short distances, most women trafficked from Central Europe and the Balkans are transported by bus or car.²⁸ Victims originating from the former Soviet Union are trafficked by making use of counterfeit passports, false visas and/or false marriages. In some cases, trafficking victims are highly visible and engage in street-level prostitution, but in many cases, sex trafficking takes place in underground venues, such as private homes or brothels. Often, public and legal locations such as massage parlours, spas and strip clubs act as fronts for illegal prostitution and trafficking.

In the context of the Latin American human trafficking flow, cases were registered where victims were forced to 'recruit' friends and/or family mem-

FIG. 30:

NUMBER OF CONVICTIONS FOR THE OFFENCE OF TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS IN SELECTED WEST AND CENTRAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND IN OTHER REGIONS, 2006

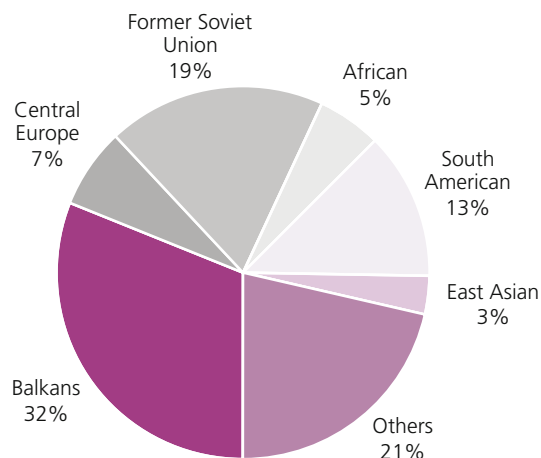


Source: Elaboration of UNODC/UN.GIFT data

bers.²⁹ Traffickers in Latin America may also make use of entertainment networks, fashion agencies, employment agencies, marriage and tourism agencies and newspaper advertisements to recruit victims.³⁰ Because of the long distances involved, Latin American women trafficked to Europe are normally transported by air to major European airports. Regular three-month tourist visas may be used to cross the borders.³¹ Trafficking victims travelling from Brazil to Europe may pass through European-administrated territories in the Caribbean or South America to reduce the risks of being intercepted in

FIG. 31:

