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# Abstract

Poverty is often regarded as the "root cause" of trafficking, but the linkages between poverty, lack of development and trafficking are complex. For example, there is some evidence to suggest that victims of cross-border trafficking are more likely to originate from middle-income rather than lower-income countries. Trafficking and development have tended to be treated as very separate policy areas and the assessment of the development impact of counter-trafficking programmes is still at an early stage. This paper outlines a possible framework for a more evidence-based approach to understanding the linkages between trafficking, trafficking policy and human development. The paper argues that the human development gains from greater mobility could be significantly enhanced if there was greater coherence between policies to combat trafficking and policies to promote development.

Keywords: Human Trafficking, Development, Evaluation, Poverty Reduction Strategies, Policy Coherence.

**SECTION ONE. Introduction-Framing the Issues**

Human trafficking is possibly the worst human development outcome linked to increasing global mobility. Human trafficking has been described as a form of modern-day slavery which deprives people of their human rights and freedoms. The 2008 Trafficking in Persons Report (DOS, 2008), notes that "Human trafficking has a devastating impact on individual victims, who often suffer physical and emotional abuse, rape, threats against self and family, and even death". But the impact of human trafficking also has wider implications for human development, because "trafficking undermines the health, safety, and security of all nations it touches" (DOS, 2008, p.5).

This paper argues that the human development gains from greater mobility could be significantly enhanced if there were greater coherence between policies to combat human trafficking and policies to promote development. Although, many trafficked persons are either trafficked within or from a developing country, to date trafficking and development have been treated as very separate policy areas. Efforts to promote human development have not focused very much on the fight against trafficking, and policies to tackle trafficking tend not to be linked to wider measures to promote human development. Global efforts to combat trafficking in persons have focused mainly on the criminalization of trafficking, along with measures to protect and assist victims. Relatively little attention has been given to the relationship between development policy and trafficking. Anti-trafficking policy has been dominated by the prevention, protection and prosecution paradigm, which tends to focus policy primarily on short-term interventions.

What is lacking is a policy approach, which locates the fight against human trafficking as part of a strategy to promote sustainable and long-term development. Such an approach would encourage more of a focus on questions such as – how could development programmes be designed to be more effective in the fight against human trafficking? Could development policies target those most vulnerable to trafficking? How could development policies support efforts to return and re-integrate trafficked persons? Conversely, a more integrated policy approach also raises questions about the development implications of anti-trafficking policies. For example, do some initiatives, which are designed to combat trafficking have unintended and

potentially negative consequences for development? Do awareness-raising campaigns intended to prevent trafficking have the unintended effect of reducing women's freedom to seek regular job opportunities? What are the negative consequences of trafficking on development in terms of the loss in remittances, which might have been sent back to the country or place of origin, or the spread of HIV/AIDS and disease more broadly?[1]

It is difficult, however, to even begin to answer such questions without developing a strategy to combat trafficking, which gives greater priority to data collection and evaluation research. In recent years there has been a considerable increase in the resources devoted to providing services to trafficked persons and to combating this crime, but investment in conducting research and collecting data on human trafficking has been limited (Laczko and Gozdziak, 2005, Gozdziak, 2008). One of the key goals of this paper is to begin to outline a possible framework for a more evidence-based approach to policy and programming which would enable us to understand better the linkages between trafficking, trafficking policy and human development.

A better understanding of these linkages could help policy-makers to address the consequences of human trafficking for development. For example, one estimate suggests that developing countries could be losing up to USD 60 billion a year due to the loss of remittances associated with trafficking, as trafficked persons have to pay off the debt incurred to unscrupulous recruiters (DOS, 2008).

The linkages between poverty, lack of development and trafficking are complex, and this has made it difficult to align anti-trafficking and development policies. Poverty and lack of development are often viewed as the root causes of human trafficking, but the evidence presented in this paper suggests that middle income, rather than lower income countries, are the main countries of origin of victims of cross-border trafficking.

The paper argues that the assessment of counter-trafficking programmes is still at an early stage, with little emphasis on understanding the development impact of trafficking measures. For

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[1] The 2008 US State Department's Trafficking in Persons Report says explicitly that "the Report does not focus on government efforts that contribute indirectly to reducing trafficking, such as education programs, support for economic development, or programs aimed at enhancing gender equality, although these are worthwhile endeavors." A number of Poverty Strategy Reduction Plans in developing countries do make reference to trafficking however and this is discussed later in the paper.

instance, counter-trafficking projects and programmes have frequently been started in the absence of any reliable baseline information about the scale or precise nature of trafficking that is occurring (Dottridge, 2008). Ways in which the "human development dimension" could be better integrated into the design and evaluation of counter-trafficking programmes, are discussed at the end of the paper. This analysis is important given current discussions in international fora, such as the Global Forum on Migration and Development, about how best to "mainstream" migration into national development plans and poverty reduction strategy papers. The authors review 66 poverty reduction strategy papers and find that just under half (30) include some references to human trafficking, but it is unclear how  the impact of anti-trafficking measures on development and poverty reduction are monitored and evaluated in these plans..

<u>Scope of the paper</u>

This paper sets out to explore a range of questions, which can be very briefly summarized under the following three main headings:

1. Research and Data on Human Trafficking: What are the strengths and weaknesses of recent research on trafficking?  How reliable are current data sources in helping us to understand the linkages between trafficking and development?

2. Conceptual Framework for Studying the Linkages between Trafficking and Human Development: What are the cause and effect linkages between trafficking and human development?  To what extent is trafficking due to a lack of development?  What are some of the consequences of trafficking for development?

3. Policy Responses-Towards a More Integrated and Evidence-Based Approach: How does trafficking and anti-trafficking policy impact on development and how does development policy affect trafficking?  How to achieve greater policy coherence?  How to promote more evidence-based policy making, and better link efforts to promote human development to the fight against trafficking?

This paper focuses on internal and cross border trafficking, but excludes those "who have been caught up for generations in forced or bonded labour. These can be called situations of traditional bondage or serfdom, where persons are tied to a traditional landlord or exploiting agent in the informal economy, such as a brick-kiln or a small mine. These people have barely been engaged in the market economy." (Plant, 2007). While these people are not internal or cross-border migrants, from a development perspective it is important to recognize that there "is certainly a strong correlation between longstanding forced and bonded labour practices – often associated with deep-rooted discrimination against caste minorities in Asia, indigenous peoples in Latin America, or the descendants of slaves in Africa – and extreme poverty. Worse still, their exploiters very deliberately lock such persons in extreme poverty as a means of extracting unfair economic advantage from them." (Plant, 2007)

The focus of this paper is on trafficking and development, rather than the broader relationship between irregular migration and trafficking, which is beyond the scope of this paper. For a broader discussion on "managing migration and minimizing the negative impacts of irregular migration", see (Koser, 2008).

Sources for the paper

This paper is based on a review and analysis of a wide range of materials and data. It presents some evidence from the IOM Global Human Trafficking Database, which is the largest cross-national source of primary data on known victims of trafficking. In 2008, IOM began publishing a number of in-depth narrative reports, which form part of the database Thematic Research Series. Drawing upon both quantitative and non-personal qualitative data held within the system, the series will cover issues such as, the trafficking of men, re-trafficking, traffickers and organised crime, and a number of regional reports.

This paper also draws on the findings from a recent global review of research on human trafficking, which was prepared by IOM on behalf of the UN Global Initiative to Fight Human

Trafficking (UN. GIFT), in January 2008, in Cairo. A two-day meeting of research experts from different regions of the world was organized by IOM in collaboration with UNODC and ILO. The workshop gathered leading researchers from across the world to assess the current state of research on trafficking, identify key knowledge gaps, share innovative research methods, and discuss the challenges involved in evaluating counter-trafficking programmes, (see www.iom.int, publications, for details of the report of the meeting).

## SECTION TWO.  Research and Data on Human Trafficking

<u>Paucity of reliable data</u>

Although combating human trafficking has become a growing priority for many governments around the world, information about the magnitude of the problem remains very limited.  Despite a growing body of research on trafficking, many agencies with a role in combating trafficking do not systematically collect and analyze data that would allow them to judge whether their programmes are having the intended effect of preventing and reducing trafficking, protecting victims, and punishing offenders.(IOM, 2007)

Data on human trafficking are not consistently available for several reasons.  Trafficking victims are a hidden population, which is hard to reach because trafficking is a clandestine activity similar to irregular migration and forced labour.  Moreover, confidentiality concerns may limit the degree to which data are made publicly available.  Further, there are no commonly agreed upon criteria for the identification of human trafficking victims, and the definitions of trafficking are broad and varied.  Finally, data from victim assistance interviews may not be reliable due to the mental and psychological state in which trafficked persons are found. (GAO, 2006)

There are several estimates of the scope of the problem at the global level.  The U.S. Trafficking in Persons report provides an estimate of about 600,000-800,000 victims of cross-border trafficking annually worldwide and the ILO estimates that there are about 2.45 million victims of internal and international trafficking at a point in time.

