

Borders and Bodies:

Sex Trafficking and the Expansion of the European Union

Becky Lockert

*BA International Relations with a Double Minor in French & Political Science:
Class of 2014*

Eastern and Central Europe have gone through a monumental change since the end of the Cold War. This change has manifested itself in two different, yet connected ways. First, the spread of democracy and economic liberalism has reconnected Eastern and Central Europe with the rest of the continent and ignited their desire to gain membership in the European Union. Secondly, the rapid destruction of standing political regimes created a vacuum wherein poverty and economic hopelessness became widespread in the region. The opening of these regions has created an opportune environment in which human trafficking, primarily for the means of sexual exploitation, has become endemic, targeting the region's most vulnerable. This paper seeks to explore how the expansion of the European Union has affected sex trafficking in Eastern and Central Europe. The argument that will be made is that the EU's eastward expansion has helped create a downward trend in numbers of people trafficked and has, at the same time, displaced the problem further eastward instead of eradicating it; this shows that individual state action has been insufficient and a global governance solution is necessary.

In order to understand the phenomenon of sex trafficking within Europe, it is necessary to understand what sex trafficking is and how it began on the continent. The first part of this paper will define sex trafficking and differentiate it from other forms of trafficking, with the hope

of shedding light on the nature of this modern-day trade. The second section will focus on understanding the problem in the European context by examining how sex trafficking developed after the Cold War and expanded into the twenty-first century. The third section will analyze the situation in Europe during and after the expansions of the EU in 2004 and 2007 with a focus on how these expansions have changed and displaced sex trafficking in Eastern and Central Europe. In conclusion, it will examine how the EU is addressing this problem now and what strategies are necessary for the future.

WHAT IS SEX TRAFFICKING?

The United Nations provides the most commonly accepted definition of human trafficking (within which sex trafficking is addressed). It states that human trafficking is:

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. 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 organs¹

Although this paper focuses on the experiences of women and girls who are trafficked, it is important to note that boys and men are also

¹ UN General Assembly, "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children" in *United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime* (Geneva: United Nations, 2003), 42.

targeted, although to a lesser extent. Victims are generally recruited from Eastern and Central states or regions, including Romania, Bulgaria, Russia, Ukraine, and the Balkans² and transported to EU member states, such as Italy, Germany, France, and the Netherlands, although every member state has trafficking victims within their borders.³ Generally trafficked persons, with the exception of those who have been abducted, begin with the same "intention to either migrate and thus seek work on a temporary basis or to emigrate" away from their home countries.⁴ Traffickers lure in potential victims with offers of jobs abroad – commonly in domestic services or the entertainment industry – who then fall into the hands of traffickers. They are either brought into the destination country illegally or use legal documents (i.e. tourist visas), supplied by the traffickers, and subsequently overstay them. The latter strategy is more common among female victims.⁵ Once in the destination country, the victims are sold to buyers who take away their passports, reveal the true nature of their work, and force the women using coercive and violent means to comply with their demands.⁶ Traffickers often hold their victims in debt-bondage, requiring that the women pay their transportation and acquisition costs before they are released. Unsurprisingly, pimps will often "fine" the women for perceived offenses, or, when someone is close to earning enough to pay off her debt, the pimp will resell the victim, starting her debt anew with another

pimp.⁷ If women escape or are rescued in a police raid, they are often victimized again by the local government when they are accused of prostitution or illegal immigration. If they are not immediately deported to their home country, they sometimes are offered conditional protection dependent on their cooperation in testifying against the trafficker.⁸ This is problematic because the requirement to testify is not often accompanied by support structures that are suitable for trafficking victims. The trafficked women viewed as disposable and replaceable, driving a constant demand for new victims and creating a continual market for traffickers.⁹

Sex trafficking is considered a lucrative and low-risk business, which has led to market domination by transnational organized crime groups. Considering that trafficking is the third largest money-making venture for transnational crime, following illegal weapons and drugs, the extent to which transnational criminal groups have implanted themselves is not surprising.¹⁰ In order to protect their market, traffickers and pimps keep their victims "largely invisible, hidden from publically commodified sex trades."¹¹ The underground nature of the trade has resulted in the availability of few reliable sources for statistics on trafficking. The United States' annual "Trafficking in Persons" report is considered the most accurate source of statistics, but even their data is based on estimates.¹² Furthermore, access to information is stunted. For example, Eurostat, the statistics agency of the EU, does not release its data to the public. Finally, the information that is accessible is often unclear or simply not useful.¹³