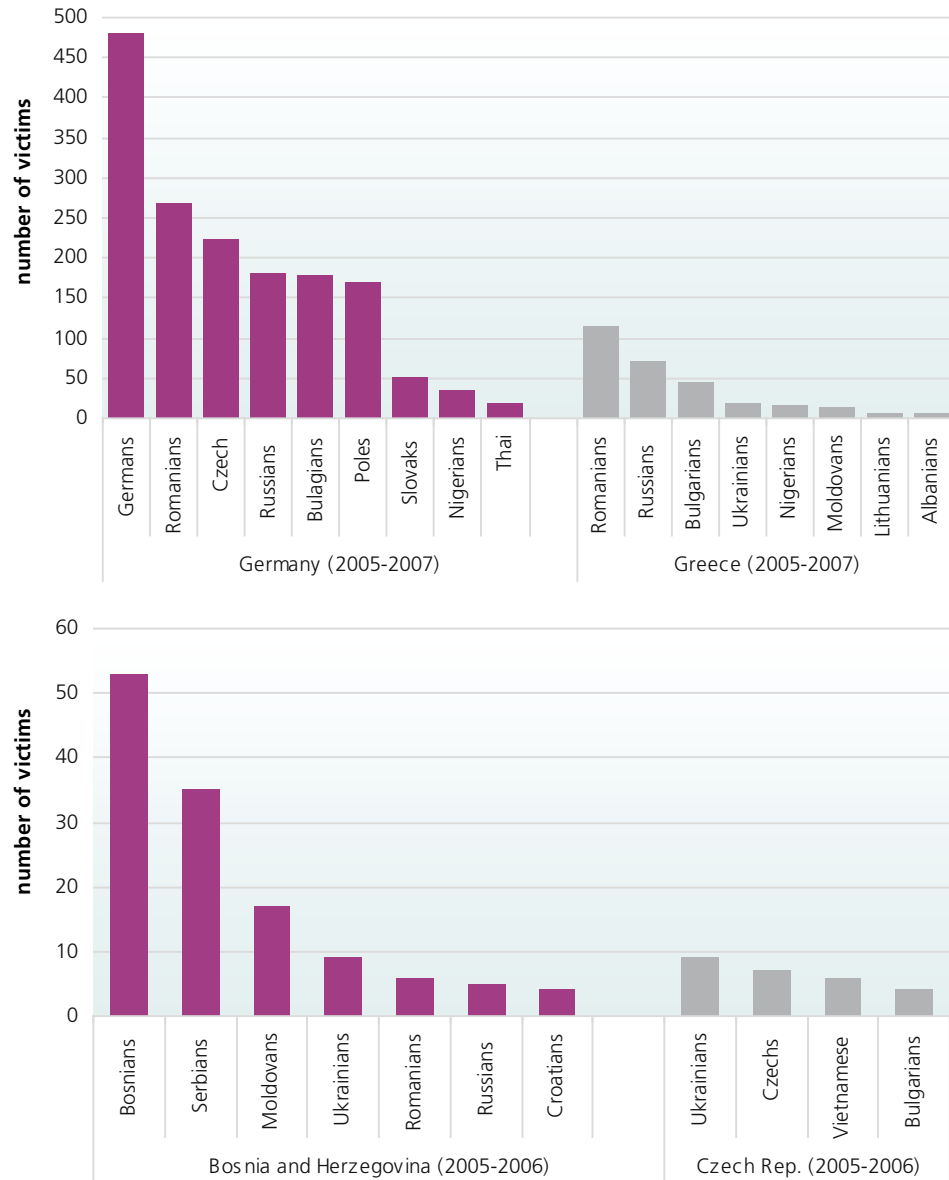
NATIONALITIES OF TRAFFICKING VICTIMS DETECTED IN WEST AND CENTRAL EUROPE, 2005-2006



Source: Elaboration of UNODC/UN.GIFT data

FIG. 32:

MOST FREQUENTLY DETECTED NATIONALITIES OF VICTIMS IN SELECTED COUNTRIES (COUNT)



Source: Official National Statistics

Europe. Suriname is also a transit country to Europe.³² Once in Europe, women and transgender individuals may be exploited in the streets or indoors, depending on the destination.

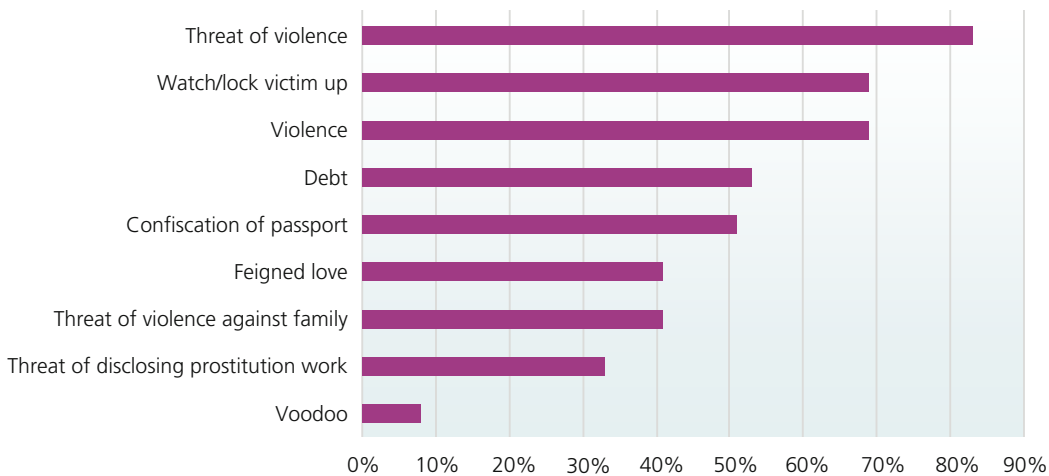
Studies of Nigerian victims report that acquaintances, close friends or family members play a major role in the recruitment of victims. Recruitment frequently occurs in the victim's own home.³³ Nigerian trafficking is characterized by a debt bondage scheme. Victims trafficked into Europe (Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain and others) are forced to pay back inflated smuggling fees.³⁴ Victims mainly travel to Europe by plane from Lagos or other international airports from West Africa.³⁵ Victims may also have been transported by land and

sea across the Mediterranean. The vast majority of West African women and girls are exploited in street prostitution.

