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**Trafficking of Women and Girls into Sexual Exploitation in EU-25:
The Impact of the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union on
Trafficking and Counter-Trafficking Measures in the Baltic States**

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Trafficking of Women and Girls into Sexual Exploitation in EU-25: The Impact of the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union on Trafficking and Counter-Trafficking Measures in the Baltic States

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Abstract

The following paper examines for the first time the impact of the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union on the phenomenon of trafficking and the development of counter-trafficking measures in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Units of analysis are thirteen actors that are involved in counter-trafficking activities in the Baltic States at both national and international level. The survey has been conducted with two methods: in writing (questionnaire) and in oral (telephone-interviewing). The paper shows how the phenomenon of trafficking has developed in the recent past and how the actors rate the influence of the EU Eastern Enlargement on these changes. Furthermore, it is shown how counter-trafficking activities of diverse actors have been influenced by the Baltic States' membership in the European Union. In this context, it is also looked at the influence of European prostitution discourses on the development of national discourses in the Baltic States.

Zusammenfassung

In der vorliegenden Arbeit wird erstmals untersucht, welche Auswirkungen die Osterweiterung der Europäischen Union auf den Frauenhandel in den baltischen Staaten (gehabt) hat. Hierzu wurde eine empirische Untersuchung durchgeführt, in der dreizehn Akteur/innen auf nationaler und internationaler Ebene befragt wurden. Die Untersuchung selbst gliedert sich in zwei Teile: eine schriftliche Befragung aller dreizehn teilnehmenden Akteur/innen sowie eine darüber hinausgehende telefonische Befragung dreier Akteurinnen. Es wird dargestellt, wie sich das Phänomen Frauenhandel seit der Mitgliedschaft der baltischen Staaten in der Europäischen Union verändert hat und welchen Einfluss die befragten Akteur/innen der EU-Osterweiterung zumessen. Des Weiteren wird gezeigt, welche Auswirkungen die EU-Osterweiterung auf die Bekämpfung des Frauenhandels (gehabt) hat, d.h. wie staatliche und nicht-staatliche Akteur/innen in ihren Tätigkeiten beeinflusst wurden bzw. werden. In diesem Zusammenhang wird auch untersucht, welchen Einfluss europäische Prostitutionsdiskurse auf die nationalen Diskurse in den baltischen Staaten ausüben.

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Abbreviations

AFEM	Association des Femmes de l'Europe Meridionale (Association of Southern European Women)
BG	Border Guards
BKA	Bundeskriminalamt (German Federal Criminal Police)
BMFSFJ	Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend (German Federal Ministry for Family, Senior Citizens, Women, and Youth)
CATI	Computer-Assisted-Telephone-Interviewing
CATW	Coalition Against Trafficking in Women
CBSS	Council of the Baltic Sea States
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CoE	Council of Europe
EC	European Commission
ECMI	European Centre for Minority Issues
ENUT	Eesti Naisuurimus- ja Teabekeskus (Estonian Women's Studies and Resource Centre)
EP	European Parliament
EstCC	Estonian Criminal Code
EU	European Union
EUROPOL	European Police Office
EUROSTAT	Statistical Office of the European Communities
EWL	European Women's Lobby
G	Government
GAATW	Global Alliance against Traffic in Women
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Agency for Technical Cooperation)
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IHF	International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights
ILO	International Labour Organization

INGO	International non-governmental organization
IO	International organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
LatCC	Latvian Criminal Code
LitCC	Lithuanian Criminal Code
MAPP	Movement for the Abolition of Pornographie and Prostitution and All Forms of Sexual Violence and Sexist Discrimination
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NWSA	National Women's Studies Association, USA
OBZ	Opferbelastungszahl (Numbers of victims per 100,000 of the national female population between 15 and 30 years)
P	Research proposition
PF	Police Forces
PPS	Purchasing Power Standards
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
STI	Sexually Transmitted Illnesses
THB	Trafficking in Human Beings
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
UN	United Nations
UNCTOC	United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
USD	US Dollar
VOT	Victims of Trafficking
WIIC	Women's Issues Information Centre, Lithuania

1. Introduction

“The prevention and suppression of trafficking is a priority for the European Union, as it concerns the protection of human rights, immigration policies, the security of its citizens, and the enlargement of the Union to the candidate Member States.”
(European Parliament 2005: 5)

According to estimates of the United Nations, about four million people are annually trafficked into sexual exploitation, forced labour or other forms of exploitation on a global scale (Coomaraswamy 2002: 20). The European Commission estimates that 500,000 women are trafficked into sexual exploitation into the European Union each year (European Commission 2000: 52).¹ A study of the European Parliament (2005) found that 50,000 to 100,000 women and girls may have been trafficked into sexual exploitation into eleven EU member states in the year 2002 (European Parliament 2005: ix).²

Though the estimates vary, it is uncontested that trafficking of women and girls into sexual exploitation is a lucrative business for organized criminal networks as well as individual traffickers and pimps. “Trafficking is fuelled by the generation of tremendous profits. It is estimated that these profits are only rivalled by those of trafficking in drugs. Yet, the profit margins may even be greater for human trafficking given that in its context individuals are a reusable and resalable commodity compared to the one-time usage of drugs.” (Baumeister and Fink 2005: 32) What makes trafficking of women and girls into sexual exploitation even more attractive to criminal offenders is the fact that the likelihood of facing consequences for committing the crime is rather low. Even if traffickers or pimps face investigation by the police, few of them are convicted, and of these, only few receive prison sentences (see chapter 4.2). Most victims of trafficking are women and girls; when looking at trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, they

¹ Some researchers even reckon that the number of victims of “modern forms of slavery” exceeds the number of slaves thought to be taken in the 400-year-long Atlantic Slave Trade: E.g. Bales (2000) estimates that, globally, 27 million persons were held in slavery-like conditions in 1999 (Bales 2000: 74), whereas, according to Hugh (1998), 13 million Africans became victims of the Atlantic Slave Trade (Hugh 1998: 806).

² The study analysed the trafficking situation in eleven chosen EU member states. Thus, the estimation of 50,000 to 100,000 women and girls applies to these countries only, i.e. the numbers for EU-25 should be much higher.

represent the absolute majority.³

Victims of trafficking suffer from various forms of exploitation, which have a “profound impact on the health and well-being of women” (Zimmermann 2003: 3), including injuries and illnesses as results of physical and sexual abuse (e.g. rape, forced anal and oral sex, forced unprotected sex, gang rape, etc.), mental health problems (due to intimidation, threats, lies, deception, emotional manipulation, imposition of unsafe and unpredictable events), impaired social well-being (e.g. restricted movement, time, activities, absence of social support, linguistic, cultural, and social barriers), impaired economic well-being (e.g. debt-bondage), etc. (ibid.: 4-5).

Nonetheless, the *victims’ perspective* is often neglected in the trafficking discourse. This appears particularly unfortunate when looking at states’ responses to the problem of trafficking: Hitherto, many states have treated trafficking as a problem of illegal migration rather than a violation of human rights. In consequence, they have increased border controls and restrictions on immigration rather than ensuring the protection and rehabilitation of trafficking victims (European Commission 2004; Orfano 2005; Prasad and Rohner 2005). According to Zimmermann (2003), victims of trafficking are burdened with even more traumata and health risks, if victim-sensitive procedures are not applied by the state, e.g. unsafe and inhumane deportation and return procedures, absence of official health-related procedures, etc. (Zimmermann 2003: 21; 71-81).

The role of the state in combating trafficking is, not only therefore, crucial. The fight against trafficking takes place at the intersection of national and international politics and cuts across diverse policy areas, such as the regulation of immigration, prostitution, organized crime, gender equality, and economic policy, which has made the issue become a research topic for political science.

As has been indicated by the introductory citation, the prevention and suppression of trafficking is considered “a priority for the European Union” and concerns, among other policy areas, “the enlargement of the Union to the candidate Mem-

³ Example: Between 1998 and 2005, the Federal Criminal Police of Germany (BKA) investigated 2,576 trafficking cases, which involved 7,214 human beings that had been trafficked into and/or within Germany, where they were sexually exploited. Of these 7,214 victims 23 were male, 7,137 were female and 54 persons had not indicated their sex. Accordingly, females constitute at least 98.9 percent of the registered trafficking victims in Germany. See: Bundeskriminalamt 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, and 2006.

ber States” (European Parliament 2005: 5). It appears of interest, whether this claim can be proved by empirical research.

The purpose of this Master Thesis is to investigate, which influence the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union has (had) on the *phenomenon* of trafficking, (i.e. the criminal activities) and on the development of *counter-trafficking measures* in the Baltic States. Regarding the second purpose, the focus of analysis lies not only on the normative implications of the Eastern Enlargement (e.g. for counter-trafficking policies of the Baltic governments and for the adoption of respective laws), but also on the implications for civil society activities, such as prevention-related counter-trafficking measures and the protection and rehabilitation of trafficking victims.