² Tanja El-Cherkeh et al., "EU Enlargement, Migration and Trafficking in Women: The Case of South Eastern Europe" (Hamburg: Hamburg Institute of International Economics, 2004), 25; UNODC, *Trafficking in Persons; Analysis on Europe* (Vienna: United Nations, 2009), 11; Gail Kligman and Stephanie Limoncelli, "Trafficking Women after Socialism: To, Through, and From Eastern Europe," *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society* 12 (2005): 124-125.

³ Kligman and Limoncelli, 2005, 125-126.

⁴ El-Cherkeh, 2004, 21.

⁵ Frank Laczko, "New Directions for Migration Policy in Europe," *Philosophical Transactions: Biological Sciences* 357 (April 29, 2002): 602; El-Cherkeh, 2004, 21; Victor Malarek, *The Natashas: The New Global Sex Trade* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2003), 20.

⁶ El-Cherkeh, 2004, 82-83.

⁷ Malarek, 2003, 19.

⁸ El-Cherkeh, 2004, 23-24; Malarek, 2003, 119, 127.

⁹ Malarek, 2003, 4.

¹⁰ Malarek, 2003, 4.

¹¹ Kligman and Limoncelli, 2005, 120.

¹² Laczko, 2002, 602.

¹³ Frank Laczko et al., "Trafficking in Women from Central and Eastern Europe: A Review of Statistical Data," in *Migration Challenges in Central and Eastern Europe* (IOM, International Centre for Policy Development, and Asser Press, 2002), 4.

Considering the difficulty in gathering statistics, it is unsurprising that there are a variety of estimates regarding the total number of people trafficked into Europe. Europol estimates that by the end of the 1990s, several thousand people per year were trafficked into the EU, 90 percent of which were originally from Central and Eastern Europe.¹⁴ The International Organization for Migration (IOM) has a drastically higher estimate of 500,000 people trafficked into Europe and four million people trafficked across the globe annually, making human trafficking a US\$7-12 billion industry.¹⁵ Finally, the United Nations estimate is in the middle of these two extremes, saying that there are at any given time 140,000 victims in Europe with a two-year turnover rate, making the European market worth US\$3 billion annually. The UN concedes that "detecting trends in the number of trafficking victims is difficult, because awareness of the problem and legislation to deal with it is evolving".¹⁶

Another complication with detecting and prosecuting human trafficking is the subtle difference that exists between it and smuggling. Here are three examples of trafficking and smuggling, showcasing how it is often difficult to differentiate between the two phenomena at first glance:

The young Ukrainian women who is promised a job in Italy as a nanny, but ends up as a prostitute in Kosovo, was undeniably trafficked. So, too, was the young Moldovan woman who knew that she would work as a prostitute, but believed she would earn a decent wage and be able to help her family at home. She had not reckoned with being locked up and not paid. She was a victim of trafficking. However, trafficking victims exclude those women who pay a smuggler once or twice a year to help them cross the

border into Italy, for example, to work as prostitutes. Those women do not depend on anyone and, after a few months, return home with enough money to support their families for another six months.¹⁷

Smuggling entails the payment of a smuggler by a migrant for aid in illegal entrance into a country. Trafficking necessarily must include the use of coercion, deception, force, or other violent or dishonest means to transport a person across a border with the intent of exploitation, sexual or otherwise. This definition becomes even more complicated when you consider that sex trafficking can occur even with the individual's consent.¹⁸ A woman who crosses a border with the awareness that she is going to be working in the sex trade, such as the Moldovan woman in the example above, can still be trafficked if she is not aware of the true conditions awaiting her.¹⁹ In general, working in the sex trade is neither desirable nor expected by women who migrate for work; if it were a more attractive option, it can be presumed that more women would migrate for that purpose.²⁰

SEX TRAFFICKING IN EUROPE: 1990-2003

The fall of communism and the Soviet Union marked the beginning of a period of upheaval and change in Eastern and Central Europe. Sex trafficking was an almost immediate effect of the political, social, and economic changes during that time period. According to Kligman and Limoncelli, the fall of the Berlin Wall changed the landscape of Western Europe by introducing scores of Eastern European women to the Western European sex trade.²¹ Rapid democratization, liberalization, and increased militarism, especially in the Balkans, soon destabilized the economies and institutions

¹⁴ Kligman, and Limoncelli, 2005, 126.

