TRACEING
HUMAN TRAFFICKING

HANDBOOK FOR POLICY MAKERS,
LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES AND CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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BACKGROUND

Human trafficking is one of the largest criminal enterprises in the world. It is a multi-billion-dollar crime of global scale. This is because human trafficking as a criminal enterprise continues to evolve as a high profit-low risk business for perpetrators and challenges policy makers, law enforcement agencies and civil society organisations working to prevent and combat human trafficking and assist trafficked persons. This handbook aims to support these three target groups by assessing and consolidating information about traffickers and trafficked persons, the wider criminal enterprise and its modus operandi, and the role of technology, as well as current and future trends. Understanding the crime within the broader context of the human trafficking enterprise can assist these three target groups in their efforts to effectively disrupt the human trafficking activities now and in the future.

SCOPE

While human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation continues to garner much attention in the anti-trafficking community, awareness of human trafficking for other forms of exploitation, such as labour exploitation, begging and forced criminal activity, is increasing. Moreover, the need for a more harmonised national, local and international anti-trafficking approach has gained momentum.

Human trafficking as a criminal enterprise comprises a number of distinct, yet overlapping aspects, many of which need to be better understood in order to administer appropriate responses to disrupt the enterprise at various points throughout the trafficking and exploitation processes. The handbook provides findings and recommendations based on the EU funded TRACE-project that covered the following aspects:

• Understanding human trafficking as a criminal enterprise in terms of:
  • the implementation of the EU Strategy towards the Eradication of Trafficking in Human Beings by EU Member States and Directive 2011/36/EU on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims;
  • the way in which popular media frame human trafficking;
  • the outcome of a macro analysis situating human trafficking in the wider criminal industry;
  • the outcome of a micro analysis of the perpetrators’ treatment of trafficked persons.

• The current and future trends in modus operandi of traffickers, including travel routes to and within Europe;

• The profiles of traffickers;

• Use of technology related to human trafficking as a criminal enterprise, including:
  • technologies that are used by traffickers to facilitate human trafficking;
  • technologies that are or can be used to prevent and combat human trafficking.

• The social, political and economic environment in which the business of human trafficking thrives.

TARGET AUDIENCE

This handbook targets three key stakeholders: policy makers, law enforcement agencies, and civil society organisations who work to disrupt, combat and prevent human trafficking. It examines various aspects of the criminal enterprise in order to provide the stakeholders with up to date information, on what and how social, political and economic factors facilitate the human trafficking enterprise; how to identify and assist trafficked persons and prevent other persons from being trafficked; and ultimately provide recommendations for ways in which different aspects of the criminal enterprise can be addressed to effectively combat and prevent incidents of human trafficking.

METHODOLOGY

The information, findings and key recommendations presented in this handbook are based on solid research in the areas outlined above, as well as empirical evidence gathered throughout the duration of the TRACE project that examined human trafficking as a criminal enterprise. Case study countries were used according to partner expertise. The findings from this research provide some practical insights into whether a number of societal issues have an impact on rising rates of human trafficking, not only for the purpose of sexual exploitation, but also as other forms of human trafficking become increasingly acknowledged. The depth of knowledge and evidence analysed serve to inform policy recommendations and conclusions as to current, emerging and future trends in the human trafficking industry in Europe. All the reports are available in full on the TRACE website: http://trace-project.eu/.

During the course of the project six expert workshops were convened, which were attended by policy makers, civil society representatives, legal experts, non-governmental organisations (NGOS), academics, law enforcement agencies, and others who assist trafficked persons or work together with known or convicted traffickers as well as experts from international organisations. Experts commented on the findings and recommendations from the research, as well as, forecasts about future trends and provided additional practical insight where research contradicted or supported the actual practices within human trafficking as a criminal enterprise.
READING GUIDE
This handbook is the culmination of research, fieldwork and other collaborative activities focused on the aspects of human trafficking as a criminal enterprise identified above. Each chapter includes a number of relevant findings in relation to the current trends as documented and observed, as well as forecasted trends in relation to human trafficking as a criminal enterprise. A number of recommendations for policy makers, law enforcement agencies and civil society organisations have been developed as a result of this work and are presented at the end of each chapter and the key recommendations are presented in Chapter 8. Background information on each chapter can be found in the final report of the TRACE project, which has the same structure as this handbook and can be considered as its tandem publication.

CHAPTERS 1 TO 4 define the parameters of the business of human trafficking and the environment in which the human trafficking enterprise thrives. This includes the driving forces behind human trafficking as a criminal enterprise (Chapter 1), legal issues that have to be addressed to disrupt the human trafficking enterprise (Chapter 2), the trafficked persons (Chapter 3), and the modus operandi of human trafficking (Chapter 4). In this handbook “trafficked persons” refers to victims or survivors of human trafficking.

CHAPTER 5 delves into the profiles of traffickers. It addresses demographics, types of traffickers, their motives and incentives, their characteristics and personality, as well as the importance of childhood, family and the environment.

CHAPTER 6 deals with the role of technology in human trafficking. It identifies technologies, including the internet, applications and software, which are used by traffickers and will continue to be used in the future to support their human trafficking businesses.

CHAPTER 7 forecasts future trends in human trafficking. It looks in particular at the recent increase in the number of migrants and asylum seekers attempting to enter Europe and the role of the media.

Finally, CHAPTER 8 provides a list of key recommendations for disrupting human trafficking as a criminal enterprise. Targeted recommendations are also included at the end of each chapter. They can inform current and future strategies in the area as they take into account the many elements that enable and support the business of human trafficking in contemporary society. For a full overview of all recommendations the reader should consult the recommendations at the end of each chapter in conjunction with Chapter 8.

HUMAN TRAFFICKING AS A BUSINESS MODEL
The basis of the human trafficking business is the movement of people supplying the demand for cheap labour or services. Traffickers determine the cost-benefit of engaging in the human trafficking business: the high profits of running an illegal human trafficking enterprise are weighed against the low risk of prosecution. A number of elements support the high profit-low risk human trafficking business model:

- **A global business market driven by supply and demand, aimed at maximising profits**: the need for cheap labour is the principal demand sourced by the supply of people with a desire for a better life, or to support their family's income.

- **Labour market liberalisation**: the restructuring of goods and workers coupled with the deregulation of labour market conditions has led to the flexibilisation of labour and a lack of oversight and scrutiny of recruitment methods.

