STATE'S RESPONSE TO TRANSNATIONAL HUMAN TRAFFICKING: THE CASES OF RUSSIA AND TURKEY

A Master's Thesis

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ABSTRACT

STATE'S RESPONSE TO TRANSNATIONAL HUMAN TRAFFICKING:
THE CASES OF RUSSIA AND TURKEY

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In the aftermath of globalization, it has become increasingly easier for non-state actors to develop in transnational networks, thus jeopardizing domestic security and political stability of states. Studying the influence of transnationalism on non-state actors could help these states develop new strategies of dealing with criminal networks. The present thesis is trying to answer the following research question: "What is the states' response to transnationalism in terms of their dealing with human trafficking networks?" It examines the way the state is adapting itself to transnational security challenges posed by violent non-state actors (VNSAs). To this end, comparative case studies method is used by means of comparing Russia and Turkey's responses to human trafficking. The basic conclusion of the author is that Russia and Turkey's responses to human trafficking have been very different due to the impact of two main factors. First, it is the degree of the international pressure that determined the state's willingness to take human trafficking challenge seriously. Second, the degree of the state's success in its anti-trafficking policy is also influenced by the political regime of this state. Thus, international pressure and political regime both have an impact on the state's response to the transnational security threat of human trafficking.

Keywords: Transnationalism, Violent Non-State Actors, Human Trafficking, Illegal Migration

ÖZET

ULUSLARARASI İNSAN KAÇAKÇILIĞINA DEVLETİN TEPKİSİ:
RUSYA VE TÜRKİYE ÖRNEKLERİ

Zhidkova, Tatiana
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Küreselleşme sonrasında devlet dışı aktörlerin ulusaşırı ağlar geliştirmesi, böylece devletlerin iç güvenliklerini ve siyasi istikrarlarını tehlikeye sokmaları kolaylaştı. Ulusötesiciliğin devlet dışı aktörler üzerindeki etkisinin çalışılması devletlerin suç örgütleriyle başetmede yeni stratejiler geliştirmelerine yardımcı olabilir. Bu tez, "Devletlerin insan kaçakçılığı ağları açısından ulusötesiciliğe tepkisi nedir?" sorusunu sormakta; ve devletlerin şiddet yanlısı devlet dışı aktörlerce yaratılan ulusötesi güvenlik tehditlerine nasıl adapte olduklarını incelemektedir. Bu amaçla, karşılaştırmalı örnek olay incelemesi yöntemi kullanılarak Rusya ve Türkiye'nin insan kaçakçılığına verdikleri tepkiler karşılaştırılmıştır. Yazarın ulaştığı temel sonuca göre, Rusya ve Türkiye'nin insan kaçakçılığına verdikleri tepkiler iki ana faktör nedeniyle oldukça farklıdır. İlk faktöre göre, uluslararası baskının yoğunluğu devletin uluslararası insan kaçakçılığı tehdidini ciddiye alış derecesini belirler. İkincisine göre, devletin kaçakçılık karşıtı politikasının başarı derecesi bu devletin siyasi rejiminden etkilenmektedir. Bu şekilde, uluslararası baskı ve siyasi rejim faktörlerinin ikisinin de devletin ulusötesi güvenlik tehditlerinden insan kaçakçılığına verdiği tepkiye etkisi bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ulusötesicilik, Şiddet Yanlısı Devlet Dışı Aktörler, İnsan Kaçakçılığı, Yasadışı Göç

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The present thesis is trying to answer the following research question: "What is the states' response to transnationalism in terms of their dealing with human trafficking networks?" It will examine the way the state is adapting itself to transnational security challenges posed by violent non-state actors (VNSAs). To this end, comparative case studies method will be used by means of comparing Russia and Turkey's responses to human trafficking. The causal relationship between transnationalism and the state is seen as a two-way one: whereas transnationalism challenges the traditional nature of state, the state responds by adapting itself to new transnational threats, particularly the ones represented by VNSAs. However, the present research is going to focus on the second aspect of this relationship, which is the way the state adapts to the new transnational security environment. This is seen as more practically relevant because studying and comparing states' responses to transnational security threats can help identify more effective ways to deal with VNSAs and suggest specific policy revisions for states. Here, transnationalism will represent the independent variable, while the state's response to transnational security threat of human trafficking is going to be the

dependent variable. Nowadays, when human trafficking continues to pose a serious threat to regional and global security, such a study seems to be especially urgent. In the aftermath of globalization, it has become increasingly easier for non-state actors to develop in transnational networks, thus jeopardizing domestic security and political stability of states. Studying the influence of transnationalism on non-state actors could help these states develop new strategies of dealing with criminal networks. Scholars have examined the impact of globalization and transnationalism on such security threats as terrorism (Adamson, 2005; Asal and Nussbaum, 2007; Sageman, 2008; Lindelauf and Borm, 2009), drug trafficking (Cornell, 2007), and nuclear proliferation (Smith and Long, 2008). However, little attention has been paid to the link between transnationalism and human trafficking in particular, with currently existing studies being very limited.

Yet, there have been numerous studies on transnationalism and its impact on the development of criminal networks in general (Williams, 2001; Klerks, 2001; Levitsky, 2003; Turner, 2007). Globalization and growing transparency of borders allow criminal networks within the state to establish permanent contacts with their 'colleagues' in other states, thus transforming them into transnational networks of violence. Such a trend has been the case for terrorism, drug trafficking, and trafficking in human beings. For example, Adamson (2005) claims that in the aftermath of globalization and the emergence of violent non-state actors, the line between domestic and international security is increasingly being blurred. "As such, globalization is transforming the international security environment by stimulating shifts in the resources, infrastructure and capacities available to non-state political entrepreneurs to engage in political mobilization transnationally and globally" (Adamson, 2005: 32). It has become more difficult for states to control transnational criminal networks because of relative erosion

of state sovereignty. Through escaping constant persecution by the state criminal networks emerge as violent non-state actors. It has been argued that VNSAs are able to find more and more opportunities to improve their ability to attack the state by identifying unregulated spaces that lack control of the state authorities (Aydınlı, 2010). Such vulnerable spaces might include unstable regions and 'hot spots' as well as non-territorial spaces such as the cyberspace (Aydınlı, 2010: 3). In order to address these new transnational security challenges, efforts are made by the states to encourage cooperation at transnational level as well. Here we can talk of the emerging signs of "statist transnationalism" (Aydınlı, 2010; Aydınlı and Yön, 2011), which basically means that transnational cooperation between substate units is not completely autonomous, but is regulated and encouraged by the state itself as a means to increase policy effectiveness. For example, substate contacts between police liaisons in different countries are organized and maintained by the state officials (Aydınlı and Yön, 2011). Therefore, in the transnational security realm, the role of state is still very visible. As Aydınlı and Yön (2011: 70) put it, "the state — or some form of transgovernmental capacity — is the only realistic agent currently able to expand effectively into the transnational space and, by adapting and reorienting itself, counter rapidly expanding transnational security challenges, particularly violent ones".

As far as human trafficking in particular is concerned, many scholars notice that globalization and the internationalization of world markets made it easier for human traffickers to penetrate state borders that had previously been strictly controlled (Aronowitz, 2009). Especially after the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, interstate interaction has increased because states became more open to migration. Human trafficking emerged as a global security threat in the 1990s, when it reached unprecedented levels. According to many scholars, today human trafficking is

organized in transnational networks rather than hierarchies that were a dominant mode of organization for criminal groups in the past (Levitsky, 2003; Bruinsma and Bernasco, 2004; Renshaw, 2008). Therefore, transnationalization is one of the factors that helped transform human trafficking into a totally global problem. As Van Liempt (2006: 28) puts it, "trafficking in human beings is not a new phenomenon. What is new is the transnational character of the phenomenon and the scale on which it is taking place". Transnational character of modern human trafficking has been noticed and studied by many scholars (Bertone, 2008; McCabe, 2008; Renshaw, 2008; Aronowitz, 2009). However, none of them used theoretical transnationalist framework to explain various states' responses to this transnationalized security threat, which is the focus of the present study.

Thus, the second chapter will provide a theoretical framework for this study by defining transnationalism and elaborating on the various approaches and debates within it. Since the present thesis focuses more on the security aspects of transnationalism, special attention will be paid to defining the concepts of violent non-state actors (VNSAs) and networks of violence that will be utilized in this study. The concept of 'statist transnationalism' is also going to be used in order to explain the mechanism of the relationship between the state and VNSAs. More generally, the connection between transnationalism and state's response to human trafficking will be theoretically explained.

The third chapter will provide a historical account of the human trafficking problem and its transformation into a transnational security threat. A brief summary of the instruments of international law that make up a legal framework for the struggle with human trafficking will be given. The chapter will also provide a classification of trafficking in human beings, since human trafficking varies in terms of purpose. In

general, there are four basic types of human trafficking: trafficking for sexual exploitation, trafficking for labor exploitation, child trafficking, and trafficking for the removal of organs (Aronowitz, 2009). All four types of human trafficking will be analyzed in this study. The chapter will examine the human trafficking networks' response to globalization and their subsequent emergence as transnational networks of violence.

Consequently, the fourth chapter will elaborate on Russia's response to transnationalized threat of human trafficking. Starting with a brief historical background and an overview of the national legal framework, the chapter will discuss current measures taken by the Russian government in its struggle with human traffickers, as well as evaluate their overall success. It will move on to describe the international cooperation efforts of the Russian authorities together with their foreign counterparts concerning the struggle with human trafficking. The purpose of the chapter is to find out whether the Russian state was able to adapt to the changing transnational security environment by modifying the nature of anti-trafficking efforts. More specifically, the degree of cooperation between substate units such as police and NGOs in the struggle against human trafficking in Russia will be the focus of analysis.

The fifth chapter will provide a similar analysis for Turkey and its response to transnationalized threat of human trafficking. It will include historical background, brief summary of the national legislature, and an assessment of the current measures taken by the Turkish government in order to cope with human trafficking problem. The chapter will focus on the ability of the Turkish state to adapt to the transnational security challenge of human trafficking through the analysis of state-sponsored and independent anti-trafficking efforts. Particular attention will be paid to the cooperation of substate entities such as the police and the Turkish NGOs with their foreign counterparts,

because it reflects the contemporary patterns of what we have defined as 'statist transnationalism'.

Finally, the concluding chapter will provide a comprehensive comparative analysis of Russia and Turkey's responses to transnationalized threat of human trafficking, as well make some conclusions about the overall impact of transnationalism on the development of violent non-state actors. Moreover, the author will provide specific policy recommendations and implications for the governments of Russia and Turkey about the ways they could make their anti-trafficking efforts more effective. Recommendations about the nature of cooperation between states and IOs will be especially emphasized because such cooperation can help address transnational challenges in a more efficient manner.

1.1 Methodology

This study is a comparative case study, which attempts to analyze and compare different states' responses to transnationalism in terms of their dealing with human trafficking. Comparing different states' responses to transnationalism seems to be a better explanatory tool for the purposes of this research than analyzing a single state's policy towards transnationalized human trafficking because it helps understand which particular characteristics determine whether the state is going to be successful in its struggle against VNSAs or not. In the present study, Russia and Turkey's responses to the transnationalized threat of human trafficking will be compared. Such case selection is justified by the fact that whereas Russia and Turkey are both transit states for human trafficking in all its forms, the former is the key source state for trafficking for sexual exploitation, while the latter is the key destination state for this type of trafficking. Although the problem is equally serious for both Russia and Turkey, these countries'

responses to transnationalized threat of human trafficking have been very different. Russia has demonstrated lack of effort in terms of combating human trafficking and was therefore put on Tier-two Watch List by the U.S. Department of State in its annual Trafficking in Persons Report (2010[1]). More importantly, Russia obviously lacks transgovernmental cooperation between the substate units, which is seen as the key reason of its failure to provide an adequate response to the transnationalized threat of human trafficking. In contrast, Turkey has demonstrated greater willingness to take the struggle against human trafficking seriously, probably motivated by its expected accession to the European Union. The degree of cooperation between Turkish substate entities with their foreign counterparts is quite high, which resulted in more successful response to human trafficking in general. Turkey was upgraded to the Tier-two by the U.S. TIP Report in 2005, and still remains there as of 2011[2]. Thus, the selection of Russia and Turkey seems relevant because it better reflects the process in which the state adapts or fails to adapt itself to transnational security challenges.

The present research will make use of available data. It should be mentioned that there are some methodological challenges concerning the availability of data on human trafficking, because it is very difficult to estimate the exact numbers of illegal migrants and trafficked victims inside the country. For human trafficking statistics data retrieved from the websites of international organizations such as UN, UNESCO, International Labor Organization and International Organization for Migration will be used. More specifically, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking (UN.GIFT) and UNESCO Trafficking Statistics projects will be analyzed. For the data on the situation with human trafficking

[1] At the time of this writing, the 2011 TIP Report had not yet been released. The 2011 Trafficking in Persons Report was released by the U.S. Department of State on June 27, 2011. Russia remains on the Tier 2 Watch List for the same reasons stated in the 2010 TIP Report (see Hartl, 2010).

[2] In the 2011 TIP Report, Turkey was once again placed on Tier 2.

in Russia, the reports published by both IOs and NGOs such as the Angel Coalition (*Koalitsiya Angel*) or the MiraMed Institute will be used. For the information and statistics concerning Turkey, the present study will use the Coalition against Trafficking in Women data, as well as statistics provided by the IOM office in Ankara, Human Resources Development Foundation (*İnsan Kaynağını Geliştirme Vakfı*) and Women's Solidarity Foundation (*Kadın Dayanışma Vakfı*). The author is also going to conduct an extensive literature review on transnationalism, VNSAs, networks of violence, and human trafficking. Being a native speaker of Russian, I have an opportunity to access publications, reports and official websites in Russian language that can help enrich this study. Finally, my knowledge of Turkish will allow me to include publications and reports in the Turkish language in my bibliography, thus contributing to the comprehensiveness of research.

For the purposes of research, I am planning to limit myself with certain definitions of such concepts as "transnationalism", "network", "violent non-state actor", "organized criminal group", "human trafficking" and "exploitation". Although the thesis chapters will provide more background on the historical formation of these definitions, the most recent working definitions of these concepts are provided below.

> *Transnationalism* can be defined as "sustained cross-border relationships, patterns of exchange, affiliations and social formations spanning nation-states" (Vertovec, 2009: 2);
>
> *Networks* are defined as "any set or sets of ties between any set or sets of nodes" (Hafner-Burton and et al., 2009: 7);
>
> *Violent non-state actors* are "non-state armed groups that resort to organized violence as a tool to achieve their goals" (Mulaj, 2009: 3);
>
> *Organized criminal group* means "a structured group of three or more persons existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly, or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit" (UNODC, 2004: 5);

> *Trafficking in persons* shall mean "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the 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 or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation" (UNODC, 2004: 42);
>
> *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 the removal of organs" (UNODC, 2004: 42).

Thus, this study will offer a framework of analysis for understanding the impact of transnationalism on the state's response to human trafficking. The present study could possibly be enriched by conducting field research on human trafficking in Russia and Turkey, which could include interviews with IO officials, police officers and NGO staff. However, the research of available data also allows us to create a reliable picture of the situation with human trafficking in Russia and Turkey, as well as make theoretical assumptions. In the overall analysis, since the literature on states' response to transnationalized security threats is quite limited, the aim of the present study is to contribute to the literature in this area as much as possible. A broader theoretical analysis of the state's response to human trafficking will represent the theoretical contribution of the present thesis to the study of IR, whereas providing specific policy implications and recommendations for the respective governments and the international community in general will give the present study its practical sense and value.

CHAPTER 2

TRANSNATIONALISM AND VIOLENT NON-STATE ACTORS

Transnationalism has received increased attention of IR scholars in the last two decades. The reason for this trend is the failure of state-centric approaches such as Realism and Liberalism to explain new tendencies and challenges that have emerged in the international system after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the democratization of the global information space. In contrast to state-centric theories, Transnationalism made an emphasis on the interactions across state boundaries that are not simply controlled by the state governments. Such interactions included cooperation of substate entities such as civil society organizations, police or intelligence units. Studies of transnationalism incorporated the studies of transnational social movements, global governance, and emerging transnational security challenges such as terrorism, drug and human trafficking, illegal migration and climate change. Transnationalism questioned the ability of states to provide an effective response to new security threats posed by violent non-state actors (VNSAs). The present study is going to utilize transnationalist theoretical framework in order to examine state's ability to respond to transnational human trafficking as one of the new security challenges that humanity faces today.

2.1 Globalization and the Erosion of State Sovereignty

Much has been written about the globalization and the demise of state sovereignty that it entailed. Making the line between domestic and international realms of politics increasingly blurred, globalization questioned and challenged the Westphalian order with its priority on sovereign nation-states. As Smith and Guarnizo (1998: 3) noted, the "expansion of transnational capital and mass media to even the remotest of hinterlands has provoked a spate of discourses on "globalization", "transnationalism", and the "crisis of the nation state". These discourses continue to dominate many of the contemporary theoretical works in the IR field. For example, Lake (2008: 52) points to the fact that

> Although created by states that have intentionally liberalized their economies over the last half century, globalization works its effects primarily through individuals, firms, sectors, and other nonstate groups, including transnational advocacy networks that thrive on the new technologies and open borders that underlie market openness.

So, what is globalization? To put it in a nutshell, it is "the world-spanning intensification of interconnectedness" (Vertovec, 2009: 54). In a more extended way, Keohane (2002: 194) defines it as the "increasing volume and speed of flows of capital and goods, information and ideas, people and forces that connect actors between countries". These "flows" represent interactions between citizens of different countries that take place without the sanctions of the national governments. Pioneering the study of globalization and Transnationalism, Keohane and Nye (1971: 332) identified four major types of global interaction: (1) communication, or the movement of information, including the transmission of beliefs, ideas, and doctrines; (2) transportation, the movement of physical objects, including war matériel and personal property as well as merchandise; (3) finance, the movement of money and instruments of credit; (4) travel, the movement of persons. This study will focus on the fourth type of interaction, the

movement of persons, but viewing it as not only the voluntary movement (travel and migration), but also as the involuntary one (human trafficking and forced migration).

It can be argued that the most significant changes that globalization has brought to the international environment are the erosion of state sovereignty and the emergence of non-state actors. According to Sergounin (2005: 122), "the entire world faces processes such as the erosion of the nation-state and national sovereignty, and a shift of power from the national level toward supranational and subnational institutions". In a globalized world states can no longer exercise full control over all the aspects of the life of their citizens. Even such a "stronghold" of state power as security domain has been subject to changes because of globalization. As Adamson (2005: 32) puts it, "globalisation is transforming the international security environment by stimulating shifts in the resources, infrastructure and capacities available to non-state political entrepreneurs to engage in political mobilisation transnationally and globally". Thus, globalization creates incentives for economic and political actors to engage in transnational activity (Adamson, 2005: 33).

This tendency is equally applicable to both "good" and "bad" non-state actors. For example, globalization granted new opportunities of technology and information exchange to NGOs and human rights movements to the same extent as it facilitated the emergence of terrorist networks and transnational crime. The Internet in particular has allowed NGOs such as Greenpeace or Doctors without Borders to raise money for their activities and recruit new volunteers, but the same is also true for the terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda or Hezbollah. However, it also means that theoretical mechanisms used for the study of "good" actors such as the network analogy can also be utilized in the study of "bad" or violent non-state actors.

An interesting argument was put forward by Rosenau (2003) in his book on globalization and transnationalism entitled *Distant Proximities*. A central argument of the book is that "the best way to grasp world affairs today requires viewing them as an endless series of distant proximities in which the forces pressing for greater globalization and those inducing greater localization interactively play themselves out" (Rosenau, 2003: 4). Thus Rosenau emphasizes the ongoing processes of globalization and localization that are currently taking place in the world today. Another useful concept suggested by Rosenau (2003: 11) is *fragmegration* (fragmentation plus integration) by which he means "the pervasive interaction between fragmenting and integrating dynamics unfolding at every level of community". For example, people all over the world become increasingly divided or fragmented according to their interests, political views, gender etc., but at the same time they are increasingly united or integrated in social communities such via Internet or other technologies available to them. As Rosenau concludes (2003: 19)

> Few dissent from the proposition that advances in transportation and electronic technologies, and especially the Internet, have resulted in a transformation, a compression if not collapse, of time and distance, as well as altered conceptions of hierarchy, territory, sovereignty, and the state.

Thus, globalization has led to the demise of state authority and the growing significance of non-state actors. Despite the Realist claims that states are not going to give up their positions very easily, today it is clear that the impact of globalization and transnationalism should be definitely taken into account. This is especially true for security studies where traditional hierarchy-based forms of organization are increasingly being replaced by networks. Consequently, successful struggle against these challenges will also mean utilizing the network structures in the cooperation between the states across borders.

2.1.1 The Role of Non-State Actors

The end of the 20th century has been marked by the increasing participation of non-state actors in the international politics. Previously, non-state actors had been studied by sociologists who examined the impact of social movements on domestic politics. But if "social movement scholars have been "myopically domestic", IR scholars have been equally myopically state-centric, so each can benefit from the insights of the other" (Khagram and Sikkink, 2002: 6). That is why previous research done by sociologists has contributed to the study of non-state actors in the field of IR.

The impact of non-state actors can be seen in all areas of international life. Multinational corporations (MNCs) regulate today's economy, transnational civil society movements promote and defend human rights, and private military firms transform the traditional structure of the armed forces. The military realm in particular has always been under strict state control ever after the creation of state-centric Westphalian order in 1648. Prior to globalization, states were constantly at threat from neighboring countries, so they had to accumulate their security forces. As Aydınlı (2005: 99) puts it, "the primary determinants of the traditional state-centric international system have been security concerns, both external and internal". However, now the situation is radically different from those times. According to Davis (2009: 241)

> We seem to be exiting a Westphalian world where most coercive force has been monopolized in the hands of nation-states, and entering a new epoch where local and transnational non-state actors take on those roles, either because the nation-state is weak or nonstate actors are overly strong, or because the strength of the latter fuels the weakness of the former, and vice-versa.

Those non-state actors that monopolize coercive force are referred to as violent non-state actors. Their distinguishing feature is that they tend to survive and go on with their activity despite the ongoing persecution by the state. However, this type of non-state actors has not been accepted by the IR scholars until recently. For example, Risse-

Kappen (2005: 8) identifies only two types of non-state actors: "those motivated primarily by instrumental, mainly economic gains and those promoting principled ideas as well as knowledge". It can be argued that MNCs fit the first category, while national liberation movements and human rights organizations belong to the second one. As one can see, no place is left for those actors that pursue their goals or "principled ideas" through the use of violence.

Yet, nowadays it is impossible to deny that violent non-state actors pose a threat to global security. Terrorism and transnational organized crime are the most obvious examples of these types of activity. As Ataman (2003: 58) notes, "today, terrorism is globalized like other non-state actors, as was witnessed during the attacks directed toward the heart of the American state and the US-led international system on September 11". The 9/11 events came to be a turning point in the attitude to terror for politicians, IR scholars and ordinary citizens all over the world. These attacks have shown that transnational aspect of terrorist activity can no longer be ignored. According to Ataman (2003: 62), "nation-states, including the most powerful one, the United States, have to attach great significance to non-state actors in order to maintain their interests". The nature of violent non-state actors will be analyzed in more detail in the next section.

Thus transnationalization and the emergence of non-state actors have had both positive and negative effects on the international system. The positive effects included democratization of the global information space, emergence of transnational human rights movements etc. However, the negative effects such as the emergence of terrorist and criminal networks should not also be underestimated. To sum it up, "regardless of whether one considers transnationalism, on balance, a good or a problematic

development, there is general agreement that transnational actors can influence the course of global affairs" (Barnett and Sikkink, 2008: 72).

2.1.2 The Concept of Violent Non-State Actors (VNSAs)

Violent non-state actor (VNSA) is a very useful concept for the studies of transnationalism because it can be used to describe many new actors in the international environment. Mulaj (2009: 3) defines VNSAs as "non-state armed groups that resort to organized violence as a tool to achieve their goals". Although VNSAs have become the topic of interest for the IR scholars only recently, they are actually not a new phenomenon in world politics. As Mulaj (2009: 1) puts it, "the operations of some such actors already posed a threat to Western interests before the fateful day of 11 September 2001". One example of prior-9/11 cases of transnational violence is the late-nineteenth-century activity of the Anarchists who attempted to challenge the state in a state-dominant era (Aydınlı, 2008: 921).

In the literature there exist several classifications of VNSAs. For example, Mulaj (2009: 4) suggests that they should be divided into national liberation movements (such as ETA, KLA), insurgent guerilla groups (PLO, Hezbollah, Taliban), terrorist groups (Al Qaeda), militants made up of irregular armed forces (armed groups in Somalia), and mercenary militias (private military firms). Similarly, Troy (2005: 122) argues that "VNSA can be broken out in terms of functional continuities into warlords, TCO, militant religious movements, ethno-political groups and ideological or interest-based groups". According to the second classification, human trafficking networks fall into the category of TCO (transnational criminal organizations). Summarized classification of non-state actors can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. **Classification of Non-state Actors[3].**

TYPE	NATURE	PRACTICES	EXAMPLES
Non-violent non-state actors	- promote common ideas and principles to achieve their goals -are usually motivated by economic/ideological/ethical considerations	Multinational corporations (MNCs)	Microsoft, Apple Inc., BP, Coca-Cola Company, Nestlé
		Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)	Doctors without Borders, Greenpeace, International Committee of the Red Cross
		Transnational civil society movements	Feminist movement, Gay rights movement, Anti-globalization movement
		Religious groups	The Roman Catholic Church, the Quakers, the Rastafari movement
		Transnational diasporas	The Armenian-American diaspora, the Jewish diaspora
Violent non-state actors (VNSAs)	- resort to violence to achieve their goals -are usually motivated by nationalist/extremist/religious considerations	National liberation movements	ETA, the Kosovo Liberation Army, the Polisario Front
		Insurgent guerilla groups/warlords	PLO, Hezbollah, the Taliban
		Terrorist groups	Al Qaeda, HAMAS, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
		Irregular armed forces	the Mujaheddin, armed groups in Somalia
		Transnational criminal organizations	Cosa Nostra, Yakuza, the Gulf Cartel

Contemporary studies of non-state actors traditionally focus on non-violent actors less than on violent ones. For example, sufficient research has been done on NGOs, MNCs, transnational advocacy networks etc. Very few scholars make use of the transnationalist framework for the study of violent non-state actors (but see, for example, Asal and Nussbaum, 2007; Aydınlı and Yön, 2011). It seems that "less

[3] This classification is based on the definitions provided in Mulaj (2009), Risse-Kappen (2005), and Troy (2005).

attention has been paid to how similar patterns define the activities of non-state actors that include violence in their repertoire of strategies of contention" (Adamson, 2005: 37).

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, world has witnessed an unprecedented rise in the activity of VNSAs. There are significant reasons for this trend. The bipolar confrontation of the Cold War was arguably keeping VNSAs under control, so the international system remained mostly state-centric. When the bipolar system collapsed, VNSAs were finally able to go transnational. As Aydınlı (2008: 904) argues

> Transnational activity, both peaceful and violent, tends to become more prominent at certain times. These times include eras in which international, state-to-state confrontation seems to ease up, for example, during the Concert of Europe, the Interwar Period, or following the end of the Cold War, when the number of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) with transnational dimensions grew rapidly —as did the number of violent transnational activities and actors.

Interestingly, VNSAs pose a threat equally to the developed countries, as well as the most under-developed ones. For example, as it has been stated before, transnational actors can easily access countries with a well-developed civil society. This category definitely includes the United States and EU. According to Davis (2009: 222), "armed actors not formally employed by the state contribute to insecurity and endemic violence in a variety of regime-types around the world, some more stable and democratic than others, and some with considerable evidence of economic development and wealth".

However, much more has been written on the activity of VNSAs in the so-called failed states (Piazza, 2008; Atzili, 2010). It can be argued that these states lack institutional mechanisms that could allow their citizens to express their grievances in a legal way. Therefore, they resort to violence seeing no other opportunity to be heard. As Mulaj (2009: 13) puts it, "financially, organizationally, and politically weak central governments provide incentives to VNSAs". Furthermore, such states are more prone to

the influence of VNSAs because their governments do not have full control over their territory. Some of distant regions of these countries might be controlled by local warlords who themselves represent domestic VNSAs. In other words, "VNSAs frequently operate in states confronting crises, which is incapable of providing services and delivering public goods – including security – in all their territory" (Mulaj, 2009: 7).

The reasons why VNSAs engage in these types of illegal activity are rather complicated. As noted by Davis (2009: 222), their motivation should not be studied using the simplistic 'greed versus grievance' dichotomy. Although for some of VNSAs such as drug dealers greed might represent the key motivation for their activity, most of VNSAs are driven by both greed and grievances, not by one of the two. As Davis (2009: 222) proceeds

> Examples of these non-state armed actors include armed drug lords in urban Brazil and Mexico, international smuggling rings in Central and Southeast Asia, new mafia organizations in Russia, community-based vigilantes in South Africa, Guatemala, and Indonesia, and most striking perhaps, an astounding number of armed private security forces or citizen militias taking on policing functions in politically stable and unstable countries alike, ranging from Mexico to Pakistan to Iraq.

It is also relevant to mention that VNSAs can be domestic, regional, and global. However, today there are very few examples of purely domestic VNSAs. For example, the Central Asian warlords operate in close connection with Chechen rebels and Afghan drug dealers. As one can see, globalization is everywhere. Some of VNSAs become truly global because of the vast resources that they have at their disposal. As Mulaj (2009: 14) argues, "Al Qaeda appears to provide an example of a global violent non-state actor, given that members of this military network span several regions, launch attacks in varied countries, and draw support from a huge diaspora that shares the same religion". Here attention should be paid to the network analogy used by the author.

Indeed, most transnational VNSAs are organized in the form of networks, and are therefore sometimes called transnational networks of violence. This phenomenon will be analyzed in greater detail in one of the following sections.

2.2 The Study of Transnationalism

There should be made a clear distinction between the terms "international" and "transnational". As Aydınlı (2010: 1) explains it, "while the former refers in the most general sense to states and practices of international engagement between states, … the latter refers to non-state and sub-national actors, and to both peaceful and conflictive activities of transnational engagement".

Transnationalism in the study of IR was first brought into the sight of the scholarship in 1971 with the appearance of Keohane and Nye's seminal article in the special issue of the *International Organization.* In the subsequent book on the same topic, Keohane and Nye (1976: xi) define "transnational relations" as "contacts, coalitions, and interactions across state boundaries that are not controlled by the central foreign policy organs of governments". Keohane and Nye's (1971: 335-336) list of transnational actors included "multinational business enterprises, international trade union secretariats, global religious organizations, and far-flung foundations". However, it can be argued that Keohane and Nye attracted more attention to the emerging field of international political economy rather than launched a comprehensive new approach to IR. At that time, the IR scholarship was too busy with the US-Soviet confrontation and explaining the bipolarity of the international system. Keohane and Nye's work was followed by Rosenau (1980), who argued that new actors such as NGOs were becoming more and more active in the international politics, which in its turn signaled the restructuring of the existing world order.