As pointed out by GAO (2006), the U.S. estimate suffers from various methodological weaknesses including the fact that it is not entirely replicable, does not include internal trafficking, and is not suitable for analysis over time. The biggest challenge in estimating the global number of trafficking victims is how to extrapolate from the reported to the total number of victims. The U.S. government does not directly estimate the unreported victims, but relies on the estimates of others. It essentially averages the various aggregate estimates of total victims published by NGOs, international organizations, and governments, estimates that themselves are not reliable, due to differing and non-transparent methodologies, data collection and validation procedures, definitions, and sources. In contrast, ILO does not use aggregate estimates as it considers them unreliable, but applies a two-step procedure to arrive at the total number of victims (Belser, De Cock, Mehran, 2005). First, it uses a capture-recapture method of reported cases to arrive at an estimate of a cumulative total number of reported victims over a 10-year period. The corresponding average annual number of reported victims is 250,000. Second, it estimates the number of total victims, reported and unreported, at one point in time by making an assumption about the duration of a trafficking episode relative to the probability of it being reported. Based on this assumption, ILO estimates that there are 2.45 million victims at a point in time. (Belser, Danailova-Trainor, Kutnick, 2007)

In February, 2009, UNODC published a second Global Report on Trafficking in Persons, based on information collected in 155 countries by 10 UNODC researchers during the period 2003-2007. The UNODC report highlights some important trends:

- Over 21, 400 victims of trafficking were identified in 2006 among the 111 countries reporting victim data for that year
- Sexual exploitation is by far the most commonly identified form of human trafficking (79%), followed by forced labour (18%)
- The number of countries having anti-trafficking legislation more than doubled between 2003 and 2008, but many of the poorest countries in the world in Africa still do not have legislation on human trafficking
- As of 2007/2008 two out of every five countries covered by the UNODC report had not recorded a single conviction against human trafficking

- In most of the reported cases, victims of trafficking were moved across international borders but usually within the same region

- Internal trafficking was reported in only 32 countries but is likely under-detected due to restrictive definitions of trafficking and poor data collection systems. (UNODC, 2009)

The IOM Global Human Trafficking Database

The IOM global human trafficking database is the largest single repository of primary, single case data on assisted trafficked persons. As of the end of October 2008, the system contains data on more than 13,000 registered IOM beneficiaries in more than 80 source and more than 90 destination countries. The database was first created in 1999 and provides a rare source of data on trafficking over time (for a more detailed description of the database see Annex 1). Approximately three-quarters of the cases in the database refer to cross-border trafficking and one quarter to cases of internal trafficking. Women represent 82 per cent of the caseload, and by far the majority of cases involve young women aged 18-24 (6,122), but one fifth of the victims of trafficking assisted by IOM were below the age of 18. The overwhelming majority of cases of trafficking (approximately 8,600) involve trafficking for sexual exploitation, but in recent years an increasing number of cases involve the trafficking of men and women for labour exploitation (approximately 3,400) (IOM, 2008b, p. 205).

The database includes information on[2]:

- The socio-economic background of trafficked persons;

- The trafficking process

- Patterns of exploitation and abuse;

- Nature of assistance provided;

- Instances of re-trafficking.

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[2] In all cases, of course, nothing that could compromise the privacy or identity of trafficked individuals is released: strict controls designed to ensure the confidentiality and security of all data has been established. Indeed, through the global database IOM seeks to promote and ensure international best practices for the secure collection, storage and processing of standardized and comparable data on human trafficking.

- Internal and international trafficking

As noted in the 2006 GAO report, "the database created by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) provides a useful systematic profile of victims and traffickers across countries" and "improves the overall understanding of the broader dimensions of trafficking" [3].

The IOM database provides scope for in-depth research analysis of specific aspects of human trafficking but is not a globally representative source of information on trafficking. First, the information is only collected in places where IOM programmes exist to provide assistance to trafficked persons. Second, highlighted by (Surtees,2008, p.14) "assisted victims arguably represent a particular subgroup of trafficking victims, those who were willing and able to access assistance, and who, therefore, may be systematically different from other trafficking victims". We should be careful, however, not to generalize from data produced on assisted victims to the wider population of trafficked persons (Tydlum, 2008). One recent study of trafficked persons who declined assistance indicates that victims of trafficking who accept assistance are often those who have few, if any, alternatives to the assistance programmes. Trafficked persons who have a family and friends they can return to will generally choose to seek assistance from their own network (Brunovskis and Surtees, 2007) .

The data should not therefore be read as representative of the full scope of trafficking in a country. A third limitation concerns the nature of the information itself. Some of the variables contained within the system - such as issues related to abuse – are based on a subjective assessment made by the trafficked persons. Furthermore some of the data may not be comparable across countries due to variations in national definition. For example, some of the categories in the database are in addition context specific: "categories such as education and living situation were defined by individual field missions according to the social and legal context in their country, which poses obstacles in terms of the comparability of data and findings from country to country" (Surtees, 2008).

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[3] GAO (2006) *Human Trafficking: Better Data, Strategy and Reporting Needed to Enhance U.S. Anti-trafficking Efforts Abroad'*.

Finally, the collection of full information about each case of trafficking is not always possible: for example, an interviewer may spend limited time with the individual; a trafficked person may be too traumatized to talk about their experiences; there could be insufficient trust between the trafficked person and interviewer; the trafficked person could have concerns about sharing details of their cases, having fears related both to retribution by traffickers and to distrust of authorities (Surtees, 2005b; Surtees, 2008); or there could be barriers to the sharing of information between all involved partners[4].

Research

An IOM global survey of existing research on human trafficking "Data and Research on Human Trafficking: A Global Survey" (Laczko and Gozdziak 2005), highlighted some of the gaps and weaknesses in current empirical research on trafficking. These included:

- Overemphasis on trafficking in women for sexual exploitation;
- Too few studies focusing on trafficking for labour exploitation;
- Lack of research on trafficking of boys and men;
- Lack of empirical research, particularly studies presenting the viewpoints of the victims;
- Too many studies with a short timeframe, low budget, and narrow focus to meet the needs of operational programmes;
- Small and non-representative samples;
- Too few evaluations of policy responses/counter-trafficking programmes;
- Lack of external process and outcome evaluations of assistance programmes;
- Too much focus on "supply"- side rather than "demand-side" questions
- Lack of interdisciplinary studies;
- Lack of research capacity in developing countries;
- Dispersed research findings, not easily accessible to policy-makers.

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[4] The collection of accurate and valuable data on human trafficking is a challenge faced by all anti-trafficking actors. That being said, the 2006 GAO report highlighted that "*the database created by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) could… assist U.S efforts to compile better data on trafficking victims*" (GAO, 2006: 20).

Another barrier to the study of trafficking is that there has been little uniformity in the application of the Palermo Protocol definition to identify trafficking in persons. In the 1990s, 'human trafficking' was used interchangeably with the terms 'human smuggling' or 'illegal migration'. Today, the crime is still often confused with related crimes despite the Palermo Protocol, and many countries continue to mix trafficking data with other forms of irregular migration or migrant exploitation.

There has been a huge increase in the number of publications focusing on trafficking over the last two decades, but much of this literature is not based on empirical research, and the development of innovative methodologies to study human trafficking is in its infancy (Laczko and Gozdziak, 2005). A recent survey of research-based English language publications on human trafficking, supported by a grant from the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), identified 1467 references, including 810 reports, 255 journal articles, 13 masters thesis or doctoral dissertations, and 389 books or book chapters, (Gozdziak, 2008). A high proportion of these publications, 77% in the case of the 255 journal articles reviewed, are not based on empirical research, with most studies relying on overviews, commentaries and anecdotal information (ibid.).

Several studies have been conducted on the supply side but "we know almost nothing about demand" (Savona, 2008). Trafficking has developed into different "markets" of which the most significant are for sexual and labour exploitation, begging/low level criminality and illegal adoptions, but we do not fully understand how demand shapes these markets (ibid). A major weakness in current research on labour exploitation is that there is virtually no attempt to analyze issues of cross-border trafficking for labour exploitation within existing international migration theories (Gozdziak, 2008).

Most research on human trafficking has been written by scholars working in the field of migration studies, labour, criminology or human rights, rather than development studies. There have been several reports about human trafficking in parts of the developing world, but there are more studies in some regions rather than others. For example, in South-East Asia, research on trafficking has been "voluminous" (Piper, 2005, David, 2008). In other parts of the world such as Southern Africa and parts of Latin America there is much less evidence. Nonetheless even in

SE Asia research is fragmented, patchy and incomplete (IOM, 2008). Thus, due to the paucity of reliable data and the deficiencies in available research findings, policy in regards to trafficking does not tend to be based on solid empirical evidence, but is rather formulated and influenced by a variety of other factors.

**SECTION THREE. Towards a Preliminary Conceptual Framework for Studying the Linkages between Trafficking and Human Development**

Concepts of human development and trafficking

Part of the reason for the disconnect between trafficking and human development may be due to the fact that we are dealing with the relationship between two concepts – trafficking and human development – which are both extremely broad and difficult to measure, and for which we have in the case of trafficking relatively few indicators.

The concepts of human trafficking and development are multifaceted and the relationship between them is therefore complex and multidimensional. "Human Development is a development paradigm that is about much more than the rise or fall of national incomes. It is about creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accord with their needs and interests. People are the real wealth of nations. Development is thus about expanding the choices people have to lead lives that they value" (UNDP, 2000).

The human development approach recognizes that poverty is a multi-dimensional and dynamic phenomenon, which has both monetary and non-monetary aspects including social constraints and personal circumstances. Other dimensions of human development, which cut across many segments of life such as human security, governance, HIV/AIDS, gender and the environment, are of equal importance (UNDP, 2007).

Trafficking is a complex development issue because it has many different dimensions:

"It is an economic problem, as the vast majority of (men and) women seeking to escape poverty are lured into trafficking by the false promise of economic gain. Trafficking is a health problem, as trafficked women and children are most at risk of HIV infection. It is a gender problem, as unequal power relations reinforce women's secondary status in society. Lastly, it is a legal problem, as its victims are stripped of their human rights" (UNDP, 2007) .

There are different types of human trafficking based on various criteria such as movement across borders, type of exploitation, duration, gender and age group affected. For example, we could distinguish between:

- Internal and cross-border trafficking;
- Trafficking for sexual and/or labour exploitation occurring in different sectors of the economy with different labour market structures and conditions;
- Trafficking with relatively short duration and trafficking that may span a lifetime such as debt bondage
- Women and children trafficking and trafficking of men.

According to the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (2000) "Trafficking in Persons" shall mean:

"The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability, or of the giving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation."

This definition of trafficking consists of three core elements:

1). The action of trafficking which means the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons.

2). The means of trafficking which includes the threat of or use of force, deception, coercion, abuse of power or position of vulnerability.