- **Traffickers**: respond to gaps in the global labour market and facilitate employment opportunities, among others for migrant workers who face restrictive migration policies, by-passing legislative and regulatory initiatives designed to protect workers.

- **Trafficked persons**: respond to the demand in the formal and informal labour market for cheap labour, filling vacancies in devalorised positions often leading to precarious, seasonal labour, but are unaware of or willing to accept the risks of exploitation.

In Romania, the labour-related migration of Romanians searching for jobs in the black labour market is a permanent risk factor for human trafficking. 78% of adult trafficked persons are mainly being exploited in construction, agriculture or in other economic sectors known for black work or grey labour markets.
The driving forces of the human trafficking business are interconnected and do not work in isolation. Moreover, the driving forces are applicable to both trafficked persons and traffickers:

- both groups are exposed to similar root causes;
- both groups desire a “better” life, underlined by an economic imperative;
- both groups demonstrate risk-seeking behaviour;
- both groups often associate in the same social environment and are socially connected through traditional social networks or forms of connectivity more driven by modern technology, such as social networking.

However, susceptibility to becoming involved in the human trafficking business, in addition to the above external driving forces, is also due to a number of internal (psychological) factors. An individual’s propensity towards becoming a trafficker or a trafficked person may well be based upon: i) their personality (risk-seeking, adventurous), state of mind and behaviour; and ii) a psychological response to a trigger event (death of the main breadwinner or illness of a family member creating an acute need for money).

**KEY FINDINGS**

- Internal (psychological) factors were identified in TRACE interviews: 178 out of 334 convicted traffickers have lived through trauma (related to domestic violence, sexual violence or loss and deprivation).
- A combination of external (social, economic and political root causes) and internal (psychological) factors forms the basis of the crime of human trafficking; single factors in isolation do not necessarily increase risk.
- Human trafficking is often triggered by an event creating an economic imperative or by a traumatic experience.
• The key priority in the fight against human trafficking is a reduction of demand for cheap and exploitative labour at the European level.

• States should take appropriate measures to discourage and reduce demand that fosters all forms of exploitation and evaluate the impact of measures taken, to determine the extent to which such an approach has had a positive impact, and to see if it can be applied for all sectors where exploitation occurs.

• In order to effectively tackle the human trafficking business, a continued effort needs to be made to address the under-representation of measures on the prevention of human trafficking, including addressing its root causes.

• Further research to explore the overlap between traffickers and trafficked persons is needed.

**AWARENESS-RAISING**

• Awareness raising campaigns and other activities to prevent human trafficking should target children and especially those at risk of being trafficked such as children from broken families, unaccompanied migrant minors and children with weak mental capacities.

• Many awareness raising initiatives and activities are undertaken at both the national and EU level, and in some countries there is an over-reliance on self-regulatory activities and initiatives from the private sector (e.g. related to labels and certificates). This leads to an increased diffusion of the activities and lack of coherence. Accordingly, collaboration and coordination at national, regional and international levels is required to avoid overlap and competition between different initiatives.

• The public is the eyes and ears of the community. There is an increasing need to involve the general public in the fight against human trafficking, for instance by setting up public hotlines or reporting systems for the public, and remaining socially aware of activities taking place around them.

**DEFINITION**

More than 15 years have passed since the adoption of the Palermo Protocol defining human trafficking, yet the definition is still surrounded by terminological ambiguity. Moreover, some EU Member States have separately criminalised slavery, forced labour and/or similar practices, while others have criminalised human trafficking as defined in the Palermo Protocol and EU Directive. This leads to the following difficulties: 1) the measures to enhance the fight against human trafficking are not per se applicable in the context of the stand-alone crimes of slavery or forced labour if these are criminalised separately; and 2) persons subjected to forced labour or other forms of exploitation are not necessarily victims of human trafficking and can thus be excluded from victim protection and assistance specifically set up for trafficked persons such as adopted in the EU trafficking directive.

The “exploitation” element of human trafficking is interpreted broadly. EU law does not define exploitation as such, although it provides descriptions of what practices (at a minimum) are considered as exploitation (sexual exploitation, forced labour and removal of organs, forced begging and forced criminality). This approach hampers the prosecution process since it is not always clear which practices can be labelled and thus prosecuted as exploitation.

In recent years the European Commission has advanced its efforts to combat human trafficking. However, there continue to be gaps in the legislation and its implementation, which facilitate traffickers’ activities. This allows human trafficking to continue as a high-profit and low-risk venture for traffickers. The following issues must be addressed in order to better disrupt the human trafficking enterprise.

**EUROPEAN LAW AND POLICY**

• Directive 2011/36/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 April 2011 on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims

• Directive 2004/81/EC on the residence permit issued to third-country nationals who are victims of trafficking in human beings or who have been the subject of an action to facilitate illegal immigration, who cooperate with the competent authorities

• EU strategy towards the Eradication of Trafficking in Human Beings 2012-2016

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

- Directive 2004/81/EC on the residence permit issued to third-country nationals who are victims of trafficking in human beings or who have been the subject of an action to facilitate illegal immigration, who cooperate with the competent authorities
- EU strategy towards the Eradication of Trafficking in Human Beings 2012-2016
The timely and proper identification of trafficked persons remains one of the core challenges. Identification is the key in protecting trafficked persons and ensuring that they receive adequate assistance, as well as being a precondition for holding perpetrators accountable for exploitation. There is a continuing need for institutions which (might) come in contact with trafficked persons to be trained on human trafficking. If provided with knowledge and the right tools a wide variety of actors and stakeholders can be instrumental in improving the identification of trafficked persons and preventing human trafficking.

Many different actors can come across indicators of human trafficking. It is important that information from those actors is exchanged for effective identification and prosecution. Law enforcement cooperation within a country and between countries (e.g. through Europol and Eurojust) is crucial for effective prosecution but opportunities are not employed to their full potential.

Legislation and policies do not yet sufficiently address human trafficking in the corporate world and legal economy. So far, there is no binding European provision that forces the private sector to take responsibility. There are only few cases of national policy/legislation regarding corporate responsibility to prevent human trafficking. Prosecutions of corporations are rare.