It was not until the 1990s that transnationalism became a recognized field of study in IR. The fall of the Iron Curtain and the collapse of the Soviet Union brought transnational issues to the attention of the academic scholarship. In 1995, Thomas Risse-Kappen published an edited volume on non-state actorness and transnationalism. He redefined the term "transnational relations" as "regular interactions across national boundaries when at least one actor is a non-state agent or does not operate on behalf of a national government or an intergovernmental organization" (Risse-Kappen, 1995: 3). Here the most significant word is "non-state agent", because it holds that transnational relations are not just a vague type of interactions without state control, but they are exercised by actors whose agency is accepted as a fact and taken for granted. Furthermore, Risse-Kappen (1995) also pointed to the fact that transnationalism not necessarily meant total demise of state authority. He believed that states could represent transnational actors themselves, thus questioning Keohane and Nye's definition of transnationalism.

Furthermore, Keohane and Nye's vision of transnational relations was also criticized by Sidney Tarrow, a sociologist who examined the impact of transnationalism on social movements. According to Tarrow (2001: 4-5), there were three problems with Keohane and Nye's definition of transnationalism. First, their work did more for the development of international political economy rather than any theoretical studies of transnationalism in IR. Second, it ignored transnational social movements as an emerging non-state actor. Finally, it did not accept the state itself as a transnational actor, which "left the impression that transnational activity occurs at the cost of states" (Tarrow, 2001: 5). Other transnational actors, according to Tarrow (2001), included Transnational Social Movements, International Non-governmental Organizations, and Transnational Activist Networks.

Scholars have also identified characteristics of states that are more prone to the influence of transnationalism than others. For example, Risse-Kappen (2005: 7) argues that "the more fragmented the state and the better organized civil society, the easier should be the access for transnational actors". In this sense, it is understandable why the United States and countries of EU have reached better results in globalizing themselves than more closed regimes of former Soviet space where civil society is only developing. Unfortunately, both states with a developed civil society and with a developing one are equally prone to the attacks of VNSAs.

Most recently, Vertovec (2009: 2) defined transnationalism as "sustained cross-border relationships, patterns of exchange, affiliations and social formations spanning nation-states". This is the definition that is going to be used in the present study. Here no distinction is made between transnationalism and transnational relations. However, Transnationalism (with a capital letter) is considered an approach in IR theory that studies world affairs from a transnationalist perspective.

In an attempt to classify this theoretical approach, Khagram and Levitt (2006: 3-4) identify five different types of Transnationalism:

(1) **Empirical Transnationalism** (focuses on describing, mapping, classifying and quantifying novel and/or potentially important transnational phenomena and dynamics);
(2) **Methodological Transnationalism** (involves reclassifying existing data, evidence, and historical and ethnographic accounts that are based on bounded or bordered units so that transnational forms and processes are revealed);
(3) **Theoretical Transnationalism** (formulates explanations and crafts interpretations that either parallel, complement, supplement or are integrated into existing theoretical frameworks and accounts);
(4) **Philosophical Transnationalism** (requires an epistemological lens or way of researching, theorizing, and understanding social relations that allows analysts to uncover and explain the transnational dynamics in which bounded and bordered entities are embedded and by which the latter are constituted);
(5) **Public Transnationalism** (creates space to imagine and legitimate options for social change and transformation that are normally obscured, by

purposefully abandoning the expectation that most social processes are bounded and bordered).

However, it seems that this classification is overloaded with detail and somewhat repetitive. In particular, judging by the definitions, the difference between empirical and methodological Transnationalism seems to be unclear since they both classify the existing data; the same is true for theoretical and philosophical Transnationalism which both aim to explain the transnational dynamics. Moreover, the language of the definitions is very far from the one used in the transnationalist literature. Therefore, this study will utilize a more simplistic classification of Transnationalism summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. **Types of Transnationalism.**

TYPE	DEFINITION
Empirical Transnationalism	Involves classifying the existing data on transnational phenomena including historical accounts, statistics, and personal evidence
Theoretical Transnationalism **a) Statist Transnationalism** **b) Non-statist Transnationalism**	Provides a theoretical explanation of the existing transnational dynamics through the use of a certain framework of analysis: - Statist transnationalism accepts the role of state in organizing and encouraging transnational activity; - Non-statist transnationalism considers non-state actors to be autonomous units independent of any state control.
Practical Transnationalism	Implies putting transnationalist ideas into practice by implementing them in social and political life and introducing changes to the existing social order

2.2.1 The Impact of Transnationalism on the International Security

The impact of transnationalism on the international security has always been the issue of controversy. With transnational forces being constantly on the rise, the line between domestic and international security is increasingly being blurred, creating new

challenges for the national governments. As the U.S. Secretary of Defense noted in 1996, "for the United States Department of Defense, transnationalism means terrorists, insurgents, opposing factions in civil wars conducting operations outside their country of origin, and members of criminal groups" (cited in Vertovec, 2009). The state is attacked by VNSAs whenever the penetration into the security realm is possible (Aydınlı, 2010). For example, this can occur when a state does not exercise full control over its territory, or when there are gaps in the national legislature. Even the most developed states have no immunity from violent transnationalism. According to Tarrow (2007: 2), "in today's world, we can no more draw a sharp line between domestic and international politics than we can understand national politics in the United States apart from its local roots".

How should the state respond to this violent transnationalism? Sometimes states try to fight transnational security threats with purely domestic means. Here, Russia and Turkey's responses to transnational human trafficking problem are good examples that will be analyzed in the next chapters. Such attempts to fight the transnational with the domestic are not always successful because they do not allow addressing the problem in its full scope. Yet, more often transnational threats are dealt with through intergovernmental cooperation, thus fighting transnational with the international. For example, after the terrorist attacks of 9/11 the United States launched a global crusade against terrorism by creating an international coalition. However, this was more like other nations bandwagoning the U.S. decision, so it cannot be called an international response in pure terms. As Khagram and Levitt (2006: 2) put it, U.S. government's response was to re-assert the primacy of the nation-state, but transnational phenomena were at work even prior to 9/11.

Consequently, it can be argued that transnational security challenges should be met with transnational means. For example, this could be reached through substate level cooperation of small police units or local NGOs. Here one can suggest that it is the emerging sign of 'statist transnationalism' (Aydınlı, 2010) which implies that state does not disappear from the security realm, but encourages and coordinates the activities of its substate units in their cooperation with foreign counterparts. By looking at the examples of Russia and Turkey, this study will try to evaluate these states' success in their response to the transnational security threat of human trafficking. This is a rather challenging task for states since human trafficking today is organized in networks rather than hierarchies as it was with criminal organizations of the past. Networking increases human traffickers' resilience against disruption.

2.3 Transnational Networks of Violence

2.3.1 Network Analysis in the International Relations

The concept of network has been used by many scholars who examine the impact of transnationalism on the security realm (Williams, 2001; Klerks, 2001; Levitsky, 2003; Turner, 2007). Similarly, it can be used to explain the dynamics of transnational human trafficking. However, first it is necessary to look at the origins of the network concept which is being successfully used by IR scholars in describing contemporary international affairs. One of the first definitions of networks in IR was put forward by Keck and Sikkink (1998: 8), who defined them as "forms of organization characterized by voluntary, reciprocal, and horizontal patterns of communication and exchange". However, this definition was later much simplified. For example, Williams (2001) was one of the first scholars who started implementing the network analogy for

the study of transnational criminal organizations (TCOs). According to Williams (2001: 66), "a network can be understood very simply as a series of nodes that are connected. The nodes can be individuals, organizations, firms, or computers, so long as they are connected in significant ways". So here emphasis is put on network connectedness. Finally, the most recent definition suggested by Hafner-Burton and et al. (2009: 7) looks even simpler: "in network analysis, networks are defined as any set or sets of ties between any set or sets of nodes". Here again the issue of ties or connections between the nodes is stressed.

Despite this divergence in definitions, all scholars agree that "networks are one of the most common forms of social organization. They are simultaneously pervasive and intangible, ubiquitous and invisible, everywhere and nowhere" (Williams, 2001: 64). However, until recently networks in IR had not received enough scholarly attention. As Barnett and Sikkink (2008: 72) admit, "IR scholars are only beginning to see networks as an alternative form of organization other than markets or hierarchies". Markets and hierarchies have long been accepted as traditional forms of organizations of social life. For instance, most of TCOs have always been described as hierarchies, the American mafia being the most notable example. Yet, in the globalized world TCOs no longer represent hierarchies; most of them are now structured as networks.

Because network analysis is such a new field in IR, the literature on this issue is rather incomplete. Again primacy here should be left to sociologists who started to use the 'social network' analogy much earlier and continue to use it now (see, for example, Wasserman and Faust, 1994; Knoke and Yang, 2008; Scott, 2009). Hafner-Burton and et al. (2009: 5) also point to the fact that "networks have been contrasted with other modes of organization, such as state hierarchies or markets, but variation *among* networked organizations and the effects of that variation have received much less

attention". Very few scholars have come up with a classification of networks. As the pioneers of the field, Keck and Sikkink (1998: 30) suggest three different categories of transnational networks based on their motivations:

(1) those with essentially *instrumental goals*, especially transnational corporations and banks;
(2) those motivated primarily by *shared causal ideas*, such as scientific groups or epistemic communities;
(3) those motivated primarily by *shared principled ideas or values* (transnational advocacy networks)

However, one can notice that this classification does not include transnational criminal networks. Therefore, it is relevant here to present an updated classification of networks that is going to be used by this study (see Table 3).

Table 3. **Types of transnational networks.**

TYPE	NATURE	PRACTICES	EXAMPLES
Transnational Corporations	are motivated primarily by economic gains	TNCs	Royal Dutch Shell, Total, Samsung
Transnational Advocacy Networks	are motivated by shared principles and values	NGOs social movements the media churches trade unions diasporas	International Campaign to Ban Landmines, the Antideforestation Movement, the Eastern Orthodox Church
Transnational Networks of Violence	are motivated by both by economic gains and shared values/interests	terrorist groups; national liberation movements; insurgent groups; paramilitary groups; transnational criminal groups	Al Qaeda, Hezbollah, HAMAS, PLO, Chechen rebels, drug cartels, human traffickers, weapon traffickers

Interestingly, in a more recent study, Barnett and Sikkink (2008: 72) point to the fact that "not all transnational actors are organized in networks (the Vatican is hierarchical, for example), and not all networks are made up of nonstate actors". In the

overall assessment, networks have both positive and negative attributes (Barnett and Sikkink, 2008: 73). Among the positive ones are flexibility, speed, informality, a greater chance for increasing multiple views, and perhaps even enhanced implementation capacities (Slaughter, 2004; Weber, 2004); among the negative characteristics scholars name lack of "a legitimate organizational authority to arbitrate and resolve disputes" (Podolny and Page, 1998).

Networks also share three significant characteristics. These are elusiveness, density and their resilience against disruption. Elusiveness implies that networks are difficult to locate and identify. According to Keck and Sikkink (1998: 5), "part of what is so elusive about networks is how they seem to embody elements of agent and structure simultaneously. Williams (2001: 65) also point to the fact that networks are elusive because they can coexist both "within and outside hierarchies".

Another important characteristic of a network is density. As described by Keck and Sikkink (1998: 28), "density refers both to regularity and diffusion of information exchange within networks and to coverage of key areas". In that sense, some networks are denser than others. For example, drug trafficking networks in Central Asia can be considered dense because they employ significant numbers of the local population that are engaged in constant information exchange. However, density does not always favor the network itself: sometimes a looser network is more difficult to locate and eliminate.

Finally, according to Klerks (2001: 58), "another typical trait of network structures that makes them rather hard to dismantle is their resilience against damage". This is especially true for transnational criminal networks. If in the past in order to eliminate a hierarchical criminal organization it was enough to capture their leader, in today's world networks can endure even without their leaders. All these features combined make fighting transnational criminal networks a very challenging task.

2.3.2 Networks of Violence as a New Threat to Global Security

Networks of violence have emerged as a new threat to global security especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union. As Levitsky (2003: 227) puts it, "in the aftermath of the breakup of the Soviet Union, just as businesses modernized and internationalized to improve their positions, so did transnational criminal organizations". TCOs have benefited from the fruits of globalization to the same extent as all other non-state actors. It is actually in that time that transnational organized crime became truly *transnational*.

There are many similarities that networks of violence share with Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) such as civil society movements. Asal and Nussbaum (2007: 18) point to the fact that similar to TANs, "terrorist networks have adopted the embrace of local organizations, information technology, international pressure for political leverage, and symbolic political action". The same is true for all other types of networks of violence such as drug trafficking and human trafficking networks. The mechanism of operation is similar for both, but their aims and means to achieve them differ greatly. As Asal and Nussbaum (2007: 20) put it, "the same dynamics that shape the behavior and strategies of nonviolent TANS are doing the same for Terrorist Activist Networks with one critical exception—the Terror TANS kill people".

Scholars of IR and criminologists have noticed that mode of operation of transnational crime has changed. Modern criminal organizations no longer represent hierarchies, they are organized in networks. According to Klerks (2001: 53), "the orthodox organized crime doctrine that focuses on more or less stable and hierarchical criminal organizations is slowly giving way to new and more sophisticated paradigmata, such as the enterprise metaphor and the concept of fluid social networks". Here Klerks expressed his view of a professional criminologist, but the same trend has been noticed by IR scholars as well. For example, in his study of drug trafficking networks, Williams

(2001: 62) argued that “there is a growing recognition that organized crime is increasingly operating through fluid network structures rather than more-formal hierarchies”.

In a similar manner, Levitsky (2003) adopted the same network analogy for describing trafficking in drugs, human beings, small arms, and contraband goods. According to Levitsky (2003: 233), “unlike traditional, hierarchically organized criminal organizations like the Italian and American mafias, modern transnational crime has decentralized and diversified its activities, flattened and networked its operations”. Finally, a more recent research on Al Qaeda as a terrorist network conducted by Sageman (2008) has also shown that this organization is a fluid and flexible network with no top to bottom leadership. As Lindelauf and Borm (2009: 3) conclude

> What is clear is that terrorist, insurgent and criminal organizations are increasingly able to cross borders, engage in fluent relationships and `swarm' their objectives to achieve their goals. The underlying mechanism to all these operations is the networked topology: information is exchanged on communication networks, weapons diffuse through trafficking networks and Shura councils meet in affiliation networks.

Faced with such developments in the criminal world, law enforcement agencies should also develop themselves into more flexible organizations that can trace and eliminate TCOs. As Klerks (2001: 65) puts it, “it will probably take a lot more networking to effectively deal with criminal networks”. As it had already been stated before, transnational threats require a transnational response. Therefore, low-level cooperation between law enforcement agencies is required in order to curb transnational criminal activity. However, this small units cooperation should also be maintained by the state. In other words, “if global security has truly become indivisible, and a global response is urgent and necessary to confront the challenges, then states, as the only able bodies of authority must be facing a tremendous pressure to devise mechanisms of transnational (in)security governance” (Aydınlı, 2010: 19).

2.4 State's Response to Transnational Security Challenges

Before proceeding with characterizing state's response to transnational security threats, it is necessary to provide a clear definition of such a threat. According to Smith (2000: 78), transnational security threats are "nonmilitary threats that cross borders and either threaten the political and social integrity of a nation or the health of that nation's inhabitants". Rice (2006: 2) adds that transnational security threats "cannot be limited to individual states". As summarized in the Princeton Project on National Security (2005: 3),

> Transnational threats are characterized by an event or phenomenon of cross-border scope, the dynamics of which are significantly (but not necessarily exclusively) driven by non-state actors (e.g. terrorists), activities (e.g. global economic behaviour), or forces (e.g. microbial mutations, earthquakes).

Examples of transnational security threats might include international organized crime, terrorism, illicit trafficking (in drugs, wildlife, humans, arms, etc.), piracy, infectious disease and pandemics, and illegal migration flows (Smith, 2000: 77-78). Rice (2006: 2) also includes conflict and environmental degradation to this list. This study will analyze human trafficking as an example of a transnational security threat.

How should the state respond to transnational security threats? It seems that traditional state-centric response is not sufficient for dealing with such challenges. There should be some combination of pure state level efforts, substate level cooperation (of small units within the state), and non-state level activities such as civil society initiatives. Types of state's response to transnational security challenges are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4. **State's Response to Transnational Security Challenges.**

STATE LEVEL		**NON-STATE LEVEL**	
Military response	- military operations (interventions, air strikes)	*NGO/civil society response*	- collecting relevant data - publishing research reports - organizing conferences and training activities - victims assistance - carrying out advocacy activities
Police response	- police operations - international cooperation of police units (joint operations)	*Individual response*	- donating to support NGO activities - volunteering for victims assistance
Diplomatic response	- bilateral agreements		
Legislative response	- adopting national legislature		
Government response	- adopting official national plans - launching state-sponsored programs and campaigns - organizing conferences - organizing training activities for law enforcement - establishing official institutions		
Educational response	- launching public-awareness campaigns - introducing changes into the school and university curricula		

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed Transnationalism as a theoretical framework that is going to be used in the rest of this study. It has also argued that such concepts as violent non-state actor and networks of violence are helpful for the study of transnational security threats such as terrorism and organized crime. The present research is going to utilize Transnationalist approach in examining the states' response to human trafficking. Human traffickers represent a violent non-state actor which is organized in a network.

Being a non-state actor allows human traffickers to escape persecution by the state through benefiting from the gaps in the national and international legislature. Similarly, being a network allows human traffickers to organized their activity more effectively and maintain it despite state persecution.

One of the most important lessons of globalization is that no security threat can be purely domestic or international. Nowadays, the domestic and international realms are so deeply intertwined that the division line between them is increasingly blurred. Therefore, transnational security threats such as terrorism and organized crime should be dealt with through cooperation not of states, but of their societies. The network analogy is useful in explaining the contemporary forms of organization that exist in terrorist groups and TCOs. It is clear that states can only remain successful in their struggle against transnational security threats if they adapt themselves to the needs of transnationalization.

One of the aims of the present study is to compare different states' responses to transnationalized security threats and assessing the effectiveness of current measures they take in order to curb human trafficking. By comparing situations with human trafficking in Russia and Turkey, we will be able to see how and to what extent national policies on human trafficking are affected by transnationalism. Are the states able to adapt to the changing security environments? Which policies are the most effective? Another minor question that this thesis aims to answer is whether the state sovereignty is really being swept away by the forces of globalization. To what extent is the state going to preserve its functions? With the international and domestic realms intermingled, it is vital for states to share some of traditionally public domains with non-state actors. This would help the states develop better response to transnational security threats such as that of human trafficking.

CHAPTER 3

HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND THE IMPACT OF TRANSNATIONALISM

Human trafficking is one of the most serious security challenges that the world faces today. Millions of people are trafficked each year, but the official statistics seems to be unable to present us with an adequate estimation of the problem. Globalization has led to the opening of borders and the increased flows of capital between the states, but labor has failed to become equally global. Unlike the movement of capital or goods, the movement of people still requires visas and other official documents that allow people to enter another country. Since these documents cannot always be obtained in a legal way, many people take dangerous migration decisions by trusting smugglers or traffickers who promise them better prospects for living in an unfamiliar community. Thus, the number of victims of human trafficking is increasing every year. Another consequence of globalization is the growing involvement of organized crime in human trafficking. Especially in the post-Soviet era, the world has witnessed an unprecedented rise in the activity of transnational organized crime which is making good use of the transparency of state borders. Organized criminal groups that had previously been engaged in arms and drug trafficking have quickly understood the profitability that

comes with trafficking in human beings. Whereas previously traffickers represented small groups of criminals, now they are able to create truly transnational networks of violence that penetrate regions and continents. This has made their location and elimination especially difficult for law enforcement. Today human trafficking has emerged as a transnational security threat, so it requires a truly transnational response.

3.1 Defining Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is a concept that has been used by scholars ever since the end of the 19th century. However, there has been a high degree of uncertainty between social scientists in what they mean by this term. Some wrongly confused it with 'smuggling' or even 'prostitution'. Thus, the term 'human trafficking' had not received any formal legal definition until the adoption of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime adopted in 2000, also known as the Palermo Protocol. Article 3 of the Palermo Protocol defines human trafficking in the following way:

(a) "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the 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 or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. 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 the removal of organs.
(b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used.
(c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered "trafficking in persons" even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article;
(d) "Child" shall mean any person under 18 years of age.

The key point in this definition is the issue of 'coercion'. Victims of trafficking are forced to subdue by means of deception and fraud, so their participation in the traffickers' activity is involuntary. However, coercion is not the only element of the trafficking process. As Koslowski (2001: 347-49) and Truong (2001: 16-18) put it, human trafficking often involves coercion and violence that are, however, hardly effective means in the recruitment phase of the process. More important is the social access to the local communities and their willingness to provide human raw material for trafficking because without that material the business would dry up (Väyrynen, 2003: 7). That is why traffickers attach particular importance to establishing personal contacts with their potential victim in order to gain information about her/his family that could be used to threaten and force the victim to comply. 'Success stories' of the victim's neighbors who managed to earn money by following the traffickers are also used in the recruitment process.

Trafficking is also closely connected to the problem of illegal migration. By illegally entering the destination or transit country, the trafficked victims violate its domestic law. According to the Coalition against Trafficking in Women, which is one of the most influential international organizations that oppose human trafficking, this crime can be viewed in two ways. First, it is a crime against the state as it has been explained above. But when "viewed from a human rights perspective, however, trafficking is a *crime against migrants* in which women's desire to migrate is preyed upon. Within the context of migration, trafficking is *exploited migration*" (CATW, 2002: 17). Main characteristics of human trafficking are summarized in Table 5.

Table 5. **Characteristics of Human Trafficking.**

CHARACTERISTICS	EXPLANATION
Involuntary participation of victims	The use of coercion, deception, or abduction to force victims into compliance
Exploitative nature	Trafficking may include exploitation of the victim's sexuality, labor, and organs/tissues
Established connections b/w the trafficker and the victim and her/his community	Traffickers possess information about the victim's home community and relatives which can be used for threatening the victim if s/he refuses to obey
The participation of criminal groups	Traffickers very often have close connections with the criminal world which provides them with fraudulent identification documents

Nowadays human trafficking has several dimensions, so it cannot be equated to prostitution or sexual exploitation only. It also includes trafficking for labor exploitation, trafficking for the removal of organs, and child trafficking. Main types of human trafficking are listed and defined below in Table 6.

Table 6. **Types of Human Trafficking.**

TYPE	PRACTICES
Trafficking for sexual exploitation	Exploitation for prostitution, pornography, sex tourism, and 'mail-order' bride industry
Trafficking for labor exploitation	Exploitation for domestic, agricultural, factory, restaurant, and sweatshop work, debt bondage, and forced begging
Trafficking for the removal of organs/tissues	Trafficking for forced removal of organs/tissues in order to sell them to a potential client
Child trafficking	The use of persons less than 18 years of age in prostitution, commercial sexual acts, pornography, forced labor, forced begging, military conflict (child soldiers), and child sex tourism

It can be argued that today human trafficking is one of the most profitable industries that involve the participation of organized crime. According to Gallagher (2002: 25), "the profit in trafficking comes not from the movement but from the sale of a trafficked person's sexual services or labour in the country of destination". Therefore, one person can generate as much income as s/he is forced to. To this end, debt bondage is used by the traffickers to persuade the victim that she/he is due to work until the debt is paid. Because of high profits, more and more organized crime groups are involved in human trafficking. Aronowitz (2001: 191) admits that human trafficking is more profitable than drug trafficking because "a person can be used, traded and sold numerous times. If one is caught, penalties are low compared to trafficking in drugs". The same trend has been described by scholars in more recent publications. For example, Holmes (2010: 10) also argues that "the net return to criminals from human trafficking is now higher than the return on drugs trafficking, and hence why the scale of human trafficking appears, by most of the soft methods available for measuring this, to be increasing".

Finally, the most alarming trend concerning human trafficking today is the transnationalization of this crime. There is virtually no country in the world that is not affected by human trafficking to some extent. It might be a major source country, a transit or a destination country, but it cannot isolate itself from the impact of this crime. Transnational criminal networks involved in trafficking in human beings organize their networks with no regard of state borders. As Van Liempt (2006: 28) puts it, "trafficking in human beings is not a new phenomenon. What is new is the transnational character of the phenomenon and the scale on which it is taking place". See Table 7 for the key distinguishing characteristics of transnational human trafficking.

Table 7. **Characteristics of Transnational Human Trafficking.**

CHARACTERISTICS	EXPLANATION
Complicated geography of routes	Victims of transnational human trafficking can be transported to very distant locations, and the journey to the destination may take months
Illegal border crossing	Unlike domestic trafficking, transnational trafficking violates the customs laws of source, transit and destination countries
Networking as a mode of organization	Transnational human trafficking is organized in loose networks with no bottom-to-top leadership
Contacts with other transnational criminal groups	Human traffickers that operate on a transnational scale very often have well-established contacts with drug and arms dealers, and money launders

3.1.1 Trafficking or Smuggling?

Trafficking is often confused with smuggling, so it is relevant to mention key differences between the two concepts. According to Article 3 of the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime adopted in 2000, "smuggling of migrants" shall mean the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident".

Human trafficking and human smuggling are different crimes. The major differences between the two concepts were summarized by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2008: 81):

(a) **Consent.** The smuggling of migrants, while often undertaken in dangerous or degrading conditions, involves migrants who have consented to the smuggling. Trafficking victims, on the other hand, have either never consented or, if they initially consented, that consent has been rendered meaningless by the coercive, deceptive or abusive actions of the traffickers;
(b) **Exploitation.** Smuggling ends with the migrants' arrival at their destination, whereas trafficking involves the ongoing exploitation of the victims in some manner to generate illicit profits for the traffickers. From a practical standpoint, victims of trafficking also tend to be affected more severely and become more

traumatized by their experiences and are also in greater need of protection from revictimization and other forms of further abuse than are smuggled migrants;

(c) **Source of profits.** The financial benefits derived from these crimes come from quite different activities. Those who smuggle migrants profit from effecting the transportation of migrants from one country to another. The key source of criminal income from human trafficking is the exploitation of victims in the countries they are transported to;

(d) **Transnationality.** Smuggling is always transnational, whereas trafficking may not be. Trafficking can occur regardless of whether victims are taken to another country or only moved from one place to another within the same country.

However, according to the literature, the key difference between trafficking and smuggling is the issue of coercion. Smuggled persons are illegally entering another country because they agreed to do so, whereas trafficked persons do not provide their consent or are in some way deceived about the process. As Van Ellemeet and Smit put it (2006: 220), "whenever the 'voluntary' agreement between a human smuggler and the party smuggled is the result of deception, or involves high depts., and leads (directly or indirectly) to forced labour, the smuggling case becomes a trafficking case". The same has been stated by the International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2002: 9), which points to the fact that

> The key elements of a trafficking relationship are the threat or the use of force or other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud, deception or abuse of power. While smuggling implies a degree of consent between the transporting agent and the smuggled individual, trafficking implies an absence of such consent, at least during some stages of the trafficking process.

There are also two more differences between trafficking and smuggling that are less documented in the literature. The first one is the issue of gender. Gallagher (2002: 25) argues that whereas most smuggled migrants are men, most trafficked victims are women and children. This results from the assumption that men are illegally smuggled because of their desire to work abroad, and women, even if they smuggled for the same reason, are often later subjected to sexual exploitation or other forms of violence that turn them into victims of trafficking.

The second difference is the societal attitude towards trafficking and smuggling. Väyrynen (2003: 6) points to the fact that "human trafficking is usually regarded as a nasty and repulsive business that receives almost universal moral condemnation". In contrast, "illegal immigration, and even human smuggling, are understood because of the economic and humanitarian motives involved in them" (Väyrynen, 2003: 6).

However, there are also many similarities between the two cases. For example, both "smuggling and trafficking can be viewed as an illicit market" (Aronowitz, 2001: 172). Thus, they contribute to the shadow economy of the destination country. But most importantly, victims of both trafficking and smuggling need assistance because they are very vulnerable to all sorts of exploitation in an unfamiliar environment and often with little knowledge of the local language. As their status in the country of destination is that of an illegal alien, both smuggled and trafficked persons are at risk of being exploited (Aronowitz, 2001: 164). Moreover, both trafficking and smuggling are organized in transnational networks that may consist of cells located in different parts of the world. Therefore, trafficking and smuggling both represent a transnational threat to global security. Despite the fact that trafficking can be domestic or transnational and smuggling is always transnational, this study is going to concentrate on the trafficking case, because it represents a much more drastic threat to human security. Victims of human trafficking suffer from exploitation and subsequent psychological trauma more often than smuggled migrants, so it is essential for their rights to be protected and defended. Key differences and similarities between the two concepts are summarized in Table 8.

Table 8. **Trafficking vs. Smuggling.**

TRAFFICKING	SMUGGLING
DIFFERENCES	
Is based on the victim's coercion into exploitation	Is based on the victim's consent to be smuggled
Involves ongoing exploitation of victims	No exploitation involved
Profit comes from victim's exploitation	Profit comes from the fees for migrant smuggling
Can be domestic or transnational	Is always transnational (involves traveling to another country and illegal border crossing)
Most trafficked persons are women and children	Most smuggled persons are men
Societal attitude to trafficking is always negative	Societal attitude to smuggling can be negative or neutral because economic motives for illegal migration are better understood
SIMILARITIES	
Both contribute to the shadow economy of the destination country	
Victims of both trafficking and smuggling need assistance because they are usually traumatized by their experiences and vulnerable to exploitation	
Are both organized as flexible networks which may stretch to continents	
Are increasingly becoming transnational, since more and more countries are included into the source-transit-destination chain	

3.2 Historical Overview of the Human Trafficking Problem

Historically, the problem of human trafficking has always been seen in the context of combating prostitution. According to Skrobanek and Boonpakdee (1997: 17), "traffic in women has always been linked to prostitution, and was first recognized at the end of the 19th century". For example, "in Victorian England, prostitution – including that of children – was widespread, but was regarded as being beyond the concern of polite society, which chose to ignore it" (Skrobanek and Boonpakdee, 1997: 17).

However, trafficking should never be limited to prostitution. It is actually more closely connected to slavery, and represents a form of modern-day slavery itself. As Reilly (2006: 110) puts it, "slavery is illegal … Yet not only does it continue to exist in contemporary society, it has also re-manifested as an intrinsic part of an exploding

global trade in humans, analogous to slave trading in the past". Slavery has existed ever since the beginning of the human history, and has always involved trafficking.