3.) The purpose of trafficking which is always exploitation.  In the words of the Trafficking Protocol, article 3, "exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or removal of organs." (UNODC, 2004, p. 42, UNGIFT, 2008)

"The common denominator of trafficking scenarios is the use of force, fraud, or coercion to exploit a person for profit. A victim can be subjected to labour exploitation, sexual exploitation, or both.  Labour exploitation includes traditional chattel slavery, forced labour, and debt bondage.  Sexual exploitation typically includes abuse within the commercial sex industry.  In other cases, victims are exploited in private homes by individuals who often demand sex as well as work". (Trafficking in Persons Report,US Dept. of State, 2008)

The definition of human trafficking is operationalized from different perspectives based on the primary research area—for example, labour, migration, criminal justice— that it is approached from, with each area conceptualizing trafficking within its own domain.  In addition, while at an international level the definition is guided by the Palermo protocol, national laws differ in defining trafficking, and some countries do not have an anti-trafficking law at all.  According to a GAO report (2006, p.16) "Countries have used different definitions regarding the scope and means of trafficking; the activities involved, such as recruitment, harboring, transportation and receipt of victims; the purpose; the need for movement across borders; and the consent of victims. For example, there are discrepancies in the collection of data on sex trafficking. Under the TVPA, participation of children under the age of 18 in commercial sex is a severe form of trafficking. However, some countries define children as people under the age of 16 and, according to U.S. government officials, this difference has implications for how countries collect data on children engaged in commercial sex."  In addition, the TIP report does not see movement as a condition for trafficking – "A victim need not be physically transported from one location to another in order for the crime to fall within the (trafficking) definitions" (United States Department of State, 2008). The ILO (2005a) does, and in its global report distinguishes between forced labour and trafficking: "Forced labour today also affects sizeable numbers of migrant

workers who are transported away from their countries or communities of origin." "For the purpose of the global estimate, forced labour situations are grouped into three main types: Forced labour imposed by the State (…), Forced labour imposed by private agents for commercial sexual exploitation (and) Forced labour imposed by private agents for economic exploitation. (…) a distinction was drawn between forced labourers who were trafficked and those who were not trafficked." According to the 2005 ILO global report on forced labour, there are at least 12.3 million people in forced labor at any point in time, among which trafficking victims are about a quarter of the total, 2.45 million people. If movement is not required as a criterion for being a victim of trafficking, then all 12.3 million people in forced labor could be considered victims of trafficking.

To help develop a common set of criteria to assess a human trafficking case, the ILO and the European Commission have jointly undertaken an electronic survey of experts from all European Union member states. Information has been gathered based on an initial consultation with the experts, followed by a Delphi method for reaching consensus within the group. As a result of this process, experts have agreed on a list of 67 indicators. Each indicator belongs to one of six dimensions that may be observed in cases of human trafficking:

1) Deceptive recruitment (10 indicators);
2) Coercive recruitment (10 indicators);
3) Recruitment by abuse of vulnerability (16 main indicators)
4) Exploitative conditions of work (9 main indicators);
5) Forms of coercion at destination (15 main indicators)
6) Abuse of vulnerability at destination (7 main indicators)

The indicators have also been classified into three categories: strong indicators, medium indicators, and weak indicators. While few strong indicators are deemed sufficient to identify a situation as human trafficking, an accumulation of weak indicators can also lead to the same result. The set of indicators resulting from this methodology can be translated into a practical assessment guide for any organisation in contact with potential victims, or in questionnaires for researchers or people in charge of designing surveys on trafficking. (Plant, 2008)

In sum, our review indicates that identifying elements of deception, coercion, and abuse of vulnerability at different stages of the trafficking experience is seen as a condition for an exploitative situation to be considered trafficking. How exactly each of these components is interpreted in the specific context and the degree of deception, coercion, and abuse may very well vary from one case to another, so a set of criteria based on the means of trafficking needs to be applied to ensure a more consistent interpretation of the definition.

<u>Trafficking, Poverty and Development Indicators - To What Extent is Trafficking Linked to Poverty and Lack of Development?</u>

Migration can both cause and be caused by poverty (DFID, 2007). Some victims of trafficking leave developing countries, seeking work in more prosperous states, others fall victim to trafficking in their own countries. Poverty is usually listed first on any list of trafficking vulnerability factors in the developing world.
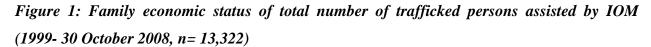
"If the trafficking of people is to be prevented, its root causes – such as poverty, discrimination against women and girls and inequality need to be addressed", DFID, 2007, p.7)

"UNDP looks at trafficking not just as a human rights issue but also a development issue and poverty has been identified as one of the root causes of trafficking" (UNDP, 2003).

Although, poverty is often said to be a "root cause" of trafficking, it is recognized that it is linked with other vulnerability and resilience factors (UNDP, 2007). A simplistic view of poverty based on low-income levels does not alone explain why some people are vulnerable to human trafficking. An understanding of the noneconomic elements of poverty – lack of human capital and gender discrimination – helps identify those who are most vulnerable to marginalization from the development process (ADB, 2003). Governance issues are also important, as they influence the allocation of resources and services in a community; those living in poverty tend to have limited access to these benefits, further reinforcing their vulnerability to trafficking (ADB, 2003).

Poverty alone does not explain human trafficking, "which is driven by fraudulent recruiters, employers, and corrupt officials who seek to reap unlawful profits from others' desperation" (Trafficking in Persons Report, US Dept. of State, 2008, p.8). However, there has been relatively little empirical research to investigate the linkages between human trafficking and poverty. The link between migration and poverty is often complex and dependent on the specific circumstances in which migration takes place.

Data from the IOM database could shed some light on the empirical link between poverty and trafficking.  In particular, the database contains data on self-perceived pre-departure family economic status, which is congruent with the notion that the meaning of poverty is inter-subjective and "varies widely" depending on the specific socio-cultural context  (UNDP, 2007). As poverty is a multidimensional concept, the data are illustrative of the subjective interpretation of well being.  For example, Alexandru and Lazaroiu (2003) found that many of the women and girls deemed at risk of trafficking were not objectively poor (most had the same income level as those not "at risk") but rather perceived themselves to be poor (Surtees, 2009).  Figure 1 below presents aggregate results for the entire IOM database and shows that just under half (48%) of the assisted persons indicated their economic situation as "poor", 14% as "very poor" and only 10% as "standard".

*Figure 1: Family economic status of total number of trafficked persons assisted by IOM (1999- 30 October 2008, n= 13,322)*

**Economic Status**



To date, the only global report that provides a ranking of countries as top origin and destination places for human trafficking is the 2006 UNODC Trafficking In Persons Global Report. The report tries to provide a global picture of the patterns of trafficking among countries and regions. Table 1 in Annex 2 shows the top ten countries of origin of trafficked persons according to the data compiled by UNODC. These countries are :

Albania

Belarus

Bulgaria

China

Lithuania

Nigeria,

Republic of Moldova

Romania,

Russian Federation

Thailand

The table then looks at how these countries rank according to a range of indices such as the Human Development Index (HDI), the Human Poverty Index (HPI), the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), and various measures of poverty and lack of development. For example, nine of the top ten source countries for victims of trafficking are either lower or upper middle income countries. Only one country, Nigeria, is ranked as a lower income country according to the World Bank's classification. All these countries, again with the exception of Nigeria, also have medium or high scores for HDI, (Human development index, scores).

It is evident from the table that there is no simple correlation between the prevalence of trafficking and the score of the human development index, the rate of poverty, or the measure of income inequality.  This may be partially explained by several factors:

a) the ranking of countries is based on the assumption that the extent to which a country is affected by trafficking depends on the frequency of the crime being reported by different institutions, rather than on estimates of the magnitude of the problem.  However, a crime not reported does not necessarily mean that it has not been committed.  Frequency of reporting may be affected by many factors, including the attention of governments that make specific efforts to identify and assist victims, as well as donor funding focused on certain priority countries.

b) the UNODC data do not include information on internal trafficking patterns.  If internal trafficking data were to be included in such comparisons, the results might be quite different because trafficking may be more prevalent in developing countries, which have high rates of internal mobility such as India, Brazil and China. Where migration requires investment (i.e. payment for transportation, documents, recruiter fees), the very poor are least likely to be able to afford to migrate internationally.  (Surtees, forthcoming) However, data on the dynamics of internal trafficking are scant (see De Wind and Holdaway, 2008)

c) eight of the top ten countries of origin ranked by UNODC have been or still are transitioning from central planned to market economies in SEE, China, or the CIS.  These countries are not the least developed countries in the world today typically characterized by high poverty rates, huge gender and income inequality and low HDI, HPI and GEM.

Trafficking in SEE and CIS increased sharply when mobility became a possibility after restricted movement. The transition, higher aspirations and opportunities abroad were undeniably push and pull factors. For example, a recent study of cross-border male trafficking in Belarus and Ukraine, based on an analysis of IOM's trafficking database (Surtees, forthcoming) found that by far the majority of trafficked men reported poor economic status prior to trafficking, but few victims of trafficking reported being very poor or very affluent. However, an important trigger was also the freedom to move after several decades during which borders were closed. Thus, increased opportunities for mobility, combined with a decline in living standards during the transition period, were a catalyst for increased trafficking in the region.

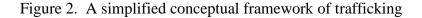*A Simplified Conceptual Framework*

While the links between development and human trafficking are multi-causal and multi-dimensional, we start our discussion with a simplified conceptual framework of the interaction between economic agents through their participation in various markets in the economy (see figure 2). We recognize that the framework is nested in the broader institutional, political and socio-cultural environment including gender roles and power differentials. We begin by considering a hypothetical economy with two sets of agents--individuals in places of origin and firms in places of destination. The places of origin and destination could be different countries or different regions within the same country. The agents take part in three possible markets where exchange could take place—the labour market, the financial market and a market for criminal activities, i.e., a trafficking network. Agent's participation in countries of origin is constrained by the available economic opportunities in their home environment, including social, cultural and personal factors.

Individuals participate in the economy by providing labour services, receiving income in return, and buying goods and services supplied by firms. With complete information on job openings at various locations, and free movement of labour, individuals provide labour services to firms regardless of firms' location so as to maximize individual well-being. If individuals choose to move from one location to another over a certain time period, they do so if the return for their

skills and services is higher, which enables them to afford a larger set of goods and services as well as to acquire new skills, technology and human capital. The financial market facilitates the flow of funds by channeling remittances back home and opening access to credit for those who need it.