It is difficult for trafficked persons to access compensation. In general, possibilities for trafficked persons to receive compensation are limited, while procedural obstacles are manifold. Recognising trafficked persons’ rights and promoting restorative justice provides an environment in which a trafficked person may be more willing to help authorities in disrupting the crime.

Despite Article 8 of Directive 2011/36/EU which prescribes the non-prosecution or non-application of penalties to the victim, trafficked persons continue to be prosecuted for crimes committed as a result of having been trafficked. Problematically, the scope of this provision is unclear and its implementation is left to a great extent to the discretion of EU Member States. Early identification of trafficked persons is crucial for the correct application of the non-punishment principle, as this will protect them from prosecution or punishment.

The application of Article 8 will continue to be difficult, particularly in light of an increasing number of new forms of abuse, coupled with a lack of clarity as to whether or not they qualify as forms of exploitation that amount to human trafficking. This is especially the case with incidents of trafficking for forced criminality. Moreover, in cases where exploitative practices are criminalised separately, questions may arise regarding the extent to which victims of these practices are entitled to protection from prosecution and penalisation.
RECOMMENDATIONS

• States should establish clear, transparent and proportional regulation of labour providers; scale up inspections of working conditions, especially in sectors prone to exploitation; and promote decent working conditions.

• States should establish ethical public procurement and other appropriate due diligence measures to prevent risks of labour exploitation by their contractors and subcontractors.

• Businesses should establish proper due diligence processes, including systems for monitoring, for self-reporting and for financial reporting, to manage, address and account for risks of human trafficking in their operations, which may lead to criminal prosecution, serious damage to their business reputation and loss of earnings.

• Whilst acknowledging that all trafficked persons should receive protection, one should also recognise the need for a criminal provision to be minimalistic and clear, in order to harmonise which practices amount to human trafficking.

• It is necessary to expand the target groups for awareness raising and training so as to include health workers, landlords, unemployment services, and social workers for example, and to customise the training in order to reach the specifically targeted audience.

• Criminal investigations against corporations together with the increase of supply chain transparency should become a key priority. This should not prevent individual perpetrators from being prosecuted.

• Awareness should be raised about ethical consumerism and understanding the supply chain, so as to empower consumers in disrupting human trafficking.

• States need to ensure that trafficked persons are not only entitled to receive compensation but also that the system to obtain it is accessible to them.

• Specific legislation and policy is required to ensure that trafficked persons are not detained, prosecuted or punished for their involvement in unlawful activities they have been compelled to commit as a consequence of their situation as trafficked persons. Furthermore, public officials who are likely to come into contact with trafficked persons should be trained to identify trafficked persons and receive guidance on the application of the non-punishment provision.

• The application of the legal framework needs improvement in relation to human trafficking. Effectiveness of the criminal system may be assured through:
  • better use of Europol, Eurojust and Joint Investigation Teams; and
  • increased specialisation of law enforcement professionals.

• Structural change can be brought about within the criminal justice system through sustainable and customised human trafficking training programmes aimed at law enforcement officers, legal professionals, and most notably the judiciary. Such trainings should address specific topics or be tailored to specific groups and based on the level of awareness and expertise of the targeted audience.
Although it is difficult to accurately determine the scale of the issue, it is evident that thousands of people are being trafficked within, to and from Europe every year. Trafficked persons are not a homogenous group. Women and men, girls and boys of different ages and nationalities are trafficked for different forms of exploitation in different countries of destination, as well as in countries of origin.

FACTS AND FIGURES

According to the 2014 Eurostat Report Trafficking in Human Beings, EU Member States reported 30,146 registered (presumed) trafficked persons between 2010 and 2012.

TYPE OF EXPLOITATION

- Sexual exploitation: 19%
- Forced labour: 12%
- Other forms of exploitation: 69%

GENDER OF TRAFFICKED PERSONS

- Female: 80%
- Male: 20%

AGE OF TRAFFICKED PERSONS

- 0 - 11: 17%
- 12 - 17: 45%
- 18 - 24: 36%
- 25 or older: 2%

Top five countries of citizenship of identified trafficked persons from EU member states:
- Romania
- Bulgaria
- the Netherlands
- Hungary
- Poland

Top five countries of citizenship of identified trafficked persons from non-EU countries:
- Nigeria
- Brazil
- China
- Vietnam
- Russia

THE ROLE OF COMMUNITIES OF CO-ETHNICS

TRACE findings suggest that the presence of communities of co-ethnics established in the country of destination means that control can be exerted over new members of this community who end up being exploited in slave labour or petty crime. However, these findings do not deny the possibility that the presence of an established ethnic community in the country of destination may also reduce the risk of human trafficking, as the community will be able to assist and facilitate the arrival of individuals in the country of destination and in their search for employment.

KEY FINDING

There is a relationship between the presence of communities of co-ethnics in the countries of destination and the occurrence of human trafficking from the home country.
VULNERABILITY

Persons living under precarious socio-economic, physical and psychological conditions are vulnerable and at risk of being trafficked. Yet the specific circumstances of each person define that person's level of vulnerability. Likewise, certain groups are more vulnerable than others.

It is often a combination of specific factors such as lack of or low education levels, family background and age that further increase a person's vulnerability to human trafficking. Gender inequality in particular increases women's vulnerability to human trafficking (see Chapter 1). This includes violence against women, the feminisation of poverty, reinforced patriarchal relationships, gender stereotyping and discrimination on the labour market, and the degree of women's emancipation.

The following groups are particularly vulnerable to human trafficking:
• People living in areas with a poor economic situation, especially unemployed persons and persons with loans and credit problems;
• Young people who reside in public care institutions or grow up in dysfunctional families;
• People with physical or mental disabilities;
• People with substance dependence;
• Migrants, especially undocumented migrants and those involved in prostitution and domestic work;
• Asylum seekers and refugees, especially unaccompanied minors;
• Victims of violence and discrimination and marginal groups;
• Ethnic minorities and Roma.

Nevertheless, it must be stressed that vulnerability is not what causes human trafficking, but, rather, the fact that someone decides to exploit a vulnerable person. Accordingly, human trafficking cannot be prevented only by addressing the behaviour of the trafficked persons.

EXAMPLE

In the case of Romanians, a direct relation is noted between the main destination countries and the presence of large Romanian communities. Human trafficking flows were detected to countries hosting large Romanian communities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

• Overall, there is a need to develop systems offering long-term support to meet the specific needs of all trafficked persons, including those of these more recently identified forms of trafficking and to support their reintegration into the society.