There are three main reasons, why the Baltic States appeared suitable for this research: First, the three Baltic States were among the ten candidate states that became members of the European Union through the EU Eastern Enlargement on 01 May 2004. Thus, they were involved in pre-accession negotiations with the European Commission and had to adopt the *acquis communautaire*, which might have had implications on the development of legal means for counter-trafficking measures, which will be investigated in the empirical survey. In contrast to new EU candidate states, such as Bulgaria or Romania, it is also possible to evaluate the dynamics of the first two-and-a-half years of their EU membership.

Second, the Baltic States share the experience of the fifty-year Soviet annexation. Since their re-gaining of national independence in 1991, the three Baltic States Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have undergone considerable changes in political, economical and societal regard (e.g. new political system, ceasing of the planned economy). The transition period created conditions, which were conducive to the emergence of trafficking, such as high unemployment, unstable societal structures, and feminisation of poverty (Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 2001).⁴ Due to this development, states that used to belong to the former Soviet Union, i.e.

⁴ Due to the problems of the transition period, many citizens of the Baltic States wanted to migrate into richer “Western countries” (Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 2001). As Erdelmann (2005) has pointed out, “[m]any female migrants are more vulnerable to human rights abuses and exploitation than their male counterparts since they tend to work in gender-segregated, often unregulated and unprotected sectors of the economy. Furthermore, they work in unskilled jobs, earn low wages and have no job security or social benefits. Female migrants often lack access to networks that enable them to migrate without being subjected to traffickers.” (Erdelmann 2005: 15)

the Baltic States and CIS states, such as Belarus and Ukraine, are among the main countries of origin of victims that are trafficked into sexual exploitation into Western European countries (EUROPOL 2005; Bundeskriminalamt 1999-2006). Third, the Baltic States have been chosen for this research, as they show various similarities in their political, historical and cultural development (to name but a few: former Soviet occupation, regaining of national independence in 1991, accession to the European Union in 2004, common European cultural heritage, similar geopolitical situation). Thus, they are very much suited for a comparative analysis.

This Thesis consists of two main parts: a *theoretical part* (comprising chapters two to four) and an *empirical part* (comprising chapters five to seven).

The theoretical part functions as the theoretical grounding for the empirical survey: Chapter two analyses the development of discourses on “trafficking” and “sexual exploitation”, before both terms will be defined for the context of this Thesis. Chapter three analyses the current research on trafficking in women and girls into sexual exploitation in the Baltic States by discussing the most important findings relevant for the context of this Thesis. Chapter four analyses the fight against trafficking in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, focussing on the legal frameworks for counter-trafficking measures, national law enforcement, as well as counter-trafficking activities of diverse actors.

On the basis of this analysis, it is possible to develop the *research design* of the empirical survey – this will be done in chapter five (“Methodology”). This includes the formulation of specific research propositions, which will be examined during the empirical analysis, as well as the description of the methods, which have been used for collecting and analysing the data. The empirical survey has been divided into two main parts: 1) a written survey, consisting of questionnaires⁵ that were sent to actors involved in counter-trafficking work in the Baltic States and 2) an oral survey, consisting of three computer-assisted-telephone-interviews.⁶ The findings of the survey will be presented in chapters six and seven.

⁵ In total, thirteen persons participated in the written survey. Of these, three were further interviewed via telephone.

⁶ Since the methodological approach is thoroughly developed in chapter five, the research interest will not be further explained in this introduction.

I. Theoretical Part

The theoretical part of this Master Thesis consists of three main chapters. In chapter two it will be looked at the development of discourses on “trafficking” and “sexual exploitation”, before both terms will be defined for the context of this Thesis. Chapter three analyses the current research on trafficking in women and girls into sexual exploitation in the Baltic States. For this purpose, selected studies will be reviewed, and their most important findings will be discussed. Chapter four analyses the fight against trafficking in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, focussing on the legal frameworks for counter-trafficking measures, national law enforcement, as well as counter-trafficking activities of diverse actors.

2. Discourses on trafficking and sexual exploitation

2.1 “Trafficking“

Before giving a definition of how the term “trafficking” is going to be used in the context of this Master Thesis, it appears necessary to have a look at the origin of this term and how it has been interpreted so far. The concept of “trafficking” appeared in international documents at the beginning of the twentieth century and was, at the time, closely related to sexual exploitation of women and children. It was first used in international agreements⁷ on the so-called “white slave trade”, which referred to white European women being traded into prostitution in the East and Middle East (Pearson 2005). These early conventions gave way to the United Nations “Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others”, which was adopted by the UN in 1949 (hereafter: the 1949 Convention). Under this convention, all third party acts in relation to prostitution (i.e. pimping, pandering, brothel keeping, brothel financing, etc.) were punishable offences, whereas a woman’s age or consent was re-

⁷ The International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic (1904); International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic (1910); League of Nations Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children (1921); League of Nations International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age (1933).

garded irrelevant. Accordingly, all prostitution was seen “incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person” (Preamble), and women were seen as “vulnerable beings in need of protection from the ‘evils of prostitution’” (Coomaraswamy 2000: 11). Trafficking, in the understanding of the 1949 Convention, was seen as the activity⁸ of *moving* people across borders for the purpose of prostitution. The 1949 Convention, which can be described as abolitionist, was ratified by only 74 countries to date (Latvia being the only Baltic state among them)⁹ and has been criticized for being ineffective in combating trafficking and sexual exploitation (e.g. Coomaraswamy 2000; Pearson 2005). Opponents of the abolitionist approach criticized the 1949 Convention for standing in line with preceding international agreements that had tended to be repressive against the women in prostitution rather than the exploiters, which had caused national states to force prostitutes into illegality, preventing them from exercising their rights, e.g. no social security, no legal redress in cases of violations of their civil or human rights, no union-forming, etc. (e.g. Doezema 2002, Sharma 2005). As a consequence, women were often treated as “vulnerable beings” that had to be protected by the state (ibid.).¹⁰

In the 1980’s and 1990’s it appeared that increasing numbers of Asian and Latin American women migrated into the richer “Western” countries, where many of them were coerced into prostitution (Wijers and Lap-Chew 1997). It was now found that not all women with a background of migration were subjected to slavery-like conditions, and that slavery-like conditions were not confined to sexual exploitation only, but were being faced by women in different migratory contexts, e.g. in areas such as domestic labour, marriage, etc. (ibid.), which lead to a more complex understanding of the phenomenon of trafficking.

Nowadays, the term “trafficking” is used in many different and sometimes conflicting ways: e.g. trafficking for the purpose of forced labour, trafficking as mail-order brides, trafficking for the purpose of organ removal, trafficking into sexual exploi-

⁸ Article 1 (1) of the 1949 Convention states that any person shall be punished who “procures, entices or leads away, for purposes of prostitution, another person, even with the consent of that person”.

⁹ Latvia acceded to the 1949 Convention on 14 April 1992.

¹⁰ A very illustrating example for this is the case of Greece, which sought to combat the “white slave traffic” by passing a law in 1912, which forbid women under the age of 21 to travel abroad without a special permit (Bristow 1977: 178).

tation or trafficking as synonym for illegal migration:

“Trafficking is a dynamic concept, the parameters of which are constantly changing to respond to changing economic, social and political conditions. At the core of any definition of trafficking must be the recognition that trafficking is never consensual.” (Coomaraswamy 2000: 8)

The first definition of the term “trafficking” has been given by the United Nations’ “Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations’ Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime” (hereafter: UN Trafficking in Persons Protocol), which was adopted by the UN in 2000.¹¹ Article 3 of the Protocol states:

Article 3

- (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;”

As one can see from this very long and complex definition, the UN Trafficking in Persons Protocol uses a concept of “trafficking”, which implies more than the exploitation of prostitution. Trafficking is considered to be the facilitated movement of a person into exploitative conditions, including sexual exploitation, labour exploitation, slavery and servitude practices as well as the removal of organs. Furthermore, the consent of the person who falls victim to trafficking is considered irrelevant. This means, even if a person migrated into another country knowing that she or he will engage in, for example, prostitution, she or he can be a victim of trafficking, if coercive or deceptive means have been used. This is reasonable, since it is not the *movement* of trafficking, which is considered a human rights violation, but the exploitative conditions which a person has been trafficked

¹¹ The UN Trafficking in Persons Protocol was signed in Palermo, Italy. It is also referred to as “Palermo Protocol”.

into. It is important to note, that we are dealing with two phenomena, which are closely interrelated, but which have to be kept apart: The first is illegal migration, which is a violation of *state law*; the second is the (sexual) exploitation of migrants (whether these are illegal or not), which represents a violation of *human rights*. It is therefore important to distinguish between the two terms “illegal migration” and “trafficking”. Unfortunately, this does not always take place: Not only states seem to equate trafficking with illegal migration (Coomaraswamy 2000: 32), but also international organizations and researchers, when they speak of “traffickers” instead of “smugglers” when referring to the facilitators of illegal migration.¹²

“It is the non-consensual nature of trafficking that distinguishes it from other forms of migration. The lack of informed consent must not be confused with the illegality of certain forms of migration. While all trafficking is, or should be, illegal, all illegal migration is not trafficking. It is important to refrain from telescoping together the concepts of trafficking and illegal migration. At the heart of this distinction is the issue of consent.” (Coomaraswamy 2000: 8)

Considering the diverse ways to use the term “trafficking”, it appears important to define the concept, which one is working with:

Definition: For the purpose of this Master Thesis, the term “trafficking” shall mean the facilitated movement of women and girls into sexual exploitation. Any other understanding of the term will be indicated.