Incomplete and inaccurate information at home and imperfections in the labour and financial markets restrict access to resources and give rise to trafficking networks, which effectively act as an allocation mechanism, typically provided by labour markets. The networks may range from a small family operation to a complex organization that involves investors, transporters, corrupt public officials, informers, guides, debt collectors, money launderers and production establishments (Aronowitz, A., 2001). However, the abusive conditions may not occur cumulatively, at each stage of the trafficking cycle—recruitment, transportation, and harboring at destination. For example, recruitment agencies may emerge because of the needs to overcome information problems, negotiate government rules, thus providing legitimate services and earning profits in return. Thus, recruitment and transportation may be facilitated by the normal workings of the labour market, and coercion and exploitation may take place at a later stage of the trafficking cycle. (ILO, 2005)

Limited access to resources due to long standing cultural factors like forced marriage as well as new ones such as transition to a market economy and a burgeoning underground economy increases people's vulnerability, particularly for those at the bottom end of the income distribution. Trafficking networks could exploit that vulnerability at any stage of the trafficking cycle by, for example, recruiting and deceptively promising employment or other gains to individuals in need of sustainable livelihoods. In such instances trafficking could be viewed as a form of exchange between individual recruiters and firm owners hiring trafficked labour for production. This exchange may or may not take place in a market with an explicit price mechanism that equilibrates supply and demand. The networks earn profits channeled through financial markets for the perpetuation of the crime or other related criminal activities such as money laundering, drug trafficking and human smuggling. The networks allow limited or no remuneration for the labour services of trafficking victims, thus largely eliminating the remittances channel to household members at home.

Figure 2.  A simplified conceptual framework of trafficking



Poor economic, political and social infrastructure, which leads to poverty, conflict and bad governance force some poor people to leave and look for opportunities elsewhere.  These poor people often travel through irregular channels and dangerous routes, and some of them become victims of trafficking.  One of the key push factors for migration for women and men are lack of employment opportunities and low wages.  For example, based on data from IOM's database, prior to trafficking 23% of women were unemployed and 50% had some work experience. Among employed females 14% earned less than 50 USD a month, 10% earned between USD 50 and 100 and only 3.73% earned between 100 and USD 500 per month (see table 1 below).

Table 1.  Distribution of income earned by women and men prior to being trafficked.

| Monthly Salary | Female | Percentage | Male | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Below USD 50 | 1563 | 14.2% | 186 | 7.9% |
| USD 50-100 | 1128 | 10.2% | 327 | 13.9% |
| USD 101-500 | 409 | 3.7% | 202 | 8.6% |
| Above USD 500 | 35 | 0.3% | 11 | 0.4% |
| N/A | 7834 | 71.4% | 1625 | 69.1% |
| Total | 10969 | 100% | 2351 | 100% |

Furthermore, evidence from the database shows that, more than 60% of women and more than half of trafficked men were lured by traffickers by a promise of a job. Another 36% of assisted victims were lured by other false promises, such as education opportunities, tourism, and marriage.  Although the database does not contain information on other risk factors such as social inequalities, gender discrimination, as well as discrimination of ethnic minority groups, those factors also often lead to deprivation and limit access to societal resources.[5]   Thus, "poverty and deprivation may be a cause behind the adoption of migration as a temporal strategy to sustain livelihood systems. But poverty and deprivation can enhance risks in decision making due to the absence of means to verify the information available (which may be partial or false)." (Thanh-Dam Truong, 2006, p.27)

While poverty in both its monetary and non-monetary dimensions, and governance could be identified as the root causes of trafficking, development that alleviates poverty and improves governance does not necessarily lead to less trafficking.  Pro-poor economic growth through productive investments, trade, employment and effective social and economic policies may reduce risky migration and trafficking.[6] However, there is empirical evidence that initially

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[5] Jobe, A. (2008) *The Causes and Consequences of Re-Trafficking: Evidence from the IOM's Counter Trafficking Database*. International Organization for Migration. pp.20.

[6] A discussion of the link between economic growth and poverty reduction is beyond the scope of this paper. However, we acknowledge that development interventions designed to stimulate economic growth, may be neutral or shifting the income distribution in favor or against the poor in developing countries.  Further, our conceptual framework seeks to identify the links between trafficking and development at a broader level, rather than examine the links between specific development policies such as Structural Adjustment Programs, and specific types of trafficking.

development may cause more migration as people move out of abject poverty and raise their aspirations for a better life. While the idea of "the migration hump" is well known in the migration literature, it has not been tested with respect to trafficking between or within countries (See P. Martin, 2006, for more on this idea).

While the interaction between poverty, institutional infrastructure, development and trafficking has been explored to varying degrees in certain qualitative ways, it is very hard to test using standard quantitative techniques. There is often no direct or observable transaction that involves the exchange of victims, and no data exist on the marginal valuation of victims who have been commodified through such an exchange. Instead, exchange takes place between recruiters and exploiters who are all part of the same trafficking network or organization. In addition, if we are interested in testing the factors that force victims to move and fall prey to trafficking from poor to rich countries, from poor to poor countries, or internally between poor and rich regions in the same country, scaled by population size, we need regional and cross country data on the magnitude of the problem. However, such reliable and comparable data are not available.[7]

*Cross-border trafficking*

In the context of cross border trafficking, the relevant question is to what extent factors such as poverty, unemployment, gender discrimination, ignorance, and aspirations for a better life provide incentives to people vulnerable to trafficking to take risk and fall prey to recruiters, transporters and other participants in international trafficking networks. Posed this way, the question also follows the lines of socio-economic rights, by taking poverty, gender, vulnerability and ethnic identity as causal factors.

A theoretical argument developed by Dessy, Mbiekop and Pallage (2005) suggests that poorer countries are more likely to be source-countries for child trafficking because poorer families

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[7] Belser and GDT (2006) use country level estimates on cross-border trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation for 27 countries of destination and 31 countries of origin. The data have been collected in the ILO's database constructed for the purpose of its global estimate on trafficking and forced labour (2005). The authors acknowledge that the quality of the data remains unsatisfactory and, therefore, the results of any empirical investigation remain only suggestive. To our knowledge, to date, there is no other database that contains any country level estimates of trafficking for any type of exploitation.

cannot afford to protect their children from traffickers and rely on the government to provide this protection. Therefore, higher public funds are required in poorer than in richer countries to curb the supply of trafficked children. With economic development, in contrast, households have the economic means to more effectively protect their children from traffickers. Thus, in richer countries, the critical level of government effort is lower, which therefore reduces the level of public funds necessary to curb the supply.[8]

Thanh-Dam Truong (2006) explores the interface between international migration and human trafficking in Sub-Saharan Africa from the angles of governance and poverty. Poverty analysis is undertaken from three perspectives: income and purchasing power, capabilities and entitlements, and coping strategies. Poverty is a vulnerability factor due to changing livelihood systems and can result in a variety of forms of human trafficking for labour exploitation. The author argues that national financial burdens lead to the erosion of entitlements to social goods and supportive relations at the household and community levels, and the costs are disproportionately borne by women. At the empirical level, through the narratives of organizations participating with anti-trafficking interventions in the region, the author discusses the context and processes of human trafficking in Africa.

Finally, Belser and Danailova-Trainor (2007b) test a largely ad hoc model of demand and supply of trafficking victims by focusing exclusively on trans-national sex trafficking, using data from open sources collected for the ILO human trafficking database. Belser and Danailova-Trainor look separately at demand in countries of destination and at supply in countries of origin, in the context of the global trafficking market. The authors determine the explanatory variables by a study of the literature, data availability in countries of origin and destination and by experimentation. The results are supportive of the hypothesis derived from much qualitative work that there exists a statistical relationship between the number of victims trafficked out of a country and the level of female youth unemployment in that country. The results also support the hypothesis that countries, which are more open to the forces of globalization and have more prostitution are more likely to be destination places for victims of trafficking. The results of this

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[8] A related literature to child trafficking focuses on the economics of child labor and slave labor, including slave redemption.

research suggest that a policy that targets the development and implementation of a strategy promoting decent and productive work for young people, which leads to lower unemployment rate of young people, would not only address one of the MDGs of developing a global partnership for development, but would also have the potential of combating human trafficking.[9]

*Internal trafficking*

Internal trafficking is deeply nested in the social and cultural environment within a country and an understanding of the socio-cultural aspects of development is fundamental in disentangling the causal links in this context. Gender discrimination and violence, forced marriage, and bonded labour are among many practices that make people vulnerable and potential targets to internal trafficking.

For example, an IOM (2008) study of trafficking in persons in Afghanistan finds that the historical, economic and social factors contributing to the prevalence of trafficking in Afghanistan are so deeply imbedded that it will not be an overnight job to remove them from society. Despite the fact that only 25% of the identified victims (5 out of 20) were internally trafficked, the push factors for both internal and cross-border trafficking are similar. Some of those factors include more than two decades of conflict and the subsequent loss of lives and livelihoods, prolonged economic instability and deteriorating security, the common occurrence of violence against women, including forced marriage. In addition, one third of Afghan children are compelled to work in order to augment their family income. The majority of them are exposed to adverse working conditions outside of any protective mechanism. Afghanistan is facing a mass population displacement. Many of the displaced persons have no secure place to stay and end up living in camps or open areas deprived of any basic social services or means of livelihood. Women and children living under these conditions are particularly at risk of being trafficked (IOM 2008c).

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[9] However, the authors have not examined the link between legalization of prostitution and prostitution incidence, and have not found any correlation between legalized prostitution and trafficking.

Moreover, there is some empirical evidence in support of the theoretical argument that the very poor are usually the ones who may have to remain at home due to lack of resources, and information (Ping and Pieke, 2003). Development policy, however, focuses on the very poor and may see mobility as a coping strategy to improve their lot. For example, in many impoverished counties in the central part of China, the local government's poverty reduction strategy is to encourage at least one member from each family to migrate for off-farm work. "If one manages to go out, a whole family is able to get rid of poverty" (Huang Ping, 1997). In 2001, there were about 120 million internal migrants in China (Ping, H. and Pieke, F., 2003, p.7). Thus, while the very poor usually are unable to engage in international migration, with some development assistance and encouragement they are more likely to become internal migrants and in the absence of institutional support and adequate information, they may be likely to be caught up in internal trafficking.