• All public authorities, in particular labour inspectorates, law enforcement and immigration authorities, should prioritise the protection of rights of trafficked persons over questions of public order and immigration control. In addition, trafficked persons should be given unconditional access to support, and to safe pathways to regularise their status and change employer in case of abuse.

• More efforts and resources are needed to provide legal aid to trafficked persons, and to enable trade unions, NGOs and other actors to put forward claims for compensation on behalf of exploited workers.

• There is a need for law enforcement agencies, policy makers and NGOs to understand communities of co-ethnics and develop a working relationship with them.

• Local actors should be trained to map local human trafficking situations in order to identify populations at risk and relevant locations where exploitation and human trafficking are likely to occur.

• Outreach activities should be implemented in order to support and engage with ethnic communities and to build trust.
CHAPTER 4
THE MODUS OPERANDI OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Human trafficking is a multi-faceted crime comprising varying degrees of premeditation, coordination, collaboration with co-offenders for its execution, and the constant monitoring of trafficked persons for its continuation. It involves: the luring or coercion of trafficked persons (recruitment phase), the re-location, accommodation and transport of trafficked persons (transportation phase), and the resultant exploitation of trafficked persons (exploitation phase). Traffickers adhere to particular tactics and methods which often fall under a range of organised and unorganised practices and operations.

For each type of exploitation there exists a variety of forms of organisation. There is no clear correlation between forms of exploitation and the level of organisation of a human trafficking group: for each type of exploitation traffickers can operate either as part of a more or less organised criminal group or on their own. Most traffickers are low-level criminals acting alone or in small groups rather than as part of a large, organised crime syndicate.

THE WAYS OF LURING AND COERCING USED BY TRAFFICKERS

The most prevalent ways of luring or coercing in all phases of the human trafficking process are:

- **Economic position**
- **Psychological position**
- **Social position**
- **Manipulation**

**THE RECRUITMENT PHASE**

**HOW?**

- **Deception about work and working conditions:** the trafficker provides false promises of a better life and draws an attractive picture of the type of work on offer, the working conditions and the salary.

- **Lover boy method:** the trafficker feigns a romantic interest and enters into a relationship with the prospective trafficked person in order to gain her/his trust.

- **Indebting during the recruitment phase:** the trafficker is often responsible for travel arrangements and other costs associated with travelling to the destination country, knowing that they will be recovered later by exploiting the trafficked person.

- **Recruitment via the Internet:** traffickers post job opportunities in online classified advertisements, create fictitious websites that attract would-be trafficked persons or use social media in order to locate would-be trafficked persons. At a later stage traffickers communicate with them via Skype or Viber (see Chapter 6).

- **Abuse of vulnerability:** Traffickers use (or rather abuse) trafficked persons’ vulnerable economic, psychological or social position. Traffickers especially target children from families living in very difficult economic and social circumstances, from dysfunctional families and from ethnic minorities (see previous section).

**WHERE?**

- The recruitment often takes place in the country of origin, but there are also cases in which persons are recruited once they have left their home country, or in the country of transfer or destination.

- The recruitment takes place around specific areas where vulnerable persons might spend time: bars, restaurants, clubs, train stations, bus depots, schools.

- Recruitment can take place online through social networking sites, job advertisements or offline through advertisements in printed media (see Chapter 6).

- Recruitment can take place by word of mouth.

**WHO?**

- Trafficked persons are approached by persons with whom they have a kinship or a friendly relationship such as an acquaintance, a friend, a neighbour, a family member or a boyfriend.
They often come from the same area, city, town or village.

- If the trafficker has not met the trafficked person before the recruitment phase, the trafficker usually approaches the trafficked person directly with a job offer. The trafficker is likely to use aids such as a false brochure to make the job look real.

- The would-be trafficked persons contact the trafficker or fake labour agency themselves for a job offer (after finding out about the job opportunity through an advertisement or a friend).

• In Romania, in 43.4% of the identified cases of forced begging, the trafficker was a friend or acquaintance of the trafficked person. In other cases, traffickers were neighbours or siblings.
• In Cyprus, most recruitment related to trafficking for sexual exploitation is done in countries of origin, via friends (36%), followed by agents (18%) and acquaintances (15%). Less frequently, trafficked persons are recruited through family members or close relatives. To a lesser extent, traffickers appear to be individuals who are closely connected to trafficked persons, such as boyfriends (4%), relatives (4%), and husbands (1%).

EXAMPLE

THE TRANSPORTATION PHASE

HOW?

• The means used to transport trafficked persons are very country-specific. In the Nordic and Baltic countries ferries are often used, whereas in the case of Cyprus trafficked persons more often travel by air or land routes. In the case of Romanians and Bulgarians land routes are especially used.

• In the field of trafficking for sexual exploitation, the activities of transportation and accommodation tend to be more planned and organised than other forms of exploitation.

• It seems that trafficked persons who can secure legal entry to the EU cross the borders of transit and destination countries legally, in possession of their own documents. In cases of trafficking for sexual exploitation, traffickers in the country of origin, individuals responsible for the exploitation or who are in contact with the exploiter in the country of destination, tend to accompany trafficked persons on their journey.

THE EXPLOITATION PHASE

HOW?

In nearly all cases identified, reality differs considerably from the working conditions initially promised: trafficked persons work and live in appalling conditions, have their documents withheld and receive no wages or much lower wages than the minimum wage in the destination country.

WHERE?

• Sexual exploitation: the location is often related to the specificities of the country of destination. For example, Romania reports that persons trafficked within Romania or to Italy are often exploited on the streets or in private flats, while in Netherlands and Germany exploitation takes place mainly in the form of window prostitution, home prostitution, or prostitution in clubs and brothels.

• Labour exploitation: in the countries researched (Netherlands, Bulgaria, Romania and Cyprus) labour exploitation takes place in numerous sectors, including domestic servitude, agriculture, construction, manufacturing and entertainment, mushroom growing and cannabis farming, cleaning, transport, and the shipping industry.