Traditionally, Chinese brothels in Europe were accessible just to the Chinese communities, but this is changing and these new forms of Chinese prostitution seem to be more amenable to trafficking in persons. Chinese trafficking occurs on the basis of a debt bondage scheme and in the context of assisted irregular migration. Most of the victims come from the impoverished north-eastern regions, and typically move to the country's south-east. From there, they are trafficked across the former Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries before reaching Europe.³⁷

FIG. 33:

MEANS OF COERCION³⁶ USED IN THE NETHERLANDS ON SAMPLED VICTIMS (N:155), 1998-2002



Source: Dutch National Rapporteur

Who are the traffickers?

Most convicted traffickers are male, as are convicts of virtually every other crime. Female offending rates are higher for human trafficking than for other crimes, however. This may be due in part to the importance of trust between the victim and the perpetrator. Additionally, in some markets, victims may become exploiters over time, as this may be the only way to escape further exploitation.³⁸

In the countries that formerly comprised the Soviet Union in particular, the majority of recruiters are women, often persons previously engaged in prostitution.³⁹ A study by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) on trafficking in the former Soviet Union reports cases where repatriated traf-

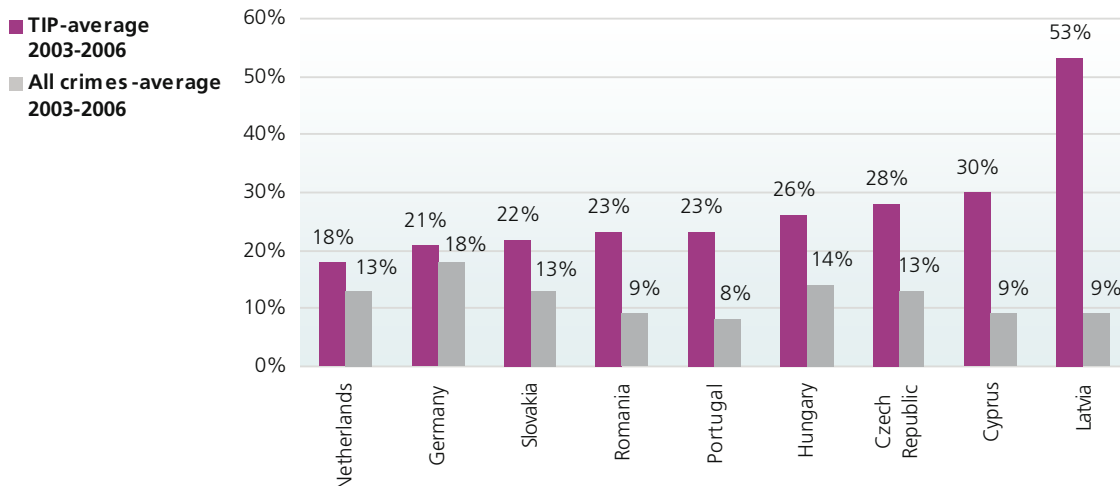
ficked women became recruiters, as this is one of the few employment options available to previously trafficked women.⁴⁰

A study by the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) on Romanian trafficking to Germany reports that women are used not only as recruiters of other women but also as guardians in the destination country.⁴¹ In 2007, of the 121 people arrested for human trafficking in Greece, 38 were women. Of these, more than 40% were Russian, Ukrainian and Kazakh, whereas the same nationalities accounted for only 7% of the males arrested.