It was not until the end of the 19th century that the international community started to make significant efforts to combat slave trade. According to Truong (2001: 5), "international human trafficking is not entirely a new phenomenon. Earlier forms are known as the slave trade, the formal abolition of which was achieved through antitrafficking legislation introduced since early last century". The so-called "white slavery" was a popular topic of discussion in the feminist circles at the time, which campaigned against discrimination of women. As defined by Doezema (2000: 25), "white slavery came to mean the procurement, by force, deceit, or drugs, of a white woman or girl against her will, for prostitution". A more recent definition has been proposed by Gallagher (2010: 13), who refers to 'white slavery" as a term "that was initially used to refer to forcible or fraudulent recruitment to prostitution".

All through the 20th century, the international community established legal norms that aimed at abolishing slavery and discrimination against women. These norms of international law related to human trafficking will be analyzed in the subsequent section, for now it is relevant to mention only the fact that trafficking has emerged as an issue of international security in the years prior to the breakup of the Soviet Union and immediately after. As Doezema (2000: 30-31) puts it

> The re-emergence of "white slavery", now called "trafficking in women" as a political issue for feminists, human rights organizations, religious groups, and others, and its reappearance on national and international political agendas can be dated from the beginning of the 1980s.

Interestingly, scholars point to the fact that trafficking in women often creates the perception of innocent victims that are forced or lured into sexual exploitation. This sometimes ignores the real scope of the problem in which most of trafficked victims are

actually aware of the nature of the jobs that await them. According to Doezema, "the narratives of innocent, virginal victims purveyed in the "trafficking in women" discourse are a modern version of the myth of "white slavery" (2000: 23). This might create an impression that trafficking in women is 'voluntary' and is thus closer to smuggling. However, trafficked women are usually deceived about working conditions and payment, which still makes their case a trafficking one.

It can be argued that human trafficking has become a totally global security issue in the 90s with the fall of the Iron Curtain which resulted in the economic crises in the former Soviet countries and the increasing number of migrants, both legal and illegal, from the East to the West. As summarized by Tasha (1996: 43) with reference to the situation with human trafficking in the 90s,

> Many women from Russia, Hungary, Poland and other countries in the region are tricked into prostitution in the West, where they had been promised jobs in offices, in restaurants, or as domestic servants. Instead, they find themselves locked up in a brothel, their papers taken away and their earnings are kept back to repay their 'debts'.

Unfortunately, the same situation is still relevant today, with the number of victims of human trafficking only increasing. The history of human trafficking shows that this problem is only getting worse over time, so an adequate response is needed in order to prevent this disaster from spreading further.

3.2.1 Human Trafficking in the International Law

International law on human trafficking had its roots in the legislature on slavery since it was a forerunner to modern trafficking in human beings. There have been several initiatives in the field of international law that contributed to the eventual formal abolition of slavery and also helped the scholars to avoid confusion with trafficking-related definitions. The first attempt to combat slavery was made by the International

Agreement of 18 May 1904 for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic. As described by contemporary international lawyers, "the first Convention against White Slavery, adopted in 1904, sought to suppress the "criminal traffic" of women and girls compulsively procured for "immoral purposes" (Gallagher, 2010: 13). Another assessment was provided by Reilly (2006: 105), who argued that the 1904 Agreement was "specifically to eliminate the trafficking of white women and children for the purposes of prostitution, and the immediate link here was with sexual exploitation".

The next legal instrument to combat trafficking was Slavery Convention adopted by the League of Nations in 1926. As Cullen-DuPont (2009: 171) rightfully notes, "while earlier regional conventions had called for abolition, this was the first truly international convention to address slavery". It also for the first time in history provided legal definition of slavery: "*Slavery* is the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised" (article 1.1, emphasis added). This definition was further used in subsequent legislature concerning the abolition of slavery.

In 1930, the International Labour Organization adopted its Forced Labour Convention No. 29. In it, the ILO defines *'forced labor'* for the purposes of international law as "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily" (Article 2(1)). According to Cullen-DuPont (2009: 172), "this convention calls for an end to all forms of forced labor "within the shortest period possible" and provides guidelines for a transition period, including a provision for the continued use of forced labor for public works".

However, the first international agreement that contained the term 'traffic' in its title was the UN Convention for the Suppression in Traffic in Persons and of the

Exploitation of Prostitution adopted in 1949. Despite its significance for the development of human rights law, this convention has a number of flaws that are quite obvious today. First, it covers only prostitution and therefore "does not include trafficking for other purposes, and does not cover all contemporary forms of trafficking" (Skrobanek and Boompakdee, 1997: 8). And second, "the Convention does not define "traffic" or "trafficking", and the absence of any *travaux préparatoires* renders impossible any meaningful analysis of this omission" (Gallagher, 2010: 14).

The United Nations Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery adopted in 1956 is also significant for this study because it contains legal definition of *'debt bondage'*. Article 1(a) states that

> Debt bondage, that is to say, the status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or of those of a person under his control as security for a debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined.

The next legal instrument aiming at combating human trafficking is the ILO Convention Concerning the Abolition of Forced Labour adopted in 1957. It builds upon the ILO Forced Labor Convention of 1930 and contains an expanded definition of forced labor. According to Article 1 of the 1957 Convention, forced labor should be condemned in all its forms including those used

> (a) as a means of political coercion or education or as a punishment for holding or expressing political views or views ideologically opposed to the established political, social or economic system;
> (b) as a method of mobilising and using labour for purposes of economic development;
> (c) as a means of labour discipline;
> (d) as a punishment for having participated in strikes;
> (e) as a means of racial, social, national or religious discrimination.

Significant changes to the concept of human trafficking have also been brought by the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against

Women (CEDAW) adopted in 1979. As characterized by Healy and O'Connor (2006: 32), "CEDAW builds on the 1949 Convention, by introducing 'all forms of' traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women and acknowledges that new forms of trafficking and sexual exploitation exist and must be curbed". Another contribution of this convention is the legal definition of the term "*discrimination against women*". According to Article I of CEDAW,

> The term "discrimination against women" shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.

Finally, the eventual legal definition of human trafficking was provided by the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime adopted in 2000. "This is a foundational convention in the struggle against human trafficking. Defining trafficking in persons in words that have become the most commonly accepted definition, it commits its parties to criminalize trafficking within their borders, protect trafficking's victims, and work to prevent human trafficking" (Cullen-DuPont, 2009: 181).

Equal attention should be paid to the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. According to Gallagher (2002: 25), "the purpose of this treaty is to prevent and combat trafficking in persons, especially women and children. Its main emphasis is on strengthening cooperation between countries". However, most importantly, the Trafficking Protocol attached great significance to specific measures that states should take in their struggle against human trafficking. As it was mentioned in the US Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report (2010: 5),

> For the first time, an international instrument called for the criminalization of all acts of trafficking – including forced labor, slavery, and slaverylike practices – and that governmental response should incorporate the "3P" paradigm: prevention, criminal prosecution, and victim protection.

Similarly, the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, or the Smuggling Protocol has also become a landmark in the international law on the smuggling of migrants and has also provided a model for relevant domestic legislature. Gallagher (2002: 26) points to the fact that compared to trafficked victims, smuggled migrants are supposed to act voluntarily and therefore deserve less protection. "Accordingly, the primary emphasis of the Migrant Smuggling Protocol is on strengthened border controls – particularly in relation to smuggling by sea" (Gallagher, 2002: 26). Thus, with the adoption of these Protocols the international community was finally able to define in precise terms what the threat of human trafficking represented.

3.3 State's Response to Human Trafficking

Human trafficking as a transnational security threat questions the state's ability to control its security realm. Therefore, in order to provide an effective response to human trafficking, the state should use a combined strategy. There are many ways in which the state can respond to the transnational threat of human trafficking. However, they can be basically divided into state level and non-state level response. State level response activities might include operations conducted and maintained by the state such as police operations and public awareness campaigns. It also includes diplomatic efforts such as signing bilateral agreements with other countries and international conventions, legislative efforts such as adopting national legislature, and educational efforts. Non-state level response implies the activity of anti-trafficking NGOs and civil society

organizations, as well as individual response to human trafficking such as volunteering for the anti-trafficking NGOs, donating money to them, or launching personal campaigns to fight human trafficking. Types of state's response to human trafficking are summarized in Table 9.

Table 9. **State's Response to Human Trafficking.**

STATE LEVEL		**NON-STATE LEVEL**	
Police response	- police operations (victims identification) - international cooperation of police units (joint operations)	*NGO/civil society response*	- collecting data on human trafficking - publishing research reports - organizing conferences and training activities - trafficking victims assistance - opening victims shelters - carrying out advocacy activities
Diplomatic response	- bilateral anti-trafficking agreements	*Individual response*	- donating to support anti-trafficking NGO activities - volunteering for victims assistance
Legislative response	- adopting national legislature - developing international law on human trafficking		
Government response	- adopting official national plans to combat human trafficking - launching state-sponsored programs and campaigns - organizing conferences - organizing training activities for law enforcement - establishing official institutions responsible for struggle against human trafficking		
Educational response	- launching public-awareness campaigns - introducing changes into the school and university curricula		

3.4 Types of Human Trafficking

3.4.1 Trafficking for Labor Exploitation

> In 2001, 27-year-old Sergey from Perm in Russia responded to and advertisement in a local newspaper for a job in construction work in Spain. The job agency promised a salary of US$1,200 per month, six times more than Sergey's monthly salary of $200 in Perm. Sergey's application was accepted and the agency paid for his plane ticket to Madrid on the condition that the money would be paid back when Sergey started work. Upon arrival, Sergey was met by someone from the agency who took his passport, brought him to Portugal, and forced him to work on a construction site for several months without pay. Sergey was held captive behind a barbed-wire fence. He finally managed to escape and "begged his way to Germany". Because he had no passport, Sergey was arrested by the German authorities who, according to Sergey, "beat him and took away what little money he had before deporting him to Russia". Sergey is back home but traumatized by his experience. He reportedly is suffering from psychological problems and was unable to work for several months *(Aronowitz, 2009: 87)*.

What happened to Sergey cannot be described otherwise than trafficking for labor exploitation or involuntary servitude. It mostly occurs when a person aims to enter a country for the purpose of working there and is deceived about the real conditions of the job there by her/his traffickers who she/he assumes to help her/him. Men can be exploited at construction sites, mines or other dangerous places of work, whereas women are most often exploited for domestic servitude. According to the US TIP Report (2010: 5), more people are trafficked for forced labor than for commercial sex. The ILO also estimates that "for every trafficking victim subjected to forced prostitution, nine people are forced to work" (US TIP Report, 2010: 8). Migrants are particularly vulnerable to this kind of exploitation because of their insufficient knowledge of local language and laws. Traffickers prefer to choose victims from the communities with high levels of unemployment and poverty, which make the victims more vulnerable to deception and fraud.

3.4.2 Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation

> Maryam, a 17-year old from Kazakhstan, left home to seek employment as a shop assistant in a store in a Russian city. Her parents were paid $300, she was given a false passport, and she was taken by a man to Samara in central Russia. Instead of a shop, Maryam was placed in a guarded and locked cell with barred windows and a metal door. Refusing to work as a prostitute, she was starved, raped, and beaten into submission. It took five days to break her down and force her to comply *(Aronowitz, 2009: 87).*

In the contemporary world, trafficking in women, men and transgenders for sexual exploitation is a widespread issue. According to the US TIP Report (2010: 9), "sex trafficking comprises a smaller but still significant portion of overall human trafficking". As it was mentioned before, sex trafficking is also closely linked to prostitution. However, "trafficking is not limited to prostitution, although this is a popular belief, and not all prostitution involves trafficking" (Wijers, 1998: 69).

Kempadoo and Doezema (1998) suggest that prostitution should be referred to as sex work. As they mention, "the concept of sex work emerged in the 1970s through the prostitutes' rights movement in the United States and Western Europe" (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998: 4). By "sex worker" they mean "a term that suggests we view prostitution as not an identity – a social or a psychological characteristic of women, often indicated by 'whore" – but as an income-generating activity or form of labor for women and men" (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998: 3).

However, some people reject "sex worker" term because it inherently implies that prostitution can be viewed as an acceptable form of employment. For example, the former director of the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (otherwise known as the TIP Office) in the U.S. Department of State issued a memo before he left his post in late 2006 "to encourage grantees and contractors to avoid use of the terms "sex worker" and "child sex worker". He claimed that "to abolish modern-day slavery, we must not be afraid to call slavery by its real, despicable name" (Miller, 2006).

Unsurprisingly, trafficking for prostitution has received more scholarly and public attention compared to other forms of trafficking. As Bruckert and Parent (2002: 4) put it,

> Work in the sex industry is rejected out of hand as a way to earn a living and the difference between sex workers and other women is raised once again, while other forms of trafficking in women in the domestic, agricultural and textile sectors or with respect to mail-order brides and human organs are completely ignored.

According to the findings of the CATW (2002: 10), "the most prevalent forms of sex trafficking are for prostitution, sex tourism, and mail-order bride industries". Moreover, "women and children are also trafficked for bonded labor and domestic work, and much of this trafficking concludes with their being sexually exploited as well" (CATW, 2002: 10).

Trafficked prostitution is also closely linked to migration of women. In general, Asian women are trafficked to the West because they find more demand for their sexual services there. Consequently, Western women are trafficked to the East. As Skrobanek and Boonpakdee (1997: 24) put it, "prostitution is also influenced by popular ideas of 'exotic' women. In the West, these may embody stereotypes of submissiveness, on the one hand, and lewdness on the other". Some other features of trafficked prostitution have been identified by Cauduro and et al. (2009: 25) who mention "overwhelming presence of foreign prostitutes, limited knowledge of the national language by victims, use of violence to subjugate and force them into prostitution, services offered at lower prices than native prostitutes".

In the case of sex trafficking, one is once again faced with the popular view that most victims of this crime are forced into prostitution through violence and coercion. As described by Doezema (2000: 24), "then as now, the paradigmatic image is that of a young and naïve innocent lured or deceived by evil traffickers into a life of sordid

horror from which escape is nearly impossible". However, in reality this is far from true. As demonstrated by statistical data, "the majority of "trafficking victims" are aware that the jobs offered them are in the sex industry, but are lied to about the conditions they will work under" (Doezema, 2000: 24). The same point is supported by the recent US TIP Report (2010: 5) which claims that in case of sex trafficking, "the crime is less often about the flat-out duping and kidnapping of naïve victims than it is about the coercion and exploitation of people who initially entered a particular form of service voluntarily or migrated willingly".

Yet, this seeming consent does not change the fact that the victims of sex trafficking are denied basic human rights and are in an urgent need of legal and humanitarian assistance. The public should be made more aware of the problems that this crime involves. As summarized by McCabe (2008: 18),

> The victims of sex trafficking are found in highly visible venues such as street prostitution, massage parlors, spas, and strip clubs, and the public knows that they are there; what the public generally does not know is that these victims of sex trafficking are in these areas without choice.

3.4.3 Trafficking for the Removal of Organs

Trafficking for the removal of organs emerged as the international security threat in the 1990s. Young people coming from poor backgrounds sometimes willingly sell their kidney, or are forced to do so by their traffickers. Donors mainly come from Eastern European countries such as Moldova and Romania (Aronowitz, 2009: 114). Children have also been reported to be kidnapped in South Africa for their organs to be used in traditional rituals (Aronowitz, 2009: 114).

Scholars point to the fact that trade in human organs has become a new variation of the trade in human beings, along with forced begging. According to Truong (2001: 11-12), "the valuation of the human body in human trafficking as a trade is changing.

The incremental link between body and money has extended from labor to sex, from sex to disability, and from disability to body parts". The demand for organs in the world is constantly increasing, which makes it a very profitable illegal business.

Unfortunately, organ trafficking is closely connected to the problem of corruption in medical institutions. As Aronowitz (2009: 114) puts it, this crime "cannot take place without the complicity of professional medical staff operating in hospitals or private clinics. These doctors knowingly remove healthy organs from individuals not related to the recipients". For example, in what the Indians called the "mother of all scandals in human organ trafficking in India, police arrested middlemen, donors, and several doctors, including a transplant surgeon, as well as the principal of the Government Medical College" (Aronowitz, 2009: 115).

In response to the growing demand for transplant organs, many countries started to adopt a new understanding of death that allows the organs to be used by recipients. As Truong (2001: 14) puts it,

> From a definition of death as the extinction of life manifested by the absence of heartbeat and respiration, many countries now adopt a new definition of death as brain death, and as a result organs are allowed to be removed as early as possible.

However, this has led to the abuse by medical personal that represents a threat to security of people under treatment (Truong, 2001: 14). In order to combat trafficking for the removal of organs, countries should adopt higher penalties for corrupted medical staff involved in illegal organ trade.

3.4.4 Child Trafficking

> In 1991, a 6-year-old boy was working partime as a house boy for a fisheries officer. The officer was reassigned to a different region and promised the boy an education if he accompanied him. But instead of being enrolled in school, the boy was forced to tend cattle and serve as the homestead's security guard. The

> officer changed the boy's name to Charles and over time, the boy forgot his native language. Charles, now 26, still works for the fisheries officer but has never received payment and relies on the officer for everything. When Charles requested a piece of land to build a house so he could marry, the man instead forced him to work as a fisherman and turn over the profits. With the help of a local anti-trafficking committee, Charles moved into a rented room in a nearby town but continues to be abused by his trafficker. Charles does not know who or where his family is *(US TIP Report 2010: 5).*

According to UNICEF, as many as two million children are subjected to prostitution in the global commercial sex trade (US TIP Report, 2010: 12). For the definition of 'child labor', the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (182) is more relevant. Article 3 of the Convention states that the worst forms of child labour comprise:

(a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
(b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
(c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
(d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

By child or minor we mean any person under the age of 18, according to the standard laid down in Article 1 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, and Article 3(d) of the Trafficking Protocol. Child trafficking mostly includes trafficking for forced labor, sexual exploitation, organ removal, and the use of children in armed conflicts. Specific attention should be paid to the problem of child soldiers. UNICEF (1997) defines a 'child soldier' as

> Any child – boy or girl – under 18 years of age, who is part of any kind of regular or irregular armed force or armed group in any capacity … and anyone accompanying such groups other than family members. It includes girls and boys recruited for forced sexual purposes and/or forced marriage.

As estimated by UNICEF, "kidnapping and forced or illicit recruitment of children for use in armed conflicts are estimated to affect around 300,000 children in conflicts throughout the world" (cited in Aronowitz, 2009: 103). In Africa, child soldiers are currently active in Burundi, Chad, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea, Rwanda, Sudan, Somalia, and Uganda. In Asia, children are serving in the armies in Afghanistan, India, Nepal, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, and the Phillippines. In Latin America, they are involved in the conflict in Columbia. In the Middle East, children are deployed in Israel, Iraq, and the Palestinian Territories (Aronowitz, 2009). This data shows that the problem of child soldiers should be immediately addressed in the global context.

3.5 The Scope of the Problem

It is difficult to say with a high degree of certainty how many people today are affected by the problem of human trafficking. Statistics on this issue is very controversial due to different interpretations of trafficking and illegal migration that exist in various countries. Many scholars are very skeptical about the official trafficking statistics provided in country reports of NGOs. For example, Gallagher (2002: 25) simply states that "each year, an unknown number of people are 'smuggled' or 'trafficked' across international borders". Others mention the discrepancies that occur in country reports with regard to human trafficking. As Kempadoo and Doezema (1998: 15) put it,

> To any conscientious social scientist, such discrepancies should be cause for extreme suspicion of the reliability of the research, yet when it comes to sex work and prostitution, few eyebrows are raised and the figures are easily bandied about without question.

Even those NGOs that were provided with special funds to assess the scope of human trafficking problem found it difficult to accomplish the task. For example, International Organization for Migration (IOM), which received EU 'STOP' funds to produce accurate estimates for trafficking in women across Europe came to the conclusion that "it was not possible with any level of accuracy" (Kelly and Regan, 2000). Similarly, The Global Alliance against Trafficking in Women (GAATW), which was engaged in a year and a half-long research project on trafficking in women, stated that "finding reliable statistics on the extent of trafficking in women was virtually impossible" (GAATW, 1999).

Nevertheless, official statistics in human trafficking still does exist. According to Gallagher (2006: 154), "800,000-900,000 persons – the large majority of whom are women and children – are trafficked across international borders yearly for forced prostitution, labour and other forms of exploitation". UNODC (2008: 9) claims that "more than 130 countries are affected by human trafficking". Most recent assessment of the problem has been proposed in the US TIP Report (2010: 7), which estimates the number of "adults and children in forced labor, bonded labor, and forced prostitution around the world" as 12,3 million.

Similar controversy is found in the assessments concerning gender of the trafficked persons. For example, as of 1997, Skrobanek and Bookpakdee (1997: 7) claim that "in the contemporary world, it is primarily women who are trafficked". It is actually quite natural to believe that women become victims of human trafficking more often than men. More recent sources only support this assumption. According to French non-governmental organization Comité Contre L'Esclavage Moderne, 88,5% of trafficked persons in the world are women (CCEM, 2008: 22). As of 2010, women still represent the majority of trafficked victims. Holmes (2010: 1) argues that "while the

overwhelming majority of internationally trafficked persons – an estimated 80 percent – are women and children, many thousands of men are trafficked each year too".

With regard to statistics on the profits of human trafficking industry, "trafficking in women generates about $12 billion a year, making it the third largest profit industry in the world after trafficking in weapons and drugs" (Bindel, 2003). For example, ILO (2009: 30) estimates US$31.7 billion the total illicit profits produced in one year by trafficked forced laborers. As far as the nationality of the traffickers is concerned, "the largest number of reported references are to nationals of Asia, followed by Central and South Eastern Europe and then Western Europe (UNODC, 2006: 80).

3.5.1 Reasons for Human Trafficking

People are smuggled and trafficked all over the world for various reasons (see Table 10). For the most part, these reasons are linked to the problem of illegal migration. Scholars identify 'push factors' and 'pull factors' behind people's decisions to migrate. According to Aronowitz (2001) and Shelley (2010), these include:

> **Push factors:** lack of employment opportunities, poverty, economic imbalances among regions of the world, corruption, decline of border controls, gender and ethnic discrimination, and political instability and conflict;
>
> **Pull factors:** demand for workers, the possibilities of higher standards of living, and the perceptions of many in poor communities that better opportunities exist in larger cities or abroad.

Table 10. **Reasons for Human Trafficking.**

TYPE	DESCRIPTION
Economic reasons	unemployment, poverty, economic inequalities, corruption, increasing demand for cheap labor, illegal migration
Political reasons	political instability, conflict, lack of border control, restrictive migration and visa policies
Military reasons	deployment of armed or peace-keeping forces
Social reasons	high levels of crime, poor law enforcement, social unrest
Cultural reasons	gender and ethnic discrimination
Educational reasons	low levels of education

As Gallagher (2002: 28) puts it, "the growth in smuggling and trafficking is a direct consequence of the global failure to manage migration and deal with its root causes". Trafficking blurs the boundaries between legal and illegal migration, forced and voluntary movement of people, and domestic and transnational patterns of flows. Thus, "trafficking and smuggling challenge traditional migration theories in a number of ways" (Salt, 2000: 35).

Many scholars have also pointed to the fact that illegal migration is increasing because there are fewer and fewer possibilities to enter a country legally, especially within the European Union. The so-called "Fortress Europe" with its restrictive policies on illegal migration makes more and more people try to use the help of smugglers to enter a country, which often turns them into trafficked victims. As Salt (2000: 32) puts it, "trafficking is also assumed to occur because the possibilities for regular migration have declined, as more stringent entry controls force migrants into using illegal channels". As summarized by Väyrynen (2003: 20), "human trafficking has been growing in tandem with the growing pressures of emigration and the closure of the borders, especially in the European Union". The same has been mentioned in the CATW (2002: 12) report, which argues that

> As immigration becomes more restrictive and discriminatory, and ineffective border controls are utilized in receiving countries, traffickers become the major international players who facilitate international migration because the legitimate channels are so restrictive.

More recent sources also support this assumption arguing that "the reluctance of affluent countries to grant residence and work visas to foreigners with few if any formal qualifications explains why such outsiders often seek to enter and work in these countries illegally" (Holmes, 2010: 8).

With regard to the background of trafficked victims, they usually come from poor communities with high levels of unemployment and significant inequalities between the people. According to Väyrynen (2003: 12), "illegal immigrants enter Europe from well-known sources where political and social structures are fragmenting, the economy is deteriorating, laws are incomplete and poorly enforced, and criminal networks involved in trafficking are permitted to operate". People who trust the traffickers with their promises of better life are usually "those who are being squeezed on all sides and have few options other than work in underground and informal sectors" (Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998: 17).

Very often potential victims of trafficking are the people who are inspired by success stories of other people from their communities who sell their children to work abroad or into forced marriage. As Kyle and Koslowski (2001: 22) rightfully claim, "it is not what a person does not have that motivates him or her to leave; it is what that person's neighbor has that compels him or her not to be left behind – that is, *relative* deprivation".

Another major cause of human trafficking is the discrimination against women that still exists in many communities of underdeveloped countries. When girls are denied formal education and are forced into marriage at a very early age, it is easier for them to become victims of human trafficking networks. According to Shelley (2010: 17), "discrimination against women is a major causal factor of trafficking not only in Asia, where ILO data suggest the problem is most pronounced, but also in Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East".

If a general victim portrait is needed, "most trafficked persons come from poor backgrounds, have low levels of education, and have very poor prospects in their home country" (Holmes, 2010: 6). Other determining factors for the existence of the human

trafficking problem are “the presence and tolerance of an extensive sex industry, historical/colonial links between countries” (Kelly and Regan, 2000) and “the existence of a large immigrant population” (Aronowitz, 2001: 167).

Another factor that stands separately is the presence of military forces deployed in the region of a conflict that contribute to the formation of human trafficking networks. U.S. troops deployed in Afghanistan and Iraq might be the major reasons for the rise of trafficked prostitution in these countries. As Aronowitz (2009: 138) claims, “the breakdown of law and order combined with the increased demand for sexual services by members of the military or fighting factions can lead to a situation in which a conflict area becomes a destination for human trafficking”.

In the final analysis, human trafficking has a lot to do with inequalities that exist in the world today. Population of countries that are faced with economic crises is more vulnerable to human traffickers than that of more affluent countries. As summarized by Gallagher (2002: 28), “lack of human security and gross inequalities within and between countries are still the main reasons why people take dangerous migration decisions”.

3.5.2 Human Trafficking Routes

The main elements of a human trafficking route are source/origin country, transit country and destination country. The scheme looks quite simple, but, as Aronowitz (2001: 166) notes, “with the frequent rotation between countries of young women smuggled into the European Union, it is becoming more and more difficult to determine which are the transit and which are the destination countries”. An interesting trend has been noticed by Turner and Kelly (2009: 195) who argue that “where the intended destination country is a long way from the country of origin, journeys can sometimes

take months and range across and through several other countries". For example, persons may be trafficked from China to the Netherlands, and this dangerous journey may take a long time. Therefore, traffickers need the knowledge of local realities in order to accomplish their task. They may cooperate with corrupted customs and migration officials who provide the trafficked persons with fraudulent documents.

As far as the general patterns of trafficking are concerned, "in general, the flow of trafficked women and children moves from North to South or East to West, or from poorer countries or countries in economic, social and political crisis, to richer and more socially and politically stable countries" (CATW, 2002: 17). However, this 'traditional' view has been questioned by contemporary scholars who argue that general patterns of trafficking are much more complex. According to UNODC (2010c: 49), "more recent research based on empirical evidence shows that smuggling routes are far more diverse than initially conceived and that Western-centric visions may not accurately represent the complex dynamics of migrant smuggling". The general trafficking patterns in the world as stated by UNODC (2006: 80) are the following:

> The Commonwealth of Independent States, Central and South Eastern Europe, West Africa and South-Eastern Asia, are the most reported origin regions. Countries in Western Europe, North America and Asia, particularly in Western Asia, are reported more frequently as destination countries. Countries within Central and South Eastern Europe and Western Europe are highly reported transit regions.

Many scholars also point to the fact that human trafficking has emerged as a particular problem for East Asia. According to UNODC (2009: 11), "victims from East Asia were detected in more than 20 countries in regions throughout the world, including Europe, the Americas, the Middle East, Central Asia and Africa". The same trend has been noticed by Renshaw (2008: 3) who argues that "although trafficking occurs in all

regions of the world, the problem is particularly pervasive in Asia". Therefore, further detailed research is needed to investigate the problem of human trafficking in East Asia.

Human trafficking today has truly penetrated the globe with its complicated network. "There are few, if any, regions of the world that can be described as human traffic-free zones" (Turner and Kelly, 2009: 187). According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2006), virtually all countries are now implicated, as countries of origin, transit or destination, and sometimes as all three. The same view has been expressed by Aronowitz (2009: 28), who admits that "child labor is prevalent in Central and West Africa and the trafficking of men for labor exploitation and of women and children for sexual exploitation is a form of slavery affecting almost every country on the globe". This makes human trafficking a totally global transnational threat that jeopardizes national and international security at all levels.

3.6 Human Trafficking As a Transnational Threat

3.6.1 Human Trafficking and Globalization

If one views globalization as the increased easiness in the flows of capital, commodities and people across national borders, then transnational organized crime also gained a lot in this process. It also means growing interdependence between the states which links them together. As Holmes (2010: 8) notes, "one of the many reasons for the rise in trafficking is the impact of globalization". Globalization has created new opportunities for organized crime to increase their profits by creating transnational networks. It has made it easier for human traffickers to cross national borders and maintain communication with the help of new information technologies. According to Shelley (2010: 38), "crime groups, particularly human smugglers and traffickers, have

seized the opportunities created by the global economy". Trafficking should also be addressed as a contemporary security challenge that is linked to transnationalization of global information space. "It becomes clear that structural factors like globalization and changing labour markets, as well as European enlargement, play an important role in the practice of trafficking" (Van den Anker, 2006: 193).

Transnational organized crime in the field of human trafficking represents a series of VNSAs that pose a threat to the security of states. According to Gallagher (2006: 166), "today many persecutors are non-governmental agents, guerilla factions, mafia and other groups and individuals from whom governments either are unwilling or unable to protect their citizenry". In the aftermath of globalization, transnational organized crime gained new opportunities for its activities. As Renshaw (2008: 3) puts it, "the underbelly of globalization is transnational crime – the cross-border trade in weapons, drugs and humans".

Globalization also brought new technical developments that organized crime started using in its activities. For human traffickers, access to the Internet created new opportunities for recruiting potential victims. Access to the internet may well mean that "organized crime groups in India and Russia are able to buy and sell women with the ease of a mouse-click" (Shelley, 2007: 119), but the purchase and sale of persons via the worldwide web do not simultaneously beam them from origin to destination (Turner and Kelly, 2009: 187). Aronowitz (2009: 130) points to the fact

> Rather than using dating, marriage, or employment agencies, traffickers can now post free advertisements on the Internet. The two most common means of Internet recruitment for trafficking are through advertisements for dating, escort, marriage, or employment agencies, and in chatrooms.