• Forced begging and/or committing thefts: this form of exploitation usually takes place in crowded places with pedestrian traffic, such as streets, churches, public squares, entrances of stores or supermarkets, train or metro stations, and parking places.
CHAPTER 4
THE MODUS OPERANDI OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

RECRUITMENT FOR LABOUR EXPLOITATION

- Countries of origin and destination should develop initiatives for dissemination of information on safe and legal migration opportunities, such as through TV, radio, and social media (e.g., via Facebook, Twitter and travel applications), as well as through outreach at places of departure and arrival (e.g., at train and bus stations, seaports and airports, or when signing in to the public Wi-Fi). Such dissemination efforts could be organised in cooperation with NGOs, trade unions and businesses. The disseminated materials should include information about the rights of trafficked persons and labour rights, as well as contact information and phone numbers of places where persons could call and ask further advice or assistance.

- In particular, young people (16 to 24 years) can benefit from guidance on taking precautions before travelling abroad. It has been suggested that they should be informed to leave a copy of their passport with a trusted person and to inform them about their itinerary to reach the destination country for instance. In addition, providing contact information at destination and collecting contacts of consular offices and other relevant organisations that might provide help have been suggested as useful tips.

- Increased awareness about the reality of labour environments and conditions, including minimum wage in European countries, can assist individuals to assess the credibility and reliability of offers of employment. Therefore, more detailed and up to date content must be disseminated as part of any awareness raising campaign.

- Misuse of Au Pair and Artist visa systems should not be solved by cancelling such programmes, but rather by creating other possibilities for circular migration.

- Greater attention must be paid to the use of social media sites by traffickers as a recruitment tool, including advertisements by (possibly fictitious) labour agencies. Nevertheless, it remains important that prevention campaigns pay attention to the fact that people are also directly recruited and not only via online offers and advertisements. More attention for recruitment places is also needed. Further, increased awareness is needed: one should not necessarily trust a close friend or relative, but should check (employment) offers carefully beforehand. This ought to be coupled with greater investment in education and awareness raising so that potentially vulnerable persons are aware of other options for employment.

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND BORDER AGENCIES

- An increase in awareness among border control authorities and greater cooperation with stakeholders at locations outside of airports, such as embassy staff, is vital to addressing human trafficking issues.

- Law enforcement authorities are required to better focus their investigations on the totality of the environment and circumstances in which human trafficking takes place. This includes examining all parties involved and whether they were individuals operating alone or part of a larger criminal group, and/or the illegality of the related circumstances and processes involved.

- Monitoring compliance with labour laws via labour inspection agencies and authorities needs to increase. Further, the private sector should be more involved in the prevention and combating of human trafficking. Control mechanisms should be set up to monitor businesses compliance with labour standards and human rights, and governments should provide incentives for companies which comply, while enacting sanctions for businesses which do not respect human rights.

- It is important that labour inspection and law enforcement authorities not only control the legal enterprise, but also watch out for exploitation in the illegal circuit and unregulated sectors. One way of achieving this could be through the implementation of certification programmes which also foresee monitoring of non-compliance by members.

RECOMMENDATIONS
TRACE collected information on 334 traffickers from: 160 court and police files in Romania, the Netherlands, Bulgaria, England and Wales, and Cyprus; 101 traffickers (through either interviews or questionnaires); and from professional experts, trafficked persons, lawyers and social workers (through 50 interviews). Accordingly, the data presented here concerns people who have been convicted of human trafficking as analysed in the file study carried out by TRACE. The term "traffickers" refers to individuals who have been involved in exploitation, facilitation and/or recruitment of trafficked persons.

• are predominantly male;
• the majority are 36 or older but of all ages (ranging from under 18 to over 70 years old);
• have different nationalities and cultural backgrounds, depending on the country;
• the majority are either married or in a relationship and have children;
• generally, have low levels of education;
• are often unemployed or receive social benefits;
• are socially active;
• overall enjoy a healthy life, both physically and mentally;
• have low rates of alcohol and drug addiction and abuse.

**TRAFFICKERS IN THE TRACE FILE STUDY**

**GENDER OF TRAFFICKERS**

- male: 18%
- female: 82%

**AGE OF TRAFFICKERS**

- 12-18: 52%
- 19-25: 31%
- 26-35: 15%
- 36 or older: 2%

**FAMILIAL STATUS OF TRAFFICKERS**

- single: 11%
- in a relationship: 19%
- married: 39%
- divorced: 12%
- widowed: 12%
- unknown: 10%

**TRAFFICKERS WHO HAVE CHILDREN**

- yes: 60%
- no: 16%
- unknown: 24%

**EDUCATION LEVEL OF TRAFFICKERS**

- primary: 40
- secondary low: 25
- finished secondary: 40
- vocational: 7
- university: 36
- unknown: 0
CHAPTER 5

THE TRAFFICKERS

TYPES OF TRAFFICKERS

TRACE research made the following categorisation of traffickers:

- **Players / loverboys** whose age varies between 20 and 40 years old. Research suggests that of those countries studied, the traffickers were commonly Romanian, Polish or half-Dutch with a dual nationality. They have not received vocational training or higher education nor do they have regular work. They know how to manipulate women or girls and there is always some sort of ‘romantic’ aspect to their relationship: it is not only a business relationship but there is some emotional binding involved, be it functional or not.

- Traffickers from **poor and/or vulnerable backgrounds** who become involved in human trafficking in order to have a better life and find that trafficking is **lucrative**.

- Traffickers who are **born in a criminal environment** and to whom trafficking (or crime) is normalised.

- **Mature age traffickers** who fall in love with a woman in prostitution or provide a girl they like, who may turn out to be a minor, with housing. Their involvement with human trafficking is almost **accidental**. They sometimes have received some education and have regular work.

MOTIVES AND INCENTIVES

- Rational choice theory assumes that traffickers make rational choices, balancing the costs and benefits of their actions. Following this theory, human trafficking is perceived as a low risk-high gain venture (see Chapter 1).

- According to the network theory, individuals become involved in the crime of human trafficking because of the environment in which they live (school, family, peers) (see below).

- The neutralisation theory relates to techniques used to rationalise one's behaviour. Traffickers use the following neutralisation techniques: denial of injury; denial of responsibility; and appeal to higher cultural norms and loyalties. They thus justify their crime by convincing themselves that the trafficked persons agreed to the situation and that they are helping people.