¹⁵ El-Cherkeh, 2004, 23.

¹⁶ UNODC, *Trafficking in Persons to Europe for sexual exploitation* (Vienna: United Nations, 2010), 7-8.

¹⁷ Laczko et al., 2002, 3.

¹⁸ Donna M. Hughes, "The 'Natasha' Trade: The Transnational Shadow Market of Trafficking in Women," in *Journal of International Affairs* 53 (Spring 2000): 10.

¹⁹ El-Cherkeh, 2004, 22-23; Malarek, 2003, 18.

²⁰ Hughes, 2000, 11.

²¹ Kligman and Limoncelli, 2005, 119.

of the East; this was accompanied by rapid westward movement of capital and high unemployment rates.²² Women, representing as much as 70 to 80 percent of total unemployed individuals in some of these countries, were the hardest hit by these changes.²³ Organized crime quickly filled the void left by communism and socialism, as the region was a perfectly “unstable environment,” conducive to the development of transnational crime.²⁴ This “shadow economy” became extraordinarily powerful. For example, in Ukraine estimates state that the informal and criminal sectors made up 50 percent of the total national economy during the process of democratization.²⁵

Sex trafficking was fed both by “supply-push factors” and “demand-pull factors.”²⁶ Eastern and Central Europe had scores of women who saw migration as “a means of upward social mobility” and a way to escape the “feminization of poverty” that resulted from free market reforms.²⁷ It was these factors that created a willing supply of economic migrants to the EU.²⁸ On the other hand, demand in the EU for sex services has made trafficking and exploiting these migrants profitable for criminal networks. As in other parts of the world, “men create the demand and women are the supply,” however the European case is differentiated by its unusually large supply of victims.²⁹ Traffickers used the desperation of female migrants to trap and sell them into the sex trade, especially targeting women from Russia, Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria, and Moldova.³⁰

Eastern and Central Europe were truly desperate after

²² *Ibid.*, 119.

²³ Kligman and Limoncelli, 2005, 128-129.

²⁴ El-Cherkeh, 2004, 31.

²⁵ Hughes, 2000, 4.

²⁶ Joyce Outshoorn, “The Political Debates on Prostitution and Trafficking of Women,” in *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society* 12 (2005): 143.

²⁷ Kligman and Limoncelli, 2005, 128-129.

²⁸ El-Cherkeh, 2004, 10, 15; Outshoorn, 2005, 143.

²⁹ Hughes, 2000, 10.

³⁰ UNODC, 2010, 11; Hughes, 2000, 3.

the end of the Cold War. In Moldova, for example, average real wages in 2000 were down 71 percent from 1990 and the average salary was US\$30 a month.³¹ The majority of people (80 percent) lived under the poverty line. Unsurprisingly, more than 20,000 women left Moldova as economic migrants each year.³² This migration was a real need for a better life, which was seen as unobtainable in their home country.³³ It was an effective strategy – when it worked. According to a study by the Moldovan Alliance of Microfinance, a Moldovan family could earn US\$150 per month, per migrant, through remissions.³⁴ However, if the migrant was a woman who was trapped in sex trafficking, there were no positive benefits for her

“OVER THE COURSE OF THE 1990S AND INTO THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY, IT IS ESTIMATED THAT ANYWHERE BETWEEN 120,000 TO 800,000 INDIVIDUALS WERE TRAFFICKED EACH YEAR INTO THE EU, 90 PERCENT OF THEM WERE ORIGINATING FROM CENTRAL OR EASTERN EUROPE.”

family or community. The women “[...] often end[ed] up with nothing, or any money they earn[ed] [came] at great cost to their health, emotional well-being and standing in the community.”