The ways in which globalization has contributed to the development of human trafficking are summarized in Table 11.

Table 11. **The Links between Globalization and Human Trafficking.**

FEATURE OF GLOBALIZATION	HOW IT AFFECTS TRAFFICKING
Transparency of state borders, especially in the post-Soviet space	Allows traffickers to penetrate borders easier using fraudulent ID documents
Increased flows of capital between the countries	Creates new opportunities for money laundering
The rise in transnational criminal activity	Increases the participation of organized crime in human trafficking
The emergence of transnational networks (advocacy networks, social networks, networks of violence)	Changes the traffickers' mode of organization to flexible networks with no hierarchical leadership
New information technologies	Allow traffickers to stay in contact with each other on long distances and recruit new victims via the Internet

3.6.2 Human Trafficking and the Involvement of Organized Crime

Human trafficking has emerged as one of the fields where organized crime is especially active. Legal definition of organized crime was proposed by the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime adopted in 2000. Article 2 states that

> "Organized criminal group" shall mean a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit.

The same convention also explains what organized crime can be considered transnational. As mentioned in Article 3, an offence is transnational in nature if:

> *(a)* It is committed in more than one State;
> *(b)* It is committed in one State but a substantial part of its preparation, planning, direction or control takes place in another State;
> *(c)* It is committed in one State but involves an organized criminal group that engages in criminal activities in more than one State; or
> *(d)* It is committed in one State but has substantial effects in another State.

Nowadays the involvement of organized crime in human trafficking is currently increasing. As Warnath (1998) puts it, "trafficking of women and children is not a new problem – it has occurred throughout history. What is new is the growing involvement

of organised crime and the increasing sophistication of its methods". Other fields that witness a growing participation of organized crime are trade in weapons and drug trafficking. Whereas drug trade is the first thing that comes to mind when speaking of organized crime, today many criminal groups are involved in human trafficking. Shelley (2010: 5) argues that "transnational crime was once synonymous with the drug trade. Yet trafficking in persons is now perpetrated on such a large scale that it is a prime activity of many transnational crime groups". Increased participation of transnational organized crime has contributed to the transnationalization of human trafficking.

Sometimes organized criminal groups involved in human trafficking are also engaged in drug trade. According to IOM (2002: 9), "trafficking in human beings is a criminal activity, which has been increasingly shown to be penetrated by transnational organized crime, often connected with other criminal activities such as drug trafficking and money laundering". Significant part of profit from human trafficking comes from trafficking in women for sexual exploitation. Healy and O'Connor (2006: 24) argue that "the sexual exploitation of women and girls in international prostitution and trafficking networks has become one of the major aspects of transnational organised crime".

Many famous organized groups such as Hong Kong triads (Murray, 1998: 59), Russian Mafiya and Japanese Yakuza are involved in human trafficking for sexual exploitation. However, "because 'trafficking' has been framed as a problem of transnational organised crime, the fate of those who are deceived or coerced and abused within legal systems of labour migration is largely overlooked" (O'Connel and Anderson, 2006: 18). Yet, it appears that not all human trafficking involves organized crime. Sometimes it takes place without any criminal participation at all, with the help of volunteers who operate individually. Turner and Kelly (2009: 187) argue that

> In the field of human trafficking, true organized crime may play some role in these activities, such as debt collectors or by demanding a mob tax to permit

> trafficking through their territory, but to label all human traffickers as organized crime or worse, as mafia … is both incorrect and unwise.

The same idea is supported by Väyrynen (2003: 7) who claims that "while organized crime is certainly involved in many illegal human transfers, they can also take place without the criminal contribution". Väyrynen (2003: 15-16) also argues that when smuggling/trafficking involves traveling long distances, organized crime groups will most likely by involved in the trafficking process because they have the necessary connections and knowledge of local realities. However, when the distance is short, involvement of organized crime may not be needed.

3.6.3 Transnational Criminal Networks and Human Trafficking

Globalization has led to the emergence of new security threats such as VNSAs and networks of violence that the international community faces today. These threats challenge the traditional nature of states and their ability to adapt to the new security environment. Renshaw (2008: 8) points to the fact that "the interdependence and interconnectedness of systems of trade, finance, security and environmental protection, have given birth to powerful new actors on the international stage. Among the most significant of these are transgovernmental networks".

Most scholars agree that organized criminal groups participating in human trafficking represent networks. According to CATW (2002), nothing is new about human trafficking itself. "What is new is the global sophistication, complexity and consolidation of trafficking networks, and the increasing numbers of women and children who are trafficked from/to/in all parts of the globe (CATW, 2002: 10). These networks may even be stretched via regions and continents, thus making human trafficking truly transnational. According to UNODC (2010b: 41),

> There is a firm consensus among experts and most of the recent pieces of literature consulted that today most organized crime groups involved in trafficking in persons consist of loosely connected people, together forming a trafficking or smuggling network.

According to the UN definitions, these networks are organized crime groups. This is the case even if they do not know each other and even if they are separated by continents, as is often the case in large criminal networks (UNODC, 2010b: 41). Thus, human trafficking is organized in transnational networks of violence.

Bertone (2000: 7) presents "three types of networks responsible for trafficking in women: largescale networks with political and financial contacts that enable them to establish links between countries of origin and destination countries; medium-sized networks that concentrate on trafficking in women from one country only; and small networks that place one or two women at a time as required" (Bruckert and Parent, 2002: 15). Most networks in human trafficking are organized as chains with small clusters at both ends: "one rounds up the women and the other draws them in and exploits them or sells them on to other persons in our country" (Bruinsma and Bernasco, 2004: 88).

According to experts, human trafficking represents networks rather than hierarchies. "Nobody is in control of anything else than of his own activity. The division of labour is based on the members' specialities and hierarchical leadership is not needed" (UNODC, 2010b: 46). Therefore, members of the human trafficking networks may be located in different countries in various parts of the globe, but information technologies allow them to maintain communication with each other. This makes modern human trafficking a truly transnational security challenge.

3.7 Conclusion

Human trafficking represents a security threat to the international community that should be addressed through wise policymaking. It has existed in human history ever since slave trade of the past, but now human trafficking has taken such forms as organ removal and child soldiers that had not existed before. Globalization has led to the rise in the activity of transnational organized crime that is involved in human trafficking. Organized criminal groups engaged in human trafficking are mostly organized as loose networks that recruit and exploit people throughout the world, but members of the network may not even know each other. This makes the struggle with such networked criminal organizations a more difficult task.

In this sense it seems reasonable for the international community to develop more coherent policy in order to combat human trafficking. The main problem with law enforcement is that human trafficking is not yet accepted as a separate crime by many states that are parties to the Convention against Organized Crime. A model legislature for domestic legal systems should be developed by UN or relevant NGOs to avoid confusion with defining this crime. This could help the states become more mobile in their anti-trafficking efforts.

However, successful struggle against human trafficking in transnational context is not possible without humanitarian aid programs to those states that are particularly affected by the problem such as East Asian countries. The next sections will examine case studies of Russia and Turkey as examples of states that are both heavily affected by human trafficking. Comparative analysis will help evaluate the effectiveness of measures currently implemented by national governments aiming at curbing human trafficking and state's ability to adapt to the transnational nature of security challenges.

CHAPTER 4

RUSSIA'S RESPONSE TO TRANSNATIONAL HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Human trafficking in Russia has become a matter of major international concern after the breakup of the Soviet Union. Nowadays, human trafficking also represents a serious challenge for the government of Russia that has to come up with a modernized strategy to combat trafficking in human beings. Although statistics show that tens of thousands of Russian people are trafficked to more than 20 countries in the world, current legislature on human trafficking fails to address this problem. It was only in 2003 that Russia included a specific offence of human trafficking in its Criminal Code. Yet, very few cases of traffickers' prosecution have been witnessed in the last few years. The scope of the problem of human trafficking in Russia is really worrisome. Men from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries are trafficked for labor exploitation in Russia, Russian women are trafficked for sexual exploitation in Europe, Asia and the United States, and homeless children in Russian provinces are trafficked for organ removal and begging in the streets of Moscow or European capitals. There are numerous NGOs engaged in the struggle against human trafficking in Russia,

and their efforts really deserve admiration. However, the reluctance of the national government to increase funding of anti-human trafficking activities and to create easier conditions for the functioning of foreign NGOs in Russia results in the national failure to address the issue of human trafficking.

4.1 Human Trafficking in Russia: The Scope of the Problem

According to the United States Department of State, "Russia is a source, transit, and destination country for men, women, and children subjected to trafficking in persons, specifically forced labor, and for women and children forced into prostitution" (US TIP Report 2010: 279). In the 2010 "Trafficking in Persons Report" prepared by the U.S. Department of State, Russia was placed on the Tier 2 Watch List. Such placement means that Russian government does not fully comply with minimum standards of the US Trafficking Victims' Protection Act (TVPA), but is making significant efforts to do so. Russia has been on the Tier 2 Watch List since 2004 when the Watch List was created, so it can be argued that no significant progress was achieved by the Russian government in the past seven years.

Recent statistics claim that in Russia, the number of victims of human trafficking is about 50 thousands people annually (Shushkevich, 2008: iii). Surprisingly, the most common form of trafficking in Russia is for labor exploitation rather than sexual exploitation. Although sex trafficking from Russia has become a self-evident truth and is widely discussed by media and public all over the world, trafficking for labor exploitation is a more urgent problem for contemporary Russia. Citizens of the CIS countries such as Tajikistan and Azerbaijan are subjected to forced labor in the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, while Chinese and North Korean nationals are exploited in the logging industry in Siberia. According to the International Organization for

Migration, most of the trafficking victims in Russia assisted by the organization in 2008 were women between the ages of 17 – 28 (cited in No2Slavery, 2009: 2).

The main reason for labor exploitation in Russia is uncontrolled illegal migration. According to various sources, there are about 6 million foreigners currently living in Russia that do not have all the necessary documentation required by the law (Shushkevich, 2008: xi). Most of the migrants come from poor CIS states because they do not need a visa to enter the territory of the Russian Federation. Struck by poverty, they do not have any other opportunities other than leaving their community for Russian cities seeking employment. As Russian President Vladimir Putin noted on 27 October 2003, human trafficking and the use of slave labor is a serious problem for contemporary Russia (ILO, 2004: 6).

In the interview with Lieutenant General of Militia Yuriy Kokov, First Deputy Director of the Department for Combating Organized Crime and Terrorism, one of the Russian newspapers asked him about the nature of human trafficking in the Russian Federation. According to General Kokov, "many types of crimes, such as trafficking in human beings, arms and drug trafficking, money laundering, have a transnational character today, so it is possible to combat them only through the joint efforts of law enforcement agencies of different countries" (Ministry of the Interior, 2007). According to Kokov, transnational characteristics of human trafficking include the absence of defined state borders, and integration of organized crime into transnational criminal organizations (Ministry of the Interior, 2007). This suggests that the Russian government and law enforcement in particular recognizes the transnational character of human trafficking, but it still has not come up with a modernized response in terms of dealing with this threat.

There have been some problems with data collection that many scholars researching human trafficking in Russia refer to. First, statistics is available mainly from the NGO websites and databases. No specific institution to fight human trafficking was created by the national government. Second, “in examining trafficking from countries of the former Soviet Union, they are referred to as "Russian" or "Eastern European" without further information on the specific country (Hughes, 2000: 1).

Globalization has turned Russia into a global market for the growing sex industry. According to Shelley (2010: 18),

> The rise of trafficking in the Soviet Union, which had banned and suppressed prostitution for most of the Soviet period, was very surprising. This prostitution, tightly controlled by organized crime, did not prove to be a transitory phenomenon that accompanied the collapse of the Soviet Union" … An international trade in “Natashas”, as the Slavic women were called, arose as post-Soviet criminals became major beneficiaries of globalization.

However, other types of trafficking such as trafficking for labor exploitation and child trafficking are also prevalent in this country. Most common forms of human trafficking in Russia will be examined in the subsequent sections of this paper.

4.1.1 Trafficking for Labor Exploitation

While trafficking for labor exploitation has only recently received the attention of policy-makers, it is the predominant form of trafficking in the Russian Federation, which is stated by the ILO Global Report “The Cost of Coercion” (2009: 20). It is possible to argue that in Russia, trafficking for the purpose of exploitation of labor and slave labor, or its component parts in general, is the most common type of human trafficking and dominates at least in terms of scale. Furthermore, a number of cases cited in the UNICEF Report “Human Trafficking in the Russian Federation” have demonstrated that labor trafficking is unlikely to be any less cruel than that in the sex trade (2006: 40). For example, victims of labor exploitation are denied access to health

institutions, their papers are confiscated, and they are kept in closed buildings. According to a survey held in 2005 by the Center for Social Prediction, 20% of illegal migrants in Russia have their passports kept by their employer (Berdyklycheva, 2006: 106), which can quickly turn these persons into victims of human trafficking.

International Labor Organization points out that "recent data from the Russian Federation and other countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States point to a steady increase in the number of identified persons trafficked for labor exploitation" (ILO, 2009: 21). The numbers of foreign migrant workers in the Russian economy are estimated at 5-7% of all those in employment, which is the same level as in France and Belgium (UNICEF, 2006: 39). According to some estimates, illegal migrant workers produce about 7% of Russia's GNP (Berdyklycheva, 2006: 107).

As far as the purposes of labor exploitation are concerned, most people are trafficked to be exploited in trade, industry, and agriculture. For example, "men from the Russian Far East are subjected to conditions of debt bondage and forced labor, including in the agricultural and fishing sectors" (US TIP Report 2010: 279). In the Far East, due to high proximity of China and North Korea, sometimes the citizens of these countries are also exploited by their Russian employers. "An estimated 40,000 men and women from North Korea are subjected to conditions of forced labor in Russia, specifically in the logging industry" (US TIP Report 2010: 279). Many Chinese nationals enter Russia by tourist or student visas, but actually work on construction and lumbering sites in Siberia (Berdyklycheva, 2006: 104). According to some estimates, there are currently more than 60,000 Chinese illegal migrants in Moscow alone (Zlotnikova, 2009: 174).

Big Russian cities such as Moscow and St. Petersburg attract migrants from neighboring countries who face unemployment and poverty at home. Quite frequently,

they have no other choice than leaving their homes for Russia to seek employment there. According to the US TIP Report (2010: 279), "men, women, and children from Russia and other countries, including Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Ukraine, and Moldova are subjected to conditions of forced labor in Russia, including work in the construction industry, in textile shops, and in agriculture".

Vulnerable migrants from the CIS states very easily become the victims of human traffickers. Although they do not need the help of smugglers or organized crime in order to enter Russia because no visa is needed, they can be exploited by their employers because of their little knowledge of Russian language and laws. Russia currently has a visa-free regime with such post-Soviet states as Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Ukraine, which allows migrants from these countries to cross Russian borders very easily. For example, the 7,000-kilometer long Russian-Kazakh border has no border guards at all (Berdyklycheva, 2006: 102). The following has been argued in the US TIP Report (2010: 16):

> Millions of migrants from Central Asia flock to work in Russia, often at construction sites. But human rights groups say the government fails to protect them from predatory employers and corrupt officials. According to Human Rights Watch, migrant workers in Russia are routinely denied wages, threatened with violence, and abused by the police.

Although citizens of CIS countries have been granted visa-free entry to Russia, they still need to register if they want to stay and work in the country. Residence and work permits are expensive, and are difficult to obtain in a legal way. "This encourages bribery and corruption, and makes illegal migrants … easy prey for human traffickers who promise to secure the necessary documentation in return for substantial fees" (Holmes, 2010: 74). There is considerable evidence of this happening on a regular basis with Tajik construction workers, for example (Olimova and Bosc, 2003). Bagmet (2007: 65) argues that the activity of organizations involved in the employment of

foreigners on the territory of the Russian Federation requires particular attention and control, because they often involve violation of the existing laws and regulations.

Recent migration surveys show that Russia "has received the lion's share of immigrants from Tajikistan" (Olimova and Bosc, 2003: 18). As Tajikistan has a visa-free regime with Russia, Tajik workers enter the country legally. However, they often violate the rules of registration on place of residence. According to one survey, only 20% of illegal migrants in Russia sign any kind of written job contract with their employer, and 74% of them do not pay taxes (Berdyklycheva, 2006: 105-106). Unfortunately, economic situation in Tajikistan is so bad today, that no other options are left to young male Tajiks who have to support their families other than go to work in Russia. Russia offers more employment opportunities for young migrant workers who wish to earn money to support their families that they leave behind. According to Olimova and Bosc (2003: 16),

> The main reasons why Tajiks enter labor markets elsewhere in the CIS, particularly in Russia, are the negative conditions they face at home: high levels of unemployment and poverty, especially among youth (30%); the collapse of former sources of employment caused by structural changes; low salaries and disruptions of payment; and social stratification (growing gap between rich and poor).

Not all of Tajik migrant workers become the victims of traffickers. Sometimes they are paid fairly and do not have to work under dangerous and illegal conditions. The following story of a 21-old Tajik road worker has been cited by Olimova and Bosc (2003: 16):

> In the last year we haven't seen any money at all. We were not paid. I borrowed money, bought a ticket and left for Russia to seek work. I found a job in Moscow and was very surprised to discover that Russians were not cheating us and we were paid fairly. I have to return to my mother, get married and start a family. But there is no chance of finding a paid job at home.

The Russian Federation, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan attract the majority of labor migrants from Tajikistan. "The motivating factors for targeting CIS

countries include: common recent history; lack of visa requirements; the role of Russian as the lingua franca across the former Soviet Union; and the presence in the receiving country of a Tajik diaspora community, relatives and friends" (Olimova and Bosc, 2003: 22). These advantages make it easier for migrant workers to get used to a new unfamiliar environment.

There are certain problems related to such high numbers of foreign migrants coming to Russia from Tajikistan. It has been argued that foreign migrants are supposed to fill labor shortages in the fields that require low-skilled labor. The current number of the Russian nationals does not correspond to the number of jobs in these sectors, so migrants are encouraged to come by the official state policy. According to Olimova and Bosc (2003: 23), "the main flow of Tajik migrants was directed at the construction, metallurgical, engineering, oil and gas industries, which were experiencing an acute labor shortage". Migrants fill the niches in the labor market by doing the most unqualified, 'dirty', and dangerous kinds of work (Berdyklycheva, 2006: 107).

As in all other countries that faced mass migration such as France or Germany, increased migration to Russia resulted in tensions with the local population. Russian youth is worried that labor migrants are taking the jobs away from them. As Olimova and Bosc (2003: 25) put it, "Russian media have stoked fears that foreign workers are taking jobs away from Russian citizens and boosting unemployment. Yet so far labor migration from abroad has had no significant impact on the domestic job market". The prevailing attitude to migrants in Russia is negative, which has resulted in numerous street fight and murder cases in which Caucasian nationals were attacked by the Russian young people. According to a survey conducted in 2006 by the Russian Center for Public Opinion Research, 69% of respondents consider immigration and foreign workers to be a negative trend for the future of Russia (Berdyklycheva, 2006: 107).

There have also been a number of protests and demonstrations organized by the Russian football team fan clubs and neo-fascist youth organizations banned by the government. "In part because of the ongoing economic instability in the post-Soviet era, many Russians are hostile toward displaced persons, and especially toward illegal migrants" (Orlova, 2004: 16). However, no particular changes to the migration laws were made in the aftermath of these events, which supports the assumption that Russian government pursues a coherent policy in terms of attracting more migrants from the CIS countries in order to increase its GDP in the long term.

As far as particular forms of exploitation are concerned, most frequently they include debt-bondage, deception and abuse. According to Olimova and Bosc (2003: 37), "employers may force workers to accept inconvenient schedules and difficult working conditions. Migrants do not protest for fear of losing their job". A survey in the Russian Federation found that "90 per cent of migrants seek jobs through informal networks, while no more than 5 per cent use public or private agencies" (ILO, 2009: 24). Another survey held in 2005 by the Center for Social Prediction in Moscow found out that 65% of illegal migrants work extra hours without pay, 41% do a kind of job that they did not initially agree to do, and 22% work with no pay at all (Berdyklycheva, 2006: 106). This results in more of migrants to fall the victims of traffickers and exploiters.

The profit that Moscow employers gain from illegal migrant exploitation is estimated to be $7.5 billion annually (Borinskih, 2010: 16). In an interview with the member of the Government of the City of Moscow, the ILO experts asked about the patterns of exploitation of migrants. V. Zaikin, the member of the Government, gave the following reply (ILO, 2004: 53):

> As a rule, migrants are exploited by the people who come from the same country, but who had arrived to Russia earlier and had reached prosperity, as well as by the citizens of South Caucasian states such as Azerbaijan, Armenia,

> and Georgia. Migrants from Central Asia, primarily Tajiks and Uzbeks, are subjected to most severe forms of exploitation. We can really call it pure forced labor.

The absolute leader in practically all above-mentioned forms of severe exploitation representing the elements of forced labor is the entertainment sector, followed by housework, trade and industry (ILO, 2004: 67). Sometimes the passports of migrant workers are confiscated until they repay a mythical 'debt'. Berdyklycheva (2006: 106) points out that 33% of illegal migrants in Moscow are kept in closed buildings, and all their movements are controlled. According to Mr. Zaikin from the Government of the City of Moscow (ILO, 2004: 68),

> **Debt bondage** is a very frequent form of human trafficking. When I was working at the reception of documents from foreign citizens, there were many complaints that people had been accepted to work (for example, in trade sector), and then, in some miraculous way, money disappeared from the cash-desk, and the people found themselves in debt bondage. As a result, they worked, worked, and worked to pay it back, their documents and personal belongings were confiscated, and they were placed in closed buildings, which they could leave only to go to work.
> Forced labor can also be represented by overdue wages, and other forms of robbery. For example, when inspections are taking place, all shortages and fines that the employer pays for his violations have an effect on the foreign citizen – they are kept back from his salary or added to his debt.

Some other kinds of exploitation include coercion into serving in the army or paramilitary groups. "Critical regions in regards to slave labor include the North Caucasus region, where there exists the danger of enlisting people into armed units; and regions which attract migrants, e.g. large cities, border regions, etc." (UNICEF, 2006: 40).

4.1.2 Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation

Trafficking for sexual exploitation can be described as a phenomenon that has three different mechanisms: sex trafficking of Russian women abroad, trafficking of foreign women to work in the sex industry in Russia, and trafficking of women from the

Russian provinces to Moscow and St. Petersburg (domestic trafficking). From the beginning of the 1990s, there have been numerous cases of Russian women trafficked to the EU, the United States, and South-East Asia for sexual exploitation. Today Russia is simultaneously a country of origin, transit, and destination for human trafficking, and Russian women are trafficked to all regions of the world (Syromyatnikova and Petrova, 2009: 347).

Trafficking of Russian and Ukrainian women to Turkey has received particular attention of the media and the public in the 1990s. As Hughes (2001: 10) argues, "in some parts of the world, such as Israel and Turkey, women from Russia and other former Soviet republics are so prevalent that prostitutes are called "Natashas". The influx of Russian women into Turkey, especially in the cities of Istanbul and Trabzon, has resulted in sometimes cruel treatment of them by their traffickers. Hughes (2001: 12) cites the case when "in Istanbul, Turkey, two Ukrainian women were thrown off a balcony and killed while six of their Russian friends watched". Various forms of coercion are used to force victims to comply such as physical abuse, rape, threats of death to family members, and blackmail. According to Kiryan and van der Linden (2006: 32), "in Turkey women were punished directly by their employer/exploiter if they refused to cooperate". However, research demonstrates that most of Russian women willingly come to Turkey being aware of the kind of job they are offered, and are deceived only about the working conditions and payment.

In the EU, Russian women are found in the red-light districts of Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium. It is estimated that "tens of thousands of women from Russia and Eastern Europe have been trafficked into the EU and forced into prostitution to work off their smuggler's fee and many ultimately end up in debt bondage situations that are highly profitable to pimps and brothel owners" (Koslowski, 2001: 351). Today

the European dimension of sex trafficking from Russia still constitutes an important part of this criminal activity (Syromyatnikova and Petrova, 2009).

As far as the methods of recruitment are concerned, most victims are recruited via newspaper advertisements or the Internet. Parfitt (2004: 1048) argues that "thousands of women are recruited in Russia for "lucrative work abroad with no experience necessary" that makes them sex slaves in Western Europe, the Middle East and the Far East". Young women, especially from the Russian provinces and with no knowledge of English, respond to newspaper ads offering low-skilled jobs such as waitresses, nannies, and housekeepers only to find themselves locked in a brothel in a foreign country. The women's traffickers often pay for the victims' ticket later to claim that she has a debt to pay back. About 20% of victims are recruited through model agencies and beauty contests which turn out to be a fake institution that is a part of a human trafficking network (Bagmet, 2007: 64).

There were numerous cases of Russian women trafficked to such distant countries as the United States, where they are delivered by plane. According to the Coalition against Trafficking in Women (CATW, 2002: 58),

> Russian/NIS women were recruited to come to the United States through newspaper advertisements and employment agencies offering jobs. None of these women knew at the time of application that they would be engaging in prostitution, but realized quickly upon arrival that they had been deceived.

Typically in the course of recruitment of women and children, the reason for their recruitment, i.e. their further sexual exploitation, is concealed. Usually they are offered attractive jobs, sometimes even training such as foreign language courses. Approximately 70 percent of women aiming for a job abroad believe that they would find employment as dancers, governesses, waitresses or models, and therefore do not check the information before responding to an advertisement (UNICEF, 2006: 43).

Particular attention should be paid to the problem of domestic trafficking in Russia. Many young women from small cities in the Moscow region, Central and Southern Russia leave their poor communities in order to work as prostitutes in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Estimates suggest that the majority of women involved in commercial sex work in large cities are migrants from other states or from neighboring small towns and villages. Experts believe that "more than half of Moscow commercial sex workers have resided in Moscow for less than a year, and the rest for no more than 2 to 5 years, making these women even more vulnerable to human rights abuses" (UNICEF, 2006: 41).

Many scholars acknowledge the transnational character of sex trafficking in Russia. According to Bagmet (2007: 63), "transnational trafficking in women is a relatively new type of crime for the Russian Federation and the CIS states. Nowadays all regions of Russia are parts of an international organized trafficking network". Similarly, Kadnikov (2007) argues that transnational character of human trafficking is an issue of particular concern, because state borders are no longer an obstacle to traffickers. On the contrary, criminal organizations make good use of legal systems, the level of economic development, and social prosperity in different countries (Kadnikov, 2007), which makes it easier for them to maintain their criminal activity.

4.1.3 Trafficking for the Removal of Organs

Organ trafficking is one of the most grave phenomena of transnational organized crime. In the Russian Federation, this type of trafficking has received scholarly attention only recently, but the Federal Law "On Human Organs and Tissues Transplantation" was adopted in Russia as early as 1992. According to the law, the trade in human organs

and tissues is forbidden (Article 15), and organ donation to a patient can be done only by her/his close relative (Article 8).

However, some violations of this law have been reported, and there are growing rumors about the existence of the so-called "organ Mafia" in Russia (Scheper-Hughes, 2008). According to Ambagtsheer (2011: 80), "patients with sufficient economic means from around the world are known to have traveled to clinics in India, China, Turkey, South Africa, and Russia in order to purchase illegally harvested organs". Thus, there is supposed to be illegal market of organ trade in Russia.

However, the official authorities deny the existence of such type of crime in Russia. For example, in the interview with the Head of Organ Transplantation Department of the Russian Scientific Center for Surgery, Dr. Sergey Gotye, a Russian newspaper cited the words of this high-ranked professional (Rossiyskaya Gazeta, 2008):

> Yes, our clinics, the scientific center for transplantology, as well as other centers of organ transplantation often receive calls offering to sell an organ. There are many ads on the Internet such as "Looking for a donor for kidney transplantation". Or "Sell a kidney". I know for sure that it is possible to sell a kidney in Turkey. I can assume that they propose selling part of a liver as well. This opportunity is used by people who desperately need money. For example, it has been reported that a flow of such people willing to donate an organ has been maintained from Moldavia. People come there, their kidney is removed, and they are paid some money. Not very big money actually. In Russia there is no illegal market of organ trafficking.

4.1.4 Child Trafficking

Child trafficking is also a very common form of human trafficking in Russia. "Child trafficking for the purposes of commercial sexual exploitation (child prostitution, pornography production), labor exploitation (manufacturing and service industries, domestic labor), begging (exploitation of children as "little beggars," "renting out" infants for the purpose of begging)", removal of organs and tissues, and illegal adoption are the most popular forms of child trafficking in Russia (Hartl, 2010: 25).

According to some sources, most of street prostitutes in Moscow are also under the age of 18. For example, Healy and O'Connor (2006: 19) cite the following story: "Moscow boasts a "nympho" club where minors do strip tease and are tattooed with their owners mark and when they reach 14 their virginity is sold to the highest bidder". Moreover, children of well-off parents in Russia are kidnapped to demand a ransom for their release, and the parents are sometimes threatened with video records in which torture attack on children is being filmed (Syromyatnikova and Petrova, 2009: 347).

Another problem is the fact that Russia has become a major destination country for child sex tourism. "Men from Western Europe and the United States travel to Western Russia, specifically St. Petersburg, for the purpose of child sex tourism" (US TIP Report 2010: 279). This puts Russia in one row with such countries as Thailand in terms of human trafficking prevention. Significant efforts of the national government are required in order to combat child trafficking in all its forms.

4.2 Routes of Human Trafficking in/from Russia

Russia is a major source country for women trafficked to numerous countries around the world for sexual exploitation. It is also a destination country for forced-labor trafficking both within the former Soviet Union and from neighboring states (Parfitt, 2004: 1048). According to the former Interior Minister of the Russian Federation Anatoly Kulikov, "Russia is a provider, "transiter", and consumer of human merchandise. For migrants from CIS countries, Russia is a consumer, and for those who are inclined to seeking sexual services abroad, it is a provider" (IOM, 2008a: 58). According to Saari (2006: 13), Russia is simultaneously a source, transit, and destination country for human trafficking. The particular routes of trafficking from/into the Russian Federation will be analyzed in the following subsections.

4.2.1 Russia as a Source Country for Human Trafficking

It is not a secret that Russian women are trafficked for sexual exploitation all over the world. However, "it was not until Russian and Ukrainian women began to be trafficked to the United States in the early 1990s that governmental agencies and many NGOs began to recognize the problem" (CATW, 2002: 47). According to IOM (2008a: 61),

> Experts identified several basic routes used by "transporters" in taking people out of the Russian Federation: The Baltic route through Lithuania, as well as the Central European route through Warsaw and Prague are regarded as the easiest methods to transport illegal migrants to Germany, Scandinavia and other European countries, and the United States. Recently, these countries have substantially tightened their crossborder travel rules. Nonetheless, European countries and the United States remain main destination countries for human trafficking out of Russia.