CHARACTERISTICS AND PERSONALITY

Traffickers in the TRACE study are outgoing persons who engage in social contacts, but their social networks are often crime-related: they have mainly relationships of mutual interest and their social contacts are functional to their human trafficking activities. Despite having a social life related to their criminal activities, traffickers are often considered by others to be narcissists or anti-social persons who instrumentally use physical and emotional abuse. They lack empathy and do not show remorse, guilt or regret. Trafficked persons, experts on human trafficking (law enforcement officials and NGOs) and the social environment (e.g. wives, family, friends) of traffickers used the following characteristics to describe their personality:

- Arrogant / rude / inhumane / manipulative / street-smart / soft spoken / sly / ruthless / addicted to power / charming / sociable / manipulative / selfish / calculating / refined / self-confident / aggressive / intimidating / lack of or defective and disturbed morality / strong sexual drive

Moreover, certain traffickers have an aversion to the ‘usual way of life’, namely working in a legal industry and having a family life, because they are drawn to and become addicted to the way of life associated with being a trafficker.
Interestingly, traffickers, on the other hand, described themselves as follows:

Creative personality / honest / fair / strict and orderly / communicative / positive / conscientious / naive / a good man / helpful / respectful / trustworthy / intelligence / sense of humor / a man of principle

**KEY FINDING**

- There is a relationship between crime susceptibility and a trafficker’s personality/psychology.
- Psychological diagnostics of traffickers can be helpful in understanding the effect traffickers have on trafficked persons.

### THE IMPORTANCE OF CHILDHOOD, FAMILY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Growing up in a “disturbed” or criminal family is one of the factors which can drive someone towards criminality. “Disturbed” families encompass single parents (where the parent is struggling and/or has abusive partners), parents who are not really present in the child’s life due to addictions and/or a criminal life, orphaned children and violence. However, research showed that many traffickers also had a good childhood.

**TRAFFICKER X:**

“My parents passed away. I grew up in an unhealthy family environment.”

More generally, traffickers have often experienced situations of exclusion. Traffickers thus reported that they felt excluded, could not find a job, did not finish school and could not participate in “the real world”. This makes them susceptible to other (illegal) ways to earn a living and be involved in networks of people in the same position, without a regular position in society.

**KEY FINDING**

- Traffickers have often experienced situations of exclusion (e.g. at school, from society).

Children who are raised by traffickers follow their parents’ example and learn some of the needed skills through their parents’ coping styles. More generally, human trafficking is either fully supported and the family takes advantages of the situation (human trafficking is undertaken as a ‘family business’) or the human trafficking is fully ignored by the family.

**KEY FINDING**

- Being the child of a trafficker is one of the risk factors of becoming a trafficker.
- Some of the traffickers are born in a criminal environment and take over the business from their father/parents/family.
- Prevention measures should and can be taken vis-à-vis children of traffickers in order to protect them from harm.

**TRAFFICKER X:**

“The fact that I have been (sexually) abused explains a lot, but I don’t want to hide behind others’ faults. I have made mistakes, with men and women.”
RECOMMENDATIONS

• Traffickers often operate on a small scale and rely on family, friends and local communities. A policy response strategy ought to draw on the mantra that ‘crimes start and stop in the community’. Officials should establish working relationships with communities where traffickers are known to operate in order to collect intelligence but also to engage in preventive work.

• Acknowledging that traffickers live and ‘work’ amongst us, it is beneficial that responses adopt a multilateral approach. In other words, the various persons who can come into contact with traffickers and/or trafficked persons need to be trained to recognise the signs of human trafficking. Such persons can include landlords, midwives and other medical staff, teachers, and local council workers.

• Traffickers are often a product of a set of circumstances that contributed to their choice of lifestyle and choice of crime. In order to give meaning to such an approach, consideration needs to be given to the trafficker’s children including considering options of intervention in the family and out of house placements.

• There is a clear need for early prevention. However, this raises important social questions that require further research for policy making. What prevention methods should be utilised? Is investing significant resources in early childhood crime prevention enough? Should we consider the involvement of social service agencies, and if so under what parameters? It is recommended that policy makers engage in a dialogue with relevant stakeholders (social services, schools, children’s NGOs, local authorities, health services) so as to determine a best practice approach and whether that may lead to an increase in health access points where trained professionals can identify persons in prostitution who have been trafficked for example. Educational measures taken via health education programmes that promote bodily rights may also be integral to tackling this problem.

KEY FINDING

Technology is extensively used to facilitate the business of human trafficking by enabling traffickers to recruit and exploit persons for different purposes.

Although TRACE also examined the role of technology in preventing and combatting human trafficking, this handbook focuses on TRACE findings regarding the role of technology in facilitating human trafficking.

TECHNOLOGY-FACILITATED TRAFFICKING refers to: “the social and technical ecosystem wherein individuals use information and communication technologies to engage in human trafficking and related behaviors” (Latonero et al, 2012).

• Technology is a means of facilitating types of human trafficking. Technologies and their application within the business of human trafficking will continue to evolve.
• Technology supports the conduct of the crime as it enables the facilitation of key stages in the human trafficking process, such as recruitment and exploitation, as well as enabling the facilitation of communication and travel arrangements.
• Many technologies work together and should not be viewed in isolation from one another, such as the interaction between hardware, tablets and telephones and associated video and image material, and use of social networking sites.
• The Internet, both the surface web and the dark web, is an important source for recruitment and exploitation of trafficked persons, particularly in the context of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. However, the extent to which each layer of the web is used to facilitate trafficking is not known.
• The role of technology in facilitating human trafficking is thought to differ across different types of human trafficking, although no evidence could be found.
• Technology-facilitated human trafficking is not about technology, it is about human behaviour and human interaction with technology.
Today, there exists great potential for a vast number of technologies (web-based, hardware and software) to play a role in facilitating the business of human trafficking by enabling: ease of recruitment, ease of control by the trafficker(s) over trafficked persons, ease of transactions and so on. The Internet is the ideal channel through which a trafficker can: recruit, advertise, and sell and exploit individuals, because it:

- Provides anonymity to some extent (especially with the use of proxy servers or hacked computers), or at least the ‘sense’ of anonymity;
- Eliminates geographical distance;
- Enables two-way communication in exchange for money, i.e. the business transactions can all take place online;
- Enables offenders to commit large scale offences with minimal personal risk.