³⁵ Virtually all the money

earned by the victim would be funnelled to the off-shore bank accounts of criminal enterprises, leaving the victim stigmatized, scarred, and impoverished.³⁶

It has been argued, that the main driver of sex trafficking in Southeastern Europe in the 1990s was the militarization of the Balkans.³⁷ During the months that NATO intervened in the Kosovo war it was observed that sex services

³¹ El-Cherkeh, 2004, 75.

³² Malarek, 2003, 45.

³³ *Ibid.*, 45.

³⁴ El-Cherkeh, 2004, 75.

³⁵ Hughes, 2000, 9-10.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

³⁷ Kligman and Limoncelli, 2005, 127.

were thriving in the region.³⁸ UN Peacekeepers have been implicated in buying sexual services and participating in trafficking networks, complicating any attempted solutions in the area.³⁹ Here, the ability of traffickers and pimps to replenish their supplies of women was unimaginably efficient. Police officers would complain that even when they busted brothels in raids and freed the trafficked prostitutes, the brothels would have a fresh shipment of victims arriving in a matter of days.⁴⁰ Analysts estimate that 90 percent of women and girls in brothels in the Balkans were trafficked and 10-15 percent of them were under the age of eighteen.⁴¹ During the Balkan crisis, traffickers generally recruited them from countries such as Albania, Bulgaria, Moldova, and Romania.⁴² The presence of peacekeepers and the militarization of the Balkans provide a striking example of how external forces can support trafficking and hinder attempts to improve the situation.

Over the course of the 1990s and into the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is estimated that anywhere between 120,000 to 800,000 individuals were trafficked each year into the EU, 90 percent of them were originating from Central or Eastern Europe.⁴³ As shown earlier with the divide in high and low estimates in overall sex trafficking numbers, it is evident that finding data and analyzing trends continues to be a serious problem that the anti-trafficking movement faces.⁴⁴ Nonetheless, as the next section will show, it is becoming apparent that the total number of victims from these regions has fallen since the late 1990s.

THE EXPANSION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION: 2003-2007

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 127.

³⁹ Anna M. Anthangelou, "Desire Industries: Sex Trafficking, UN Peacekeeping, and the Neo-Liberal World Order," in *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 10 (Summer/Fall 2003): 134-135.

⁴⁰ Malarek, 2003, 103.

⁴¹ El-Cherkeh, 2004, 24.

⁴² Kligman and Limoncelli, 2005, 125; El-Cherkeh, 2004, 23.

⁴³ Kligman and Limoncelli, 2005, 126.

⁴⁴ UNODC, 2010, 7.

Since the Cold War, there have been three distinct waves of migration out of Eastern and Central Europe. The first was "ethnically dominated migration," such as the migration of Jewish populations to Israel. The second was the "emergence of informal/illegal migration networks," through which human trafficking developed and spread. Lastly, with the expansion of the EU in the twenty-first century, there has been a "normalization and regularization of immigrants during the transition to free movement in the EU."⁴⁵ Opening migration from less economically developed countries has stirred Western European fears – sometimes characterized as a "moral panic"⁴⁶ – about an uncontrollable inflow of Eastern and Central European workers. Nonetheless, it was generally accepted that allowing migration "should reinforce [the development] process [of Eastern and Central Europe] by allowing greater factor mobility and greater trade."⁴⁷ This has, in fact, generally been the case over the past decade and has had a substantial effect on sex trafficking from these regions.

Beginning in the mid-1990s and continuing into the 2000s, the EU has loosened or dropped many visa requirements for a number of Eastern and Central European nations, especially potential EU members (accession countries). This policy shift has had a substantial effect on both legal and illegal migration. Initially, the liberalization of visa regulations sometimes led to a short-term increase in trafficking into the EU. The ease of crossing the EU's external and internal borders made trafficking easier and encouraged traffickers.⁴⁸ Nonetheless, this was not the norm for EU accession countries. In most affected countries, there was "an apparent reduction of trafficking [that had] been observed among

⁴⁵ El-Cherkeh, 2004, 11.

⁴⁶ Nandita Sharma, "Anti-Trafficking Rhetoric and the Making of a Global Apartheid," in *Feminist Formations* 17 (2005): 89.