¹² This can be found in e.g.: Ahven/Annist/Saar (2001), IOM (1997), Sharma (2005), Sipavicienė and Tureikytė (2001), Zariòà (2001) and Zimowska (2004). When it is spoken of “trafficking” or “traffickers”, but, in fact, it is referred to migratory prostitution, the people involved herein and/or trafficking into sexual exploitation, it is very difficult to detect, which information can be used in order to characterize the phenomenon of trafficking in the understanding of this Master Thesis. Sometimes, none of the data can be used, due to the lack of defined terms.

2.2 “Sexual exploitation”

Another term that will be used in this Thesis and that has to be defined and theoretically discussed before is the term “sexual exploitation”. As one can see from the definition above, the criminal activity of sexually exploiting another person is the *relevant* crime, when we talk about trafficking – given the fact that “sexual exploitation” is a human rights violation and the facilitation of cross-border movement is “only” a violation of state law. But what exactly is sexual exploitation? In the international feminist community, one finds two contrary answers. The first line of argumentation can be called the *liberalist* perspective; the second one is the *abolitionist* perspective. Both viewpoints were represented in the evolution of the UN Trafficking in Persons Protocol, by the “Human Rights Caucus”, who saw prostitution as legitimate labour (liberalist viewpoint), and by the “International Human Rights Network”, who saw all prostitution as violence against women and therefore as a violation of women’s human rights (abolitionist viewpoint) (Doezema 2002; Pearson 2005; Raymond 2001).¹³

Consequently, the interpretations of the term “sexual exploitation” differ: Whereas the liberalists make a distinction between “forced” and “consensual prostitution” and, thus, only “forced prostitution” is seen in relation to the concept of sexual exploitation (Bindman and Doezema 1997; Doezema 2002; Kapur 2002; Sharma 2005; Soderlund 2005; Zimowska 2004), the abolitionists see all prostitution as violence against women and, therefore, as sexual exploitation (CATW 2005; Ekberg 2004; EWL 1998 and 2001; Farley 2004; Hughes 1999; Raymond 2003 and 2004).¹⁴ In order to illustrate the differences between these two positions, some of the main arguments of both sides shall be discussed:

From the liberalist point of view, “the argument that women cannot consent to commercial sexual interactions coincides all too easily with anti-feminist ideas

¹³ Both parties represented cooperation networks of diverse non-governmental organizations that had joined for the purpose of participating in the elaboration of the UN Trafficking in Persons Protocol. Among the most prominent ones are the “Global Alliance against Trafficking in Women” (Human Rights Caucus) and the “Coalition against Trafficking in Women” (International Human Rights Network). The International Human Rights Network consisted of 140 organizations from all continents (Raymond 2001).

¹⁴ More detailed information on the liberalist/abolitionist debate and on the question, when one can speak of sexual exploitation can be found in e.g. Farley (2004), Goldscheider (2000) and Pearson (2005).

about female sexual[it]y, particularly, with that of the threat of women's sexual autonomy." (Doezema 2002: 21). In this sense, the abolitionist belief that all prostitution means physical and psychological harm to women is seen as an illegitimate effort to victimize women in prostitution. Women who choose prostitution as their profession or as a way to make a living should rather be seen as autonomous agents, who are not in need of help from a "state [who] takes on the seemingly benevolent role of protector" (Soderlund 2005: 82), according to the liberalist point of view. Rather, this kind of "protection" is perceived as paternalistic and anti-emancipatory, since it "triggered a spate of domestic and international reforms focused on the criminal law, which are used to justify state restrictions on women's rights – for the protection of women" (Kapur 2002: 6).

In contrast, representatives of the abolitionist approach point to numerous studies¹⁵, which have found that (sexual) violence against women in prostitution is pervasive in legal as well illegal prostitution, whereas the legalization of prostitution only benefits the pimps and buyers of prostitution (Farley 2004): "There is much evidence that whatever its legal status, prostitution causes great harm to women. [...] Sexual violence and physical assault are the norm for women in all types of prostitution" (ibid.: 1094). The consequences of commercial sexual interactions on the women and girls in prostitution are said to be: exhaustion, frequent viral illnesses, sexually transmitted diseases, vaginal infections, back aches, sleeplessness, depression, headaches, stomach aches, and eating disorders (Pheterson 1996); furthermore violence-related injuries, sexual assault, rape, and torture, which are experienced by large parts of women in prostitution (Miller 1995; Farley/Cotton/Lynne et al. 2003; Farley 2004); as well as a high mortality due to physical illnesses as well as murder (Potterat/Brewer/Muth et al. 2004).

The two contrary positions disagree further on the issue, whether or not legalization of prostitution reduces the social stigma of prostituted women and whether or not it improves their access to health care and legal redress in cases of coercion, physical assault, and rape.

¹⁵ Studies that document the violence against women in prostitution and its effects on the physical and emotional integrity of the prostituted person (selected studies): Silbert and Pines 1981 and 1982; Silbert/Pines/Lynch 1982; Vanwesenbeeck 1994; Miller 1995; Pheterson 1996; Hughes 1999; Raymond/D'Cunha/Dzuhayatin et al. 2002; Farley/Cotton/Lynne et al. 2003; Potterat/Brewer/Muth et al. 2004.

Tab. 1: Theoretical approaches towards prostitution and sexual exploitation¹⁶

<p style="text-align: center;">Liberalist approach <i>Dutch / German Model</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Abolitionist approach <i>Swedish Model</i></p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Differentiation between forced and consensual prostitution • Sexual exploitation = Forced prostitution • Consensual prostitution as legitimate labour (“sex work”) • Promotion of sex workers’ rights (union-forming, labour rights, etc.) • Belief: Every woman has the right to prostitution. • Prostitution is inevitable (“oldest profession”) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No differentiation between forced and consensual prostitution • Sexual exploitation = Prostitution in all its forms • Prostitution as violence against women / violation of women’s human rights • Belief: Every woman has the right to <i>be free from</i> prostitution. • Prostitution is evitable (“oldest form of violence against women”)

As has been indicated in Tab. 1, the two contrary positions are also referred to as “Dutch or German Model” (liberalist position), respectively as “Swedish Model” (abolitionist position), as they materialized in relating laws: In the Dutch and German case laws have been passed that decriminalize prostitution; in the Swedish case a law has been passed that prohibits the purchase of sexual services and criminalizes the consumers of prostitution.

However, the Swedish and the Dutch/German models on prostitution are not the only ways theoretical concepts of sexual exploitation were incorporated into national legal systems. Former UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, its Causes and Consequences, Radhika Coomaraswamy (2000) distinguishes between four legal paradigms for addressing prostitution: (i) criminalization; (ii) decriminalization; (iii) legalization/regulation; and (iv) decriminalization

¹⁶ Representatives of the liberalist approach are, among others: Anti-Slavery International, CARE International, Global Alliance against Traffic in Women (GAATW), Human Rights Watch (HRW), United Nations organizations such as WHO, UN/AIDS, and ILO (Farley 2004: 1091). Representatives of the abolitionist approach are, among others: Coalition against Trafficking in Women (CATW), European Women’s Lobby (EWL), Movement for the Abolition of Pornography and Prostitution (MAPP), France, Association des Femmes de l’Europe Meridionale (AFEM), Article One, France, and Equality Now, United States (Raymond 2001: 3).

combined with a human rights approach (Coomaraswamy 2000: 11). A study of the European Parliament (2005) uses even different terms (“abolitionism”, “new abolitionism”, “prohibitionism” and “regulationism”) to describe national legislation on prostitution and trafficking.¹⁷

In the context of this Thesis, when it is spoken of the “abolitionist” viewpoint, it will always be referred to the position that has been characterized in Tab. 1, since the two outlined positions (abolitionist and liberalist viewpoint) represent the two main directions in the discourse on the interrelation of prostitution and sexual exploitation. In the context of this Thesis, the theoretical debate around prostitution and sexual exploitation is particularly relevant in relation to the empirical part, where, in addition to the development of (counter-) trafficking activities, it shall be looked at the discourses that are currently taking place in the Baltic States.