The prevalence of female traffickers is also characteristic of Nigerian trafficking,⁴² and women may

FIG. 34:

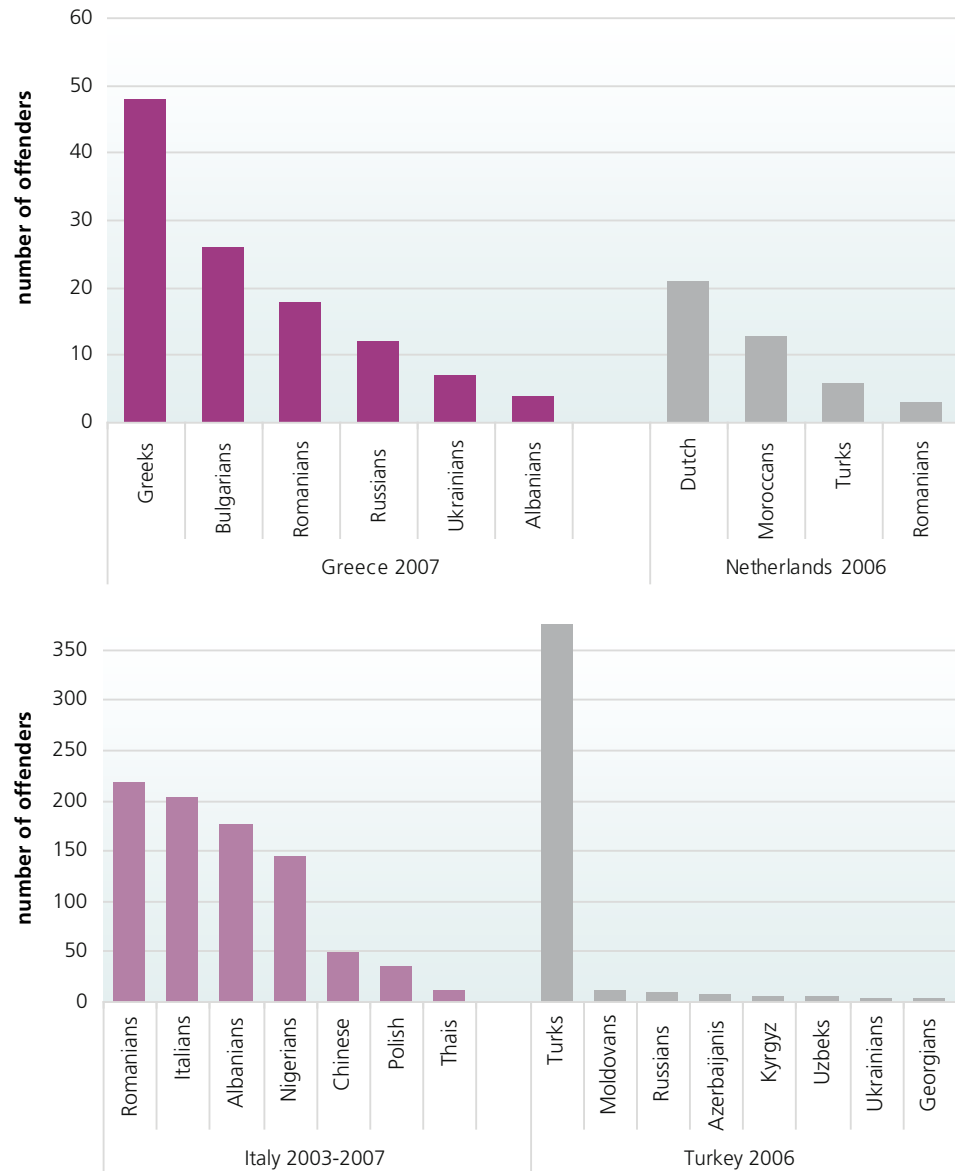
SHARE OF FEMALES AMONG CONVICTS FOR TRAFFICKING OFFENCES AND FOR ALL OFFENCES, 2003-2006



Source: UNODC/UN.GIFT

FIG. 35:

MOST FREQUENTLY DETECTED NATIONALITIES OF TRAFFICKERS IN SELECTED COUNTRIES



Source: Official National Statistics

“evolve” over time from victim to exploiter.⁴³ The Nigerian networks have loose structures and operate mainly in and from Nigeria, although they have bases in Europe through which the women are transported before arriving at their final destination. The exploitation in Europe is handled by resident Nigerian women, referred to as ‘madams’.⁴⁴ A large part of the West African trafficking into Europe originates from, or passes through, the Nigerian state of Edo and its capital Benin City. It is mainly conducted by Edo traffickers, known as “Binis.”⁴⁵

In Europe, the perpetrators are frequently not nationals of the country where they operate, in

contrast to some other regions. Often, their nationality corresponds to that of the victim. For example, only 39% of the traffickers prosecuted in Greece in 2007 were Greek. More than half came from Bulgaria, Romania, the Russian Federation and Ukraine, the largest source countries for trafficking victims. A similar situation is found in Italy. This suggests that diaspora communities are a vector for trafficking, but there are exceptions. In Germany, Turks are the most commonly encountered foreign traffickers, but few Turkish victims have been detected. The same is true with Moroccans in the Netherlands.

As a rule, groups engaging in trafficking for sexual

exploitation are small.⁴⁶ The Russian Federation provides a case in point, where many of the groups comprise two or three people.⁴⁷ But again, there are exceptions. Azerbaijani authorities detained over 40 members of a trafficking group with cells in five countries. The network covered a huge area extending from Central Asia to Turkey and was engaged in human trafficking and the issuance of fake documents, which they used to import the victims.⁴⁸

In Romania, based on a sample of 30 cases, UNICRI found 23 involved groups of three or more people, while seven cases were conducted by individuals operating alone. Most of the groups sampled in this study were very small, however; usually made up of a recruiter, a transporter and an exploiter. Within the larger networks there was usually a structured division of labor and often additional accomplices who performed support tasks on an irregular basis.⁴⁹

European groups may be involved in recruiting in source countries in Latin America. This is the case for the Brazilian flow, which appears to be in the hands of European and Asian organizations. The involvement of Asian organized crime groups in Brazil has been documented.⁵⁰ About one third of the recruiters in one research sample (52 of 161) were European or Asian.⁵¹ Other studies report that trafficking of Brazilian women to Spain and Portugal is conducted through cooperation among different groups, in which Russian groups are said to play a dominant role.⁵²

Chinese organized crime groups run the gamut from mafia-like secret societies to street gangs and informal networks. Triads are traditionally hierarchical, but not all human trafficking is triad-linked. In Europe, these groups are increasingly involved in the business of sexual exploitation. In 2008, the Italian authorities indicated that this business became the most prominent illegal activity of these groups in Italy.⁵³

How big is the flow?

The ILO estimates that the minimum number of victims trafficked for all purposes in Europe and North America is 279,000 in 2005.⁵⁴ Based on data gathered by UNODC, the total number of victims detected in West and Central Europe was 7,300 in 2006.⁵⁵ If about one victim in 20 were detected, the number of trafficking victims in Europe would be around 140,000.⁵⁶

To reconcile this with the estimate of the number of sex workers in Europe generally (see Box), about

How big is the commercial sex market in Europe?

Notwithstanding the existence of different markets for sex, including sex tourism, transgender prostitution and male prostitution, commercial sexual services in Europe are consumed almost entirely by men and performed in great part by women.

National survey data suggest the percentage of men who have purchased sexual services in their lifetimes varies considerably between countries and over time. According to the Kinsey surveys in the 1940s, 70% of adult males reported having paid for sex at least once in their lives,⁵⁷ but this was at a time when non-compensated extramarital sex was far less common than today. More recent surveys suggest the figure today is closer to 19%.⁵⁸ Recent surveys in other countries suggest a similar figure in Sweden (13%),⁵⁹ the Netherlands (14%),⁶⁰ Australia (15%)⁶¹ and Switzerland (19%).⁶² Spain (39%) is an outlier in Europe,⁶³ as is Puerto Rico (61%) in North America.⁶⁴ The comparable figure is even higher in Thailand (73%).⁶⁵