⁴⁷ Michael Haynes, "European Union and its Periphery: Inclusion and Exclusion," in *Economic and Political Weekly* 33 (September 29, 1998): 88.

⁴⁸ Kligman and Limoncelli, 2005, 125-126.

women ... immediately after the lifting of visa requirements".⁴⁹ It can be argued is that visa liberalization enhanced the ability of women to access legal channels of economic migration, thus allowing them to avoid the risk of falling into the hands of traffickers.

Romania was the greatest exception in the trend of trafficking reduction following visa liberalization as trafficking rates increased for a short period after the EU removed its visa requirements in 2001; nonetheless, this was shortly followed by a steady decline.⁵⁰ As legal economic migration opportunities increased, the number of trafficking victims continued to fall.⁵¹ In spite of Romania's growing stability in the eyes of the EU, its border with Moldova continued to pose a trafficking threat. Moldova, one of the poorest countries in Europe, continued to be economically underdeveloped relative to its neighbours and consequently had supplied a population of high-risk women and girls to trafficking rings.⁵² The EU urged Romania to "ensure the security of its borders" because of its status of an accession country.⁵³

This strategy included supplying Romanian passports to a number of Moldovan citizens such as students studying in Romania and people living in border areas. Between 300,000 and 600,000 Moldovans were issued Romanian passports prior to Romania's ascension to full EU membership in 2007; this reflected the view that the legalization of migration is a major contributor to both regional and human security.⁵⁴

Overall, the evidence provided has indicated a steady downward trend in human trafficking from Eastern and Central Europe throughout the process of states gaining EU membership.⁵⁵ In this context, it is important to consider that

EU membership (and the process of attaining it) is contingent on economic growth and stability. It is difficult to firmly claim causation in this situation because of the direct, reciprocal relationship between the path to EU membership and economic growth and stability. Economic and political development programs are integral to the accession process. It is likely that a combination of EU economic programs such as the European Neighbourhood Policy in Eastern Europe and the Stabilization and Association Process in the Balkans, the liberalization of visa regulations, and the stabilization of governance have all affected and been affected by the EU accession process.⁵⁶

One major concern regarding this trafficking trend is the question of whether or not trafficking is actually declining or if it is simply changing and becoming more difficult to detect. In the Netherlands, the source of trafficking victims has changed drastically. Traditional Russian and Ukrainian victims peaked in 2003 and have "decrease[d] basically to zero in recent years", although they are being replaced by increasing numbers of domestic trafficking victims, whose situations are often vastly different than internationally trafficked victims.⁵⁷ Furthermore, as the EU's external borders move further east, so does trafficking. In recent years there have been increasing numbers of victims trafficked into the EU from China, Uzbekistan and other Central Asian countries.⁵⁸ Therefore, a key question arises: is the eastward expansion of the EU is solving this problem, or is it just displacing it geographically? The changes in source countries combined with the continuing prevalence of trafficking for the European sex market suggests that EU expansion is simply pushing trafficking past its previous borders.

Focusing again on Europe, the ascension of ten countries to full EU membership in 2004 (including such trafficking source countries

⁴⁹ El-Cherkeh, 2004, 6.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 75.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁵⁵ UNODC, 2010, 6-8.

⁵⁶ El-Cherkeh, 2004, 71-72.

⁵⁷ UNODC, 2010, 14.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 16.

problem, the more multifaceted must be the governance system.”⁶² This is the idea that one aspect of the solution (e.g. regional security) cannot overshadow another (e.g. poverty reduction) when trying to find an acceptable solution. The final criterion is that “networks” must be “core elements of security governance”; these networks must include groups who see the issue from different perspectives (contrast, for example, the difference between a state’s perspective and an NGO’s perspective) and who are able to share information and arrange themselves without overbearing bureaucracy or communication failures.⁶³