Some additional understanding of internal trafficking could be gained by looking at the nexus between internal migration and trafficking and the different factors that render internal migrants vulnerable to abuse and exploitation. For example, in China there are differing policies of sending and receiving areas and differential treatment of migrants, particularly those without documentation. While restrictions on the number of applications for permanent residency status in urban cities have been removed through the *hukou* liberalization, some cities such as Beijing and Shanghai have increased the price of permanent residence status, thus effectively limiting the number of rural migrant worker applications. In addition, the cost for using a registered employment agent is several times higher than using a friend or a relative. As a result less than half of the migrant women and girls migrate through regular channels. Moreover, migrant women often lack the skills and education to migrate using the regular channels (Pearson, 2004).

Furthermore, internal migration should not be seen in isolation from broader development processes that are both partly a cause and effect of each other. For example, economic growth and institutional reforms have unleashed massive labor migration in China. The processes of industrialisation, marketisation, urbanisation and *hukou* liberalisation are considered some of the key contributing factors. Younger migrants tend to move in search of higher 'expected earning opportunities', 'personal development aspirations' and 'urban lifestyle', whereas older migrants

are driven more by 'land shortage' or 'difficult living conditions'.  Rural women are also more likely to migrate due to societal pressures and constraints (Tuñón, M., 2007, p.6).  Similarly, a qualitative study in the Greater Mekong Sub-Region finds that natural disasters, family emergencies and loss of sustainable livelihoods are some of the underlying factors for migration.  However, young people may also want to leave the village in search for work and adventure regardless of their family's economic condition.  In addition, attaining a higher level of education drives more educated young people to seek urban jobs  (UNIAP, 2007) .

Finally, the distinction between internal and cross-border trafficking is a useful tool for analytical purposes, but in reality the migration experience may involve a sequence of movement, within and across borders, with exploitative practices at different times, each with different severity and duration.  For example, a qualitative study in Nepal finds that sex trafficking does not always begin at the village level, it may also occur after voluntary migration or after trafficking to urban areas for other purposes such as labour exploitation (Hennink, 2004) .

Consequences of trafficking for human development

"The impact of trafficking on development is an area where little or no research has been undertaken" (ADB, 2003).

*Effects on development of current victims*

- *Economic cost of trafficking*

When discussing the impact of trafficking on human development one needs to take into account the choices people face at the time of making their migration decision.  There are two relevant alternative strategies: migration or stay in the place of origin.  Therefore, the costs of trafficking need to be viewed in terms of the opportunities foregone for a trafficked person versus a person who migrates without coercion, deception and exploitation; and a trafficked person versus a person in a similar situation who has never migrated.  While lost remittances may capture the opportunity costs in the first case, they do not capture them in the second one.  The foregone

benefits in the second case may not be all that many as the alternative may be as bleak as the trafficked outcome.

In fact, when the impact of trafficking on development is viewed in terms of lost opportunities in the place of origin, research suggests that there might be some possible benefits of trafficking for development. For example, a study sponsored by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) found that "For many women trafficking episodes, while causing harm, also provide opportunities to remove themselves from otherwise oppressive circumstances." Moreover, one study suggests that some returnees were able to bring home with them some savings, and "more experience of the world" (Blanchet, 2002). This should not be construed to suggest that trafficking is a better alternative than regular migration or a sustainable livelihood at home. However, it is indicative of the need for much more analysis of data from returned victims and those with a similar profile who have never emigrated from the local community.

Alternatively, when the impact of trafficking on development is viewed from the stand point of lost benefits from migration without exploitation, then the foregone benefits for trafficking victims may be measured in terms of the lost remittance flows due to incurred excessive direct costs and lost wages of the trafficking victims. The foregone remittance flows have been taken away from trafficking victims and have become profits in the hands of trafficking networks. These networks participate in the underground economy and provide no access of victims to financial markets. Victims are unable to send remittances back home as they are typically repaying debt to their employers and are allowed to keep a negligible share of their earnings. For example, a qualitative study of 202 case records and in-depth interviews with 42 women and girls who were trafficked in India for sex work and had since returned to Nepal finds that the trafficked women earned no money for themselves until they had paid their debt to the brothel owner. Some brothels paid for food, clothes and medicine, but in most brothels these costs were added to their debt. After the debt was repaid, the earnings were supposedly divided between the brothel owner, local tax collectors and the woman/girl herself, however few women/girls experienced this division of earnings. Moreover, those who had been sex trafficked by relatives were also expected to use their earnings to support family in Nepal. A social worker interviewed in Nepal stated that male relatives may make periodic trips to India to collect a girl's earnings. If

a village has several women in Bombay brothels, one community member may be appointed to travel to India to collect the money on behalf of family members. This meant that women and girls were not only under pressure to pay off their 'debt' but also to support family members through earning tips (Hennink, 2004) .

According to the 2008 US government "Trafficking in Persons" report (p.22) trafficking results in a huge loss of remittances to developing countries, because trafficked persons have to pay off the debt incurred to unscrupulous recruiters. No one knows exactly how much money is lost, but research on labour recruitment practices in some countries suggests that it may be as high as 20 per cent. Given that the annual level of remittances to developing countries is approx. USD 300 billion, this implies a loss to development of approx. USD 60 billion. Although the latter figure may be an over-estimate, it does highlight the potential development gains if more trafficked persons were able to move into regular employment.

The lost remittances for trafficking victims have contributed to the profits kept in the hands of traffickers. Total annual illicit profits from trafficking into forced commercial sexual exploitation have been estimated to be about $27.8 billion (ILO, 2005). The profits are calculated by multiplying the estimated 1.3 million worldwide victims (including not only cross-border trafficking but also domestically trafficked and underage victims) by an estimate of annual profits per victim, broken down by region. In industrial countries, annual profits made with one victim amount to an average of US$ 67,200, while in Asia and Africa annual profits were estimated at about US$ 10,000. An alternative estimate can be derived based on data from assisted victims in IOM's counter trafficking database. We found that 273 victims of cross-border trafficking for sexual exploitation provided information about the average number of customers per day, the average charge, and the amount the victim is allowed to keep. We calculated that total annual revenues for the trafficking network from these victims were around $36 million. This would represent an average of around US$130,000 per victim, which is about twice as high as the estimated profits in industrial countries by the ILO. We should note that no adjustment was made for traffickers' costs for running their operations. However, even if such an ad hoc adjustment were made, these results confirm that profits from the exploitation of trafficked persons are very high and could be even higher than previously estimated.

This analysis suggests that not only do economic underdevelopment and poverty contribute significantly to causing human trafficking, but trafficking also undermines development and deprives poor communities of the economic benefits of migration. (Trafficking in Persons Report, US Dept. of State, 2008).

- *Costs of anti-trafficking*

At a national level, the effect of trafficking on development may also be viewed in terms of the funds spent to fight this crime, funds, which could be used for other development interventions, if human trafficking did not exist or were eradicated. For example, according to a GAO report issued in 2007, the U.S. government has provided approximately $447 million in foreign assistance to nongovernmental organizations, international organizations, and foreign governments to combat and help eliminate human trafficking since 2001. In addition, to support U.S. efforts to investigate trafficking in persons within the U.S., the U.S. Bureau of Justice Assistance has funded a total of 42 law enforcement task forces on human trafficking and reported awarding a total of over $17 million to them from 2004 to 2006 (GAO, 2007a). However, this should be viewed as a minimum estimate of the law enforcement costs of anti-trafficking in the U.S. since resource information on fighting trafficking may not be distinguishable from other law enforcement activities. To implement their respective plans and carry out activities related to the investigation and prosecution of trafficking in persons, U.S. agencies have generally drawn from existing resources. Overall, if the fight against trafficking is successful, funds currently used to fight trafficking crimes may be channeled towards alternative development initiatives.

- *Examples of other costs of trafficking for development*

In addition to the foregone benefits in terms of remittances and human capital, there are other human and social costs to development attributable to trafficking. The direct impact on the family and community left behind cannot be easily quantified but nevertheless should not be ignored. For example, Omelaniuk (2006) argues that current victims of trafficking cannot care for the elderly and their children. In many cases, the forced absence of women leads to the

breakdown of families and neglect of children (around 30% of trafficked women in SEE have children) and the aged (Clert et al, 2005; United States Department of State, 2005).

In addition, trafficking contributes to the spread of HIV by significantly increasing the vulnerability of trafficked persons to infection according to the findings of a recent UNDP study (UNDP, 2007). Both human trafficking and HIV greatly threaten human development and security. However, links between trafficking and HIV/AIDS have to be explored with caution (ADB, 2003). "Many trafficking awareness-raising campaigns have inadvertently conveyed the message to fearful communities that all trafficked persons are infected with the disease (HIV/AIDS), leading to further stigmatization of all women returning to their communities."

*Effect on development of ex victims of trafficking*

For ex-victims of trafficking, the impact on development depends on the alternatives they face after the trafficking experience when they could stay or leave the country of destination.[10] The question of remittances becomes relevant for those ex-victims of trafficking, who remain in the receiving country after managing to escape, after having been rescued or after having been released from exploitative circumstances. If, on the other hand, the victims return to their country of origin either on their own or with the help of an assistance agency, their successful reintegration also has an impact on development. Through relevant empowerment activities such as skills acquisition, literacy classes or seed money, those ex-victims may be able to escape out of poverty and improve their livelihood. For example, Hennink (2004) finds that there are serious issues of social stigma in re-integrating sex trafficked women into the community in Nepal. Therefore, women may be unable or unwilling to return to their home communities. They need training in marketable skills and business development, assistance with employment seeking and independent living, so that they do not return to sex work and face continued stigma and social exclusion.

However, the fate of ex-victims of trafficking is largely unknown. IOM collects data on the victims whom it has assisted until their return to their country of origin. However, data on

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[10] A condition for IOM assistance is that the victims agree to return to his or her country of origin.

victims' reintegration are sparse. What is known, however, is that there is a large gap between identified and assisted victims by IOM, NGOs, and other agencies, and the estimates of total victims of trafficking.