**KEY EXAMPLES OF APPLICATIONS AND SOFTWARE THAT CAN PLAY A ROLE IN FACILITATING HUMAN TRAFFICKING**

- Adult entertainment websites
- Advertising and classified advertisements
- Online dating websites
- Applications
- Social networking sites
- Dark Web
- Email
- Online forums
- Peer-to-peer networks

**ILLUSTRATIVE CASE**

The 2013 case of an English man, who set up a fictitious business via a website illustrates how the web can help offenders and facilitate THB. The offender was convicted for voyeurism and another of trafficking after tricking an 18-year-old student into travelling to a rented flat in Milton Keynes, where he filmed her with four secret cameras dressing up as a schoolgirl and posing for photographs before having sex with her. The person was recruited via a website that the offender had specifically created for recruiting women. The website posed as a scholarship scheme and supposedly offered money in return for meetings with a sponsor.

**ADDITIONAL FINDINGS ON TRAFFICKERS’ USE OF TECHNOLOGY**

- Traffickers use basic technology that is easily available – they use technology predominantly to communicate, and in such a way that the police cannot use it against them. For example, they use prepaid phones and regularly change sim cards. They also use accounts such as Gmail as it is hard for the police to get access to such accounts.
- Disproportionate attention in research is paid to the use of technology to facilitate instances of human trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation.
- Due to technical advances such as location tracking and the openness of many social networking sites, it is possible for traffickers to gain a wide pool of data on trafficked persons. This includes information as to their whereabouts after they have escaped the human trafficking situation.
- Technologies (e.g. large social media data sets and bitcoin) may provide opportunities for traffickers to facilitate human trafficking.
LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL SHOULD:
• Develop partnerships with social networking sites providers and other industry representatives to begin a dialogue on best methods for combating and preventing human trafficking;

• Improve tools that can help facilitate the ease of anonymously reporting suspected cases of human trafficking on websites and social media, by means of anonymous notification through the use of applications, websites and/or hotlines for example.

POLICY MAKERS SHOULD:
• Engage in co-operation with other Member States in order to exchange experiences on legislation, best practices and measures to use big data and technology in the fight against human trafficking.

• Encourage the close monitoring of online job advertisement sites (either by law enforcement or civil society bodies), in particular in industries where forced labour is known to occur.

• Encourage online dating websites to provide information on staying safe online.

• Adopt a legal provision for the prevention of exploitation on adult entertainment websites (e.g. prohibiting any registered sex offender from accessing commercial social networking sites where there may be children).

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS SHOULD:
• Make use of social networking sites which are accessible to (potential) trafficked persons in order to disseminate relevant information. This could include publicising campaigns on social networking sites such as Facebook, or uploading explanatory videos that disseminate information to (potential) trafficked persons on matters such as employment rights and regulations or where to seek help.

• Develop training for staff on how technology can be used against trafficked persons and how to protect them.

• Teach trafficked persons the extent to which social networking sites technologies can be used to their advantage or against them.

This chapter identifies a number of emerging issues of concern which are likely to impact the European human trafficking situation and the implementation of anti-trafficking policies and laws. It is forecast that human trafficking will continue to diversify and that criminals will develop new forms and methods of human trafficking in response to different global, social, economic and political situations, developments and trends.

KEY FINDING
New and emerging trends in human trafficking in the EU:
• Forced begging and forced criminal activities such as organised property crime (e.g. shoplifting, pickpocketing, ATM thefts, and burglaries), drug production and distribution.

• Trafficking for the purpose of exploitation through benefit fraud, identity fraud, credit fraud and insurance fraud.

• Trafficking for forced and sham marriages in which traffickers recruit women with the promise of well-paid jobs and use deception or force to convince them to conclude sham marriages with third country nationals and exploit the women sexually as well as for domestic servitude.

INCREASED MIGRATION TO EUROPE
The unprecedented increase in the number of migrants and refugees attempting to enter Europe since 2015 poses great challenges to European governmental authorities attempting to address issues related to human rights, smuggling, border control and human trafficking. Circumstances can change for different legs of the migration journey with vulnerability increasing as the journey progresses, especially when migrants’ resources are depleted. Some migrants experience exploitation, abuse, rape and deprivation during their journey to Europe. There are also reports of migrants being abducted by smugglers for ransom to be paid by their families. Those migrants who try to earn money for their journey in a transit country are often exploited by their employers or other facilitators. It is also estimated that restrictive migration policies and the demand for cheap labour in the service sector and other low-skilled sectors increase the vulnerability of migrants to exploitation.
TRENDS OBSERVED

• Increasing evidence suggests that the smuggling of migrants is often interwoven with human trafficking as a growing number of migrants turn to the services of smugglers to irregularly enter the EU and smugglers seem to use increasingly exploitative practices. The lines between human smuggling and human trafficking are becoming increasingly blurred.

• Smugglers’ syndicates have begun offering packages which, in addition to irregular entry, include facilitating or providing exploitative work opportunities to pay back the travel debt or to obtain forged documents for residence permits.

• The presence of hundreds of thousands of people, including large numbers of women and children, seeking every opportunity to enter the EU and being stranded in border areas and camps increases the risk of abuse, exploitation and human trafficking, especially among vulnerable groups.

• An increasing number of unaccompanied minors are being detected in destination countries. There is evidence that a significant number of these children go missing from asylum centres and are at risk of abuse and human trafficking for multiple purposes (sexual, labour, begging, criminality etc.).

FOCUS CHALLENGE

It is expected that the number of persons seeking asylum in Europe will increase further. Some of these people are in a very vulnerable position and face serious risks of exploitation, especially during the time that their asylum applications are considered and in cases where their asylum applications are rejected. The authorities will face challenges in identifying such cases because of a lack of training and resources. Traffickers and smugglers will seize the opportunity to increase their criminal business and exploit people’s desperation; the risk of abuse and exploitation will likely increase further. At the same time larger groups of persons become undocumented and become vulnerable to human trafficking.

LOOK TO THE FUTURE

What will happen in the future?

• Given the very low rate of detection and criminal prosecution of traffickers in Europe and worldwide, it is expected that new forms of human trafficking will continue to emerge in the future.

• The links between smuggling and human trafficking are increasing and will continue to increase. This will make it more difficult to distinguish between the two.