Throughout the Thesis, when it is spoken of “sexual exploitation” and “prostitution”, it shall be referred to following understandings of these terms:

Definition: For the purpose of this Master Thesis, the term “sexual exploitation” shall be used to refer to any form of commercial sexual interaction a woman or girl is subjected to against her free will. “Prostitution” shall be understood as the performance of sex in exchange for money. Any other understanding of these terms will be indicated.

¹⁷ This study will be reviewed in chapter 4.1.3 of this Thesis. The study investigates into the impact prostitution-related policies have on the number of trafficked women and children and the manners of their exploitation.

3. Trafficking in Women and Girls for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation in the Baltic States: Current Research

In the following chapter an overview shall be given about the state of current research. This shall be done in order to create a theoretical grounding for the empirical part of this Thesis. For this purpose, it shall be looked at studies and reports that have been published on the issue of trafficking in women and girls in the Baltic States so far. It has to be mentioned though, that the bases for research were publications in the English and German language only. Studies that were published in the Baltic languages could not be taken into account due to the language barrier.

Although the compilation of Tab. 2 (see next page) is not necessarily all-inclusive, it is possible to draw some interesting conclusions regarding the state of current research: The majority of publications result from research conducted by international as well as civil society organizations, few represent academic research. It appears remarkable that more research is done on the trafficking situation in Estonia than on the situations in Latvia and Lithuania: Four publications deal with Estonia only (Eespere 2004; IOM 2005; Kase and Pettai 2002; Trummal 2003), whereas none deal with Latvia or Lithuania as the only country of focus. Four publications focus on all three of the Baltic States (IOM 2001; IOM 2002; Kalikov 2004), and eight analyse the Baltic States in the context of bigger entities (CBSS member states, EU Member States, states of the Baltic Sea Region, OSCE Member States, Nordic and Baltic countries, the globe).

In the following chapter, some of the most important findings that are relevant for this Master Thesis shall be analysed and discussed. Relevant in the context of this Thesis are particularly those findings that provide information about the phenomenon of trafficking in the three Baltic States (chapter 3.1), links between trafficking and migration (chapter 3.2), and the development of counter-trafficking activities by the Baltic governments and civil society actors (chapters 4.2 and 4.3). The discussed findings will then be summarized, and it shall be tried to work out the main trends for each country as well as possible similarities and/or differences between the three states.

Tab. 2: Current research concerning trafficking in the Baltic States

Author and year of publication	Topic	Regional focus	Research method
CBSS 2003	Government initiatives to combat trafficking in human beings	CBSS - Member States	Legal analysis, Policy analysis
CBSS 2005	Trafficking in children	CBSS - Member States	Conference report
Eespere 2004	Problems of counter-trafficking	Estonia	Expert interviews
European Parliament 2005	Impact of prostitution-related legislation on trafficking	EU - Member States	Legal analysis
IHF 2000	Trafficking in women	OSCE - Member States	Legal analysis
IOM 2001	Prostitution and trafficking; country profiles	Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania	Legal analysis, policy analysis, expert interviews
IOM 2002a	Public perception of trafficking	Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania	Public opinion polls
IOM 2002b	Scope of the problem, possibilities of counter-trafficking	Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania	Conference report
IOM 2005a	Scope, patterns, and mechanisms of trafficking	Estonia	Literature analysis, media analysis, expert interviews, group interviews
Kalikov 2004	Prostitution and trafficking	Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania	Legal analysis, policy analysis
Kase and Pettai 2002	Prostitution and trafficking; recruitment methods	Estonia	Expert interviews
Kvinnoforum 2002	Collaboration of NGOs, country profiles	Baltic Sea Region	NGO Reports
Nordic Council of Ministers 2004	Nordic-Baltic Campaign Against Trafficking in Women	Nordic Council Member States, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania	Activities report, legal analysis
Save the Children, Sweden, 2003	Trafficking in children	Baltic Sea Region	Conference report
Trummal 2004	Trafficking in children	Estonia	Expert interviews
US Department of State, annually since 2001	Law enforcement, counter-trafficking	Worldwide	Legal analysis, policy analysis

3.1 Characterization of the phenomenon of trafficking

In this chapter, it shall be looked at the phenomenon of trafficking itself, i.e. the function of each state in the trafficking process (Is it a country of origin, of transit or of destination of trafficking victims? Does internal trafficking take place?) as well as estimated numbers of trafficking cases. Furthermore, it will be tried to characterize the conditions, which make young women and girls vulnerable for trafficking schemes, the traffickers, and the methods of recruitment.

3.1.1 Function in the trafficking process

Whereas the Baltic States were previously considered to be the destination countries for internal migration within the Soviet Union (which has led to large percentages of Russian-speaking minorities,¹⁸ many of whom do not possess national citizenship¹⁹), in the last fifteen years, the Baltic States have become countries of origin for migration to more developed countries (IOM 2005a). This trend is also reflected in the trafficking flows: Trafficking in women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation has been reported to originate from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and to be facilitated through the three states (this is documented in CBSS 2003; Eespere 2004; IOM 2005a; Kalikov 2002; Kase and Pettai 2002; Kurova 2002; Marcinkevičienė 2002; Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 2001).

Although some cases are known, where women were trafficked into Estonia (US Bureau of Democracy 2006a) and Latvia (Hughes and Denisova 2001) as a destination point, these two countries mainly function as countries of origin and countries of transit in the trafficking chain. Among the Baltic States, Lithuania is the only country which is regarded as a country of origin, of transit, and of destination of trafficking victims (CBSS 2003; Marcinkevičienė 2002; Sipavičienė and Turei-

¹⁸ In Estonia, 25.6 percent of the total population are native Russian speakers; Latvia has a Russian-speaking minority of 29.2 percent of the total population (Elsuwege 2004: 3). Lithuania has the smallest percentage of Russian-speakers: only 6.3 percent of the total population belong to this minority (Department of Statistic, Lithuania 2005).

¹⁹ This applies particularly to Estonia and Latvia, where large parts of the Russian-speaking minorities do not hold the same political rights compared to ethnic Estonians / Latvians (Elsuwege 2004). In Lithuania, all permanent residents were granted citizenship after the restoration of national independence (ibid.). – It is spoken of “Russian-speaking minorities” because not all of the people affected by citizenship problems are ethnic Russians, yet the vast majority speaks Russian as their native language.

kytė 2001; US Bureau of Democracy 2006c).

Women and girls that are trafficked through the Baltic States mainly come from Belarus, Russia, Ukraine as well as other former Soviet Bloc countries (CBSS 2003; Kurova 2002). Destination countries for women and girls trafficked from the Baltic States are mainly economically more developed countries. Cases of trafficking involving Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian women or girls, of which some might represent isolated cases only, have been reported from a wide range of countries:

Tab. 3: Destination countries for women trafficked from the Baltic States²⁰

	Estonian women	Latvian women	Lithuanian women
All reported destination countries	Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, The Netherlands, United Kingdom, USA	Balkan countries, China, Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom	Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, "Far East", Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Macedonia, The Netherlands, Norway, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, Turkey
Principal destination countries ²¹	Finland, Sweden, Norway, The Netherlands	Denmark, Spain, Germany	Germany, The Netherlands, United Kingdom, France, Sweden, Spain

However, it is possible to identify some principal destination countries: According to IOM (2005a) the most popular destinations for trafficking victims from Estonia are Finland, Sweden, Norway, and The Netherlands (IOM 2005a: 37-40), fol-

²⁰ This table represents a collection of data provided by the following authors: For Estonia: CBSS 2003; IOM 2005a; Kalikov 2002; Kvinnoforum 2002; Protection Project a; US Bureau of Democracy 2006a; Trummal 2004. For Latvia: CBSS 2003; IHF 2000; Kurova 2002; Protection Project b; Trummal 2004; US Bureau of Democracy 2006b; Zariņa 2001. For Lithuania: CBSS 2003; IHF 2000; Marcinkevičienė 2002; Protection Project c; Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 2001; Sipavičienė 2002; US Bureau of Democracy 2006c.

²¹ These countries have been indicated as principal destination countries by following authors: IOM 2005a: 37-40 (for Estonia), Kurova 2002: 38 (for Latvia) and Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 2001: 289 (for Lithuania).

lowed by Germany and Ireland (*ibid.*). The main destination countries for Latvian women and girls are Denmark, Spain and Germany (Kurova 2002: 38). Interestingly, some cases are known, where Latvian women and girls were trafficked to Estonia, where they were sexually exploited (Trummal 2004: 44-45, 133).