To better understand the impact of ex-victims of trafficking on development, data on those victims need to be collected. This could be done by adding questions specifically addressing the migration experience in household surveys in places of destination or questions targeting return migrants in places of origin. While other types of data sources are more widely used to describe migration, they fail to provide the in-depth information needed to analyze international migration in general, including trafficking (Carletto and de Brauw, 2007). An innovative approach in this regard is the experiment with data collection in Georgia and Moldova of returned migrant workers by ILO-SAPFL (Plant, 2008). The data collection instrument incorporates for the first time questions about the migration experience of return migrants based on indicators of forced labour discussed earlier (see Delphi method used by ILO, Plant, 2008, p.4). Since the questions were inserted into large, representative samples, they allowed for extrapolation of results and thus for the first ever robust estimates on trafficking for forced labour at a national level.

In sum, human trafficking and development are multifaceted concepts and the relationship between them is therefore complex and multidimensional. While poverty is often argued to be a root cause of trafficking, trafficking does not necessarily occur from the poorest countries or the poorest regions within the countries. Moreover, the poorest people in the countries of origin may not be those most likely to migrate and thus most vulnerable to trafficking. Development strategies, on the other hand, often aim at poverty alleviation in the world's poorest countries or social groups at the bottom of the income distribution within those countries. Factors, such as governance, gender discrimination, access to markets and information, also play an important role within the trafficking-development nexus. Finally, the costs of trafficking for development vary depending on the level of analysis (individual or country), as well as on the choices individuals face before they make the migration decision.

**SECTION FOUR. Trafficking and Human Development: Towards a More Integrated Policy Framework**

This paper has briefly explored the complex relationship between trafficking and human development. So far, we have conceptually recognized that generally human trafficking has a negative impact on development, but that in some cases when the alternatives in the place of origin are extremely limited, trafficking may even be seen as an improvement in people's economic opportunity set. Development, on the other hand, may encourage or discourage trafficking. Development could have a positive impact in the fight against trafficking as it addresses some of the key trafficking vulnerability factors and improves governance in places of origin. However, development may also lead to higher migration and trafficking as better communication and more information raise people's aspirations for a better life. Moreover, development may also lead to marketisation of the economy with people moving away from the traditional subsistence mode of production. In this transition process without established adequate governance structures the very poor may become more vulnerable to risk and fall prey to exploitative labour practices.

A recognition of the complex interaction between trafficking and development calls for (1) greater policy coherence in the design and implementation of anti-trafficking development interventions; (2) close attention to ex ante and ex post evaluation of the desired and actual outcomes of those interventions.

The linkages between irregular migration and development, including trafficking and development, have recently received more attention in the context of discussions at the second Global Forum on Migration and Development, (GFMD, October, 2008).

The background paper for GFMD "Secure, Regular Migration Can Achieve Stronger Development Impacts", argues among other things in favour of "a comprehensive approach" to migration that takes into account economic, development and humanitarian objectives". In particular, it is argued that a comprehensive approach to migration management, which balances "facilitation of regular migration with effective enforcement against irregular

migration"…enhances people's choices and chances of migrating safely and productively". A key element of a comprehensive approach involves achieving greater coherence between anti-trafficking and development policies.

Policy coherence requires that development policy-makers recognize the importance of combating trafficking for achieving desired development outcomes and that anti-trafficking policy-makers understand and consider the development impacts of measures to combat trafficking. This section considers some of the ways in which greater policy coherence in this area might be achieved and discusses the extent to which trafficking is currently integrated into development frameworks such as the poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSPs).

Evaluation of the anti-trafficking impact of development interventions and the development impact of anti-trafficking interventions is critical to progress in human development. The capability approach emphasizes what a person can do and not just what she or he can purchase as the metric of development (UNDP, 2007). The collection of human development and trafficking data could lend itself to evidence-based policy-making that helps reduce the forms of social, political and economic exclusion that otherwise keep people from realizing their capabilities and fall prey to trafficking violations. Evidence-based policy-making may be defined as using statistics and other sources of information systematically to highlight issues, inform programme design and policy choice, forecast the future, monitor policy implementation and evaluate policy impact (UNDP, 2007). The challenge in promoting an anti-trafficking development policy is that the evidence needed for programme design, monitoring and evaluation is limited. For example, it is very hard to collect any reliable baseline data on trafficking, which are needed to be able to attribute any reduction in trafficking incidence to particular development interventions. Moreover, most of the data on trafficking concerns information on cross-border trafficking for sexual exploitation. Data on internal trafficking, which may be much more closely linked to the severest forms of poverty in a country, are much more difficult to find.

Linking development and trafficking policies – example of PRSPs

The link between migration and development is now on the agendas of many actors in the field of international development. However, the coherent and comprehensive integration of migration in development agendas or strategic development policy frameworks, such as Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), Country and Regional strategy papers or Common Country Assessments (CCA) and the UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) is still lacking (IOM, 2005).

It has been frequently argued in recent years that migration is not sufficiently integrated into national development plans and PRSPs, and when migration is mentioned, it is more often cited as a factor hindering rather than contributing to development (Black, 2005, Martin, 2008). One review of 48 PRSPs found that 21 made no mention of migration and nine saw it as a cause of "brain drain" (HC, 2004).

PRSPs are important for several reasons (WB, 2007):

1. They provide a framework for countries to articulate key development issues and policy objectives
2. They are a tool to establish policy priorities
3. They encourage the coordination of donor efforts and allocation of resources to meet development objectives
4. As PRSPs should be monitored and evaluated, they should provide a benchmark for development outcomes

Development funding is allocated to poverty reduction priorities identified by partner governments. If trafficking is not included in PRSPs, there is less scope for discussion between donors and partner governments about a human development-oriented approach to tackling trafficking. The visibility of trafficking in PRSPs and similar documents is therefore very important.

This paper includes an analysis of 66 PRSPs and finds that just under half, 30 PRSPs, do include some mention of trafficking. However, the main focus in most PRSPs is on the trafficking of women and children for sexual exploitation with little mention of other forms of trafficking. Trafficking is often mentioned as a factor linked to measures to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women, and as part of a strategy to protect vulnerable groups such as children.

Annex 2 describes how trafficking is included in 30 national PRSPs. Three broad headings are used in the table – measures falling under the "Justice approach", "Human Rights approach", and "Development approach". For example, in the case of Ghana, measures falling under these three headings include passing anti-trafficking legislation (Justice); prevention of trafficking through awareness-raising campaigns (Human Rights); reduction of poverty in areas most affected by trafficking (Development).

It has not been possible within the scope of this paper to conduct a detailed analysis of the 30 PRSPs, which include reference to trafficking, but from the available evidence that we have been able to gather it is unclear how the anti-trafficking effects of development policy will be achieved. It is also unclear how the complex interaction between trafficking and development is mapped into monitoring outputs and evaluating impact so as to avoid any undesired consequences. Finally, it is unclear to what extent measures seek to address the wide range of dimensions of trafficking in terms of its various types, gender and age of victims, etc. For example, any strategy to link trafficking and development policy more closely would need to pay particular attention to understanding the linkages between internal trafficking and development, if the poorest and most vulnerable are most at risk in cases of internal trafficking.

Promoting more evidence-based policy making

As noted earlier, the trafficking-development nexus is complex. Changes in development policy may have both positive and negative consequences for trafficking. Conversely changes in trafficking policy may have a range of different implications for development. Since at a conceptual level the links between development and trafficking are non-linear, before we take action, we need to ensure that we do no harm. We need much more evaluation of the impact of

development interventions on trafficking and the impact of anti-trafficking programmes on development. Not monitoring and evaluating counter-trafficking programmes can have potentially disastrous consequences for development.

For example, in a recent paper Dottridge (2008) suggests that "initiatives which were nominally supposed to stop trafficking actually had numerous negative effects for people who have been trafficked, as well as other groups of people, such as migrants and sex workers".

One example cited is the following:

"In the course of observing the impact of our interventions, we began to be concerned that some of the approaches we were supporting might have unintended negative consequences. Prevention messages that characterized trafficking as a definite result of leaving a village seemed to discourage girls and women from exercising their right to migrate in search of a better life. Some women and girls crossing the border to visit relatives or join legitimate jobs were intercepted as suspected trafficking victims, infringing on their right to migrate – an important self-protection mechanism, especially given the current conflict. Furthermore increased HIV/AIDS awareness also resulted in serious stigmatization of returnees, with some neighbours thinking all returnees must be infected by the virus" (Hausner, 2005).

Development policies and programmes may also impact on trafficking in ways, which are not expected. For example, it is unclear to what extent development interventions that target the very poor and improve their condition from very poor to poor are likely to reduce trafficking or shift trafficking from one type to another, i.e., from internal to cross-border trafficking.[11]

Moreover, while poverty may be one of the root causes of human trafficking, unsafe migration decisions may be themselves the result of development interventions. A study in Cambodia, for example, finds that the construction of roads built in the province of Ratanakiri, located in the far

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[11] Our analysis seeks to identify the links between trafficking and development at a broader level, rather than examine the links between specific development policies such as Structural Adjustment Programs, and specific types of trafficking.

northeast of Cambodia has had more impact in encouraging migration for ethnic minorities, than in facilitating access to social facilities and services. With the modernization and transition to a market economy of Ratanakiri, its once simple ethnic groups now aspire to consumer goods, which they cannot afford with revenues from their traditional activities. For many of these ethnic minorities, the new roads that lead into their provinces also offer a way out of hardship and poverty, and into prosperity, through migration. However, migration—when unregulated—especially for people with limited education, skills, and information, can lead to human trafficking and other forms of exploitation (Damazo, 2007).

There is also sometimes a tension between development objectives to combat HIV/AIDS in a poor country and attempts to combat trafficking. For example, public health measures such as forced testing of returning female migrants has also at times had the unintended negative effect of increasing significantly the stigmatization of women who have been humiliated by the procedures and attitudes of health officials (ADB, 2003, p.72).

Clearly, some policy approaches - simply deporting victims – rather than offering return and re-integration - are likely to have more negative implications for development than others. In addition, forcing victims to return will have different consequences depending on the level of development of the country to which the person is returning. However, the outcomes of the different approaches have not been systematically analyzed.