Self-reported annual prevalence for buying sex has been estimated at 13-15% of the adult male population in the Central African region, 10-11% in Eastern and Southern Africa, and 5-7% in Asia and Latin America. The median for all regions was about 9-10%.⁶⁶

A British study found that 4% of the men polled reported having paid for sex in the previous five years.⁶⁷ Another British study found that 10% had paid for sex in their lifetimes, of which two thirds (7%) had paid for it in the last year and 27% (3%) were regular clients of prostitutes. Over half of these men reported having paid for sex while abroad, and less than 2% had paid for sex both domestically and abroad, suggesting that about half of these men were not clients for British sex workers.⁶⁸ A Spanish study found that 25% of men had paid for heterosexual sex at some time in their lives, 13.3% in the last 5 years and 5.7% in the last 12 months.⁶⁹

How many women are required to meet this demand? An estimate of the number of women engaging in transactional sex in 25 European countries (comprising 74% of the total European population) suggests a sex worker population of some 700,000 women, or 0.63% of adult women (15-49) of these countries.⁷⁰ Extrapolating to the entire European population, this would indicate a total of about one million sex workers.

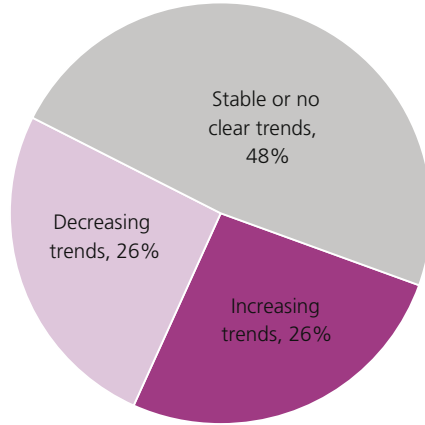
If 0.6% of the women are selling sex and 6% of the men are buying it (the prevalence in the Spanish study cited above), this suggests a ratio of about one sex worker per 10 annual clients, too few clients to be the sole source of income, even if they were all regular customers. Doubling or even tripling the share of men visiting sex workers would only double or triple this client load. Despite the estimates, either less than 0.6% of European women sell sex professionally, or more than 6% of men purchase sex on annual basis, or both. More research is required on the nature, structure, economics and scale of this industry.

one sex worker in seven would be a trafficking victim. A high figure, but not beyond the realm of possibility.⁷¹ Research on the period of exploitation suggests a turnover period of two years on average.⁷² This means some 70,000 women would need to be trafficked annually to replace those leaving the market.

If there were indeed 140,000 trafficking victims in Europe, they could produce perhaps 50 million sexual services annually.⁷³ At €50 per client,⁷⁴ this would constitute a market worth €2.5 billion (equivalent to some US\$ 3 billion) annually. More research is required, however, on both the client load and the rate for services for both trafficked women and other sex workers.

FIG. 36:

SHARE OF COUNTRIES REPORTING TRENDS IN RECORDED CONVICTIONS IN WEST AND CENTRAL EUROPE, 2003-2007⁷⁵



Source: UNODC/UN.GIFT

For this to be possible, there must be commensurate demand. Assuming 5% of the adult (15-49) male population of Europe sees a sex worker on a monthly basis (see Box), there would be demand for 600 million sex services annually, meaning trafficking victims would meet about 8% of demand.

Detecting trends in the number of trafficking victims is difficult, because awareness of the problem and legislation to deal with it is evolving. As a result, it is difficult to distinguish trends in enforcement from trends in prevalence. The number of victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation detected by the

authorities in Europe increased about 20% between 2005 and 2006.⁷⁶ Some countries (for example, Germany and Romania) have registered a recent decrease in the number of criminal proceedings and a reduction in the absolute numbers of victims detected. At the same time, other countries in West and Central Europe registered an increase in detected cases.