Among the most prominent destination countries for Lithuanian citizens are Germany, The Netherlands, United Kingdom, France, Sweden and Spain (Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 2001: 289). With regard to Lithuania's status as a country of destination, women from Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia, and Russia are trafficked to Lithuania (CBSS 2003). The International Organization for Migration (IOM) believes that Estonia may also become a future destination country for trafficking in persons, if the living standards and the demand for commercial sex grows (IOM 2005a).

Internal trafficking (trafficking within one state) has been reported to be a problem in all three states. It has been described as the facilitated movements of young women and girls from rural areas and smaller towns to the brothels and sexclubs of bigger cities, particularly to Tallinn (Estonia), Riga (Latvia), and Vilnius (Lithuania), the capitals of the Baltic States (CBSS 2003; Eespere 2004; Kalikov 2002; US Bureau of Democracy 2005 a,b). In Estonia, the region of Ida-Virumaa has been mentioned to be the origin of most of these victims, which has a large part of Russian-speaking inhabitants and a particularly high rate of unemployment (CBSS 2003; Kalikov 2002). In Latvia and Lithuania, no regions of origin of internal trafficking victims have been mentioned. In Latvia, however, it was mentioned that internal trafficking victims were moved not only to Riga, but also to the towns of Liepāja, and Ventspils (US Bureau of Democracy 2006b).

3.1.2 Estimated numbers of trafficking cases

All researchers agree on the fact that it is very difficult to obtain realistic numbers of how many women and girls fall victim to human trafficking each year, due to its largely clandestine character and "its very nature of being an extremely underreported crime" (IOM 2005a: 85). Also, there are widely discrepant and controversial estimates of the numbers of trafficking victims, which is why all figures and estimates should be treated with caution. According to the International Organiza-

tion for Migration, more than 2,000 citizens of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania fall victim to trafficking annually (quoted by Helsingin Sanomat 2002).²² Approximately half of those are victims from Lithuania, the rest are from Latvia and Estonia. Most of these women are between the ages of 21 and 30 and are sold into sexual exploitation (ibid.). By applying a “stricter conceptual and methodological framework”, an IOM survey (2005a) found that during the period 2001 to 2004 around 100 Estonian persons may have become victims of trafficking (IOM 2005a: 85).

Among the three Baltic States, the most trafficking cases are reported from Lithuania (CBSS 2003; Helsingin Sanomat 2002; IHF 2000; US Bureau of Democracy 2006c; US Department of State 2006); according to the US Department of State (2006), more than 1,200 Lithuanian women become victims of trafficking each year (ibid.: 164). For the years of 1999 to 2002 this trend is confirmed by the German Federal Criminal Police (Bundeskriminalamt) who noted very high percentages of Lithuanian victims of trafficking:

Tab. 4: Latvian and Lithuanian trafficking victims exploited in Germany²³

Year	Latvia			Lithuania		
	Number of victims	%	OBZ	Number of victims	%	OBZ
1999	20	2.5	no data provided	88	11.0	no data provided
2000	43	4.6	15.5	162	17.5	34.8
2001	40	4.1	14.2	119	12.1	28.6
2002	24	3.0	n.d.p.	119	14.7	24.3
2003	64	5.2	22.1	62	5.0	12.8
2004	no data provided	no data provided	7.1	28	2.9	5.8
2005	no data provided	no data provided	no data provided	16	2.5	no data provided

Sources: Bundeskriminalamt 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006.

²² This estimation has been re-quoted a lot. Unfortunately, the original source was not indicated and could neither be validated by the author, E.B.

²³ The abbreviation OBZ (Opferbelastungszahl) indicates the statistical number of victims per 100,000 of the national female population between 15 and 30 years. In 2005, no numbers were given of Latvian trafficking victims in the annual report of the German Federal Criminal Police. However, this does not mean that there were no trafficking victims from Latvia, as only the largest percentages have been indicated. Of 552 trafficking victims originating from European countries, 84 victims have not been put in relation to their nationality.

In the year 2000, Lithuanian women represented the largest group of trafficking victims in Germany (162 persons, i.e. 17.5 percent of all victims reported), followed by Russian (15.1 percent), Ukrainian (12.4 percent), and Polish women (8.0 percent) (Bundeskriminalamt 2000: 5). Latvian women constituted 4.6 percent of trafficking victims (43 persons) (ibid.). In 2003, the number of Lithuanian victims fell nearly by half (from 119 persons in 2002 to 62 persons in 2003), and in 2004, the number of victims reduced again (28 persons). The highest numbers of Latvian women is found in the year 2003: 64 persons, i.e. 5.2 percent of all victims reported in Germany for that year were Latvian women.

When looking at the statistical number of victims per 100,000 of the national female populations between 15 and 30 years, one can see that both countries, Latvia and Lithuania, are among the most affected:

Tab. 5: Statistical numbers of victims per 100,000 of the national female populations between 15 and 30 years

Nationality	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Lithuanian	34.8	28.6	24.3	12.8	5.8
Latvian	15.5	14.2	n.d.p.	22.1	7.1
Russian	0.6	0.4	0.6	1.2	0.5
Ukrainian	1.8	2.1	1.2	1.6	3.2
Polish	n.d.p. ²⁴	1.5	1.5	1.7	1.1
Belorussian	3.5	9.0	n.d.p.	n.d.p.	n.d.p.
Bulgarian	n.d.p.	n.d.p.	8.9	12.7	13.8
Romanian	n.d.p.	n.d.p.	1.7	4.3	3.6

Sources: Bundeskriminalamt 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005.

In the years 2000 to 2002, Lithuanian women had the highest probability to become victims of trafficking. Statistically speaking, 24.3 per 100,000 Lithuanian women became victims of trafficking in the year 2002, and this only in Germany. In comparison, only 0.6 per 100,000 Russian women became victims of trafficking in the same year, although in real numbers there were more Russian victims (119 Lithuanian women; 143 Russian women) (Bundeskriminalamt 2002: 5-8). In

²⁴ The abbreviation "n.d.p." means that there was no data provided.

the year 2003, Latvian women had the highest probability to become victims of trafficking in Germany, with a statistical number of 22.1 per 100,000 Latvian women. This number reduced significantly in the following year (7.1 per 100,000 Latvian women). According to the German Federal Police, it is not possible to explain this trend appropriately, due to the lack of scientific data (Bundeskriminalamt 2004: 10). According to a survey of the International Organization for Migration in 2005, the number of Lithuanian citizens trafficked into sexual exploitation has increased since the country joined the European Union in May 2004, which applies to both adult women as well as girls (IOM 2005b). The study reveals that the United Kingdom has become the most popular destination country for Lithuanians since May 2004 (ibid.).

3.1.3 Who are the victims?

When analysing the literature on trafficking in women and girls in the Baltic States, trying to find an answer to the question: Who are the victims? or: What makes young women and girls vulnerable to be deceived and trafficked into sexual exploitation?, one will find that it is repeatedly pointed to the Russian-speaking minorities, who, in large parts, do not hold the same political rights compared to ethnic Estonian, Latvians, or Lithuanians (Elsuwege 2004). Other groups of persons that are repeatedly mentioned are women and girls from rural areas, women already engaged in the prostitution scene, children from orphanages as well as young women with social or psychological difficulties (Eespere 2004; IOM 2005a; Kase and Pettai 2002; Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 2001; US Bureau of Democracy 2006b).

Estonia

In Estonia, the majority of victims are believed to come from the Russian-speaking population living in the north-eastern region Ida-Virumaa (CBSS 2003; Eespere 2004; IOM 2005a) as well as Tallinn (IOM 2005a). One possible explanation for this observation is that large parts of the Russian-speaking population do not possess the Estonian citizenship and have only little knowledge of the Estonian language. Therefore, they have great difficulties in finding a job (ibid.).

What makes the problem even more dramatic is that the minority is distributed unevenly, e.g. in the north-eastern region Ida-Virumaa, the proportion of Russian speakers is about 80 percent (ibid.). After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the highly industrialized region based on the mining industry suffered from severe economic depression (ibid.). Therefore, the unemployment rate in the north-eastern region is the highest in Estonia, and social problems, such as high crime rates, drug abuse, and HIV are also particularly high in this region (Saar 2002). The more of these factors are combined (no citizenship, poor Estonian language skills, little education, unemployment, low living standards, drug abuse, etc.), the more vulnerable women and girls are to be deceived and lured into sexual exploitation – within Estonia (internal trafficking) or outside Estonia (trafficking abroad) (CBSS 2003; Eespere 2004; IOM 2005a; Kase and Pettai 2002; Trummal 2004). According to social workers that were interviewed by Eespere (2004), Estonian girls are vulnerable to trafficking, when they come from underprivileged families and orphanages. Children that are affected by poverty and social problems, particularly in the northeast are mentioned as the “primary group vulnerable to internal trafficking” (Protection Project a). Furthermore, some cases were reported where families had facilitated the trafficking of their daughter as being the only income of the family (Eespere 2004: 9). The International Organization of Migration interviewed in their study in 2005 different groups of young women with deviant behaviour and different kinds of personality problems and found that they also form a risk group to become victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation (IOM 2005a: 69).