The current attempts to combat human trafficking of both the EU and source/transit countries have been state-centric in their orientation, lacking the inter-actor cooperation or networking necessary for a truly effective solution. Trafficking is seen primarily as a law and order or security concern. Popular opinion in EU countries often categorizes migration as a “burden” despite its documented economic benefits.⁶⁴ This perception leads to support for the strict control of both legal and illegal migration and thus a propensity to treat trafficking harshly.⁶⁵ Although this harsh response may, at first glance, seem appropriate, it often leads to the criminalization of trafficking victims and their speedy deportation, resulting in the denial of victim rehabilitation and reintegration.⁶⁶ This strategy ignores the human rights perspective of the problem as advocated by IGOs and NGOs. The state-centric solution of legislative harmonization, a facet of the security perspective, has increased the number of countries with human trafficking legislation in Europe from eight in 2000 to thirty-seven in 2008. This has led to an increase in conviction rates by a margin of 30 percent between

as Poland and Hungary) and the ascension of Romania and Bulgaria in 2007 have all coincided with declining falling trafficking rates from these countries. In this sense, it is fair to conclude that, while one cannot infer causality, declining trafficking rates and higher economic development correlate highly with membership and accession status. The next step in this analysis is to consider what actions the EU has taken in the past that has helped achieve this outcome and study what strategies the EU can use to fight the displacement of sex trafficking in the future.

THE EUROPEAN UNION RESPONSE: PRESENT AND FUTURE

The necessity of the EU to act in concert with other actors demonstrates the need for global governance in the world today. According to analyst Tom Obokata, global governance is “a concept that attempts to explain how world affairs should be governed in the era of globalization.”⁵⁹ Another analyst, Cornelius Friesendorf, outlines three criteria for effective global governance solutions that are required to combat human trafficking. The first is that “states,” to which I would add ‘and other actors’, “must intensely cooperate with one another” and “foster flexible forms of governance.”⁶⁰ Sex trafficking is an issue that involves a variety of actors including states, intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and civil society, and cannot be solved without the increased participation and cooperation of these actors. However, cooperation between these groups is often problematic because, “authority is not equally distributed among all actors, and is therefore fragmented.”⁶¹ The second criterion is that, “The more complex the

⁶² Friesendorf, 2007, 385.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 386.

⁶⁴ Laczko, 2002, 605.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 605.

⁶⁶ Sharma, 2005, 89.

⁵⁹ Tom Obokata, “Global Governance and International Migration: A Case Study of Trafficking of Human Beings,” in *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 29 (January 2010): 121-122.

⁶⁰ Cornelius Friesendorf, “Pathologies of Security Governance: Efforts Against Human Trafficking in Europe,” in *Security Dialogue* 38 (2007): 384.

⁶¹ Obokata, 2010, 124.

2003/2004 and 2006/2007 (although the number is still low compared to the estimated number of victims annually).⁶⁷ Nevertheless, there is no evidence that these approaches have addressed the rehabilitation and reintegration of victims has improved or that the root causes of trafficking and its displacement eastward, demonstrating the lack of human rights and development perspectives in current decision-making and the necessity for it.

Some countries are improving their treatment of trafficked women in their custody, but there is still much room for progress. Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Spain all give aid and temporary residence permits to women who agree to testify against their captors or pimps.⁶⁸ While this is a valuable step, the time period the governments give to the victims to make their decision is generally far too short and the aid provided is insufficient. Furthermore, many victims are suspicious of the police or are afraid to testify because of threats made by traffickers and pimps against the victims' families.⁶⁹ These programs are further weakened by a lack of proper witness protection for victims who agree to testify. Germany is one of the only countries that offer witness protection to high-risk victims, but in reality only 5 percent of testifying women are deemed worthy of that level of protection while the remaining 95 percent are deported, often against their will.⁷⁰ Although these tactics may help convict traffickers, they ignore the victims' rights by sending them straight back into the economic, social, and political situations from which that they were trying to escape in the first place. This is a major problem because trafficking cases are almost entirely dependent on witness testimony – cases cannot proceed without a testimony. Therefore, states which hold "responsibility for victims must provide sufficient protection so [that the victims]

can recover from their ordeal which, in turn, may make it easier to gain their cooperation," resulting in convictions of traffickers.⁷¹

Cooperation allows individual actors to pursue their own perspective on the problem in concert with other groups. States can continue to focus their individual actions on border security, legislation, and police action while NGOs and IGOs can focus on human rights, rehabilitation, reintegration, education, and prevention in both source and destination countries. Even businesses have a role to play in the anti-trafficking movement, as responsible development in the economically marginalized source countries and the hiring of legal migrant workers in EU countries "help[s] promote growth in the CEE [Central and Eastern European] region, eventually leading to declining emigration," which lessens the risk of exploitation by traffickers.⁷² The key is balance and cooperation between actors and mutual respect for each others' work and perspectives. In this sense, it is true that anti-trafficking efforts are "a prime example of the paradigmatic shift from government to governance" necessary to solve such multi-faceted and globally complex problems.⁷³