Apart from Europe, Russian women are also trafficked to Turkey via the Caucasus. "The Caucasus (or Georgian) transit route is made easier by the weak borders with Turkey" (IOM, 2008a: 61). Large resorts in Europe and Asia and armed conflict zones or regions where military and peacekeeping forces are stationed (in this case primarily those in the Balkans) are regarded as notable trafficking hubs for sexual exploitation of women. Routes through Egypt and into Israel as well as other Middle Eastern countries are also common. In particular, many women and children are taken from the southern regions of Russia to the United Arab Emirates for sexual exploitation. (IOM, 2008a: 61).

Trafficked Russian women can be found in all large European cities. According to Healy and O'Connor (2006: 3), "there are about 15,000 Russian and Eastern European women in Germany's red-light districts". Aronowitz (2009: 89) points to the fact that "women from northwestern Russia and Estonia are trafficked to Finland, Norway, and Western Europe".

Many researchers also mention the problem of domestic human trafficking. That is to say that sometimes both source and destination countries are Russia. According to Parfitt (2004), about 90% of Moscow street prostitutes come from the Russian provinces. Saari (2006: 13) argues that "the main destination is Western Europe but people are also trafficked within these states (especially from Ukraine and Moldova to Russia), and to such states as Turkey, Israel, the United Arab Emirates and the United States". In Israel in particular, "much of the sex industry is controlled by Russian organized crime networks, and facilitated, it is suggested, by the presence of a significant Russian diaspora" (Turner and Kelly, 2009: 196).

It is also wrong to assume that the majority of trafficked victims come from poor, rural and uneducated levels of the Russian society. Recent data from Russia shows that "well-educated young women from urban backgrounds are routinely trafficked across Europe" (Samarasinghe and Burton, 2007: 55). For example, Russian newspaper *Moskovskiy Komsomolets* cites the case when young women from Moscow were trafficked for prostitution in Israel and the United Arab Emirates, although Moscow is the urban center and the capital of Russia and its population is generally well-educated (Moskovskiy Komsomolets, 2011).

The most popular destinations of sex trafficking from Russia include countries of Western Europe, Southern Europe, South-East Asia, United Arab Emirates, Egypt, Israel, Turkey, and the United States (UNICEF, 2006: 43). The US TIP Report (2010: 279) also argues that trafficked victims from Russia can be found in South Korea, China, Japan, Turkey, Greece, South Africa, Germany, Poland, Italy, Israel, Spain, Vietnam, Thailand, Australia, New Zealand, and the Middle East. Thus, Russia as a source country for human trafficking has expanded the network of this criminal activity all over the globe.

4.2.2 Russia as a Destination Country for Human Trafficking

In discussing sex trafficking, most of the focus has been on destination countries outside the former Soviet Union. "In fact, Russia is a destination country for women trafficked from Ukraine. Some of the Ukrainian women who went to Moscow have been killed or disappeared" (Hughes and Denisova, 2001: 55). Ukrainian women usually arrive from poverty-struck regions of Ukraine aiming to find a well-paid job in Moscow and usually end with street prostitution. Many of Moscow pimps are also Ukrainian women who had previously worked as prostitutes. According to Kiryan and van der Linden (2006), Russia is the chief destination country for the trafficked Ukrainian women.

As far as labor trafficking is concerned, Russia is also a destination country for human trafficking routes from CIS countries and poor Asian regions. "Almost all CIS states are involved in the trafficking of people into Russia as origin countries. The most vulnerable populations are those from Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Georgia, Armenia, Moldova, and Ukraine" (IOM, 2008a: 62). According to most recent findings in the US TIP Report (2010: 279), "women from Africa, including Ghana and Nigeria, as well as from Central Asia are subjected to forced prostitution in Russia, while children from Russia, Ukraine, and Moldova are subjected to forced prostitution and forced begging in Moscow and St. Petersburg".

4.3 Root Causes of Human Trafficking in Russia

The main reason for the rise of human trafficking in Russia is the collapse of the Soviet Union. "During the Soviet period, prostitution was not considered a legitimate form of work; instead, it was suppressed and officially abolished" (Hughes and Denisova, 2001: 46). According to Hughes (2000: 1),

> For decades the primary sending countries were Asian countries, such as Thailand and the Philippines. The collapse of the Soviet Union opened up a pool of millions of women from which traffickers can recruit. Now, former Soviet republics, such as Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia and Russia, have become major sending countries for women trafficked into sex industries all over the world.

During the Soviet time, no cases of human trafficking from Russia to the West were reported. "The transition triggered by the collapse, however, thrust a large portion of the Russian population into poverty, particularly women and children" (Hartl, 2010: 10). Economic opportunities and social protection networks of the Soviet time were no longer available (Orlova, 2004). According to Orlova, "the situation was exacerbated by the August 1998 financial crisis, when the ruble's collapse erased almost overnight the meager savings that people had struggled to accumulate" (2004: 15). Yeltsin's policies of economic privatization also caused downsizing of the economy, with textile industry being most affected by the crisis (Orlova, 2004). "The economic issues triggered by the collapse of the Soviet Union have also had extremely negative effects on children, making them vulnerable targets for human traffickers" (Hartl, 2010: 11).

Even more opportunities for human traffickers were created by the conflicts that emerged in the Russian territories that struggled for independence. According to Hartl (2010: 12), "violent conflicts in several former Soviet republics, as well as within Russian Territory, such as Chechnya, created refugee populations forced to flee their homes". Refugee population fled to major Russian cities only to become victims of human trafficking. "These displaced persons often crossed the border into the Russian Federation illegally making them highly vulnerable to trafficking, especially women and children" (Hartl, 2010: 12).

Due to severe economic problems, it became easier for traffickers to persuade people that they can earn their living by going abroad. Many people did not know anything about the life in the West, so they were easy victims for all sorts of

exploitation. “Advertisements for jobs as waitresses, office clerks, dancers, or as “unskilled laborers” promising high salaries are typically used by traffickers to target their victims” (Hartl, 2010: 13). The Russian anti-human trafficking NGO Angel Coalition (Koalitsiya Angel, 2008: 108) in its analysis of the recruitment techniques used by the traffickers argues that

> The term ‘recruitment’ (*verbovka)* should be understood in a more general sense, including all actions aimed at immediate coercion of a person into exploitation, making her/him dependent and ready to give away/sell herself/himself (or her/his organs or tissues), her/his labor for future exploitation.

Recruitment is usually performed through newspaper advertisements and the Internet websites. “While many phony employment agencies operate by word of mouth, some traffickers go as far as to set up employment agency booths at Career Day events at Russian universities, promising profitable careers abroad” (Hartl, 2010: 13). Recruitment websites promise studies and lucrative work abroad, as well as marriage with a foreigner through mail-order bride websites.

Some other factors contributing to the rise of human trafficking industry in Russia include the involvement of organized crime. According to Hartl (2010: 28), “an extremely large shadow economy and weak control of the shadow economy by authorities and the law contribute to, and are perpetuated by, human trafficking in Russia”. Moreover, human traffickers are said to be benefiting from the “gaps in national legislation on migration, the lack of official migration infrastructure, and the highly bureaucratic procedures for getting job permits, amidst the growing demand for migrant labor in Russia” (IOM, 2008a: 56). According to IOM (2008a: 58),

> Numerous reasons have been given to explain the presence of human trafficking in Russia, such as:
> - the practically transparent state borders between Russia and the CIS countries
> - the increase in migration flows outside and inside of Russia
> - the developed internal human trafficking system in Russia as one of the spheres of criminal business activities, including the use of forced labor

- the globalization of organized crime due the existence of stable channels of "deliveries".

Another factor is lack of knowledge of other cultures and languages that is prevalent in Russia, especially in the provinces. Many people have no idea about life in other countries, let alone the problem of human trafficking. This sometimes leads to dangerous migration decisions. "Many of them [illegal migrants], hardened as they may be by domestic poverty, are painfully naive and uninformed about the realities of life abroad" (Orlova, 2004: 16). Finally, there are enormous gaps in the national legislature on human trafficking. Prior to 2002, no specific offence for the trade in human beings existed in the Russian criminal law. As summarized by Saari (2006: 8),

> A study on trafficking for sexual exploitation from the Russian Federation offers several reasons for this flourishing criminal activity: the lure of great profits, high-degree of criminalisation in Russian society, corruption of police and officials on all levels, poor legislation of the issue as well as many social and economic problems stemming partly from the transition and partly from the more traditional characteristics of Russian society.

This problem could also be explained from a gender perspective. Immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union, females were particularly hit by the economic crisis because many of them traditionally worked in the agriculture sector which lost governmental support. Women suffered from unemployment, which was "exacerbated by active government support of male employment and increased sex discrimination and sexual harassment of women" (CATW, 2002: 54). Social services and protection programs for women and the elderly were eliminated, which contributed to the rise in the number of trafficking cases (CATW, 2002: 54).

Finally, successful struggle against human trafficking in Russia is impossible due to extremely high corruption levels. According to Transparency International's 2009 Global Corruption Report, Russia is categorized as one of the countries with the second highest rate of bribery in the world (Transparency International, 2009: 368).

Institutions most likely to be paid bribes, according to the report are the police, the judiciary, and permit offices (Hartl, 2010: 10). In the Corruption Perceptions Index Russia is ranked 146th out of 180 countries (Transparency International, 2009: 368). Corrupt officials are also very often involved in human trafficking or get a profit from it. According to the U.S. TIP Report (2010: 280),

> In February 2010, several media sources reported on one allegation that a high level official in the Ministry of Internal Affairs was involved in a forced labor trafficking ring spanning from 2006 through 2008. In that case, members of the elite riot police allegedly kidnapped dozens of migrant workers and forced them to work on police construction projects and also the personal homes of high-level police officials.

In the final analysis, there are many factors contributing to the development of human trafficking in Russia, of which corruption seems to be the most grievous one. "Government corruption and an economy propped up by corporations entangled in the buying, selling, and exploitation of human beings undermines the pursuit of Great Power status" (Hartl, 2010: 2). The main causes of human trafficking in Russia are summarized in Table 12.

Table 12. **Root Causes of Human Trafficking in Russia.**

TYPE	DESCRIPTION
Economic reasons	poverty, economic hardships of the 1990s, weak control of the shadow economy, government and police corruption, illegal migration flows
Political reasons	conflicts on post-Soviet space, high numbers of refugees, transparent borders with CIS states, gaps in national anti-trafficking legislation, absence of a legal migration infrastructure
Social reasons	high levels of organized crime, globalization and transnationalization of information space
Cultural reasons	gender inequality, lack of social benefits for women
Educational reasons	lack of foreign language education, lack of knowledge about other countries and cultures

4.3.1 Russian Organized Crime and Human Trafficking

Special attention should be paid to the involvement of Russian organized crime (*Mafiya*) in human trafficking. Many criminal groups were created in the 1990s when economic situation was so bad that the government could not control organized crime. "In the decade since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the world has become the target of a new global crime threat from criminal organizations and criminal activities that have poured forth over the borders of Russia and other former Soviet republics such as Ukraine" (Finckenauer and Voronin, 2001: 1). Russian *Mafiya* became a rival to the infamous Italian Mafia and expanded its activity all over the globe. For example, "The National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation up to 2020" adopted in 2009 mentions human trafficking among the principal activities of Russian organized crime and also acknowledges its transnational character (Security Council of the Russian Federation, 2009).

There are numerous examples of Russian organized crime involved in transnational criminal organizations engaged in human trafficking. In 2008, Russia's Department for Combating Organized Crime and Terrorism detained and sentenced members of a criminal group selling Russian women for forced prostitution in Israel via the territory of Egypt, which was led by Shamelashvili, a citizen of Israel (Korsikova, 2008: 77). Another criminal group arrested was trafficking Armenian women for sexual exploitation in United Arab Emirates via the territory of Russia under the leadership of Safaryan and Simonyan, both the citizens of Armenia (Korsikova, 2008: 77). In 2010, a Russian newspaper wrote that six criminal cases were brought before court in Russia's Far Eastern region of Khabarovskiy Kray, where organized criminal group was recruiting young women for prostitution in Greece (Komsomol'skaya Pravda, 2010). More than 300 women were trafficked by this criminal organization. Finally, in 2011

Moscow's military court sentenced Lieutenant Colonel of Main Intelligence Directorate (*Glavnoye Razvedyvatel'noye Upravleniye*) Dmitry Strykanov to 12 years of prison for organizing a criminal group trafficking Russian women to Israel, Europe and United Arab Emirates together with his colleagues from Israel and Moldova (Moskovskiy Komsomolets, 2011).

According to Finckenauer and Voronin (2001: 1), "the nature and variety of the crimes being committed seems unlimited—drugs, arms trafficking, stolen automobiles, trafficking in women and children, and money laundering are among the most prevalent". Lieutenant General of Militia Yuriy Kokov, First Deputy Director of the Department for Combating Organized Crime and Terrorism, also argues that "internationalization of organized crime in Russia is seen in such spheres of illegal activity as drug trafficking, arms trafficking, smuggling, trade in stolen cars, human trafficking and others" (Ministry of the Interior, 2007). However, profit from human trafficking may be even higher than that of drug trafficking because people can be resold multiple times. As General Kokov puts it, "according to our estimates, profit gained by the mafia-like structures from human trafficking is comparable to the profits gained from illegal drug trade and arms trafficking" (Ministry of the Interior, 2007).

The participation of organized crime makes combating human trafficking a more difficult task because the government lacks effective policies aimed at curbing criminal activity. Law enforcement is acting on their own with no cooperation with anti-trafficking NGOs, especially in victims identification cases. Despite the growing integration of Russian *Mafiya* with transnational crime, there are very few trafficking-related prosecution cases currently known, which also reveals the drawbacks of national legislature on this issue that will be examined in the next section.

4.4 Russian Legislature on Human Trafficking

The legal basics of human trafficking problem are specified in the Constitution of the Russian Federation adopted by the nation-wide voting on December 12, 1993. Article 21 of the Constitution discusses the human rights aspects that are also related to human trafficking:

Article 21

1. Human dignity shall be protected by the State. Nothing may serve as a basis for its derogation.
2. No one shall be subject to torture, violence or other severe or humiliating treatment or punishment. No one may be subject to medical, scientific and other experiments without voluntary consent.

This article is particularly relevant in terms of forced sexual and labor exploitation when the victim is coerced through violence and abuse. Article 27 refers to freedom of movement which is also one of basic human rights denied to victims of trafficking.

Article 27

1. Everyone who legally stays in the territory of the Russian Federation shall have the right to free travel, choice of place of stay or residence.

By the same token, Article 37 refers to the freedom of labor. Trafficked victims are often forced to do the work they did not choose voluntarily. The same article also formally bans forced labor and argues that proper working conditions and adequate salary are the necessary requirements for any kind of labor.

Article 37

1. Labor is free. Everyone shall have the right to freely use his labor capabilities, to choose the type of activity and profession.
2. Forced labor shall be banned.
3. Everyone shall have the right to labor conditions meeting the safety and hygienic requirements, for labor remuneration without any discrimination whatsoever and not lower than minimum wages and salaries established by the federal law, as well as the right to protection against unemployment.

The Constitution also mentions international commitments such as the right to grant asylum to foreign nationals on the territory of Russian Federation. According to Article 63,

Article 63

1. The Russian Federation shall grant political asylum to foreign nationals and stateless persons according to the universally recognized norms of international law.

However, specific efforts to combat human trafficking started when Russia signed and ratified Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime adopted in 2000. According to Hartl (2010: 34), "the Russian government's ratification of the Protocol was its first major international step in combating human trafficking". Following the ratification of the Protocol and under the international pressure, Russia also amended its Criminal Code by Federal Law No. 162 "On Introducing Changes and Additions to the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation" adopted on 16 December 2003. For the first time, detailed definition of human trafficking was incorporated in the Russian criminal law:

Article 127^{1}.Trafficking in Persons

1. Trafficking in persons, i.e. the buying and selling of a person or other actions committed for the purpose of his exploitation in the form of recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt, - shall be punished by imprisonment for up to 5 years.
2. The same action:

(a) committed with regard to two or more persons;
(b) committed with regard to a minor;
(c) committed by a person using the authority of his official position;
(d) whereby the victim was moved across the state border of the Russian Federation or unlawfully kept abroad;
(e) committed with the use of fake documents, as well as seizure, concealment, or destruction of identification documents of the victim;
(f) committed with the use or threat of force;
(g) committed for the purpose of taking out organs or tissues of the victim, - shall be punished by imprisonment for 3 to 10 years.

3. The actions specified in part one or two of this Article:
(a) resulting in death through negligence, severe damage to the health of the victim, or any other grave consequences;
(b) committed by a method posing threat to the lives and health of many persons;
(c) committed by an organized group, - shall be punished by imprisonment for 8 to 15 years.

Interestingly, the definition includes all contemporary nuances of human trafficking such trafficking in minors, moving across the state border and keeping the victim abroad, destruction of the identification documents, and trafficking for the removal of organs. At first glance, the definition seems quite comprehensive, but the number of court hearings when this article was used is surprisingly small, which is reflected in reports of NGOs. According to Kozlova (2008), since 2003 only 10 criminal human trafficking-related prosecution cases were heard. This can be explained by the vagueness of the term 'exploitation' used in the definition of trafficking in persons. The law could punish only those who aimed at direct exploitation of human beings, such as forced labor and prostitution. However, it neglected those who engaged in human trade as a mediator, motivated by financial reasons only, with no purpose of exploiting the victim her/himself. For example, alcoholic mothers in Russia sometimes sell their children to traffickers just to get money 'for a bottle' (Maksimova, 2009: 223). Here, the purpose of victim exploitation is not present, yet such an action is obviously a crime.

For these reasons, the article was further amended by Federal Law No. 218 "On Introducing Changes and Additions to Article 127.1 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation" adopted on 28 November 2008. The new edition of the article includes expanded definition of trafficking which now allows prosecution of the traffickers regardless of the purposes of further exploitation. Furthermore, the new edition of the law increased punishment for human trafficking to 6 years of imprisonment instead of five, thus putting it into the category of grave offences.

Another amendment to the Criminal Code adopted in 2003 was related to the issue of forced labor:

Article 127^2. Use of Slave Labor

1. The use of person's labor with regard to whom power characteristic of the right of ownership is exercised, in the event when a person, for reasons beyond his control, cannot refuse doing the work (providing services), - shall be punished by imprisonment for up to 5 years.
2. The same action:

(a) committed with regard to two or more persons;
(b) committed with regard to a minor;
(c) committed by a person using the authority of his official position;
(d) committed with the use of blackmail, force, or threat of force;
(e) committed with the use of seizure, concealment, or destruction of identification documents of the victim; - shall be punished by imprisonment for 3 to 10 years.

3. The actions specified in part one or two of this Article resulting in death through negligence, severe damage to the health of the victim, or any other grave consequences or committed by an organized group, - shall be punished by imprisonment for 8 to 15 years."

The adoption of Federal Law No. 119 "On Government Protection of Victims, Witnesses and Other Participants of Criminal Proceedings" on 25 August 2004 was also a significant step towards better legislation on human trafficking. Its aim was to protect victims of crimes such as human trafficking from further prosecution by changing their ID documents, place of living, physical appearance, and also providing them with a personal guard and keeping in a safe place (Korsikova, 2008: 76). This Federal Law "establishes a system of measures to ensure government protection of victims, witnesses and other participants of criminal proceedings, including actions to ensure security of, and social assistance to, the above persons" (Preamble). The Law also determines the eligibility criteria and the procedure for the application of the above measures.

The draft Federal Law "On Counteraction of Human Trafficking" was also submitted to the State Duma in 2004. Article 26 requires the federal commission and regional commissions to invite public associations and non-governmental organizations

working in the area of countering trafficking in persons to cooperate with State authorities. Once the law is approved, financial support may be granted to a public association or a non-governmental organization with funds allocated from the federal budget (UNODC, 2010a: 154). However, as of now, there are no signs that this law is going to be approved in the nearest future. Such slowness of the legislative process can be explained by the unwillingness of the government to take costs of the struggle against human trafficking by implementing relevant legislature. Moreover, the 'closed' nature of the current regime in Russia makes it cautious about the activity of foreign NGOs inside the country, which prevents the government from adopting laws that would simplify the process of NGO registration.

4.5. State's Response to Human Trafficking in Russia

Russia's response to human trafficking can be divided into state level response and non-state level response. State level response might include the activity of police, diplomatic institutions, legislative bodies, government, and educational institutions. Non-state level response typically includes the activity of anti-trafficking NGOs and civil society movements, as well as the individual initiatives aimed at curbing human trafficking. Russia's efforts to combat human trafficking are summarized in Table 13.

Table 13. **Russia's Response to Human Trafficking.**

STATE LEVEL		**NON-STATE LEVEL**	
Police response	- police operations coordinated by the Ministry of the Interior (MVD) and the Federal Security Service (FSB) - international cooperation of law enforcement units	*NGO/civil society response*	- legislative lobbying - development and implementation of informational and educational programs on human trafficking prevention - protection of victims' rights - outreach for potential victims of human trafficking

Table 13 (cont'd).

STATE LEVEL		NON-STATE LEVEL	
Diplomatic response	- police attachés accredited to the Russian embassies abroad	*Individual response*	- donating to support the Angel Coalition and the MiraMed Institute - volunteering for training and victims assistance in these NGOs
Legislative response	- joining international conventions on human trafficking - creating regional legislature within the CIS framework - developing national legislature on human trafficking		
Government response	- creating an Ombudsman for Children's Rights position		
Educational response	- no significant efforts		

4.5.1. State Level Response

Police response

The most visible state level activity in combating human trafficking in Russia is that of the Russian police. The Ministry of the Interior (*Ministerstvo Vnutrennikh Del* - MVD) "is the leading institution in combating trafficking in persons in the Russian Federation" (UNODC, 2009: 224). The bulk of activity in anti-trafficking field is concentrated in the two departments of MVD: the Department for Combating Extremism created in 2008, and the so-called K-Department created in 1998 and responsible for combating cybercrime (the letter K stands for the Russian 'computer' – *komp'yuter*). Since a growing part of human trafficking activity in the recruitment phase is conducted via the Internet, the K-Department is getting more and more involved in dealing with these types of crimes (Ministry of the Interior, 2011).

Admitting the growing transnationalization of human trafficking, the Russian MVD conducts joint operations with its foreign counterparts aimed at arresting the members of criminal groups and releasing their victims. For example, in March 2007 Russian police together with Ukrainian law enforcement agencies stopped the activity of a transnational criminal organization which was trafficking Ukrainian women for forced prostitution in Russia. The criminal group was headed by a female Ukrainian citizen who was recruiting young women in Ukraine's city of Krivoy Rog (Ministry of the Interior, 2007). In 2010, Russian MVD in cooperation with Interpol, Chinese, Greek, and South Korean police stopped the activity of a transnational criminal group selling young women and girls from the Russian Far-Eastern cities of Khabarovsk and Amursk for prostitution abroad. According to a Russian newspaper *Komsomol'skaya Pravda,* women from 18 to 27 years of age were targeted by the traffickers, mainly from poor family background (Komsomol'skaya Pravda, 2010).

Moreover, international cooperation of law enforcement is also maintained through joint working groups. According to the Russian Ministry of Interior (2007), such groups operate on a bilateral basis with law enforcement agencies of the United States, Germany, Israel, Italy, Mongolia, Turkey and Estonia. Such groups exchange information concerning anti-trafficking activities, victims identification and other issues on a regular basis. The institute of police liaison officers is also being used in the struggle against transnational human trafficking (Rosskiyskaya Gazeta, 2009).

The second police institution engaged in the struggle against human trafficking is the Federal Security Service (*Federal'naya Slujba Bezopasnosti* - FSB). Although the main purpose of FSB is to fight terrorism in the Russian Federation, its departments occasionally get involved into anti-trafficking activities as well. For example, in November 2009 the Russian newspaper *Kommersant* cited the case when Russian FSB

stopped the activity of a transnational criminal group including the citizens of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus which was trafficking young Russian women for prostitution in Europe (Kommersant, 2009). Members of this criminal group were recruiting young women from the cities all over Russia from poor family backgrounds, offering them a well-paid job abroad and then forcing them to prostitute.

The main problems with Russian police response to human trafficking include lack of cooperation with anti-trafficking NGOs operating in the country. The Russian police often fail to identify trafficked victims and treat them as ordinary illegal migrants, with no attention paid to the necessary victims assistance. Primary methods of dealing with victims of trafficking include their deportation or keeping in police detention centers.

Diplomatic response

As far as the diplomatic response to human trafficking is concerned, no bilateral agreements aimed at curbing human trafficking in Russia were signed by the Russian government, which is a significant drawback. According to the Russian Ministry of Interior (2007), diplomatic cooperation in the struggle against transnational organized crime is maintained through the activity of police attachés accredited to the Russian embassies abroad. In an interview given to one of the Russian newspapers, Russian Minister of Interior, General of the Army Rashid Nurgaliyev mentioned that Russia has sent more than 12 police attachés abroad, and more than 40 foreign police attachés are currently accredited in Moscow (Rossiyskaya Gazeta, 2009). General Nurgaliyev also pointed to the fact that bilateral agreements are currently being negotiated with governments of Croatia, Serbia, Laos, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and the United Arab Emirates (Rossiyskaya Gazeta, 2009).

Legislative response

Legislative response to human trafficking in Russia has proved to be more successful in terms of international rather than domestic law. To mention multilateral agreements, most importantly, Russia signed and ratified Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime adopted in 2000. This ratification has brought about changes in the national legislature on human trafficking as well, which was discussed in the section on Russian legislature.

Furthermore, Russia became a member of at least two multilateral anti-trafficking agreements within the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) framework. The first of them, the Cooperation Agreement of the CIS Member States on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, Organs and Tissues was signed in Moscow on 25 November 2005. Its aim was to help develop a joint strategy on human trafficking between the member states and contribute to the cooperation of their citizens (The CIS Executive Committee 2005). The second one was the Cooperation Agreement of the Ministries of Interior (Police) of the CIS Member States in the Struggle against Human Trafficking, which entered into force on 9 March 2011. It is a more practically-oriented agreements aimed at intensifying the cooperation of the CIS law enforcement agencies in the anti-trafficking field.

However, Russia's legislative response is handicapped by significant gaps in the national legislature on human trafficking. Specifically, no specific offence for human trafficking was included in the Russian penal system until 2002, and no federal law on combating human trafficking currently exists. In contrast, such laws have already been adopted by Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Belarus. The problem of human trafficking within the country is even more severe in the absence of adequate legislature on the

issue. Current laws that are implemented in the human trafficking cases include Article 127^1 "Trafficking in Persons" and 127^2 "Use of Slave Labor" of the Russian Criminal Code, and Federal Law No. 119 "On Government Protection of Victims, Witnesses and Other Participants of Criminal Proceedings". These legislative acts are analyzed in more detail in the section on the Russian human trafficking-related legislature.

The main problems with legislative response to human trafficking in Russia include lack of bilateral agreements, absence of a federal law on the counteraction of human trafficking, and the overall slowness of the legislature transformation process. The number of traffickers' prosecution cases is also relatively low, about one high-profile case in a year. This can be explained by the government's unwillingness to take human trafficking challenge seriously and make significant efforts in this direction.

Government response

With regard to the government response in particular, there are very few, if any official anti-trafficking initiatives. "The majority of assisted victims continued to be identified by NGOs or international organizations" (US TIP Report 2010: 281). Victims assistance centers and shelters are also run by NGOs and private institutions, and the IOM shelter was closed in 2009 due to lack of funding. The efforts of the Russian government in combating trafficking were described as insufficient in the US TIP Report (2010: 279):

> The Government of the Russian Federation does not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking; however, it is making significant efforts to do so. Despite these efforts, the government did not over the last year: develop a comprehensive strategy that addresses all forms of trafficking and provides comprehensive victim assistance, nor did it establish a national level body responsible for coordinating government efforts to combat trafficking, and victim identification and assistance remained inadequate and diminished during the reporting period; therefore, Russia is placed on Tier 2 Watch List for the seventh consecutive year.

No special institution to combat human trafficking was created by the government; however, in September 2009, the government created the position of Ombudsman for Children's Rights, "a step that may lead to improved efforts to prevent child trafficking; however, the ombudsman's mandate currently does not include specific anti-human trafficking responsibilities" (US TIP Report 2010: 282). The Ombudsman's position is currently occupied by the Russian lawyer Pavel Astakhov, whose activity is aimed at protection of children's rights and raising the public awareness of the children's rights (Ombudsman for Children's Rights, 2011).

The main problem with government response to human trafficking in Russia is lack of such. This reluctance to comply with the norms of international law can be explained by unwillingness to provide the necessary budget funding of anti-trafficking programs, as well as by the current strict policy on the functioning of foreign NGOs in the country. Another possible reason is the state's aim to make Russia a migrant attractive country with lax visa policy in order to increase the country's GDP in the long run. However, one of the most reasons why Russia is so slow in its struggle against human trafficking is government and police corruption. According to the Russian newspaper *Kommersant* (2010), most corruption crimes take place in the federal budget allocation process and during the implementation of federal special-purpose programs. Members of the opposition political party "For Russia without Lawlessness and Corruption" (*Za Rossiyu bez Proizvola i Korruptsii*) Mikhail Kas'yanov, Boris Nemtsov and Vladimir Ryzhkov argue that "the main reasons of corruption decay are lack of transparency in the government structures, absence of political competition, censorship in the mass media, abolition of independent court system, and the absence of supervision in law enforcement agencies and intelligence" (Kommersant, 2010).

Educational response

Lack of initiatives has also been noticed in the educational field. No specific programs or courses explaining the dangers of human trafficking for the schoolchildren were introduced by the government. In contrast, such programs are already being implemented in Ukraine and Tajikistan. All this evidence points to the fact that state level response to human trafficking is active in the field of law enforcement activity only, with little or no attention paid to state-financed project and programs. Current problems concerning the state level response to human trafficking in Russia are summarized in Table 14.