A Way Forward

Assessment of the development implications of counter-trafficking programmes is at an early stage, owing to questionable data and programme design characteristics that impede evaluations. Several research approaches could be pilot tested to improve knowledge of counter-trafficking programme effectiveness. These include tracking individual victims over time, learning from experience to reach other elusive and hard-to-detect populations, and gaining more understanding from analyzing existing databases. However, such research would have to be tailored to the specific cultural context, evaluation framework, data collection methods, and analysis of each individual programme (Danailova-Trainor, 2008).

Greater investment in evaluation of anti-trafficking programmes from a development perspective could aid in designing interventions that would limit the losses to development in terms of remittances, as well as non-monetary human and social costs from trafficking. To date, there has been relatively little evaluation of anti-trafficking programmes from a development perspective. Most recent evaluations of trafficking programmes have been based on qualitative rather than quantitative methodologies. (GAO, 2007) While qualitative data provide in depth understanding of causal processes, they are expensive to gather on an extensive basis, usually contain information that is not uniformly collected across cases and situations, and cannot be reproduced and generalized to other settings. (Rossi, 2004, p.254) In addition, evaluations of counter-trafficking programmes focus primarily on process, rarely assessing impact. Finally, few evaluations track individual victims over time (GAO, 2007).

Building capacity to generate better data is a requisite for both achieving policy coherence and evidence-based policy making. "In most countries in SE Asia, government agencies do not have the capacity to collect, compile, analyse or report even the most basic data to inform policy development on trafficking" (David, 2008, p.15). "Priority should be given to assisting individual agencies and national governments to build their capacity to design, implement and maintain appropriate information systems, as part of the larger anti-trafficking response" (ibid).

Until better data on trafficking are collected, one of two possible strategies could be employed:

(1) designing development policies that have proven record of success in certain outcomes that conceptually are highly likely to be correlated with positive results for trafficking, while closely evaluating the actual outcomes. For example, at a conceptual level certain development interventions such as universal primary education are likely to have a positive effect in the fight against child trafficking. Over the last five to ten years, a series of such programmes in Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa, and South Asia have been carefully assessed using randomized evaluation techniques (J-PAL, MIT). Some of these approaches include cutting the cost of schooling, helping parents with the cost of sending a child to school, free school meals to subsidize attendance, and de-worming to improve children's health (J-PAL, MIT). Moreover, evidence from gender mainstreaming interventions could help design programmes that empower

women in the process of return and/or reintegration after being trafficked. For example, evidence on the impact of microenterprise could help design these types of interventions.

(2) designing interventions that target the community at large through education and social protection programmes, while simultaneously closely monitoring and assessing the actual anti-trafficking outcomes. So far trafficking policy has tended to focus on the trafficked – but targeting may not always be the best way to help combat trafficking in persons. Since many trafficking victims are unknown and not assisted, generic development programs could help this group. Interventions could focus on the socially vulnerable and not just trafficked victims. As a background paper for HDR points out, such a strategy that targets the community at large rather than victims would also help avoid stigma and exclusion of ex-victims. Moreover, trafficked people may often be better protected, than other vulnerable groups of migrants who are subjected to exploitative labor practices in today's global economy. "At the bottom end of the labour market, irregular migrants can work for excessively long hours in difficult and dangerous conditions for scarce remuneration, and the media often denounces such practices as "slave labour"…There is indeed a continuum from the most flagrant forms of coercive exploitation to the decent work conditions to which all workers aspire" (Plant, 2007).

Finally, progress towards achieving the MDGs is progress towards human development (2005 global HDR). The targets and indicators provide a good framework for analysing and assessing this progress. Development interventions that aim at several MDG targets could have potential impact on trafficking. Among the MDGs that may affect trafficking are the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, universal primary education, which is particularly relevant for child trafficking, gender equality and empowerment of women, and a global partnership for development, specifically decent and productive work for the youth. However, as we have demonstrated, the effects of these development interventions are complex and need to be carefully ex ante evaluated so as to avoid unintended consequences.

**SECTION FIVE: Concluding Remarks and Agenda for Further Analysis and Assessment**

This paper briefly suggests some first steps towards developing a conceptual framework for looking at human trafficking from a development perspective. It emphasizes that human development and human trafficking are two broad multidimensional concepts interlinked by complex cause and effect relationships. At a theoretical level, poverty, gender inequalities, lack of education opportunities, poor governance, and other socio-economic factors could be identified as underlying causes of human trafficking, but development may or may not lead to less trafficking. While development alleviates extreme poverty and deprivation, it also raises people's aspirations for a better life. As migration could be seen as a strategy to improve economic outcomes, without adequate information and sufficient safeguards it may increase people's vulnerability to trafficking. Conversely, trafficking has a negative impact on development in terms of the foregone benefits to the place of origin. The costs to development may be both monetary and social such as lost remittances, family ties, and spread of disease such as HIV/AIDS. However, when people's capabilities and entitlements in the place of origin are extremely limited, trafficking is an option that sadly enough is more attractive than the available alternatives.

While the relationship between trafficking and development is non-linear, empirical work that tests this relationship is significantly constrained by lack of reliable data and relatively little evaluation of the social, economic and health effects of interventions on the trafficked, as well as those that are left behind and are not trafficked. As anti-trafficking may have negative unintended consequences for development and development interventions may promote risky migration, we advocate the need for policy coherence in the design and implementation of anti-trafficking development policy. Policy makers should consider a careful and systematic ex ante assessment of the desired effects of interventions and provide funding for ex post evaluation so as to assess the combined impact and learn what works in the particular environment. As trafficking is deeply rooted in the socio-cultural context of the place of origin, a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods could be applied to evaluate the potential effects. Sound qualitative methods are well suited for case based, in-depth analysis, while quantitative approaches could build on the qualitative findings and allow for some degree of generalization.

In addition, existing databases could be used and further expanded to shed more light on ex-victims of trafficking, as well as their return and reintegration experience. Future research should also focus on the nexus between internal trafficking and development and explore how more generic development policies could help tackle trafficking.

**Annex 1**

**The IOM Global (Victim-Centred) Human Trafficking Database**

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) is using a unique tool to monitor the assistance process and collect information on the victims of trafficking it assists. The The IOM global human trafficking database is the largest single repository of primary, single case data on assisted trafficked persons. As of October 2008, the system contains data on approximately 13,322 registered IOM beneficiaries, of more than 80 different nationalities trafficked to more than 90 destination countries. Women represent 83% of the caseload.

It is a standardized anti-trafficking data-management tool available to all IOM missions and is actively used throughout all regions of the world. Containing only primary information, this unique tool specifically facilitates the management of the whole IOM direct assistance, movement and reintegration process through a centrally managed system as well as mapping the victim's trafficking experience. The structure follows the format of two accompanying IOM Interview Forms; used by IOM missions and partnering organisations involved in the provision of direct assistance, and containing a wealth of information both of a quantitative and qualitative nature. The Screening Interview Form is specifically intended to assess whether the individual is a victim of trafficking and thus eligible for an IOM's assistance project; and the Assistance Interview Form stands to track the nature of direct assistance given along with documenting further details of the trafficking experience.

While initially designed as a case management tool for IOM counter-trafficking direct assistance programmes, the system quickly demonstrated its added value to research. Containing information of both a quantitative and qualitative nature, it stores valuable information on[12]: It serves as a knowledge bank, from which statistical and detailed reports can be drawn. In so doing, it strengthens the research capacity and understanding of the causes, processes, trends and

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[12] In all cases, of course, nothing that could compromise the privacy or identity of trafficked individuals is released: strict controls designed to ensure the confidentiality and security of all data has been established. Indeed, through the global database IOM seeks to promote and ensure international best practices for the secure collection, storage and processing of standardized and comparable data on human trafficking.

consequences of trafficking, informing program development and policy making on counter-trafficking.

As with any dataset, and particularly datasets related to the largely covert phenomenon of human trafficking, there are limitations to the IOM database. From the outset, it is important to note that for some of the variables on which IOM collects data there are amounts of missing data. This is in part due to the manner in which the data is collected. For example, the interviewer would seek to avoid any form of re-victimization or there could be barriers to the sharing of information between all involved partners.[13].

A second limitation concerns the nature of the information itself. The majority of trafficked persons assisted by the organization to date have been women trafficked for sexual exploitation. However, to add some important and additional context, one can note that up until very recently national and international policy, practice and research - at all levels - has predominantly focused on trafficking for the sexual exploitation of women and girls; and it has only been recently that the attention needed has been afforded to trafficking for other forms of exploitation and also to the trafficking of men and boys.

As such, there has arguably been a bias not only towards the sex breakdown of persons identified as having been trafficked, but also the number of persons identified as having been trafficked for sexual exploitation compared to the number of trafficked persons identified after having been trafficked for other forms of exploitation. Identification biases of course in return impact upon eligibility for direct assistance programmes. Organizations working on combating trafficking have previously only received donor funds to assist, for example, women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation. As a consequence, this results in data biases, which one must be aware of and must take into account.

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[13] The collection of accurate and valuable data on human trafficking is a challenge faced by all anti-trafficking actors. That being said, the 2006 GAO report highlighted that "*the database created by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) could… assist U.S efforts to compile better data on trafficking victims*" (GAO, 2006: 20).