CONCLUSION

Sex trafficking, along with all other forms of human trafficking, seems like a relic of the nineteenth century – an anachronism in the twenty-first century. Nevertheless, it continues to exist. As can be seen by the experiences of Eastern and Central Europe following the Cold War, sex trafficking in Europe is rooted in unequal development, poverty, and political instability, as well as a demand for the services of trafficked victims in developed nations. As long as migration is used as a means to escape poverty, traffickers will continue to exploit migrants to the best of their ability. The legacy of

⁶⁷ UNODC, 2010, 5-8; El-Cherkeh, 2004, 26-27.

⁶⁸ Outshoorn, 2005, 144.

⁶⁹ El-Cherkeh, 2004, 24; Obokata, 2010, 129.

⁷⁰ El-Cherkeh, 2004, 25.

⁷¹ Obokata, 2010, 129.

⁷² Laczko, 2002, 606.

⁷³ Friensendorf, 2007, 384.

the Cold War and the havoc it inflicted on Central and Eastern Europe once when it ended has not been forgotten, nor have the consequences.

The expansion of the EU today is connected to increasing political stability and economic growth in its new and future members, which in turn lessens the incentive to migrate from these regions. For those who continue to migrate, the opening of legal channels lessens the chance that they will fall into the hands of traffickers and end up in the European sex market, sold into slavery and deprived of their human rights. Although it is not clear that EU membership itself is the sole cause of the downward trend in human trafficking from Central and Eastern Europe, it is undeniably an essential factor.

The expansion of the EU has been a positive development for Eastern and Central Europe, especially for those women and girls whom traffickers would have otherwise targeted. While it is not the sole explanation for the changes in sex trafficking patterns, nor has it eradicated trafficking entirely, it is an important factor which should be valued for the effect it has had on the lives of countless potential victims. Despite positive trends, Europe cannot become complacent in regards to trafficking. There are still unacceptable numbers of Eastern and Central European women and girls trafficked into the EU, and victims from Asian countries such as China, Uzbekistan, and Turkey are joining them. Domestic trafficking is increasing to make up for a shrinking supply of victims from traditional source markets. Traffickers are endlessly creative, and international actors must not forget that. In light of this, cooperation between actors is absolutely essential for effective anti-trafficking efforts. A state-centric approach on behalf of the EU cannot address all the facets of this incredibly complex global issue; a balanced approach by states, IGOs, NGOs, and civil society is absolutely necessary.

Degendering Disaster

An Examination of the Gender Differences in Today's Natural Disasters

Melissa O'Rourke

BA International Relations with a Double Minor in Environmental Studies & History: Class of 2014

INTRODUCTION

As the world continues to globalize at a rapid pace, natural disasters have become an international issue. During the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in particular, we have seen a shift in aid relief efforts from a national to an international affair. When studying natural disasters, areas that often complement the field include the social, political and psychological impacts on the affected society.¹ One largely disregarded area of natural disaster study is *gender*. The purpose of this paper is to explore and explain some of the issues that emerge after a natural disaster in relation to gender. The argument that will be made is that there is a divide that exists between men and women in post-disaster situations and that society's preconceived notions of gender roles can often further a woman's disadvantage. To provide evidence for this argument, the Indian Ocean Earthquake/Tsunami and Hurricane Katrina will be examined as case studies. Furthermore, the concepts of educating citizens, persuading international agencies to recognize gender as a dimension of aid relief and re-evaluating the roles of women in the rebuilding process, will be supported as means of constructing a more fair and equal post-disaster environment.

To explain the issues that emerge after a natural

¹ Valerie Nelson, Kate Meadows, Terry Cannon, John Morton, and Adrienne Martin, Uncertain predictions, invisible impacts, and the need to mainstream gender in climate change adaptations (*Gender & Development*. 10. no. 2, 2002), 54.