Table 14. **Statist Response to Human Trafficking in Russia: Main Problems.**

Police Response	- lack of cooperation with anti-trafficking NGOs - problems with trafficking victims identification - lack of victims assistance mechanisms
Diplomatic Response	- lack of bilateral anti-trafficking agreements
Legislative Response	- absence of a federal law on combating human trafficking - slowness of the court system
Government Response	- lack of government funding for victims shelters and anti-trafficking projects - absence of an official anti-trafficking institution - strict policy for the NGO registration - government's aim to attract more migrants with no institutional framework for their legalization - government and police corruption
Educational Response	- lack of public-awareness campaigns on human trafficking - lack of courses/programs for schoolchildren and college students aimed at curbing child trafficking

4.5.2. Non-state Level Response

NGO response

Non-state level response to human trafficking in Russia is mainly exercised through the activity of NGOs representing the emerging Russian civil society. Civil Society institutions, consisting of non-governmental organizations, are the most visible

actors in the anti-trafficking movement in Russia (Hartl, 2010: 37). The most prominent anti-trafficking NGO in Russia is the Angel Coalition (*Koalitsiya Angel*) founded in St. Petersburg in 1999 in response to growing international sex trafficking. "The Angel Coalition, a consortium of 760 NGOs from throughout Russia and nine CIS states, is Russia's largest, most-respected anti-trafficking association" (Hartl 2010: 39). According to the organization's official website, "the Angel Coalition's two major tasks are the prevention of human trafficking and the repatriation and rehabilitation of human trafficking victims" (Koalitsiya Angel, 2011a). The Angel Coalition's activities for the prevention of human trafficking include legislative lobbying, development and implementation of informational and educational programs, protection of victims' rights, and outreach for potential victims of human trafficking (Koalitsiya Angel, 2011a).

As other NGOs in Russia, the Angel Coalition is sponsored by external donors. The anti-trafficking activities of the Angel Coalition are financially supported by the US State Department Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), General Board of Global Ministries (Germany), MATRA KAP (the Netherlands), embassies of the United States, Switzerland, Netherlands, Finland, MiraMed Institute, Moscow City Government, and International Organization for Migration (Koalitsiya Angel, 2011a). The Angel Coalition also conducts some of its activities in cooperation with the Russian, Kyrgyz, Kazakh, and Tajik Ministries of Interior, as well as the Russian Federal Migration Service.

The Angel Coalition organizes numerous events aimed at combating human trafficking in Russia such as conferences and presentations designed to raise public awareness of this problem, it also runs trafficking victims assistance center in Moscow

and a hotline. The hotline for the victims of trafficking works 24 hours 7 days a week, and calls are free from Russia, Europe (Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland) and the United States. In its annual report (Koalitsiya Angel, 2009: 4), the Angel Coalition mentions that

> Over the past year, 5434 people contacted the Angel Coalition on its hotline. Of the total number of calls, 1141 were directly from trafficking victims, and 42 were urgent calls for intervention. The age of the callers ranged from 20 to 53 years old; 996 were women, and 145 were men. Of the 1141 trafficking victims who contacted the Angel Coalition's hotline, 49% of the victims were recruited by personal acquaintances; 37% were drawn in by deception or force; 10% were recruited by relatives; and 4% responded to announcements and solicitations.

Among the projects of the Angel Coalition is the children's information campaign "*Zaschiti Menya"* (Protect Me) implemented in the city of Moscow. The campaign included workshops for the schoolchildren and psychological training aimed at raising the public awareness about the dangers of human trafficking. Other projects include a "network of safe houses" for the victims of human trafficking in major Russian cities, preparing a draft law on human trafficking for submission to the State Duma, organizing embassy trainings for the diplomatic staff in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and information campaigns in the Russian and foreign mass media (Koalitsiya Angel, 2011a).

Another influential NGO in the struggle against human trafficking in Russia is the MiraMed Institute. MiraMed Institute is a non-profit public charity registered with the U.S. government opened in 1999. Its main financial sponsors include the American Chamber of Commerce in Moscow, Carnegie Foundation, Citibank Russia, DHL International, Garanti Bank, International SOS, International Women's Club, the Russian legal consulting group "Pepeliaev, Goltsblat and Partners", Proctor and Gamble, the San Diego Foundation, and Unilever (MiraMed Institute, 2008).

Its mission is to organize trafficking prevention campaigns and other activities aimed at combating trafficking. MiraMed's counter-trafficking activities include (MiraMed Institute, 2011):

> - **Prevention** activities in the form of information campaigns, trainings for embassies, trainings for at-risk groups, and hotline consultations and work with regional, national and international media;
> - **Rescue and repatriation** of victims with the help of an international toll-free hotline, and the Angel Coalition Trafficking Victim Assistance Center (TVAC); and
> - **Protection** of victims through the operation of regional safe houses, law enforcement trainings, research and publication of best practices on victim rehabilitation, and trainings for high-level regional and federal government officials.

The MiraMed Institute works in a close cooperation with the Angel Coalition and supports many of its activities. For example, in 2007 MiraMed prepared a "Profiling Card for Law Enforcement to Assist in Identification of Trafficking Victims". Its aim is to intensify cooperation between the anti-trafficking NGOs and the Russian law enforcement. The organizations also distributed thousands of anti-trafficking billboards in Moscow and its surroundings saying "You Are Going Abroad, But Are Concerned about Its Legality?" (*Vy Sobirayetes' Zarubej, no Somnevayetes' Legal'no li Eto?*). The billboard provided information about the free hotline for potential victims of human trafficking (MiraMed Institute, 2008).

With regard to legislative lobbying, "as a foreign NGO registered in Russia, the MiraMed Institute does not have the opportunity to create a lobby in the State Duma or campaign for the change of the existing laws" (Hartl, 2010). However, it is quite successful in humanitarian activities such as victim assistance. It is argued that due to lack of government-run agency aimed at combating human trafficking or sufficient funding for anti-trafficking programs, the future of trafficking victims in/from Russia is in the hands of NGOs such as the Angel Coalition and MiraMed Institute. In 2010, "the

majority of aid to NGOs and international organizations providing victim assistance continued to be funded by international donors" (US TIP Report 2010: 281).

The main problems with the NGO response to human trafficking in Russia include lack of cooperation with law enforcement agencies, lack of funding and ineffective legislative lobbying. For example, the Angel Coalition prepared a draft law on combating human trafficking but failed to lobby the Russian Parliament to pass the law. The NGOs should also increase the number of training activities for the Russian police on trafficking victims identification, which continues to be a problem. Furthermore, there are currently very strict policies on the registration of foreign NGOs in Russia. The Russian law "On Introducing Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts" or simply the NGO law adopted in 2006 "introduced burdensome and difficult-to-meet reporting requirements for NGOs, accompanied by severe penalties for non-compliance; new and similarly burdensome registration procedures for Russian and foreign NGOs operating in Russia" (International Center for Not-to-Profit Law, 2011a). Some of the law provisions are not only costly for the NGOs, but also difficult to understand and interpret, since the language of the law is very complicated.

Individual response

As far as the individual level response in considered, it is realized through two basic types of activity: donation and volunteering. For example, both the Angel Coalition and the MiraMed Institute websites contain donation forms for all those willing to support anti-trafficking activity in Russia. With regard to volunteering, both NGOs provide opportunities for volunteering and training for the Russian and foreign students and young researchers of human trafficking. Russian college students of the faculty of law are reportedly participating in the victims assistance activities of the

Angel Coalition (Koalitsiya Angel, 2011a). Several foreign students have also used this opportunity to learn about human trafficking in Russia through directly engaging with the Angel Coalition. For example, the coalition website cites the following story (Koalitsiya Angel, 2011b):

> I'm studying at the University of Chicago, preparing to graduate this spring. Last year I studied abroad at Moscow State University and had an internship with the Angel Coalition. It was an excellent experience; I learned a lot and was able to help the Coalition in its projects against human trafficking. During the course of the internship, I interviewed women at Moscow State University and translated documents on public health protection. After volunteer work with the Angel Coalition, I worked as an intern in Washington at Capitol Hill, helping Senator Brownback in his initiative against sex trafficking. This year I'm writing my dissertation on the problem of human trafficking in the Russian Federation in which I use survey data that I collected with the Angel Coalition.

One more example of an individual initiative in the fight against human trafficking is the activity of a Russian pop singer Valeria who is a goodwill ambassador at IOM. In 2009, she made a music video "*Po Doroge Lyub'vi*" (By the Road of Love) which was dedicated to the problem of child sex trafficking (RIA Novosti, 2009). All revenues received after the video release went into the support campaign of the trafficking victims rehabilitation centers in Russia. This is the only example of an individual anti-trafficking initiative in the Russian civil society.

Main problem that exists in the individual level response to human trafficking in Russia is lack of individual initiatives. This is deeply rooted in the Russia political and social culture, which does not support or encourage such activities. The civil society in Russia is only in its formation stage today, so more individual initiatives in the field of human trafficking might be expected in the future. Challenges existing in the non-statist response to human trafficking in Russia are summarized in Table 15.

Table 15. **Non-Statist Response to Human Trafficking in Russia: Main Problems.**

NGO/Civil Society Response	- lack of cooperation with law enforcement agencies - lack of funding - ineffective legislative lobbying - strict law on the foreign NGO registration
Individual Response	- lack of individual initiatives - undeveloped civil society

4.6. Conclusion

Human trafficking is a serious problem for Russia which is a source, transit and destination country for human traffickers. The current Russian legislature does not provide adequate legal framework for prosecution of traffickers and victims protection. Nor does the Russian government demonstrate sufficient efforts in its struggle against human trafficking. The only influential actors in the struggle against human trafficking in Russia are NGOs, some of which are funded by foreign donors. The most prevalent form of trafficking in the Russian Federation today is trafficking for labor exploitation. Other frequently reported forms of trafficking include trafficking for sexual exploitation, trafficking for the removal of organs, and child trafficking. Severe economic hardships faced by the Russian population in the 1990s made many people easy prey for the human traffickers who promise lucrative jobs abroad through advertisement and personal contacts. The involvement of organized crime also makes the struggle against human trafficking in Russia a more complicated challenge. Globalization has allowed transnational organized crime to make its activity more mobile due to the access to the Internet and the transparency of borders between post-Soviet states.

Russia's response to transnational human trafficking can be evaluated as a failing one. The state level response is completely inactive in such field as the development of anti-trafficking legislature, educational campaigns, bilateral anti-

trafficking agreements etc. The Russian government does not allocate any of the federal budget outlays to the construction of the trafficking victims assistance centers. No competent anti-trafficking body on the federal level was created. It seems that the Russian government is reluctant to take the costs of a serious struggle against human trafficking making its economic goals such as a migrant-attractive policy a priority. The anti-trafficking NGOs in the country do everything possible in such difficult conditions, but their activity is also handicapped by lack of civil society initiatives and problems with funding.

As far as theoretical implications are concerned, Russia is implementing a non-statist transnational approach in its dealing with the human trafficking challenge. It is trying to address the activity of VNSAs represented by human trafficking networks by non-state level activity of its NGOs. There are emerging signs of cooperation between the Russian law enforcement agencies and their foreign counterparts in the human trafficking field, as well as the cooperation between NGOs and law enforcement. However, these activities should be encouraged and maintained by the state in the so-called 'statist transnationalism', in which the cooperation of substate entities is controlled by the state. Such a response seems to be more effective in the struggle against human trafficking in Russia. The next section will focus on Turkey's response to human trafficking as an example of a different type of a state's response to a transnational security threat.

CHAPTER 5

TURKEY'S RESPONSE TO TRANSNATIONAL HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Human trafficking is a serious challenge for Turkey too. Due to her geographical position, Turkey has always witnessed an influx of immigrants from the neighboring countries. Moreover, the territory of Turkey is also used as a transit zone by illegal migrants that aim to make their way to Europe using the help of human smugglers. Some of these transit migrants settle in Turkey and work in the informal sectors of the economy such as sex industry, entertainment, housekeeping, etc. Many women from the former Soviet Union are trafficked to Turkey for sexual exploitation annually. Men from Central Asian states are sometimes trafficked for labor exploitation in Turkey. There is also domestic trafficking of homeless children from rural areas to big metropolitan cities such as Istanbul for begging and prostitution (Beşpınar and Çelik, 2009). Despite these problems, the overall efforts of the Turkish government to combat human trafficking can be evaluated as successful. Turkey is demonstrating great decisiveness in her struggle against human trafficking, and its government is making significant efforts to address this problem. The main policy areas and problems that still exist are analyzed in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

5.1. Human Trafficking in Turkey: The Scope of the Problem

According to Kirişçi (2007: 30), "Turkey is in a region particularly touched by trafficking and is primarily a destination country to where victims are trafficked". For example, General Directorate of Security in Ankara reported that in 2006, 7,828 crimes defined as kidnapping/human trafficking were registered in Turkey (Sargın and Temurçin, 2010: 64). Human trafficking in Turkey is closely linked to the problem of illegal migration. Illegal migrants often pay human smugglers to cross the Turkish borders, and some of them subsequently become victims of trafficking in human beings (hereafter THB). As Perner (2008: 14) puts it,

> When it comes to transmigration the element of smuggling is clearly dominant, but when we look at other types of illegal migration coming from North Russia, Ukraine and Eastern Europe, the Balkans or even South-Asia, trafficking is surely one of the main causes.

Turkey has always perceived itself as a country of emigration. For example, since 1960s many Turks emigrated to Germany and other European countries, and the Turkish diaspora in Germany is now the largest outside Turkey (Işığıçok 2010). There is also a substantial Turkish diaspora in the United States. At the same time, Turkey has also posed itself as a country of immigration. "While until 1979 most migrants were ethnic Turks from neighboring countries, during the last 25 years Turkey has faced a problem of illegal migration" (Sokullu-Akinci, 2006: 166). Nowadays people of Turkic origin represent only a small proportion of illegal migrants entering Turkey. Most of them can be classified as 'aliens' or 'foreigners' that do not have any Turkish descent. According to İçduygu and Yükseker (2008: 2), "Turkey's former singular position of being a "migrant-sending country" is now supplemented by the position of a "migrant-receiving country."

Illegal migrants inside Turkey can be classified into several groups. These are "clandestine workers; transit migrants; and (rejected) asylum-seekers" (İçduygu, 2007). The first group includes those who enter Turkey illegally, or legally, but subsequently overstay their visas. It is common for illegal workers from the former Soviet Union in Istanbul or Antalya to enter the country with a tourist visa stamp. "Family-related migration can also contribute to the category of clandestine workers" (İçduygu, 2007: 308). Clandestine workers mainly include people from Eastern European countries such as Moldova, Ukraine and Romania who are employed by Turkish farmers and contractors in western Turkey, or as domestic helpers and babysitters by upper-class Turkish families in big cities (İçduygu, 2007: 310).

The second group comprises transit migrants. According to Avcı and Kirişçi (2008: 234), these are the "nationals of neighboring countries such as Iraq and Iran as well as nationals from more distant countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, etc". Most often, they enter Turkey through its eastern borders using the help of smugglers and travel through Turkey in order to make their way to Europe. Fees for smuggling of migrants across the border can be quite high and sometimes reach several thousands of dollars. İçduygu (2004: 92) also mentions transit migrants describing them as "economically motivated people coming mainly from the Middle East, Iraq, and Iran, but also from various Asian and African countries, who enter Turkey illegally and stay for some time, planning to migrate illegally to Western and Northern European countries".

Finally, the third group of illegal migrants consists of rejected asylum-seekers who stay illegally in Turkey and take up employment in Istanbul or Antalya. Most of them come from Iran and Iraq (İçduygu, 2004: 92). They also contribute to the shadow economy through illegal employment, because they do not have any necessary

documents that would allow them to stay or work legally in the country. Therefore, they quickly turn into illegal migrants and can also become victims of trafficking and exploitation.

According to Düvell and Volmer (2009: 17), "Turkey records 202,000 registered immigrants, 0.29 per cent of the total population, of which only one quarter are workers or students, all others fall into the various category which includes family related statuses and asylum seekers (50,000)". The authors also mention methodological challenges concerning the availability of data on human trafficking and illegal migration. They argue that "only some expert guesstimates were found in Turkey, but no estimates that could be denoted as methodologically reliable" (Düvell and Volmer, 2009: 20). For example, Kirişçi (2008a) cites the number of illegal migrants as between 150,000 and a million, whereas İçduygu (2003) estimates a number between 500,000 and one million. According to İçduygu and Yükseker (2008), the true picture may be at least two or three times the number of migrants than apprehended by the authorities. "While it is difficult to provide accurate statistics, the Turkish Ministry of Interior estimates that 400,000 irregular migrants were apprehended in Turkey between 1997 and 2003, with the majority of them using the service of smugglers" (UNODC, 2010c: 26).

The most recent data from the Ministry of Labor and Social Security shows that the number of illegal workers inside Turkey is assumed to have exceeded one million, which represents %4,3 of the economically active population (Işığıçok, 2010: 436). Due to lax visa policy, it is not so difficult to enter Turkey legally and then overstay. Düvell and Volmer (2009: 15) point to the fact that "only 13 per cent of foreigners with residence permits also hold work permits". Similarly, Kirişçi (2008a: 1) also argues that "there are clearly those who reside and work legally in Turkey. Yet, the majority does

so illegally or in semi-illegality at best". This might be explained by the difficulty in obtaining legal residence permits, but in any case problems of illegal migration also aggravate the issue of human trafficking in Turkey.

Düvell and Volmer (2009) also mention security threats associated with illegal migration. First, there are claims in the media that uncontrolled migration leads to increased unemployment among Turkish citizens. Second, "Armenian migrants are perceived as a security threat", which links irregular migration to external security issues (Düvell and Volmer, 2009: 23). Third, there is a negative perception of women migrants as prostitutes from Eastern European countries, which can also result in social tensions. Other authors mention both positive and negative effects of illegal migration. According to Demir (2008), increase in the trafficking for sexual exploitation is one of the negative consequences.

Trafficking in women for sexual exploitation can be characterized as one of the security challenges that Turkey is faced with. Shelley (2010: 22) argues that "Turkey has large numbers of trafficked women from the former Soviet Union, their presence in Turkey explained by alliances and business relationships of Turkish criminals with their counterparts from the former Soviet Union". Similarly, Avcı and Kirişçi (2008: 208) argue that "pendular migration between former Soviet Bloc countries and Turkey is becoming very common. Trafficking in women as well as human smuggling are issues that are attracting growing governmental as well as civil society attention".

As in the case of illegal migration in general, in the case of trafficking it is difficult to obtain reliable statistics. Hence, it is not possible to say exactly how many women in Turkey are victims of trafficking (Kirişçi, 2008b: 7). However, most recent statistics is available from the office of IOM Turkey in Ankara. According to IOM (2008b: 34), "the vast majority of women and girls trafficked to Turkey come from the

former Soviet Union, with 60 per cent of all cases from Moldova, Russian Federation and Turkmenistan". The victim profile is between 18 to 24 years old, with mainly secondary school education (IOM, 2008b: 34). Most victims of trafficking in human beings (THB) enter Turkey legally with a tourist visa, and Istanbul, Antalya, and Trabzon are the main ports of entry for trafficked individuals (IOM 2008: 34). Illegal profits from trafficking are estimated to be more than 1 billion US dollars annually (IOM, 2008b).

However, in the overall assessment, the numbers of victims of THB in Turkey are not critical for a tourism country with a lax visa policy. As Beşpınar and Çelik (2009: 10) put it, "notwithstanding unstrict visa policy, insufficient labor regulations, significant shadow economy and widespread prostitution, the numbers of victims of human trafficking in Turkey are still relatively small". This trend may be explained by decisive policy on combating human trafficking pursued by the Turkish government. Some particular dimensions of human trafficking in Turkey will be described in the following subsections.

5.1.1. Trafficking for Labor Exploitation

Trafficking for labor exploitation does not currently represent an issue of serious concern for Turkey. The number of cases of labor exploitation is relatively small compared to the neighboring countries. However, "the IOM, in conjunction with the Turkish government, repatriated a significant number of reported forced labor and sex trafficking victims to Mongolia in 2009" (US TIP Report 2010: 327). This evidence shows that the situation can worsen in future, so adequate measures should be taken by the government in order to curb the problem.

Another aspect of trafficking for labor exploitation is the exploitation of the Turkish citizens abroad. This is reported to happen with Turks who work on construction sites in Russia. On the basis of the interviews with the Turkish Consulate, İçduygu (2009b: 11) argues that "there are approximately 35,000 – 40,000 migrants from Turkey residing in Moscow and St. Petersburg where most of the construction projects of the Turkish contractors have been operating". Whereas working and payment conditions in Russia are usually described as satisfactory, some Turkish citizens still can occasionally become victims of human trafficking. For example, İçduygu (2009b: 13) in his research of Turkish migrant workers abroad cites the story of Reşat who came to work on a construction site in Russia:

> One of my friends was deceived by an illegal subcontractor and he came to Russia on a tourist visa, then the subcontractor took his passport. On the building site he said that he slept on a basement floor of the house they were building and ate only macaroni.

This is clearly an example of trafficking for labor exploitation. As migrant workers are a very vulnerable group of population, particular attention should be paid to informing them about the dangers of human trafficking when they travel abroad, especially in the countries of post-Soviet space.

5.1.2. Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation

Trafficking for sexual exploitation is a major form of human trafficking for Turkey. It became widespread after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, when thousands of women from Russia and Ukraine came to Turkey in order to work as prostitutes, leaving their poor and crisis-stricken communities behind. In the late 1990s, Russian nationals were already making good use of Turkey's visa policy by entering Turkey legally on a tourist visa and later resettling in the country illegally. It was in that period

that the so-called 'suitcase trade' (*bavul ticareti*) developed. According to Kirişçi (2008a: 4), the period when illegal employment of foreign nationals in Turkey started was also "a period during which trafficking in women saw a rise".

Prostitution was one of the major forms of employment that foreign women took up in Turkey. "Part of the problem of illegal migration in Turkey has been that of trafficked persons – especially women. Turkey has become both a transit and destination country for prostitution by foreign nationals" (Kirişçi, 2008b: 7). Whereas some of them came to work as prostitutes out of their will, others were deceived by the traffickers and forced to comply. The general profile of trafficked women is described by Demir (2008: iii):

> The vast majority of trafficking victims come from former Soviet Union countries. They can be characterized as being young, poor, either single or divorced, and, because of acute economic problems, highly motivated by job opportunities offered by recruiters. Using their prior romantic relationships or prior commercial sex relationships with Turkish middlemen/traffickers, it is generally female recruiters who bring new girls from their countries of origin.

The rapid increase of prostitution sector in Turkey led to negative portrayal of female immigrants in the Turkish media. "Female prostitutes became a popular stigmatization of female foreigners coming from ex-socialist countries and residing in Istanbul. Such migrants are commonly called "*Natasha*" (Pérouse, 2006: 106, emphasis added). These women coming mainly from Eastern European countries were highly stigmatized by the local population. Sex industry in Turkey was reported to be highly corrupted and having significant influence on illegal migrants flows (Kaya, 2008a; Düvell and Volmer, 2009).

At the same time, migrant women suffering from social pressure had no stimulus to legalize their staying in Turkey or to establish any contact with law enforcement. It has been noted that female sex workers in Turkey generally suffer from psychological

problems and develop such feelings as regret or shame, which are never or very seldom to be found in Turkish transgender sex workers (İnsan Kaynağını Geliştirme Vakfı, 2011a). This can probably be explained by societal attitudes to 'local' sex workers who are perceived as people with no other choice, whereas foreign women are supposed to be in prostitution 'willingly' (Beşpınar and Çelik, 2009). Thus, social pressure on Turkish transgender sex workers is lower than the one foreign sex workers are subject to.

Foreign nationals working in sex industry in Turkey can be divided into two groups: victims of human trafficking and women working out of their own will. However, it is very difficult to estimate the degree of coercion involved, as well as get the data on foreign women's content to work in prostitution. Feminist scholars also claim that there is no such thing as "willing prostitution". Yet, many sources such as the Department of Law and Order report that women from the Soviet Union are forced to work in sex industry in Turkey (Asayiş Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2011). The same was stated by the US Department of State: "officials identified an increased number of women subjected to forced prostitution from Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan in 2009" (US TIP Report 2010: 327).

Recruitment techniques

There are various recruitment techniques used by human traffickers. Some of them recruit their victims by promising jobs in housekeeping or entertainment sectors, later forcing the victim to prostitution by signing a fraudulent job contract, using violence and pressure, as well as taking away the victim's identification documents (Asayiş Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2011). According to Narlı (2006: 29),

> The principal recruiting methods include promises of marriage, wellpaid jobs and better living conditions. However, many women become victims through

> physical and psychological violence or pressure by criminal groups that keep the victims in bondage abroad, removing their passports and other documents. In some cases, corrupt policemen and other authorities facilitate this process.

Beşpınar and Çelik (2009) also point out to the fact that sometimes criminal groups participate in the victim recruitment process. For example, they cite an interview with General Directorate of Security in which an official claims that "if a woman does not complain, it is out of fear. These organizations have branches abroad as well. They also possess home addresses of these women in their own countries" (Beşpınar and Çelik, 2009: 11). It has also been reported that deception takes place upon arrival to Turkey rather than during the recruitment stage in the victim's home country (Beşpınar and Çelik, 2009: 4).

Social attitudes to the problem

Interestingly, societal attitudes to foreign and Turkish prostitutes may vary. For example, Beşpınar and Çelik (2009: 8) argue that foreign prostitutes are generally perceived as having chosen this profession out of their will, whereas local prostitutes are supposed to be in a brothel because they have "no other chance". However, an interview on trafficked prostitution with General Directorate of Security conducted by Beşpınar and Çelik (2009: 8) points to the contrary:

> When they tell her "you are going to be a prostitute" no matter how much the foreigner protests and even if she says "I didn't come here with this purpose, I came to look after the children, I came to work in a shop etc.", she cannot escape because she is aware of the costs involved. Maybe they enter this business against their will, maybe because they really have to. Most often these women are used in prostitution.

Apart from victims of trafficking, most recent research finds suggest that the number of foreigners working in the Turkish sex industry out of their will is currently increasing (Beşpınar and Çelik, 2009). Most of 'willing' sex workers come from Ukraine, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Azerbaijan and Georgia (Narlı, 2006). "Some of

them are brought by organised crime groups and forced to work in prostitution; but many of them had the knowledge of being illegal sex worker in Turkey" (Narlı, 2006: 16). These women have often already been in prostitution in their home countries, and come to Turkey in order to earn more money because the demand is higher there.

Another contemporary trend is independent prostitution conducted by foreign nationals in big Turkish cities, mainly in Istanbul. In case of individual employment in sex work, a foreign national develops contacts with her customers receiving no help from pimps or middlemen. The gains of sex worker in this case can be extremely high. Sometimes after earning the desired sum, sex worker returns to her homeland and sells her customer 'portfolio' to another prostitute willing to work independently (Beşpınar and Çelik, 2009: 10). This new trend seems to be rapidly developing in Turkey today and demonstrates the evolution of transnationalism such as growing participation of individual non-state actors in human trafficking.

Moreover, evidence shows that foreign nationals working in Turkish sex industry are for the most part women with high levels of education. This can be explained by the availability of high education on the post-Soviet space for all social classes, because it remains free in many big cities. For example, according to the General Directorate of Security (cited in Beşpınar and Çelik, 2009: 11):

> Another factor supporting the assumption that women are working in prostitution out of their will is their high level of education. High level of education common among women in this sector rejects the possibility of their being the victims of deception. Therefore their victim status is questioned. "They are not primary or secondary school graduates as ours, they have graduated from university. They are like that as a country. There are no people who don't know how to read or write here. Let's say, they are people who know themselves. Then, with such levels of education, how can they be victims of trafficking?"

To sum it up, although trafficking for sexual exploitation is major form of trafficking for Turkey, the number of 'willing' foreign sex workers is also increasing. Moreover, the transnationalization of sex trafficking in Turkey seems to be the case,

which is demonstrated by the growing involvement of transnational organized crime as well individuals in sex trade. Criminal groups and individual sex workers now have much more opportunities to participate in human trafficking because of the changes brought about by globalization.

5.1.3. Child Trafficking

Trafficking of children does not represent a significant part of human trafficking in Turkey. The number of minors trafficked for sexual or labor exploitation in Turkey is relatively small. As defined by the Department of Law and Order of the General Directorate of Security, "the cases of child trafficking in Turkey are mostly performed through abduction and subsequent trafficking or through adoption by various measures. Mostly foreign children are targeted in this type of crime" (Asayiş Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2011).

According to the Department of Law and Order, "despite low number of child trafficking cases in Turkey in general, there are many different practices involved" (Asayiş Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2011). For example, children may be trafficked for begging by their own parents in such big cities as Istanbul, they can also be used by criminal syndicates for various types of crimes because of the absence of children's criminal liability (Asayiş Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2011). Sometimes teenage girls can be used for forced prostitution. The following evidence by a psychotherapist is cited in Beşpınar and Çelik (2009: 11-12).

> Mainly girls are trafficked. You will see that organizations that use boys are not so well-structured. When you talk to girls, you will notice that they know Turkey very well. These kids run away from home. These are the things that happen when you run away. It's like a Turkish movie. These children are very active. But when s/he runs away, s/he falls into the trafficker's hands. You will see many boys among the street children, but you won't see any girls. That's because they have their elder brothers. Brother will give her a place to stay.

> These girls don't use simple drugs. They use more sophisticated ones. Ecstasy or Rosh. We can talk of a criminal group here. Or a boyfriend, this boyfriend keeps several more girls at home. The boyfriend sells the girl. And the girl actually follows her boyfriend. She has to use a substance because drugs reduce the pain of her trauma. She thinks "My boyfriend loves me" or "We are doing this now out of necessity". She doesn't notice that there is a criminal group above. She will become a prostitute because she is a drug-addict, and she will become a drug-addict because she is a prostitute. I have seen very high levels of drug addiction among children, the ones I haven't seen in foreign women. The child can be stabbed somewhere and die. Sometimes her family looks for this child, finds her and brings her home. But after three days she runs away again. She follows her trauma.

5.2. Routes of Human Trafficking in/from Turkey

There are several major routes of human trafficking to Turkey. Mainly victims from Eastern Europe are delivered to Istanbul and sometimes later distributed/sold to other cities. The United Kingdom's "Threat Assessment of Serious Organised Crime" has identified several routes used for trafficking and smuggling of migrants to Europe. Two of them include Turkey: "(3) from Turkey (nexus point: Istanbul) to the Balkans (Belgrade and Sarajevo are nexus points) and on to either Greece or Italy (nexus point: Rome); (4) from Turkey to northern Cyprus, then on to the European Union via Romania and Bulgaria" (Aronowitz, 2009: 88).

There are also specific routes used by illegal migrants to enter Turkey, mainly in its Eastern part. Narlı (2006: 20) identifies several points of unauthorized entry to Turkey summarized in Table 16.

Table 16. **Points of unauthorized entry to Turkey[4].**

BORDER	POINTS OF ENTRY
Armenian-Georgian Border	Iğdır/Diluca, Kars/Digor-Tuzluca, Ardahan/Posof, Artvin/Sarp
Iranian Border	Küçük Ağrı Dağı/Doğubeyazıt, Van/Özalp-Başkale, Hakkari/Yüksekova
Iraqi Border	Hakkari/Şemdilli-Cukurca, Şırnak/Uludere

[4] For a more detailed account of the illegal migrants' routes, see Narlı (2006).