**Statistics of VoT by Top 10 Nationality as of 31-Oct-08**

| No | Nationality | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | Total |
|----|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| 1 | UKRAINE | 3 | 57 | 100 | 191 | 41 | 424 | 774 | 886 | 1080 | 98 | 3654 |
| 2 | MOLDOVA | 11 | 316 | 347 | 263 | 227 | 256 | 304 | 434 | 105 | 25 | 2288 |
| 3 | BELARUS | 0 | 9 | 8 | 2 | 58 | 248 | 559 | 417 | 178 | 164 | 1643 |
| 4 | ROMANIA | 8 | 172 | 230 | 196 | 131 | 73 | 121 | 20 | 2 | 37 | 990 |
| 5 | MALI | 0 | 0 | 7 | 143 | 302 | 201 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 656 |
| 6 | GHANA | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 388 | 194 | 25 | 0 | 607 |
| 7 | INDONESIA | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 60 | 82 | 217 | 102 | 0 | 461 |
| 8 | UZBEKISTAN | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 11 | 211 | 30 | 20 | 81 | 49 | 404 |
| 9 | BULGARIA | 0 | 17 | 51 | 123 | 84 | 74 | 28 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 401 |

**Statistics of VoT by Top 10 Destination Country as of  31-Oct-08**

| No | Destination Country | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | Total |
|----|---------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| 1 | RUSSIAN FED. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 38 | 30 | 210 | 484 | 594 | 442 | 139 | 1937 |
| 2 | TURKEY | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 59 | 142 | 364 | 328 | 227 | 67 | 1192 |
| 3 | FYROM | 0 | 114 | 260 | 208 | 138 | 17 | 32 | 15 | 10 | 2 | 796 |
| 4 | POLAND | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 32 | 112 | 191 | 212 | 161 | 61 | 785 |
| 5 | MOLDOVA | 0 | 1 | 3 | 16 | 19 | 109 | 215 | 318 | 15 | 0 | 696 |
| 6 | BiH | 14 | 195 | 191 | 125 | 27 | 61 | 34 | 23 | 11 | 3 | 684 |
| 7 | GHANA | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 388 | 194 | 25 | 0 | 607 |
| 8 | KOSOVO | 2 | 115 | 142 | 89 | 57 | 42 | 23 | 72 | 10 | 6 | 558 |
| 9 | ITALY | 2 | 28 | 22 | 88 | 52 | 84 | 99 | 84 | 32 | 17 | 508 |
| 10 | MALI | 0 | 0 | 0 | 114 | 257 | 111 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 488 |

Source: IOM database on trafficking.

**Annex 2**

**Selected Development Indicators for the Top 10 Origin countries in the UNODC** *Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns* **2006 Report**

| Country | Human Development Index (HDI) 2007/2008 (value) | Human Poverty Index (HPI) 2007/2008, value (%) | Gender-related development index (HDI) 2007/2008 value | Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) 2007/2008 value | Country classification (World Bank) | Share of poorest quintile in national consumption or income, %, 1992-2005 | Population below national poverty line, total, % | GINI, % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Albania | High (0.801) | n/a° | 0.797 | n/a | Lower-middle income | 8.2 | 25.4 (2002) | 33.03 (2005) |
| Belarus | High (0.804) | n/a | 0.803 | n/a | Upper-middle income | 8.8 | 18.5 (2002) | 27.92 (2005) |
| Bulgaria | High (0.824) | n/a | 0.823 | 0.606 | Upper-middle income | 8.7 | 12.8 (2001) | 29.24 (2003) |
| China | Medium (0.777) | 11.7 | 0.776 | 0.534 | Lower-middle income | 4.3 | 4.6 (1998) | Rural: 35.85; urban: 34.80 (2005) |
| Lithuania | High | n/a | 0.861 | 0.669 | Upper- | 6.8 | n/a° | 35.81 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (0.862) | | | | middle income | | | (2004) |
| Nigeria | Low (0.470) | 37.3 | 0.456 | n/a | Lower-income | 5.0 | 34.1 (1992-1993) | 42.93 (2003) |
| Republic of Moldova | Medium (0.708) | n/a | 0.704 | 0.547 | Lower-middle income | 7.8 | 48.5 (2002) | 35.60 (2004) |
| Romania | High (0.813) | n/a | 0.812 | 0.497 | Upper-middle income | 8.2 | 25.4 (1995) | 31.50 (2005) |
| Russian Federation | High (0.802) | n/a | 0.801 | 0.489 | Upper-middle income | 6.1 | 19.6 (2002) | 37.51 (2005) |
| Thailand | Medium (0.781) | 10.0 | 0.779 | 0.472 | Lower-middle income | 6.3 | 13.6 (1998) | 42.45 (2004) |

°Data not available

Source: UNDP, 2007; UN DESA, 2008; World Bank, 2008a; 2008b.

**Annex 3**

**Countries where trafficking in human beings is mentioned in the PRSP\***

\* Only Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) and interim-PRSPs available on the World Bank website ([www.worldbank.org/prsp](www.worldbank.org/prsp)) as of 18 November 2008. The PRSP of Serbia and Montenegro could not be accessed.

| Country | Name of PRSP | Trafficking included as part of | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Justice approach | Human Rights approach | Development approach |
| Afghanistan | National Development Strategy, 2008 | Part of security policy "to ensure internal security and fight criminal activity" (p. 57), also mentioned under regional cooperation on cross-cutting issues of security (p. 60) | | "Social protection" policies: victims of trafficking are listed as population "at risk" (p. 126) |
| Albania | National Strategy for Development and Integration, 2008 | Mentioned as part of the fight against crime and corruption (p. 6/7) | Support of vulnerable women and girls through assistance of victims of trafficking, particularly in | |

| | | | rural areas, and reintegration programmes (p. 60) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Azerbaijan | State Programme on Poverty Reduction and Economic Development, 2003 | | Adopt and implement international conventions to fight trafficking in women and children (p. 77); prevention (p. 32) | |
| Bangladesh | | | Trafficking of women listed as impeding realization of women's rights (p. 38) | Child trafficking is seen as child development issue under public policies (p. 38), social vulnerability of women leading to trafficking, then economically vulnerable as a consequence of trafficking (p. 151) |
| Benin | Growth Strategy for Poverty Reduction, 2007 | Increase border control to fight human trafficking (Priority Action Plan, p. 2) | | Protection against child trafficking under protection and development (p. 63) |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bosnia and Herzegovina | Mid-Term Development Strategy, 2004 | Address human trafficking as part of anti-corruption measures and the fight of organized crime; adopt a legal framework for better inter-ministerial coordination (p. 4) | Prevention of human trafficking, protection of victims of trafficking (p. 103) | |
| Burkina Faso | Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, 2004 | | Prevention of child trafficking and protection of children at risk (p. 25) | Promotion of child and youth welfare through poverty reduction programmes aimed at marginalized and disadvantaged young people in conjunction with prevention of trafficking and protection (p. 25) |
| Cambodia | National Strategic Development Plan, 2005 | Combat trafficking of women through stricter law enforcement (p. 64) | Anti-trafficking law proposal to promote gender equality, including rights to political | Gendered vulnerability to trafficking regarded as impediment to reduce poverty, thus capacity building |

| | | | participation (p. 25); assistance and reintegration programmes for victims of trafficking (p. 59) in conjunction with social sector interventions to reduce the vulnerability of the poor | for women suggested (p. 64) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cameroon | Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, 2003 | | Protection of children and minors who were victims of exploitation and trafficking (p. 84) | |
| Cape Verde | Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy Paper II, 2008 | Part of security threat, need for law enforcement (p. 74) | | |
| Côte d'Ivoire | Interim PRSP, 2002 | | | Combat child trafficking as part of child welfare and youth employment policy (p. 72) |
| Georgia | Poverty Reduction | | | The poor are vulnerable to |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Program, 2003 | | | trafficking (p. 15), trafficking as a result of socio-economic and migration factors influencing family cohesion (p. 23) |
| Ghana | Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy II, 2005 | Pass anti-trafficking legislation (p. 54); enforcement of children's' rights and, once passed, enforcement of sanctions against child trafficking (p. 136/137) | Prevention through information campaigns about risks associated with trafficking in sending and receiving districts (p. 120); trace cases of human trafficking to improve realization of rights and entitlements (p. 136) | Protection of children from trafficking through child development policies as part of human capital development (p. 54); Reduce poverty in areas most affected to decrease trafficking, develop a coherent child development policy (p. 136) |
| Haiti | Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, 2007 | Eradication of trafficking and sale in persons (p. 59) | | |
| Honduras | PRSP, 2001 | | | Trafficking is mentioned under |

| | | | | violence against women in the section on the "socio-demographic profile of poverty" (p. 16) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kyrgyz Republic | National Poverty Reduction Strategy, 2002 | | | Forced trafficking impeding gender equality and development of women and families (p. 70) |
| Lao People's Democratic Republic | National Socio-Economic Development Plan, 2006 | | | Prevention of trafficking in women and children is part of the strategy to ensure equal participation of women and men in economic development (p. 110) |
| Liberia, Republic of | Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, 2008 | Prevention of child trafficking is considered a security reform issue (p. 52) | | |
| Madagascar | Madagascar Action Plan, 2007 | | Legal protection of vulnerable groups, including | |

| | | | women and children, to combat trafficking as part of priority actions to support the poorest, vulnerable groups (p. 111) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Malawi | Growth and Development Strategy, 2006 | | | Assistance of victims of trafficking as part of HIV/AIDS Prevention and Management (p. 128) |
| Mauritania | PRSP, Action Plan, 2006 | Adopt anti-trafficking legislation to ensure the rule of law (p. 51) | | |
| Moldova | National Development Strategy, 2008 | Cross-border cooperation with other States to prevent human trafficking (p. 15/16), protection and assistance to | | |

| | | victims of trafficking in cooperation with the civil society | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Niger | Accelerated Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy, 2007 | | | Poverty acknowledged to be the basis for child trafficking (p. 55); prevention and sanction of human trafficking of children part of national gender equality policy; assistance to victims of trafficking and promotion of their socio-economic integration part of child protection policies (p. 100) |
| Nigeria | National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy, 2004 | | Combating trafficking through law enforcement to ensure welfare of children (p. 46) | Campaign against trafficking of women as part of youth empowerment/ reduction of unemployment strategy (p. 44) |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rwanda | Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy, 2007 | Combating child and human trafficking as part of security and cooperation strategy (p. 83) | | |
| Sierra Leone | PRSP, 2005 | | | Child trafficking considered a challenge of child poverty (p. 84), protection of vulnerable groups/ actions to promote and improve child protection mechanisms include awareness training on child trafficking (p. 173) |
| Tanzania | National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty, 2005 | | Combat trafficking to realize the rights of the poor and vulnerable groups (p. 52) | Root cause of trafficking is poverty (p. 10) |
| Togo | Interim PRSP, 2008 | | | Protection of children from trafficking part of social development efforts (p. 53) |
| Uganda | Poverty | | Trafficking of | |

| | Eradication Action Plan, 2004 | | children is a human rights violation (p. 119) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vietnam | Socio-Economic Development Plan, 2006 | | Trafficking of women a violation of their rights to gender equality (p. 45) | Prevent trafficking of children and women as part of socio-economic development, considered a social problem (p. 46) |

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