Latvia

Among the three Baltic States, Latvia has the highest number of native Russian speakers: In 2000, 36.4 percent of the national population and 54 percent of the population in the capital city Riga were ethnic Russians (Zariòa 2001: 205). Twenty-five percent of the Latvian population are without citizenship (“aliens of Latvia”); most of them are Russian speakers (Kvinnoforum 2002). Since most employers demand knowledge of the Latvian language and some professions furthermore require Latvian citizenship, it is very difficult for these people to find work, which makes them more vulnerable for irregular migration and deceiving

employment offers (Protection Project b). Also, women of the Russian minority are overrepresented among local prostitutes: According to Zariņa, three quarters of all Latvian prostitutes are Russian speakers (Zariņa 2001: 264).

Minors graduating from orphanage boarding schools as well as homeless teens were also said to be among those most at risk to be trafficked (State Police of the Republic of Latvia 2006b; US Bureau of Democracy 2006b). According to the US Bureau of Democracy, a large number of Latvian victims were also drawn from the economically depressed areas of the country's Eastern regions (US Bureau of Democracy 2006b). There were also some reports about well-educated Latvian women who had become victims of trafficking into sexual exploitation (ibid.).

Lithuania

This situation is similar in Lithuania, where women of ethnic minorities, especially Russians, are over-represented among prostitutes and trafficked women (CBSS 2003: 154). Traffickers usually target the socially most vulnerable groups: young women from ethnic minorities as well as young females from poor or unstable families (Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 2001: 301; US Bureau of Democracy 2006c) who have difficult economic conditions as well as “no strong foundation of real values in life” (Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 2001: 312), which is why they may be more easily influenced by traffickers. “As compared with other countries from Central Europe, Lithuanian women are cheaper and do not know their rights so well, they cannot defend themselves. Therefore, they are in great demand.” (Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 2001: 301) According to data provided by the Missing Persons' Families Support Centre, the majority of trafficked Lithuanian women are single (84 percent) and come from urban areas (80 percent) (quoted in Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 2001: 298). Some cases were also known, where girls from the rural areas had become victims (ibid.: 299).

3.1.4 Who are the traffickers?

Not so much is reported about the traffickers and their social backgrounds. What is known, is that the offence of trafficking women and girls into sexual exploitation is committed not only by individuals, but also by small groups as well as organ-

ized criminal groups, who lure the victims with the promise of legitimate employment, better living conditions and/or the possibility to study abroad (Sipavičienė 2002; US Department of Democracy 2006 a, b, c). In some cases, the traffickers tend to “befriend” the victims or attempt to pass themselves off as legitimate job mediators (ibid.). Estonian criminal groups are reported to act highly organized and to compete with Russian (St. Petersburg-based) criminal groups, with whom they control all prostitution circles in Finland (Lahdenmäki 2002), which is also the main destination country for Estonian trafficking victims (IOM 2005a). According to the US Bureau of Democracy (2006b), mainly organized criminal groups are involved in trafficking Latvian and Lithuanian women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Apart from this information there were no reports about the persons involved in the trafficking process.

3.1.5 Recruitment methods

There are various methods of recruiting young women and girls into trafficking schemes for sexual exploitation. One form is through false offers of employment for jobs such as au-pair workers, house keepers, babysitters, dancers, waitresses, service attendants, private teachers, agricultural workers, etc. in other European countries (CBSS 2003; IOM 2005a; Kase and Pettai 2002; Kurova 2002; Marcinkevičienė 2002; Trummal 2004; Zariņa 2001; Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 200; US Bureau of Democracy 2006 a, b, c).

These employment offers are advertised via newspapers, model agencies, marriage agencies, employment agencies, travel agencies, and the internet (ibid.). In Estonia, this form of recruitment is the most common form (CBSS 2003; IOM 2005a; Kase and Pettai 2002), whereas in Latvia, it is said to have declined since the mid-nineties (Zariņa 2001). In Lithuania, it is also becoming less and less popular (Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 2001). Instead, traffickers search for women in desperate situations or girls who come from orphanages or asocial families, with whom they try to “become friends” and only then offer a “good job abroad and only for you since they need a reliable person” (Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 2001: 309).

According to Trummal (2004), the recruitment of Estonian minors also takes place via this method, where the creation of a relationship or false friendship is being used: “a girl fell in love with a man who then invited her to go with him to a foreign country, where the girl was forced into prostitution” (Trummal 2004: 52).

It is also very common to directly advertise for sexual services, for instance in the Dutch, German, and Finnish brothels and sex clubs (CBSS 2003; IOM 2005a; Kase and Pettai 2002). In this case, it is aimed at women that are already engaged in the commercial sex business and that are lured off by promises of higher wages and better living conditions abroad (IOM 2005a). This method of recruitment often takes place in cafes and clubs (US Bureau of Democracy 2006 a, b, c), and these women usually leave the country legally by bus (CBSS 2003). Only when they arrive at their destinations, the victims realize that they are trapped in slavery-like conditions. This method is the most common form of recruitment in Latvia (Zariņa 2001).

Data from the Missing Persons Family Support Centre in Lithuania shows that Lithuanian women most often fall into the hands of traffickers through their friends and acquaintances, who offer their help in finding them a job abroad: 67% of the trafficking victims assisted by the Centre had been recruited that way (Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 2001: 316).

Experience of Marija, a 24-year-old Lithuanian woman, pedagogue in physics-mathematics who was promised a job as a private teacher:

“And it is very important that all women should know – do not trust anyone, even your best friend (only family members – maybe). For jobs abroad – only deal legal firms, only with job visa, with all legal documents. [...] Even if you want to work as a prostitute, you will never be allowed to earn – maybe 10 per cent. If you are threatened – do not oppose – they will beat you. Better be silent and pretend that you obey – then it is easier to escape.” (Quoted in: Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 2001: 311-312)

What is common to all these methods of recruitment is that the victims do not realize the full nature of their future “employment” or the conditions in which they will have to “work” (CBSS 2003). Once the victims are trapped within an irregular migration environment, they are deceived by the traffickers and forced to provide

sexual services in order to earn profits for their traffickers: “When a girl arrives in a foreign country a common pattern is followed. The papers and money of the trafficked person are taken away. Victims are taken to a brothel or an apartment, where they are kept locked up or under close supervision. Next step is to demand repayment of the money used for the travel expenses, which is to be earned back by prostitution.” (Trummal 2004: 52-53) The trafficking victims are prevented from escaping by security guards, violence, threats of violence, as well as by having their identity documents withheld (ibid.; IOM 2005a). “They are [...] robbed of their identity documents, threatened, beaten, and blackmailed until they adjust to life in a brothel” (CBSS 2003: 155).

In most cases, intermediaries between the countries of origin and the countries of destination do the recruitment and are then paid “compensation” for each woman delivered (CBSS 2003). According to Zariòà, traffickers receive between 1,000 USD and 7,000 USD for each victim (Zariòà 2001: 231); other estimations range from 5,000 USD to 20,000 USD (Kase and Pettai 2002: 4). According to the latest Organized Crime Report of Europol (2005), “[t]rafficked Lithuanian women are currently traded for between EUR 2,200 and EUR 6,000. Women are resold up to 7 times along the way.” (Europol 2005: 16)

3.2 Links between trafficking and migration

In addition to analysing the phenomenon of trafficking itself, some studies also looked at the interrelation of trafficking and migration aspects. In this chapter, some of the most interesting findings in this regard shall be discussed. These include reasons for young women to move abroad, their trusted sources of information when looking for employment offers in a foreign country, and the extent of migratory prostitution.

3.2.1 Reasons for migration

According to various researchers, the main reasons for migration for women from the Baltic States are economic reasons, such as high unemployment rates, a low standard of living, (particularly in Latvia and Lithuania as well as in rural areas of all three states), poverty, absence of perspectives and low wages (CBSS 2003; IOM 2002; IOM 2005a; Kurova 2002; Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 2001; Zariòà 2001). As a result of the economic and political changes over the last decade, women are more affected by unemployment and financial hardship than men (*ibid.*), which has led to the feminisation of poverty (US Department of State 2003; Zariòà 2001).

In addition, discrimination in the labour market is strongly gendered: The number of women in the lower income group exceeds men by 75 percent, and gendered pay structures are a particular problem in the health and education sectors (US Department of State 2003). According to Rungule (quoted by Zariòà 2001),²⁵ Latvian women with a comprehensive high-school education earn about 51.0 percent of men's wages, whereas women with university education earn about 72.2 percent of men's wages (Zariòà 2001: 252 quoting Rungule 2001: 75). In Lithuania, women's wages have been reported to be 40 percent lower than those of men's (Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 2001: 300).