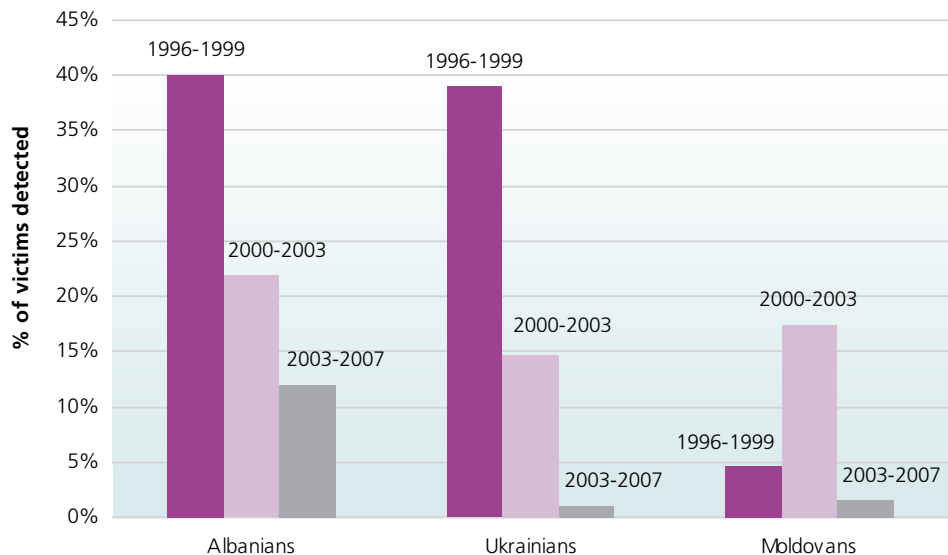
Some trends can be seen in the profile of the victims, however. Today, it appears that about 60% of the victims detected originate from the Balkans, Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. Perhaps 13% come from Latin America, about 5% from Africa and about 3% from East Asia. A large share of the victims (about 20%) are either of unspecified origins or are local victims. This is a different profile than in the past.

In the late 1990s, for example, Albania was a ‘hot spot’ for human trafficking. In 1996, about 40% of the victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation in Italy were Albanians. This dropped to 20% in 2000-2003 and 10% after 2003. A similar trend was recorded for Ukrainian and Moldovan victims.

The trafficking originating from the Russian Federation and Ukraine, although still prominent, appears to have decreased in the last ten years in all West and Central European countries. This decline coincided with an increase in detected victims from the Balkans, particularly Romania and Bulgaria, but this trafficking flow also appears to have decreased after 2005.⁷⁷

FIG. 37:

SHARE OF SELECTED NATIONALITIES OF VICTIMS DETECTED IN ITALY, 1996-2007



Source: Anti-Mafia Bureau and Project WEST

FIG. 38:

SHARE OF SELECTED NATIONALITIES OF DETECTED VICTIMS IN SPAIN AND TURKEY



Source: UNODC/UN.GIFT

New nationalities have appeared on the European scene in the last few years. While generally small, the share of Chinese, Paraguayan, Sierra Leonean, Uzbek and Turkmen victims has been increasing over time. This shows a diversification of the sources of women trafficked for sexual exploitation. In addition, an increase of domestic trafficking has been recorded in all of West and Central Europe.

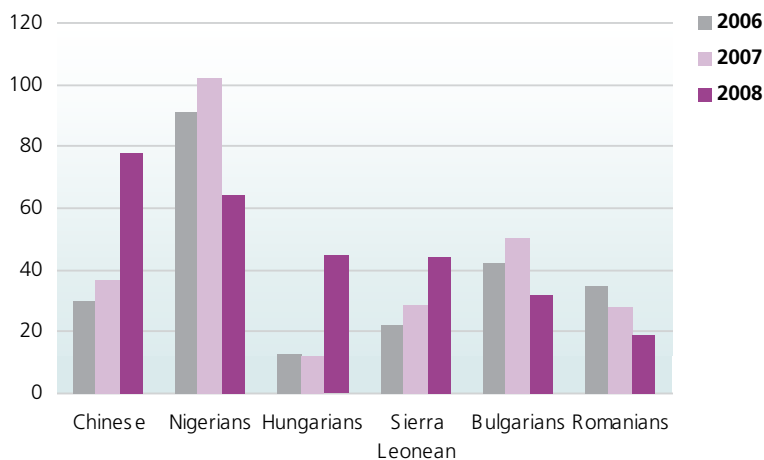
Chinese victims have been increasingly detected in many European countries. In 2008, Chinese were the largest foreign group involved in sexual exploitation in Italy. In the Netherlands, Chinese massage centres were for the first time described as an ‘emerging form of prostitution’ in 2005, and today, Chinese are the most prominent foreign group of victims in that country.⁷⁸