Table 16 (cont'd).

BORDER	POINTS OF ENTRY
Syrian Border	Şanlıurfa/Suruç-Mert Village-Akçakale Village Hatay/Yayladağı-Güveççi Köyü, Altunözü-Turfanda-Avuttepe villages, Hatay/Karbeyaz Village, Hatay/Reyhanlı, Hatay/Samandağı, Hatay/İskenderun-Arsus section, Adana/Karataş section-the zone where Seyhan and Ceyhan rivers merge with the Mediterranean Sea, Gaziantep/Islahiye-Karababa area.

5.2.1. Turkey as a Source Country for Human Trafficking

According to UNODC (2006), incidence of reporting of origin countries for Turkey is medium. There are not so many cases of trafficking or exploitation of Turkish citizens inside the country or abroad. The existing cases include labor exploitation of the Turkish workers on construction sites in Russia. İçduygu (2006) points to the fact that in 2005, the "top three destination countries [for Turkish workers] were still the same countries: Russian Federation (32%), Iraq (12%), and Kazakhstan (9%)". Since then, the number of Turkish workers abroad is expected to increase. This may result in more cases of forced labor, so the Turkish government should pay attention to this problem.

5.2.2. Turkey as a Transit Country for Human Trafficking

UNODC (2006) claims that the incidence of reporting of transit countries for Turkey is high. The Department of Law and Order of the General Directorate of Security argues that "both in the US Report and in some other international researches Turkey is shown as both a destination and a transit country" (Asayiş Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2011). However, in the light of most recent developments it could be stated that Turkey is an origin, transit and destination country at the same time. İçduygu and Yükseker (2008: 2) argue that "more recently, Turkey is becoming also a transit country (transit

zone) for migrants seeking to reach a third country. In this context, it may not be wrong to speak of a triadic position, rather than a dual one".

Moreover, Turkey is also a transit country for human smuggling. According to Kaya (2008b: 5), "due to her unique geographical position, with regard to human smuggling Turkey is a transit country joining east and west. But with regard to human trafficking Turkey is a destination country". Illegal migrants enter Turkey via its Eastern mountainous borders aiming to reach Europe by crossing the territory of Turkey. İçduygu and Toktas (2008: 31) point to the fact that

> Many migrants are being smuggled and trafficked from the Middle East to Europe via air and land routes in Turkey. The use of these transportation axes varies, with sea travel having recently become the most frequently used mode of transport, followed by land and air.

According to Väyrynen (2003: 12), "Turkey is one of the main gateways to Europe for immigrants from Iraq (especially Kurds), Iran, Afghanistan, and many other Asian countries, including China". These illegal immigrants pay high fees to human smugglers in order to cross the border. "The amount of money paid to smugglers and traffickers varies between US$1,000 to $7,000 depending on the case" (İçduygu and Toktas, 2008: 33).

5.2.3. Turkey as a Destination Country for Human Trafficking

According to UNODC (2006: 20), incidence of reporting of destination countries for Turkey is very high. The Department of Law and Order also reports that "our country is a destination country for human trafficking because of its geographic position, democratic and economic system and higher level of development compared to other countries in the region (Asayiş Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2011). The same is stated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2011) which claims that "due to her unique geographical position, Turkey is a destination country".

Most sources support the assumption that the majority of victims of human trafficking come from former Soviet republics. According to IOM (2008b: 11), "Turkey remains a destination for human trafficking in the Black Sea region, with victims usually coming from Moldova, Ukraine, Russian Federation, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan". Similarly, Ministry of Foreign Affairs points to the fact that "individuals, who are identified by Turkish law enforcement agencies as victims of human trafficking, are mostly citizens of Central Asia, Black Sea and the neighboring states in the east of Turkey with lower level of income".

Major forms of trafficking into Turkey include trafficking of women and minors for sexual exploitation. According to Narlı (2006: 16), "Turkey is a destination country for the trafficking of women and children". Trafficking in women represents a matter of serious concern for the Turkish government. "Various sources indicate that Turkey is one of the major countries of destination for trafficking in women from mainly Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, Romania, the Russian Federation and Ukraine" (Düvell and Volmer, 2009: 13).

5.3. Root Causes of Human Trafficking in Turkey

There are several major causes of human trafficking in Turkey. They can be categorized as economic, political, social, cultural and geographical ones (see Table 17). The first of the political reasons is a lax visa policy. As a tourism country, Turkey cannot afford having long and complicated process of acquiring a tourist visa for foreign nationals wishing to come to Turkey. For example, since April 2011 Russian citizens no longer need a visa if they want to stay in Turkey for up to 30 days. Previously it was possible to obtain a visa stamp directly from the airport upon arrival into Turkey for $20.

As it was mentioned before, this lax visa policy has made it very easier for the citizens of former Soviet countries to enter Turkey and take up illegal employment. “As a result of a liberal visa policy operated by Turkish governments, the 1990s were characterized by the phenomenon of "suitcase" trade, bringing nationals particularly from the former Soviet Union and Soviet Bloc countries to Turkey on repeated trips”. (Kirişçi, 2004: 6). There are also people who reside in the country without a residence permit or work without a work permit. According to Düvell and Volmer (2009) and Kaya (2008b), a significant pathway is represented by people entering the country as tourist who overstay their visa. Enforcement operations handle apprehensions of migrants without working permission in a lax manner and rarely this offence is prosecuted as long as the employment is not related to criminal activities (Düvell and Volmer, 2009).

As far as economical reasons are concerned, Beşpınar and Çelik (2009: 10) also mention a group of foreign sex workers in Turkey who claim to be victims of human trafficking in order to benefit from the forensic advantages that victim status provides – such as safe return home and the right for humanitarian visa. Therefore, Turkish law enforcement should pay more attention to extensive investigation of each trafficking case.

Another economic reason for human trafficking in Turkey is widespread poverty in the neighboring countries of Eastern Europe. As Beşpınar and Çelik (2009: 7) put it, “source country is a poor country. People leave their homeland because of poverty, unemployment and desperation”. That is why so many women from Eastern European countries leave their communities seeing Turkey as a better place to live. Unstable economy in the neighboring countries has turned Turkey into an ‘illegal migrant paradise’ (Işığıçok, 2010: 436).

Cultural reasons include the peculiarities of Turkish sex culture and societal perception of sex. Due to the societal pressure, having a sexual intercourse before marriage is perceived as negative. Therefore, unmarried men have to resort to the services of prostitution, often involving foreign women. As Beşpınar and Çelik (2009: 7) put it, "there is a demand in this land… The man requests it. It is the biological desire, sexual hunger, societal suppression of sexuality, inclination to changes and polygamy, poor looking of the Turkish women, their grumbling … that drive the demand".

Geographical causes include the presence of a porous Eastern border that is difficult to control. "Turkey's land borders are highly militarized, due to the Kurdish and other conflicts in the region; geographic conditions, however, make them difficult to guard" (Düvell and Volmer, 2009: 19). This makes it widespread for the citizens of neighboring countries such as Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan to pay human smugglers to get across the border. According to Sokullu-Akinci (2006: 166),

> The Western world has difficulty in understanding why so many people enter Turkey without being caught and are then apprehended either in western Turkish, Greek or Italian seas … This occurs as a result of geography since eastern and southeastern Turkey and its borders are mountainous areas. Turkey is also surrounded by seas in the north, west and south. It is therefore difficult to control incoming and outgoing refugees.

Finally, the last cause of human trafficking in Turkey is political turmoil in the neighboring Iraq and Afghanistan that also facilitates the influx of refugees. Human smugglers request high fees for the transit of refugees to Europe via Turkey, and sometimes those people who are unable to pay off their debts can become victims of human trafficking and exploitation. The ways illegal migrants enter Turkey are sometimes very dangerous and can lead to traumas or even death. As Europol reports, "the illegal immigrants usually travelled in cramped conditions in trucks, camper vans,

coaches or boats from Iraq to Europe via Turkey. Some of the illegal immigrants also used forged or counterfeited travel documents" (UNODC, 2010b).

Thus, Turkey's geographical position, cultural peculiarities, and the economic and political instability in the neighboring countries are the main causes of human trafficking into the country. These are summarized in Table 17 below.

Table 17. **Root Causes of Human Trafficking in Turkey.**

TYPE	DESCRIPTION
Economic reasons	poverty and unemployment in the neighboring countries, illegal migration, violation of residence rules by foreign workers
Political reasons	lax visa policy, image of Turkey as a 'migrant-attractive country", lack of border control, political turmoil in Iraq and Afghanistan, high numbers of refugees
Social reasons	transnationalization of organized crime and information space
Cultural reasons	societal perception of sex before marriage as undesirable and 'wrong', suppression of sexuality
Geographical reasons	geographical position of Turkey on the crossroads between Europe and Asia, porous Eastern borders

5.3.1. Turkish Organized Crime and Human Trafficking

According to most recent data, human trafficking in Turkey is not controlled by transnational organized crime. Instead, there are small groups and individuals involved, which together represent flexible networks. These networks are violent non-state actors themselves because they challenge the state and its ability to cope with human trafficking. İçduygu and Toktas (2002: 46) argue that "our own investigations in Turkey do not necessarily confirm the involvement of large mafia-style criminal organizations; rather a number of smaller, flexible groups seem to be active in this business on an opportunistic basis". These groups are organized in the form of networks rather than hierarchies. "We found no evidence of a hierarchical structure with a "godfather-like"

figure in the apex. … Rather, a loosely cast network, consisting of hundreds of independent smaller units which cooperate along the way seems to be the case" (İçduygu and Toktas, 2002: 46).

Thus, no evidence has been found for the presence of organized crime in the classical sense of the term or any mafia-like structures in human trafficking in Turkey. According to İçduygu (2004: 91), "although Turkey is a transit country for the smuggling of migrants, no particular link has been discovered to organized transit-trafficking activity or trafficking networks operating on the Turkish territory". Similarly, Demir (2008: iii) also points to the fact that "human trafficking in Turkey is not operated by large organized crime groups; rather, it is operated by a loose web of individuals/groups that are usually known to each other".

Networking is a very flexible structure, which makes combating human trafficking even a more complicated issue. For example, there is no 'head' of such an organization, so it is impossible to 'behead' it by arresting and prosecuting its leaders. "When trafficking is perpetrated by a large number of loosely connected crime groups, this makes the detection and crackdown of a trafficking network relatively difficult because of the vague structure of involved groups" (Karakus, 2008: 6).

The same mode of organization has been found in human smuggling activities. According to Kaya (2008a: 6), "human smuggling is carried out mainly by organized networks". Empirical evidence shows that human smugglers in Eastern Turkey might be linked to terrorist organizations. "Human smuggling in the region is executed by the organized crime networks operating in Turkey and in the Balkan countries, and secondly by the terrorist groups who need money to finance their activities" (Narlı, 2006: 24). The author further explains the concept of network applied to human smuggling networks (Narlı, 2006: 24):

> The human smuggling networks are not hierarchically organised and centralized. They are loose and flexible networks in the form of spiderweb. They can accommodate individuals and groups who would get involve in human smuggling only once in their life time or those who are planning to stay in the "business" for a long period of time. They can recruit individuals without any criminal record as well as those linked to terrorist organizations.

However, organized crime in its traditional form is reported to exist in Europe where Turkish diaspora members are involved in human trafficking. According to Cengiz (2009: 2), "Turkish organized crime groups in Western European countries have evolved and become well-adapted in several types of trafficking activities". Due to possibility of contacts between domestic Turkish traffickers and their European counterparts, cooperation efforts between law enforcement agencies of both Turkey and EU countries should be increased. All this points to the fact that there is a growing transnationalization of human trafficking in Turkey with more individual, non-state actors involved, which creates new challenges for the state's response to this security threat.

5.4. Turkish Legislature on Human Trafficking

5.4.1. The Turkish Constitution

The basic rights and freedoms that are related to human trafficking are formulated in the Turkish Constitution. Article 17 discusses the right to material and spiritual integrity that is frequently denied to the trafficking victims:

> **ARTICLE 17.** Everyone has the right to life and the right to protect and develop his material and spiritual entity.
> The physical integrity of the individual shall not be violated except under medical necessity and in cases prescribed by law; and shall not be subjected to scientific or medical experiments without his or her consent.
> No one shall be subjected to torture or ill-treatment; no one shall be subjected to penalties or treatment incompatible with human dignity.

Article 18 of the Constitution discusses the prohibition of forced labor:

> **ARTICLE 18.** No one shall be forced to work. Forced labour is prohibited.
> Work required of an individual while serving a prison sentence or under detention, services required from citizens during a state of emergency, and physical or intellectual work necessitated by the requirements of the country as a civic obligation do not come under the description of forced labour, provided that the form and conditions of such labour are prescribed by law.

These articles make up a very general legislative framework for combating human trafficking because they mention basic human rights and freedoms that victims of human trafficking are quite often deprived of. More specific anti-trafficking commitments are mentioned in the Turkish Criminal Code.

5.4.2. The Turkish Criminal Code.

Prior to 2002, there was no direct reference to human trafficking or smuggling in the Turkish legal system. However, in order to fulfill the provisions of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and its Additional Protocols, in August 2002 anti-trafficking amendments to the Turkish Criminal Code were prepared by the Ministry of Justice and adopted by the Parliament. It could be argued that such changes were made under the pressure of the international community. "Through this legal arrangement, the Law No. 4771 added Articles 201/a and 201/b to the Turkish Criminal Code to follow Article 201" (İçduygu, 2003; Kaya, 2008a; Kaya, 2008b). For the first time, these amendments introduced the definition of human trafficking into the Turkish legal system as prescribed by the Palermo Protocol against Trafficking in Persons. The 2002 amendments prescribed "severe penalties for traffickers: five to ten years' imprisonment" (İçduygu, 2009a: 11).

In 2003, Turkey ratified the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (Palermo) and its two additional Protocols on Trafficking in Human Beings and

Smuggling of Migrants (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011). This was a significant step for Turkey because it expressed its willingness to comply with norms of international law on human trafficking.

The year 2005 was even more significant for the Turkish legislature. "In June 2005, a new criminal code was implemented, adjusted to European Acquis with the agenda to harmonize Turkey's legislation towards EU accession... The Article 80 of the Turkish Penal Code was added to Article 201/b in order to align the Turkish legal system towards counter-trafficking" (Perner, 2008: 46). According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2011), Article 80 "describes THB and foresees sentences from eight to twelve years of imprisonment and to judicial fines up to an amount corresponding to ten thousand days". The text of the article is provided below:

Human Trafficking / Article 80;

1. Those who recruit, abduct, transport or transfer or harbour persons for the purpose of subjecting to forced labour or service, prostitution, enslavement or for removal of body organs, by getting their consent by means of threat, oppression, coercion or using violence, of abusing influence, of deceit or of abusing their control over or the vulnerabilities of these persons shall be sentenced to imprisonment up to eight to twelve years and a fine corresponding to 10,000 days.
2. The consent of the victim shall be irrelevant in cases where the acts that constitute a crime are attempted with the intentions described in paragraph 1.
3. In cases where minors below the age of eighteen are procured, abducted, transported or transferred or harboured with the intentions specified in paragraph one, the penalties foreseen in paragraph 1 shall still be applied to the perpetrator, even when no intermediary actions relating to the crime are committed.
4. Legal entities shall also be subject to security measures for such crimes.

It should also be mentioned that the words "forced prostitution" were added to the legal definition of human trafficking only on 19 December 2006 (Beşpınar and Çelik, 2009: 3). "Thus, forced prostitution, the most important dimension of human trafficking, will be punished with this article" (MFA, 2011). Some other trafficking-related articles of the Criminal Code are also provided below:

Immigrant smuggling / Article 79;

1. One with the aim of obtaining economic interest directly or indirectly, by the means of unlawful ways;
    a. one who allows an alien to get into the country or makes him/her possible to stay on the country,
    b. one who allows nationals or aliens to get out of the country, will be sentenced to heavy prison terms of three years to eight years and fined up to ten thousands days equivalent Turkish liras.
2. These punishments will be increased to half times in case of being committed within the framework of crime organization.
3. Private security precaution provisions will be applied to legal entities with respect to these crimes.

This article provided a legislative mechanism for combating human smuggling, which is especially urgent for eastern Turkey where large numbers of illegal migrants are smuggled into the country. They use the territory of Turkey to make their way to Europe illegally. Article 227 deals with prostitution:

Prostitution / Article 227;

1. One who, instigates child to prostitution, facilitates the way of it, procures or shelters or mediates to child's prostitution will be sentenced to prison terms of four years to ten years and fined up to five thousands days equivalent Turkish liras. Preparation acts is also punished as committed crime.
2. One who instigates someone to prostitution, facilitates the way of or mediates for it or guaranty the place where prostitution is practiced will be imprisoned from two years to four years and fined up to three thousands days equivalent Turkish liras. Benefiting partly or entirely from the gain of who acts as a prostitute, is regarded as instigating to prostitution.
3. One who allows person to get into the country and to get out from the country for the act of prostitution is punished in terms of above provisions.
4. The above mentioned punishments will be increased from half times to two times regarding the person who procures or instigates someone to prostitution by using force or pressure or by abusing his/her misrepresentation or mistake.
5. These punishments will be increased to half times whether the crimes are committed by spouse, ascendants, ascendants in-law, brother (sister), whom adopted a child, guardian, educator, teacher, caretaker, by others who is liable for protection and due care or committed by abusing power of public duty or service.
6. These punishments will be increased to half times in case of being committed within the framework of crime organization.
7. Private security precaution provisions will be applied to legal entities with respect to these crimes.
8. One who acts as a prostitute shall be subjected to treatment or psychological therapy.

This article is an example of a new legislature showing Turkey's overall decisiveness in the struggle against human trafficking and victims protection in particular, because it specifies mechanisms for the treatment of victims of forced prostitution and minors in particular.

5.4.3. Law on Work Permits of Foreigners No. 4817

Law on Work Permits of Foreigners No. 4817 was adopted on 27 February 2003 in order to bring the Turkish legislature into compliance with international labor law and EU law in particular. It was published in the Official Gazette on 6 March 2003 and put into force on 6 September 2003, six months after its publication (Işığıçok, 2010: 448). "The approval of the draft Law on Work Permits of Foreigners (Law No. 4817, dated 27 February 2003) was the third remarkable change in legislation pertaining to irregular migration and its labor outcomes" (İçduygu, 2009a).

According to this law, "the Ministry of Labor and Social Security is the sole body responsible for issuing work permits for foreigners" (MFA, 2011). This law (no. 4817) regulates the conditions and durations of work permits granted to aliens to work in Turkey. "This rectified the confusion of past authorizations and thus provided for a more effective supervision of the activities that may involve human trafficking" (Arslan and et al., 2006: 24). The aim of the law was to reduce the number of human trafficking cases resulting from exploitation of foreign nationals in the country.

Article 7 of Law on Work Permits stipulates that "the requirement of obtaining a work visa via foreign representations of Turkey will not be sought for aliens who have been given a residence permit of a duration of at least six months for any reason, and who have been granted a work permit for the duration of this residence permit, except

for those who have been given residence permits for education in Turkey" (Arslan and et al., 2006: 24).

In contrast, the article points to the fact that obtaining a work permit is obligatory for those who seek employment in the fields that may involve human trafficking (Article 7). "These revisions, aimed at tackling the crime of human trafficking, require that any alien seeking employment in fields that could be susceptible to human trafficking must obtain a work visa from a Turkish foreign representative" (Arslan and et al., 2006: 24).

Administrative fines are also an instrument to punish employers who allow foreign workers to work without a work permit. In accordance with Article 21 of Law no. 4817, "employers who employ aliens who do not have a work permit are sentenced to an administrative fine of 3922 YTL per alien employed, and aliens who work for an employer without having a work permit are sentenced to an administrative fine of 783 YTL". It should be noted that "employers who are convicted of employing an alien without a work permit must pay the accommodation expenses of the alien and his/her spouse and children, the expenses necessary for their return to their home countries and, when necessary, any health expenses that may arise" (Arslan and et al., 2006: 25).

The adopting of this new legislature was also facilitated by the expected Turkey's membership in the EU. "The Law aims to ensure that the work permit process in Turkey meets international standards, in particular those of the EU" (İçduygu, 2009a: 12). One important aspect of this Law is to prevent the illegal employment of foreigners by issuing fines. It also protects migrant workers from being exploited in the household industry, because foreign nationals are now allowed to work as babysitters legally (İçduygu, 2009a: 12).

In the overall assessment, the Law simplified the process of acquiring a work permit, but still getting one remains quite difficult because of bureaucratic problems. "The Law – at least theoretically – opened the possibility for immigrants especially in this sector to legalize their status" (Kirişçi, 2009: 28). Yet, the adoption of this law remains a significant step on the way to combat human trafficking in Turkey, because it helps protect vulnerable migrant workers from exploitation. The law has let Turkey to adjust its labor legislature to the international and the EU standards.

5.4.4. The Citizenship Law No. 403

In June 2003, amendments were made to the Article 5 of the Citizenship Law No. 403 (İçduygu, 2004; Kirişçi, 2007). According to the new amendments, "a probation period of 3 years is required for acquiring Turkish citizenship through marriage. Those who have a job incompatible with the marriage and do not share the same house with the spouse will not be able to acquire Turkish citizenship" (MFA, 2011).

These amendments had implications for fighting against irregular migration and protecting immigrants' rights. Previously, foreigners (women) could acquire Turkish citizenship immediately by marrying a Turkish national. "Under new legislation adopted by the Turkish Parliament, foreigners who are married to Turkish citizens will be able to become citizens of the Turkish Republic three years after their marriage" (İçduygu, 2009a: 13).

During these three first years of marriage, the family will be subjected to police procedures and control in order to ensure that this marriage is not an arranged one. "Under the previous legislation, many irregular women migrants obtained their residence and work permits via arranged marriages" (İçduygu, 2009a: 13). For example,

Sokullu-Akinci (2006: 164) points to the fact that "some Russian prostitutes in Turkey attempt to evade extradition by paying Turkish men to marry them". The new law is an important tool in the struggle against human trafficking in Turkey, because it helps prevent arranged marriages which sometimes lead to the exploitation of a spouse. Thus, the law aims to reduce the number of trafficking cases in Turkey.

5.5. State's Response to Human Trafficking in Turkey

Turkey's response to human trafficking can be divided into two categories: state level response and non-state level response. State level response includes police, diplomatic, legislative, government, and educational response. Non-state level response includes the activities of anti-trafficking NGOs and individual initiatives aimed at curbing human trafficking. Turkey's efforts to combat human trafficking are summarized in Table 18.

Table 18. **Turkey's Response to Human Trafficking.**

STATE LEVEL		**NON-STATE LEVEL**	
Police response	- police operations - joint working groups with foreign law enforcement - cooperation with NGOs and IOM in victims identification	*NGO/civil society response*	- development of public information campaigns - opening shelters for victims of human trafficking and providing psychological assistance to them
Diplomatic response	- bilateral anti-trafficking agreements - multilateral anti-trafficking initiatives within the frameworks of NATO, OSCE and Council of Europe	*Individual response*	- donating to support Human Resources Development Foundation (İKGV) and Women's Solidarity Foundation (KDV)
Legislative response	- participating in international conventions - adapting national legislature to international standards		

Table 18 (cont'd).

STATE LEVEL		NON-STATE LEVEL	
Government response	- National Task Force on Combating Human Trafficking - creating the Illegal Migration Office in the Bureau for Foreigners, Borders, and Asylum - application of humanitarian visa and short-term residence - municipality-run victims shelters, free medical care and legal counseling - "Alo 157" helpline for victims of human trafficking		
Educational response	- public information campaigns targeting potential victims of trafficking - trafficking-related information campaigns and training for the military deployed abroad		

5.5.1. State Level Response

Police response

The Turkish police response to human trafficking can be considered quite efficient. "In terms of prosecution of traffickers, the Government of Turkey continued aggressive investigation, prosecution, and conviction of trafficking offenders during the reporting period" (US TIP Report 2010: 328). In 2009, the government continued tHE implementation of Article 80, convicting 23 suspects under its specific anti-trafficking article, compared to 13 in 2008. "Of the 23 trafficking suspects convicted, two received sentences of 11 to 12 years, eight received sentences of nine to 10 years, seven received

sentences of six to eight years, five received sentences of four to six years, and one received a sentence of one to two years" (US TIP Report 2010: 328).

The Turkish law enforcement also holds workshops with the Russian police as it was mentioned in the previous chapter on Russia (Ministry of the Interior, 2007). Moreover, it develops cooperation with anti-trafficking NGOs and IOM in such aspects as trafficking victims identification and victims assistance (Arslan and et al., 2006; National Institute of Justice, 2007). It also develops cooperation with foreign law enforcement, mostly that of the countries of origin. For example, in 2007 "as a result of the international operation called "Orchid," with the involvement of 100 police, 40 victims were rescued and 65 suspects were apprehended" (National Institute of Justice, 2007). Therefore, the Turkish police response to human trafficking is multi-dimensional and serves the transnational needs.

Diplomatic response

There are also significant efforts to fight human trafficking through international cooperation. For the purpose of combating human trafficking, Turkey signed cooperation protocols with Belarus in 2004, with Georgia, Ukraine, Bulgaria and Azerbaijan in 2005, and with Moldova and Kyrgyzstan in 2006 (ARIADNE, 2011). The Turkish government proposed to sign similar agreements with all major source countries for human trafficking. No response has been received from Uzbekistan, Romania and the Russian Federation so far.

In addition to these bilateral agreements, Turkey also participates in the international initiatives under the auspices of NATO, OSCE, the Council of Europe, BSEC, the Budapest and Bali processes, SECI and the Bern Initiative (Arslan and et al., 2006: 24). In cooperation with IOM, Turkey also established a project for collecting

information on human trafficking in the Black Sea region. "Turkey has also signed a protocol on cooperation with the International Migration Policy Development Centre (ICMPD), and became a member of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) on 30 November 2004" (Arslan and et al., 2006: 24).

The main problems that exist in the diplomatic response are lack of a bilateral agreement with Russia as one of the primary source countries. However, it is probably the reluctance of the Russian party to sign such an agreement that hampers the progress. Other areas of concern include lack of efforts of the Turkish diplomatic personnel in source countries to launch any public information campaigns.

Legislative response

Legislative response can be divided into international and national anti-trafficking legislature. In terms of international law, Turkey ratified the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (Palermo) and its two additional Protocols on Trafficking in Human Beings and Smuggling of Migrants in 2003. This has facilitated the process of adopting the national laws on human trafficking to the international standards. As mentioned in the previous section, Turkey implemented a new Criminal Code in 2005 containing the updated definition of human trafficking in Article 80. It also passed new laws on work permits and citizenship in 2003 aimed at reducing the number of trafficking cases.

The Turkish National Security Council (NSC) also participated in the creation of a new legislation (Düvell and Volmer, 2009: 19). "Notably in 2002, the NSC adapted a resolution, which addressed the combat of this kind of migration with a specific focus on networks and organized crime". This was an important step because it took into account the transnational nature of modern human trafficking. Turkey has also signed

the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (CETS) in March 2009. Nowadays, the Turkish legislature on human trafficking corresponds to international and EU norms, which is a very positive achievement.

Government response

The Turkish Government is making significant efforts to turn the struggle against human trafficking into a national policy priority. In the US Trafficking in Persons Report 2010, Turkey was placed on tier 2 which includes "countries whose governments do not fully comply with the TVPA's minimum standards but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards" (US TIP Report 2010). Turkey has been on tier 2 since 2005 when it was upgraded from tier 3 due to positive changes in the anti-trafficking policy. According to the US TIP Report (2010: 327),

> The Government of Turkey does not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking; however, it is making significant efforts to do so. The government expanded use of its anti-trafficking law, aggressively prosecuted sex trafficking offenders, established a third trafficking shelter in the country, and improved its capacity to identify potential sex trafficking victims.

It is relevant to mention that the Turkish government is motivated in its struggle against human trafficking by the ongoing process of accession to the EU. According to Perner (2008: 15), "since Turkey is trying to become a member of the European Union after the Helsinki Summit in December 1999, irregular migration is one of the hottest, most delicate topics in the EU-Turkish relations". İçduygu and Yükseker (2008: 7) also point to the fact that in order to comply with the EU accession demands, Turkey implemented more strict policies on human trafficking by increasing penalties for this type of crime. A number of groundbreaking initiatives have taken place since then. "Most strikingly the Interior Ministry officials together with the Gendarmerie were able

to make arrangements with a nongovernmental organisation, Human Resources Development Foundation … and the Directorate General of the Status of Woman" (Kirişçi, 2004: 9). This shows the degree of cooperation between the government and NGOs which is a very significant achievement for the overall progress in countering human trafficking.

Furthermore, a National Task Force on Combating Human Trafficking was established in 2002 under the chairmanship of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA, 2011). "NTF convenes every two months in Ankara with the participation of relevant institutions/organizations" (UNODC, 2009: 289). The National Task Force on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings comprises representatives from several Ministries, Institutions, International Organizations and NGOs. "A National Action Plan on Combating THB prepared by the National Task Force was approved by the Office of Prime Minister in 2003. The Second National Action Plan has been prepared within the context of "The Project of Strengthening Institutions in the Fight against Trafficking in Human Beings" (MFA, 2011).

Another "step in the direction of efficiency increasing was to establish a new department in the Ministry of Interior, responsible for irregular migration – the Illegal Migration Office in the Bureau for Foreigners, Borders, and Asylum" (Perner, 2008: 38). In order to ensure that victims of human trafficking are permitted to reside in Turkey for a specific time period during their treatment, care, and legal processes, the implementation of the Application of Humanitarian Visa and Short-term Residence (for six months) has been started (Arslan and et al., 2006: 26). "Humanitarian visa and short term residence permits are issued to victims in order to enable them to stay legally in Turkey during their rehabilitation period" (MFA, 2011). Foreign victims may apply for humanitarian visas and remain in Turkey up to six months with the option to extend for

an additional six months. However, the US TIP Report claims that in 2010 no such visas were requested (2010: 329). In April 2009, "police also signed an agreement with translators to provide broader translation services during interviews of potential victims" (US TIP Report 2010: 329).

In terms of victim assistance, significant changes have taken place as well. "Voluntary return of the victims is provided safely with the cooperation of law enforcement officials, IOM, relevant institutions in the source country and local NGOs. 543 victims were voluntarily returned in cooperation with IOM since 2005 (MFA, 2011). According to the Cabinet Decision 2003-6565, January 2004, free medical care is given to victims of human trafficking. Bar associations also extend voluntary free legal counseling to victims of trafficking.