In Latvia, there are very strict requirements for employees: In many professions, Latvian citizenship is the precondition for getting a job. Where this is not the case,

²⁵ Rungule, R. (2001): *Izglītība, Gr.: Dzīves apstākļi Latvijā 1999, gadā*. Rīga: LR CSP, pp. 59-78.

non-citizens (“aliens of Latvia”) must be in possession of a special “Latvian language knowledge document” in order to get a job (Kurova 2002: 38). For members of the Russian-speaking minority, who make up about 36.4 percent of the national population (Zariņa 2001: 205), this makes the job situation even more difficult.

An opinion poll carried out by the International Organization for Migration (2005a) in Estonia showed that, in fact, Russian speakers were much more interested in migrating to a foreign country than ethnic Estonians: 3.4 percent of ethnic Estonians indicated that they would be motivated to migrate to a foreign country, if they couldn’t find a job in Estonia, compared to 14 percent of Russian speakers (IOM 2005a: 47). In addition, more than a third of Russian-speaking respondents (36.2 percent) believed that they had no future in Estonia, compared to 11.4 percent of ethnic Estonians (ibid.: 48). It was also shown that the readiness for migration was higher among female respondents and among less educated people (ibid: 46-48). “These poll results support assumptions regarding push factors. Those with a lower level of education, lower income and from regions with economic problems tend to be the kind of people who are ready to migrate. Young women were shown to be an especially motivated group.” (ibid.: 48)

A survey of the year 2002 indicates that there are some differences between the three Baltic States regarding the reasons for young women to move abroad (IOM 2002a): While Estonian and Latvian respondents gave rather similar answers to the question “In your opinion, why do young women move abroad for the purpose of employment?”, naming e.g. “expectation of quick and big money” (Estonia: 63 percent; Latvia: 64 percent); unemployment (Estonia: 43 percent; Latvia: 44 percent), “no prospects in the country” (Estonia: 26 percent; Latvia: 22 percent), the answers of the Lithuanian respondents drew a different picture: “Expectations of quick and big money” was mentioned by 50 percent of Lithuanians only (14 percent less compared to Latvia), unemployment was therefore mentioned by 75 percent, and “no prospects in the country” was mentioned by 43 percent of Lithuanians. (IOM 2002a: 6)

The divide between Lithuania and the other two countries becomes even more evident when looking at the motive “desire to see the world, to travel”, which was mentioned by 48 percent of Estonians, 25 percent of Latvians, and only 17 per-

cent of Lithuanian respondents. According to IOM, the reason for this gap arises from the economic situation in Lithuania, struggling with the highest unemployment rate, the lowest GDP per capita, and the slowest GDP growth rate among the three Baltic States in 2002 (IOM 2002a: 9), making Lithuanian young women more vulnerable for deceiving employment offers abroad (ibid.).

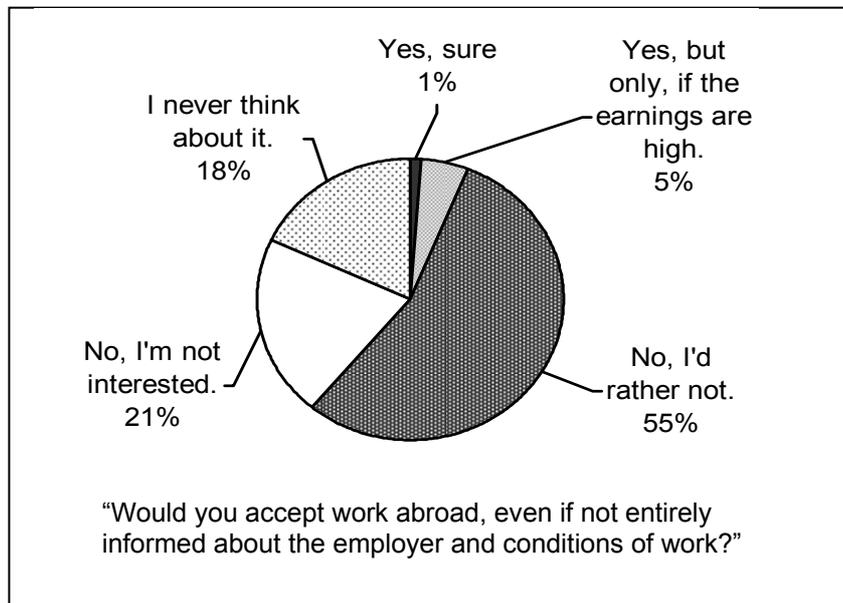
3.2.2 Trusted sources of information

Another interesting finding of the IOM opinion poll of 2005, which was carried out in Estonia, shows, which sources of information the respondents trust most, when looking for employment offers abroad. The majority of respondents mentioned that they would trust recommendations coming from acquaintances or friends most (54.9 percent), followed by relatives (35.2 percent), agencies (34.2 percent) and the internet (30.2 percent) (IOM 2005a: 53). Only 1.4 percent of the respondents declared that they would accept whatever offer was available (ibid.), while the proportion of people who gave this answer was the highest in the north-eastern region of Estonia (3.1 percent) (ibid: 54).

Regarding the question, whether they would accept work abroad, even if not entirely informed about the employer and conditions of work, 1.3 percent of the respondents gave the answer that incomplete information would not be an obstacle for them (ibid.: 55). Also, 4.8 percent were prepared to take risks, if the numbers of money was high enough (ibid.: 56).

Again, the responses varied among the different regions in Estonia: In northern Estonia (Tallinn excluded), 15 percent of female respondents were willing to migrate, even if they had not received enough information about their potential employer and the conditions of work (ibid.). The proportion of males from this region was also higher than national average (6.2 percent), but considerably lower compared to females (ibid.). In north-eastern Estonia 12.3 percent of males and 6.9 percent of females were ready to accept a job abroad despite the lack of precise information (ibid.).

Fig. 1: Degrees of trust when looking for employment offers abroad



Source: IOM 2005a: 55.

3.2.3 Migratory prostitution

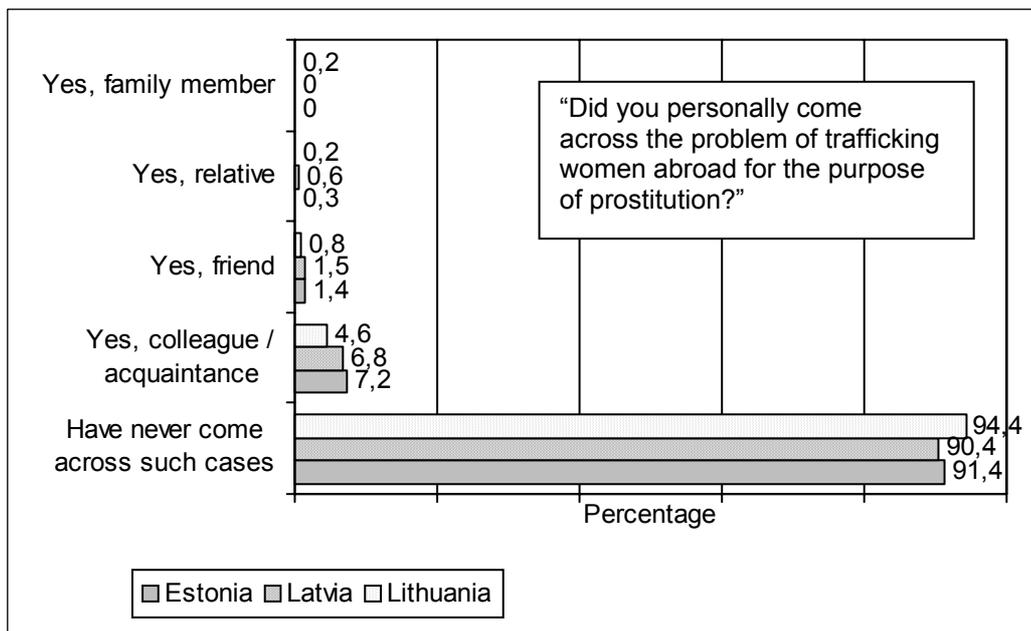
Since the opening of borders and the growth of the commercial sex industry in the three Baltic States, the phenomenon of migratory prostitution has emerged as well. According to police estimates, approximately one hundred women from Latvia as well as Lithuania go abroad every month to provide sexual services (CBSS 2003: 137; US Bureau for Democracy 2006c; Zariða 2001: 225)²⁶ – in the hope of better living conditions and higher wages than in the prostitution scenes in Latvia and Lithuania. (For Estonia, no estimations have been given in the literature consulted.) At the same time, the Baltic States are countries of destination for migratory prostitution from Russia and other countries (i.e Belarus, Ukraine, etc.). This has been reported from Estonia, where more than 80 percent of operating prostitutes are non-Estonian; a considerable number of these coming from the former Soviet Union (Ahven/Annist/Saar 2001: 173). In Lithuania, approximately 20 percent of women in prostitution come from other countries (Sipavičienė and Tureikytė 2001: 297).