• With regard to the limited opportunities for entering the EU legally, it is expected that trafficking for sham marriages may be increasingly used not only to facilitate irregular migration into the EU but also to benefit from the exploitation of trafficked persons in forced prostitution, domestic servitude and forced labour.

• Trafficking for labour exploitation is likely to continue to be one of the most prevalent forms of exploitation because of the ongoing economic crisis in the EU and the widespread impunity for human trafficking.

• As the number of trafficked persons of other new forms of exploitation continues to increase in Europe, it can be expected that institutions at the European level, international organisations and States will introduce new instruments specifically targeting emerging forms of human trafficking and that assistance programmes will be diversified to address various groups. A harmonised approach to all forms of human trafficking should be supported.

• Current policies continue to exclude certain groups. As exclusion has been identified as a key ground for becoming involved in human trafficking either as a trafficker or as a trafficked person, human trafficking is likely to continue to take place.

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

The media is (recognised as) an important stakeholder in addressing human trafficking by informing the general public and all relevant stakeholders, as well as for awareness raising and preventing the exploitation of groups at risk of being trafficked. Nevertheless, unbalanced media coverage on human trafficking can also create false perceptions on the issue, which can result in wrong actions and might damage the interests of trafficked persons as opposed to supporting them. Particularly in the context of the current migration situation the role of mass media cannot be ignored.

KEY FINDING

• There is a dominant focus on sexual exploitation and the media conflates human trafficking with prostitution.

• The media play a role in stereotyping by focusing on victim stories.

• Media exposure is instrumental in keeping the issue of human trafficking on the agenda of decision-makers and policy makers.

• (Inadequate) media information and facts can have a negative impact on the level of support and the measures taken to fight human trafficking.
MIGRATION TO EUROPE

• It is recommended to raise awareness of law enforcement officials and prosecutors about the increasing linkages between smugglers and traffickers, and the vulnerabilities of smuggled migrants to abuse and exploitation.

• It is recommended to build the capacities of frontline asylum officials in identifying and referring to support trafficked persons whom they may encounter in the asylum procedure. Information should also be provided to asylum seekers about their rights, including labour rights, and where to seek help in case problems occur.

• State authorities should establish better migration management systems, including more legal labour migration channels and humanitarian corridors for refugees to reduce the opportunities for criminal business to abuse and exploit people.

• It is important to strengthen child protection services and to train police, asylum and child protection officials regarding the risk of abuse and exploitation for unaccompanied children. Furthermore, pilot programmes providing protected reception and specialised support to unaccompanied children who are suspected to have been trafficked should be developed in partnership with child welfare authorities, NGOs and law enforcement agencies.

• EU Member States may see a more effective tackling of issues that enable human trafficking by adopting a more holistic approach to anti-trafficking policy. If human trafficking is viewed more widely as a human rights issue, policies adopted by EU can seek to:
  • Increase the opportunities for third country nationals entering the EU for employment purposes;
  • Economically support the initiatives of peripheral countries to eliminate violence against women and children;
  • Implement programmes that encourage the protection (and social integration) of irregular immigrants.

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

• Counter-trafficking stakeholders should use the media to maintain the issue on the public agenda and influence public opinion. Further, as communication via social media has exploded in recent years, and traffickers use social media for recruiting, new media channels should be further used as a public education tool.

• Social media channels and other modern digital methods (e.g. multimedia art) should be employed to communicate with youth and young adults.
1. In order to disrupt the human trafficking enterprise, increased efforts are needed by all EU Member States to enhance investigation and prosecution of traffickers and to invest resources in the use of modern technology to collect more comprehensive evidence of the crime and to combat human trafficking.

2. Targeted responses should be developed to address all forms of human trafficking, including new and emerging forms of human trafficking, by establishing outreach services with mobile units and cultural mediators to work with vulnerable populations, especially children and members of co-ethnic communities, referring them to support, and promoting reintegration into school.

3. There is a need to develop systems offering long-term support to meet the specific needs of all trafficked persons and to support their reintegration into society. The support systems in place should be quick to respond, predictable and clear, but also adaptable, flexible and comprehensive.

4. Specific legislation and policy, and crucially implementation thereof, is required to ensure that trafficked persons are not detained, prosecuted or punished for their involvement in unlawful activities which they have been compelled to undertake as a consequence of their situation as trafficked persons. Furthermore, public officials who are likely to come into contact with trafficked persons should be trained to identify trafficked persons and should receive guidance on the application of the non-punishment provision.

5. More attention should be paid to the role of technology in facilitating and preventing human trafficking. Social media channels and other modern digital methods should be better monitored and used to communicate with groups at risk so as to mainstream the message into the public dialogue of the desired target group.

6. Acknowledging that traffickers become involved in the crime for different reasons, it is recommended that they are treated in a way that recognises their unique issues, preferably through well-designed diversion programmes. Restoration and punishment programmes for traffickers should always be tailored to their specific characteristics, crime, problems and lifestyles to prevent recidivism. This requires the expansion of the use of psychoanalysis on traffickers as part of the pre-sentencing report.

7. EU Member States should ensure that their policies, laws and regulations on law enforcement, migration, labour and business practices that may have an impact on human trafficking are tuned, consistent and coherent. They should avoid the risk of compromising the protection of human rights and ensure that they do not unintentionally facilitate human trafficking. All public authorities, in particular labour inspectorates, law enforcement and immigration authorities, should prioritise the protection of the rights of trafficked persons over questions of public order and immigration control. Policies should be based on a human rights based approach. States should ensure that public tenders do not lead to the use of forced labour.

8. EU Member States should standardise national procedures for the identification and protection of asylum seekers who may have been trafficked, particularly among unaccompanied minors. Initiatives for dissemination of information on safe and legal migration opportunities, as well as through outreach at places of departure and arrival (e.g. at train and bus stations, seaports and airports), should be developed further.

9. Awareness raising should be targeted at groups at risk of being trafficked and a variety of different professional groups, as well as the private sector. All the information provided should be accurate and practically oriented. It should educate society and practitioners in understanding and recognising various forms of exploitation and to intervene and refer affected persons to appropriate support.

10. A victim-centred approach should be maintained in the interaction between trafficked persons and the criminal justice system. Irrespective of whether trafficked persons choose to participate in legal proceedings, they have the right to unconditional social and legal support, and their safety and wellbeing should be guaranteed at all times.