Another important achievement is establishing an emergency toll-free helpline for victims of human trafficking that came to be known as "*Alo 157*" (Avcı and Kirişçi, 2008: 235). "The line is operational with full service 7 days a week, 24 hours a day, and can be reached by dialing 157 from anywhere in Turkey, including from mobile phones" (Arslan and et al., 2006: 80). The Line also provides information to individuals who are under the risk of human trafficking, including procedures for visas and safe return of victimized migrants to their home countries. The services of the Help Line are provided in, at a minimum, Russian, Romanian, English and Turkish (Arslan and et al., 2006: 80). The helpline became operational for international calls (+90312 157 11 22) in April 2007 (MFA, 2011).

Most recent statistics on the use of the helpline is available from IOM office in Ankara. In 2010, total number of registered calls reached 1635, of which 397 were direct rescue requests (IOM, 2010). 53% of rescue requests came from the victims' Turkish clients in 2010. However, in 2010, no victims of trafficking (VOTs) were

rescued through 157 helpline, compared to 13 VOTs rescued in 2009 (IOM 2010). This could mean that even if victims of human trafficking were identified, it was too difficult to locate them in order to rescue them.

Within the framework of the anti-trafficking project, victim shelters were opened in Turkey. Shelters became operational in Istanbul in 2004, Ankara in 2005, and Antalya in 2009. "The shelter in Istanbul is run by the Human Resources Development Foundation (HRDF). HRDF has assisted 350 trafficked persons as of 2007. The Ankara Shelter, managed by the Foundation for Women's Solidarity since November 2004, has assisted 136 victims as of 2007" (IOM, 2008b: 45). The shelter in Antalya opened in July 2009 is run by the local municipality. Judicial, psychological and medical counseling is ensured to the victims in these shelters (MFA, 2011).

Educational response

The first public awareness campaign with the title "Have you seen my mother?" was launched on 2 February 2006 with the contribution of IOM and the coordination of the Turkish Government (IOM, 2008b: 46). It was noticed that one in three women trafficked to Turkey has children (National Institute of Justice, 2007). So, the campaign was aimed at trafficked victims who are mothers and informed about the dangers of human trafficking and its negative impacts on family relations. The distribution of the passport inserts is still ongoing at the seaports, airports, and border gates (IOM, 2008b: 46). In 2005, 100.000 Turkish, 25.000 English and 25.000 Russian "Fighting against THB" (*Türkiye İnsan Ticareti ile Mücadele Ediyor*) brochures were prepared and circulated to police stations throughout Turkey and to cities with high rate of human trafficking cases (MFA, 2011).

There have also been efforts to raise awareness among the Turkish military and police officials about the rules concerning victim identification and assistance. According to the US TIP Report (2010: 329), "the Turkish government provided antitrafficking training to its military personnel prior to their deployment abroad for international peacekeeping duties". In the final analysis, the Turkish state level efforts in its struggle against human trafficking are extensive and have brought positive results.

5.5.2. Non-state Level Response

The two most prominent anti-trafficking NGOs in Turkey are Human Resources Development Foundation (*İnsan Kaynağını Geliştirme Vakfı* - İKGV) and Women's Solidarity Foundation (*Kadın Dayanışma Vakfı* - KDV). These NGOs are characterized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as "the two civil society organizations working effectively in the field of fight against human trafficking in Turkey" (MFA, 2007: 16).

Human Resources Development Foundation (HRDF) is a non-profit non-governmental organization founded in Istanbul in 1988. Its aim is to "promote reproductive health and family planning education, information, training and services as well as their empowerment of the human resource" (İKGV, 2011b). "As the first NGO member of the National Task Force on Combating Human Trafficking, the Human Resource Development Foundation (HRDF) has carried out significant studies in combating human trafficking" (Arslan and et al., 2006: 79). According to Arslan and et al., (2006: 79), these include:

- Establishment, operation and support of the first shelter home for victims of human trafficking in Turkey,
- Organizing training activities for the members of the judiciary and law enforcement units on human trafficking,
- Ensuring international cooperation on human trafficking,
- Collecting and promulgating data and information on human trafficking,
- Carrying out advocacy activities for prevention of human trafficking,
- Undertaking initiative in safe return

Most importantly, HRDF opened the first shelter for the victims of human trafficking in Istanbul in 2004. The shelter provides psychological and medical assistance to the rescued victims, as well as helps them develop communication skills and return safely to their community.

As HRDF is a nonprofit organization, it has to finance itself through donations and fund raising. On the organization's website it is possible to make a donation by bank transfer. "Although the organization would need the funding and support of the government, HRDF has reservations against accepting financial aid from Turkey. The reason could be that the NGO is in fear of losing its independence and non-governmental status" (Perner, 2008: 36). However, HRDF develops active cooperation with government agencies such as Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Health, General Directorate of Security, General Commandership of Gendarmes, and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (İKGV, 2011b). It also collaborates with EU, British Council and Catholic Relief Services and receives some of its funding from these organizations (İKGV, 2011b).

The Women's Solidarity Foundation (KDV) is a non-profit organization founded in Ankara in 1993. Its aim is to "fight all kinds of violence against women, especially domestic violence and human trafficking" (KDV, 2011). The organization is funded by foreign and domestic donors. KDV, which also takes part in the National Task Force on Combating Human Trafficking, opened a women's shelter for victims of human trafficking in Ankara on 1 September, 2005 within the scope of a 9-month project with technical support from the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and financial support from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), the US Government, and the Municipality of Greater Ankara (Perner, 2008: 37).

The shelter in Ankara is designed for 12 women and children and it has Russian and Romanian native speakers working as interpreters there (KDV, 2011). All victims are given a health check at the hospital where necessary treatment is provided, and all can get legal counseling if desired. “In addition, all victims suffering from trauma are provided with psychological counseling and, when necessary, psychiatric support at the shelter. The shelter provides safe accommodation and transport provisions to victims, together with activities to promote their rehabilitation” (Arslan and et al., 2006: 79-80). In the years 2005 to 2010, a total of 193 women and 6 children were given assistance in the KDV shelter (KDV, 2011). Individual assistance to victims of human trafficking can also be done through private donations.

5.6. Conclusion

Turkey is faced with a threat of human trafficking on all fronts. Most serious challenge is represented by trafficking for sexual exploitation, especially that of foreign citizens. However, Turkey has demonstrated significant efforts in its struggle against human trafficking and has launched a number of campaigns to curb this problem. Under the pressure of the international community, Turkey adopted its anti-trafficking legislature to the international and EU standards. It created a National Task Force on Combating Human Trafficking and increased cooperation between government institutions and NGOs. Turkey has demonstrated significant efforts to develop a strict policy on human trafficking through new laws on work permits and citizenship, as well as the activity of its law enforcement.

According to Kirişçi (2007: 27), “there are numerous reasons for the lack of progress. Most important one is the uncertainty over Turkey’s prospects EU membership”. The EU accession requires strict policy on human trafficking, and the

Turkish officials are worried that their efforts and financial burden are in vain. Yet, even if motivated by possible EU accession, these policy changes have had many positive effects for the victims of human trafficking in Turkey. Legislation has been modified, new shelters have been opened, and the personnel are being trained for victim identification and assistance. Some more time is needed to put all anti-trafficking initiatives into practice.

In the overall assessment, Turkey's efforts in the struggle against human trafficking should not be underestimated. "Turkey has demonstrated strong political will to tackle asylum, irregular migration, and human trafficking and smuggling, as well as their labor consequences" (İçduygu, 2009a: 11). Most importantly, given the transnational nature of modern human trafficking, Turkey was able to develop a high degree of cooperation between Turkish and foreign law enforcement, as well as anti-trafficking NGOs. Thus sub-state and non-state actors work together and form an efficient balance. All these changes contribute to Turkey's better response to the threat of transnational human trafficking as one of the consequences of globalization. The last chapter will focus on comparing Russia and Turkey's policies on human trafficking in terms of the state's response to a transnational security threat. Specific policy areas will also be analyzed in order to find solutions to the existing problems. Finally, new policy recommendations on the human trafficking issue for the Russian and Turkish governments will also be suggested.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The present study aimed to answer the following research question: "What is the states' response to transnationalism in terms of their dealing with human trafficking networks?" For the purposes of this study, the author compared the cases of Russia and Turkey as different examples of a state's response to a transnational security threat. The basic conclusion that can be made from this analysis is that Russia and Turkey's responses to human trafficking have been very different, although they still share some similarities that will be discussed further. There are at least two reasons why these responses have been so different. First, it is the degree of the international pressure that determined the state's willingness to take human trafficking challenge seriously or the absence of such. For example, Turkey was under more pressure because of its potential EU membership which urged the government to push for more reforms. In the Russian case, despite the international pressure, the state was reluctant to make more efforts in combating human trafficking because of lack of motivation. Second, and this is our hypothesis, the degree of the state's success in its anti-trafficking policy is influenced by the political regime of this state. In a more democratic state, which in this study is

represented by the example of Turkey, non-state actors such as NGOs have more opportunities to make their voices heard. For example, they can engage in legislative lobbying and thus facilitate the adoption of new laws on human trafficking. In contrast, in more authoritarian states such as Russia, there are very strict laws on the registration and activity of NGOs, which results in very slow progress in the government policies on human trafficking. Thus, international pressure and political regime are the two intervening variables that have an impact on the state's response to the transnational security threat of human trafficking. The following subsections will elaborate further on these theoretical issues, as well as provide some policy recommendations for Russia and Turkey in their struggle against human trafficking.

6.1. Comparing the Cases of Russia and Turkey

6.1.1. Similarities in Russia and Turkey's Responses to Human Trafficking

First of all, Russia and Turkey are both origin, transit and destination countries for human trafficking. Moreover, they are both migrant-receiving countries which have adopted migrant-attractive policies and lax visa policies with certain countries in particular. Interestingly, visas between Russia and Turkey were also cancelled in April 2011, which opens new horizons for migration of their citizens. Unfortunately, this decision might also lead to more cases of human trafficking in the future. Although in general Russia and Turkey's responses to human trafficking have been different (see Chapters 4 and 5), some similarities also exist. These similarities mainly pertain to those areas of state response which have proved to be most active for both countries, such as police, legislative and NGO responses. The following subsections will examine these similarities in more detail.

Police Response

Both Russia and Turkey have demonstrated high degrees of police involvement in the struggle against human trafficking. The Russian and Turkish Ministries of the Interior are active participants in the process of victims identification and trafficker's persecution. For example, as it was mentioned in Chapter 4, the Russian law enforcement conducts joint operations with its foreign counterparts, especially those of the CIS countries. Turkey also participates in joint workshops and operations with the law enforcement agencies of the foreign countries. Since such cooperation is held on the substate level, it can be considered an example of 'statist transnationalism' as a response to the threat of human trafficking. Therefore, both states have made an attempt to respond to a transnational security threat by transnational means.

Legislative Response

Although Turkey's legislative response to human trafficking was by far more successful than that of Russia, some similarities are there as well. First, both Russia and Turkey joined the United Convention against Transnational Organized Crime together with its protocols on trafficking and smuggling adopted in 2000 (ratified by Russia in 2004 and Turkey in 2003). This was an important step in the anti-trafficking process for both countries because accession to the Convention has facilitated the process of adapting the national legislature to the international standards. Subsequently, amendments were introduced in the Russian Criminal Code in 2003 and 2008, and Turkey implemented a new Criminal Code with updated definitions of human trafficking in 2005. However, neither of the countries adopted a separate law on combating human trafficking as of 2011. Second, both countries also participate in

regional legislative initiatives. In the case of Russia, these are mostly the initiatives within the CIS framework such as the Cooperation Agreement of the CIS Member States on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, Organs and Tissues signed in Moscow in 2005. Similarly, in the case of Turkey most initiatives are developed under the auspices of NATO, OSCE and Council of Europe.

NGO Response

In terms of the NGO response, certain similarities can also be observed. Both Russia and Turkey have two most prominent anti-trafficking NGOs that are engaged in public information campaigns, victims assistance and other activities. These are the Angel Coalition and the MiraMed Institute in the case of Russia, and Human Resources Development Foundation (HRDF) and Women's Solidarity Foundation (WSF) in the case of Turkey. Interestingly, in both cases these organizations have their headquarters in two major cities of the country: Moscow and St. Petersburg in the Russian case, and Istanbul and Ankara in the Turkish case. This can be considered a positive development, because anti-trafficking activities are not concentrated in these countries' capitals only. Both the Russian and Turkish NGOs have managed to open shelter for the victims of human trafficking (a shelter in Moscow co-financed by the Angel Coalition and the MiraMed Institute, a shelter in Istanbul funded by HRDF, and a shelter in Ankara sponsored by WSF). Moreover, the Russian NGO the Angel Coalition also managed to operate a hotline for the victims of human trafficking, whereas the Turkish emergency anti-trafficking hotline "Alo 157" continues to be funded by the International Organization for Migration.

Individual Response

In terms of individual-level response, both Russian and Turkish civil society has remained relatively inactive. No individual anti-trafficking projects or even websites were launched in the reporting period. Individual activity in the struggle against human trafficking is limited to private donations to the NGOs and sometimes volunteering for research in them. However, since human trafficking needs a well-institutionalized response, probably even if individual anti-trafficking projects were created, they would not prove to be very effective. Similarities in Russia and Turkey's responses to human trafficking are summarized in Table 19 below.

Table 19. **Similarities in Russia and Turkey's Responses to Human Trafficking.**

Police Response	- active involvement of the law enforcement in the struggle against human trafficking in both cases - international cooperation of law enforcement units
Legislative Response	- both joined the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime - both participating in the regional initiatives on countering human trafficking - both adapting national legislature to the international standards, though each having a different degree of success - neither having a separate federal law on combating human trafficking
NGO Response	- development and implementation of public information campaigns - opening shelters for the victims of trafficking and protecting their rights
Individual Response	- very little individual-level initiatives on combating human trafficking in both cases, limited only to financial assistance to NGOs and sometimes volunteering

6.1.2. Differences in Russia and Turkey's Responses to Human Trafficking

Russia and Turkey's responses to human trafficking have received different evaluation in the US Trafficking in Persons Report 2010. Thus, Russia was put on Tier-

Two Watch List, whereas Turkey was ranked Tier-Two. The difference between the two categories is quite significant, because Tier-Two Watch List is designed for those countries in which there are increasing numbers of victims of human trafficking observed. For example, such countries as Afghanistan, Central African Republic, China, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Tajikistan and Thailand are also on the Tier-Two Watch List for their lack of anti-trafficking efforts. In contrast, Tier-Two includes those countries that are making significant efforts to put themselves into compliance with international norms on human trafficking and especially the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) adopted by the US government in 2000.

Furthermore, Turkey can be categorized as migrant-sending country, which makes its citizens particularly vulnerable to trafficking for labor exploitation abroad. In contrast, Russia is a source country for sexual exploitation only. Most cases of forced labor inside Russia involve the exploitation of foreign citizens, while in the case of Turkey the same is true for forced prostitution of foreign nationals. This is supposed to make differences in these state's government policies on human trafficking. For example, Turkey is implementing a multi-dimensional approach which encompasses countering all types of trafficking. "Although human trafficking in Turkey seems to involve sexual exploitation of women, Turkey's strategy on combating human trafficking includes all forms of human trafficking" (MFA, 2007: 4). However, Russia does not have any official approach or strategy on combating human trafficking, and current activities are mainly exercised by the Russian police treating victims of trafficking as ordinary illegal migrants.

It can also be argued that the degree of international pressure is different in the cases of Russia and Turkey. Although both states ratified the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime which brought about changes in the national legislature,

still Turkey had better motivation for taking the challenge of human trafficking seriously. This is explained by Turkey's potential EU membership which pushed the government for more reforms. Russia had no reasons for pursuing a more strict policy on human trafficking rather than the security of its own citizens which does not seem to be a priority for the current Russian leadership. Therefore, the Russian government remained inactive in its anti-trafficking efforts and developed no official strategy or plan on combating human trafficking. Degree of international pressure represents the intervening variable in the causal relationship between transnationalism and state's response to human trafficking. Specific differences in Russia and Turkey's responses to human trafficking are summarized in Table 20.

Table 20. **Differences in Russia and Turkey's Responses to Human Trafficking[5].**

TYPE OF RESPONSE	RUSSIA	TURKEY
Police Response	- lack of cooperation with anti-trafficking NGOs in the victims identification process	- successful cooperation with NGOs and IOM in victims identification
Diplomatic Response	- no bilateral anti-trafficking agreements with other countries	- bilateral anti-trafficking agreements with Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bulgaria, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, and Ukraine
	- diplomatic cooperation through the activity of police attachés accredited to the Russian embassies abroad	- no significant anti-trafficking efforts of the diplomatic personnel
Legislative Response	- The Criminal Code and to some extent the Law "On Government Protection of Victims…" are the only legislative acts aimed at curbing human trafficking	- The Criminal Code, Law on Work Permits, and Citizenship Law are the legislative acts that make up a framework for counter-trafficking activity

[5] More successful response is marked by darker color in the table.

Table 20 (cont'd).

TYPE OF RESPONSE	RUSSIA	TURKEY
Government Response	- was put on the Tier-Two Watch List for the seventh consecutive year by the US TIP Report 2010, which means that the number of victims of trafficking is currently increasing and there is a failure to provide evidence of the increasing government efforts (US TIP Report 2010)	- was ranked Tier-Two by the US TIP Report 2010, which means that the government is making significant efforts to bring itself into compliance with the international norms (US TIP Report 2010)
	- no official anti-trafficking institution	- National Task Force on Combating Human Trafficking, also the Illegal Migration Office in the Bureau for Foreigners, Borders, and Asylum
	- lack of government funding for victims shelters and victims assistance	- at least one municipality-run victims shelter in Antalya, free medical care and legal counseling for victims of trafficking
	- strict policy for the NGO registration according to the Law "On Introducing Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts" adopted in 2006	- a more democratic environment for the NGO functioning according to the Associations Law of 2004 and the Foundations Law of 2008 (ICNL, 2011b)
	- no specific humanitarian visa rights for the victims of human trafficking	- application of humanitarian visa and short-term residence for the trafficked victims
	- government and police corruption (ranked 146th out of 180 in the Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index, 2009)	- relatively uncorrupt government (ranked 61 out of 180 in the Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index, 2009)
Educational Response	- no state-sponsored public information campaigns on the dangers of human trafficking	- public information campaigns targeting potential victims of trafficking

	- no trafficking-related training for the military	- trafficking-related information campaigns and training for the military deployed abroad
NGO Response	- lack of cooperation with law enforcement agencies	- successful cooperation with law enforcement
	- ineffective legislative lobbying	- participation in legislative lobbying, though unable to push the government for new anti-trafficking laws (KDV, 2011)

6.2. Theoretical Implications

6.2.1. 'Statist Transnationalism' – a Viable Solution?

One of the questions posed in the beginning of this thesis was whether the state is able to adapt to new transnational security challenges such as human trafficking. The evidence provided above suggests that states that fully understand the need to respond to these challenges are actually adapting. In order to address these new transnational security challenges, efforts are made by the states to encourage cooperation at transnational level as well. Here we can talk of the emerging signs of 'statist transnationalism' (Aydınlı, 2010; Aydınlı and Yön, 2011), which basically means that transnational cooperation between substate units is not completely autonomous, but is regulated and encouraged by the state itself as a means to increase policy effectiveness. For example, cooperation between anti-trafficking NGOs, governments and municipalities discussed above can be an example of substate contacts. Therefore, in the transnational security realm, the role of state is still very visible. As demonstrated by the cases of Russia and Turkey, some states can adapt to transnational security challenges more effectively than others. Turkey was able to maintain cooperation between its law enforcement and NGOs which is an example of a truly transnational contact. In contrast,

Russia's efforts have been limited to law enforcement activities with some examples of international police cooperation, which is not enough for a successful response to a transnational security threat.

Thus, this thesis contributed to the study of transnationalism and 'statist transnationalism' in particular by examining its impact on the state's response to a transnational security threat of human trafficking. What is new about this approach is the use of comparative cases method in order to see if different states' responses to human trafficking have also been different and why. Some studies have examined the human trafficking policies in Turkey from the perspective of Institutionalism (Perner, 2008), but no comparative cases studies implementing the Transnationalist approach currently exist, so the present study is going to be a pioneer in this field. It is possible to enrich this study by examining the impact of transnationalism on the state's approach to other transnational security challenges such as terrorism, cybercrime, environmental degradation, or drug trafficking. The use of comparative cases method would allow such studies to collect more new data on these security problems and develop new solutions for them in different countries.

6.2.2. Political Regime and Its Impact on Human Trafficking Policies

In the process of this study, two intervening variables have been discovered by the author: international pressure and political regime. Our assumption is that state's adaptability to security threats is to some extent defined by the pressure of international community and the state's political regime. Democracies represent a more flexible state mechanism that is able to organize and maintain cooperation of its substate units which is crucial to addressing transnational challenges. Moreover, in more democratic states non-state actors such as NGOs have more opportunities to influence policy-making

through legislative lobbying, while non-state actors in non-democratic states are deprived of such opportunities. More authoritarian states are unable to adapt to new transnational security environment because their substate units if such exist are not autonomous enough to engage in any kind of independent activity. Even if the cooperation of substate entities is supposed to be regulated by the state, autocracies lack institutional mechanisms to put such activities into practice. Thus, political regime represents a second intervening variable together with international pressure mentioned above. The mechanism of this causal relationship is shown in Figure 1.

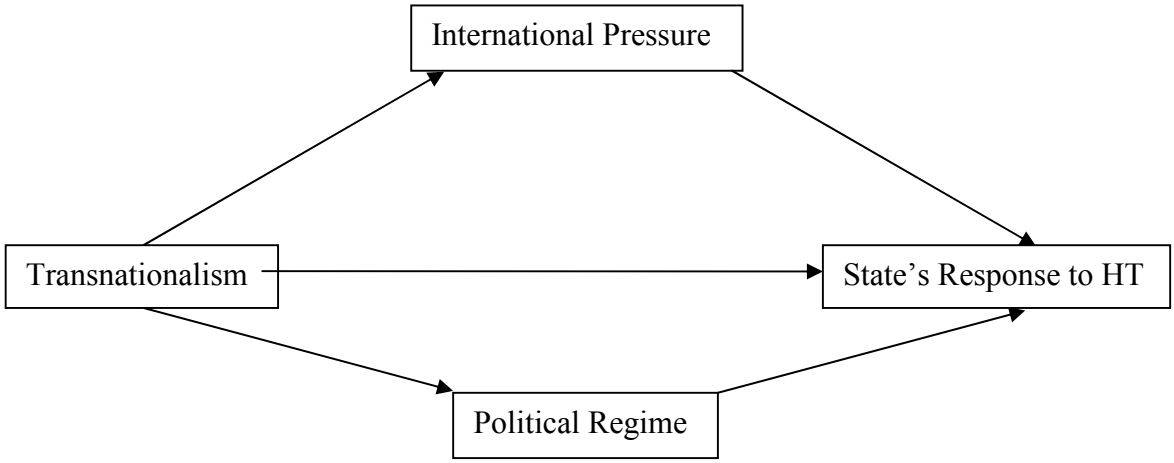

Figure 1. **The Impact of Transnationalism on the State's Response to Human Trafficking.**

This theoretical assumption helps us explain why Turkey as a more democratic state is more adaptive to transnational challenge of human trafficking than Russia as a more authoritarian state. In Turkey, anti-trafficking NGOs were able to establish contacts with law enforcement in the victims identification process, which has brought positive results. Furthermore, the Turkish NGOs reportedly participated in the legislative lobbying for the new laws on combating human trafficking, which was

discussed in the previous chapter. In contrast, Russian NGOs were ineffective in legislative lobbying, and also failed to develop contacts with the Russian police.

Thus, this study is also new in arguing that the state's political regime can have an effect on its policies on human trafficking. This assumption can be further developed by doing comparative cases using other countries, one democratic and one authoritarian, to see how they differ in terms of anti-trafficking policies. The degree on international pressure should also be taken into account when trying to understand why this or that country demonstrates more willingness to take human trafficking challenge seriously. Some experimental studies can also examine the impact of the state's political regime on its policies on terrorism or other transnational challenges. However, Transnationalist theoretical framework should also be incorporated in such studies.

6.3. Policy Implications

6.3.1. Policy Recommendations for Russia

Certain policy recommendations can be proposed to the Russian government in order to increase the effectiveness of its struggle against human trafficking. However, the most serious drawbacks of the institutional system such as government corruption and lack of financing are the first items on the agenda. Therefore, successful struggle against human trafficking is impossible without new measures to combat corruption and probably financial assistance of IOs in the anti-trafficking campaigns. Such financial aid packages could put Russia under more international pressure and ultimately stimulate more anti-trafficking efforts made by the government. More specifically, for the Russian government it is recommended:

- *to develop a comprehensive national plan for combating human trafficking;*

This is very important because with no such plan the activities of different institutions are much dispersed and have no specific aims. The plan should include the detailed strategy explaining how Russia is going to fight human trafficking and set particular deadlines for each step.

- *to establish an official anti-trafficking coordinating body;*

This is also key because such a body could help coordinate the activity of the law enforcement agencies, help them exchange data on human trafficking and maintain cooperation between them. Its official website could also serve the purpose of informing the population of Russia about dangers of human trafficking, and also provide the opportunities for reporting crimes anonymously.

- *to propose bilateral anti-trafficking agreements to other countries that are heavily affected by trafficking;*

Russia currently has no such agreements signed, and all cooperation aimed at curbing human trafficking remains under the CIS framework. However, bilateral agreements with foreign law enforcement could be more effective because they would allow exchange of data on trafficked victims and traffickers, and thus facilitate the prosecution process.

- *to include NGOs and IOs more effectively in the victims identification process;*

This would make the trafficking victims identification process more effective because the Russian police sometimes fail to identify victims of human trafficking and treat them as illegal migrants. Coordination teams including police officers and NGO personnel could work together in the trafficking victims rescue operations. Such cooperation between the state, IOs and NGOs will provide a more successful response to transnational security challenges because of its own transnational character.

- *to provide funding from the federal or regional budgets to anti-trafficking NGOs and IOM;*

Anti-trafficking NGOs should receive financial support from the government at least in its public information campaigns and shelter activities. This would prevent trafficking victims shelters from closure as it happened to the IOM shelter in Moscow in 2009. Russia is currently left without a shelter for the victims of human trafficking, which is a very significant drawback.

- *to increase punishment for government and police officials involved in the trafficking cases;*

According to the Article 127[1] of the Russian Criminal Code, human trafficking committed "by a person using the authority of his official position" is punished by imprisonment for 3 to 10 years. In contrast, in the Turkish Criminal Code such crime is punished by 8 to 12 years of imprisonment, which makes a significant difference. The US Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) prescribes imprisonment for life for the trafficking in persons under 14, and imprisonment for up to 20 years for trafficking in persons under 18 (U.S. Dept. of State, 2000). Compared to these laws, the Russian punishment for human trafficking looks much lighter, so supposedly something should be done about it.

- *to provide trafficking victims assistance such as legal and psychological counseling, and medical care;*

The Russian government should consider the possibility of arranging humanitarian visas, free medical care and legal counseling for the victims of human trafficking. None of such services are currently provided by the government, and legal and psychological assistance to the victims of trafficking is given by the anti-trafficking NGOs on their own.

- *to provide training in trafficking victims assistance to police and military officers;*

The Russian police and military should be better informed about human trafficking and methods of recognizing its victims. Public information campaigns for the military forces deployed abroad should also be organized by the government.

- *to raise awareness of human trafficking for people intending to go abroad through public information campaigns;*

The Russian government should organize public information campaigns for the people who are thinking about going abroad, as well as for the schoolchildren and university students. One more suggestion to make these campaigns more effective is to change the current number of the operational hotline run by the Angel Coalition to something that is easier to keep in mind (the current number is 8-800-200-2400). Normally, Russian emergency numbers are two-digit numbers such as 01 for the fire brigade, 02 for police, 03 for the ambulance service, and so on. Probably if the official anti-trafficking hotline number is changed to something that simple, more people would be able to call and report human trafficking crimes exactly from the place they saw it.

- *to encourage Russian popular singers and artists to participate in public information campaigns on human trafficking;*

It would be a good idea for the Russian government to address the representatives of popular culture with a request to organize individual initiatives aimed at curbing human trafficking or raising the public awareness about it. For example, films, video clips, painting exhibitions, sculpture exhibitions and contests dedicated to this topic can be made. Revenues collected from these activities could be used for donating the NGOs or financing new victims shelters. All these activities, if honestly implemented, could make Russia's response to human trafficking more successful.

6.3.2. Policy Recommendations for Turkey

Some recommendations can also be proposed to the Turkish government. Although government response has proved to be effective in general, some policy areas need certain changes and revision. These include diplomatic response in particular, since the Turkish diplomatic personnel does not organize any public information campaigns for the local population even when staying in the major source countries of human trafficking such as Russia. More specifically, for the Turkish government it is recommended:

- *to improve the activities of the diplomatic personnel accredited to the Turkish embassies abroad so that more attention is paid to public information campaigns on human trafficking*

This could be made through organizing workshops and conferences on the dangers of human trafficking for the local scientific community, issuing leaflets for the local citizens going to Turkey for tourism and work in order to inform them about human trafficking issues, or making speeches at the local universities dedicated to the problem of human trafficking. Such directives should be given especially to the diplomatic personnel accredited to the Turkish embassies and consulates in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Kazan.

- *to continue negotiations with Russia on the possibility of signing a bilateral anti-trafficking cooperation agreement*

More efforts should be made in this direction because the absence of such agreement seriously handicaps the cooperation of both countries in combating human trafficking. Two possible cooperation agreements can be proposed to the Russian government: an intergovernmental cooperation agreement, and a cooperation agreement of the law enforcement units. This could facilitate better information exchange between the two

governments on victims of human trafficking and the criminal organizations of the traffickers and thus contribute to better response to human trafficking.

- *to provide more incentives for trafficking victims to cooperate with the police;*

Currently many detained victims of human trafficking refuse to cooperate with the Turkish police for fear of being punished by their traffickers (US TIP Report 2010: 328). Therefore, better witness protection measures should be taken by the government in order to ensure that victims agree to participate in the traffickers' prosecutions.

- *to suggest new draft legislature on combating human trafficking and increase the effectiveness of legislative lobbying conducted by the NGOs*

The anti-trafficking NGOs should come up with new legislative initiatives and propose them to the Parliament so that better laws on human trafficking are adopted. For this purpose, it is important that NGOs hire high-qualified lawyers who are able to create draft legislature projects.

- *to encourage the Turkish pop singers and artists to engage in public information campaigns on human trafficking*

The Turkish civil society should be encouraged to create individual projects and campaigns aimed at informing the society about human trafficking. Once again, films and music videos made by famous artists could be a good solution, because they reach and attract huge audience. TV commercials could also tell the people about the ways they can help to victims of trafficking by donating to the NGOs. These measures could help devise even more efficient strategy for combating human trafficking and ensure that less and less people are affected by this criminal activity.

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