In Turkey, Uzbek and Turkmen women seem to be replacing the Russians and Ukrainians. Similarly, in Spain the increase of Paraguayan and Brazilian trafficking victims appears to have compensated for the decrease in trafficking from Colombia.

This suggests that human trafficking rings may react to changes in traditional origin countries, such as increased awareness among potential victims, stringent law enforcement action or improved livelihoods.

FIG. 39:

MOST DETECTED NATIONALITIES OF FOREIGN VICTIMS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN THE NETHERLANDS (COUNT), 2006-2008



Source: Dutch National Rapporteur

IMPLICATIONS FOR RESPONSE

The international community acknowledges the need for a policy response articulated in five pillars, key to a comprehensive action against trafficking in persons: prosecution, protection, prevention, national coordination and cooperation, and international coordination and cooperation.

The United Nations Protocol on Trafficking in Persons entered into force on 25 December 2003. Since then, many countries have passed appropriate legislation, and this represents a significant step forward. Fewer have actually used this legislation to convict anyone, however. In fact, 40% of countries with dedicated laws did not record a single conviction for trafficking in persons from 2003 to 2008, and most of those that have applied the law have registered relatively few convictions.

Convicting human traffickers can be tricky, because victims are often so traumatized by the experience that they are unable to assist in the prosecution. But human traffickers have their own vulnerabilities. Victims tend to be employed in certain sectors, like textiles, manufacturing, catering and prostitution. The sex trade in particular is exposed because it must maintain some degree of publicity to attract customers. Often, trafficking victims are offered through front businesses, like massage parlours or escort services, with a very public face. Even where criminal prosecution is not possible, civil action can be taken against offending businesses, for violation of health or labour standards, or for employing illegal immigrants.

Part of the reason few convictions have been returned may be due to the fact that although the Protocol has been ratified, some countries have not provided for all the institutional arrangements it recommends. Victim support, for example, serves both to protect this highly vulnerable class of people and to bolster the criminal justice response, facilitating victim participation in the trial. But whether the victim wishes to testify or not, they must not be further victimized by law enforcement or immigration authorities, and care must be taken to ensure they are released into a situation where repeat victimization is unlikely.

Of course, prevention is better than cure, and there are many ways that human trafficking can be prevented in both source and destination countries. Public education efforts in Eastern Europe have apparently paid dividends: surveys of potential migrants in some vulnerable areas show high levels

of awareness, and the flow of victims from this region appears to be in decline. Awareness campaigns targeted at expatriate communities in destination countries, focusing on the problematic industries, can also be beneficial. These campaigns should be evidence-based and evaluated for impact. In areas where prostitution is legal or tolerated, careful monitoring is required to ensure that workers, especially foreigners, are not being exploited. The scrutiny should be applied to all aspects of the sex trade, including cover enterprises like massage parlours and strip clubs.

While domestic trafficking occurs, human traffickers commonly exploit the cultural dislocation of immigrants, and there are many well-established intercontinental flows. Putting a stop to human trafficking will require documenting these flows and creating strategic plans to address them. Since they do not suffer the ill-effects themselves, transit countries may be completely unaware of the key role they play. These countries must be informed and involved in finding solutions. Enforcement or prevention efforts in one geographic area may simply divert it to other regions. Plans must be global in scope, and based on strong international cooperative agreements concerning both law enforcement and victim assistance.

The problem of human trafficking is not only a criminal justice issue. It involves broader social issues, including labour, urban management, immigration and foreign policies. National and international strategies to stop human trafficking should reflect this complexity, ensuring input and assistance from agencies with expertise in these matters.