²⁶ This number applies to each of the countries.

As has been shown in chapter 2 (Discourses on trafficking and sexual exploitation), it can be quite difficult to distinguish between the two phenomena migratory prostitution and trafficking of women and girls into sexual exploitation, depending on the definition of terms, such as “trafficking”, “prostitution” and “sexual exploitation”. Also, migratory prostitution can turn into trafficking for sexual exploitation, when means of deception or coercion are used.²⁷

The following findings are the results of an opinion poll, carried out by the International Organization for Migration (2002a), which shall be discussed as an example for the importance of keeping apart the two phenomena migratory prostitution and trafficking of women and girls into sexual exploitation. As one can see, the following figure is entitled “Trafficking women abroad for the purpose of prostitution: Personal experience”, as this has been its original title (IOM 2002a: 11):

Fig. 2: Trafficking women abroad for the purpose of prostitution: Personal experience. All respondents.



Source: IOM 2002a: 11.

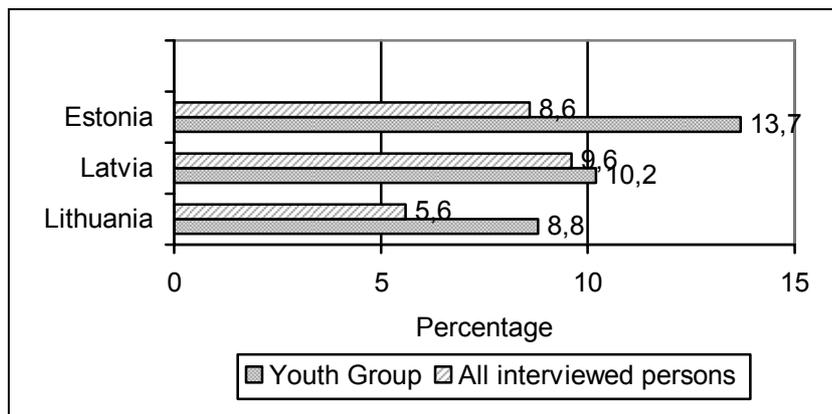
However, it will be seen that the figure does not necessarily give information

²⁷ This would be the case, when a woman migrates to another country, planning to earn money with prostitution, but when arriving, she is raped, beaten, threatened, etc., forced to provide sexual services and subjected to slavery-like conditions.

about the extent of “trafficking” in the understanding of this Thesis. The figure shows, which answers were given to the question: “Did you personally come across the problem of trafficking women abroad for the purpose of prostitution?”²⁸ The answers are similar for the three Baltic States: 8.6 percent of Estonians, 5.6 percent of Lithuanians, and 9.6 percent of Latvians personally came across “the problem of trafficking in women for the purpose of prostitution”, which is interpreted as “a source of serious concern” (IOM 2002a: 12).

When comparing the results of all interviewed persons and those of the youth group, the numbers are even higher: 13.7 percent of young Estonians, 8.8 percent of young Lithuanians, and 10.2 percent of young Latvians indicated that they personally came across cases of “trafficking women abroad for the purpose of prostitution” (ibid.):

Fig. 3: Trafficking women abroad for the purpose of prostitution: Personal experience. Results of the youth group



Source: IOM 2002a: 12, 63.

“These findings are alarming and suggest urgent and effective practical measures to combat trafficking” (ibid.: 7). The International Organization for Migration concludes: “Taking into account the findings of this research, one may suppose that the real numbers of women trafficked abroad are significantly higher than those estimated by various institutions” (ibid.).

Although the findings appear alarming at first sight, it has to be noted, that it is

²⁸ The study was carried out by the IOM Regional Office for the Baltic and Nordic Countries in cooperation with Baltic national public opinion polling agencies, in Estonia by “Turu-uuringute”, in Latvia by “Latvian Facts” and in Lithuania by “Vilmorus”, in September-October 2001. In each country, approximately 1,000 respondents were interviewed (IOM 2002a:7).

not made clear, which concepts of “trafficking” and “prostitution” the respondents had in mind, when answering the question. Did they speak of women that had migrated to another country, planning to engage in prostitution? Or did they speak of women that had been deceived by traffickers not knowing they would be forced to provide sexual services?

Here, we are dealing with three very different, but nonetheless possible, scenarios: In the first case (illegal migration), we are talking about a violation of *state law*. In the second case (legal migration), we are talking about a phenomenon (prostitution), which holds different legal status in different countries. Therefore, we may be talking about a violation of state law, but we may as well be talking about *no criminal offence*. In the third case (trafficking in human beings into sexual exploitation) we are talking about a violation of *human rights*, which represents a crime against the individual, not against the state. – In order to prevent confusion about the interpretation of data, it is therefore important to work with exact definitions.

In the given example, it is reasonable to assume that the respondents were, in fact, sharing their knowledge about women that migrated (illegally or not) to a foreign country in order to engage in prostitution. Otherwise, the question should have been: “Did you personally come across the problem of trafficking women abroad for the purpose of *sexual exploitation*?” – In this case, it would have been clearer, what the respondents referred to, when answering the question.

But still, even in this case, some doubts would remain, since we have no information about the individual political views regarding prostitution (abolitionist/liberalist viewpoint). Example: A liberalist would most probably differentiate between the terms “sexual exploitation” and “prostitution”. An abolitionist might not do that.²⁹

²⁹ For more information regarding the abolitionist/liberalist debate, please see chapter two of this Thesis (Discourses on trafficking and sexual exploitation).

3.3 Summary of discussed findings

The previous chapters discussed studies and reports that have been published on the issue of trafficking in women and girls into sexual exploitation in the Baltic States so far. In the following, the most important findings and trends that have been discussed in the previous chapters shall be summarized:³⁰

- All three Baltic States are countries of origin and countries of transit of trafficking victims. Lithuania is the only country, which also functions as a destination for trafficking victims, whereas in Estonia and Latvia, only isolated cases have been reported in this regard. In all countries, also internal trafficking represents a problem.
- The trafficking flow is always directed from less developed regions/countries to more developed regions/countries. This applies to both internal trafficking and cross-border-trafficking.
- Women that are trafficked through or into the Baltic States mainly come from Belarus, Russia, Ukraine, as well as other former Soviet Bloc countries.
- More than thirty countries have been reported to be the destination countries for women and girls trafficked from the Baltic States (see Tab. 3). The principal destination countries are: Finland, Sweden, Norway, and The Netherlands (for Estonians), Denmark, Spain, and Germany (for Latvians), Germany, The Netherlands, United Kingdom, France, Sweden and Spain (for Lithuanians).
- Estimations of the numbers of trafficking cases vary greatly: between 100 women between the years 2001 and 2004 (only Estonians) and 2,000 women annually (from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) are mentioned. According to the German Federal Police (BKA), between 1999 and 2003, 550 Lithuanian women and 191 Latvian women became victims of trafficking in Germany alone. One source reported that more than 1,200 Lithuanian women become victims of trafficking each year (US Department of State 2006).

³⁰ To see all references, please go back to the previous chapters. All sources, upon which this summary is based, have been indicated there.

- The victims are recruited through basically three methods, which are applied in all of the states, but to different degrees:
 1. Via advertisements of non-existent jobs (such as au-pair workers, house keepers, waitresses, etc.) in newspapers, employment agencies, travel agencies, the internet, etc. (most common form of recruitment in Estonia),
 2. Via advertisements of non-existent jobs in the commercial sex industry, which promise better living conditions and higher wages than in the prostitution scenes in the Baltic States (most common form of recruitment in Latvia),
 3. Through personal contacts, “befriending” the victims or acquaintances (“the offer is only for you, since they need a reliable person”) (most common form of recruitment in Lithuania).

- The conditions that create vulnerabilities to become victims of trafficking can be explained with the existence of interrelating discriminatory practices in the areas of *race*, *class*, and *gender*.
 - o *Race*: All Baltic States have high percentages of Russian-speaking minorities³¹ (Estonia: 25.6 percent; Latvia: 29.2 percent; Lithuania: 6.3 percent), who, in large parts are not appropriately integrated in the Baltic societies. As a consequence, areas with high percentages of Russian-speakers are overproportionately affected by unemployment, poverty, high crime rates, and drug abuse. Women from these minorities are also overrepresented among local prostitutes, which is the case in all three states. In addition, in Estonia and Latvia, members of the Russian speaking minorities do not hold the same political rights, compared to ethnic Estonians/Latvians (e.g. no citizenship), which, for many professions in Latvia, is a pre-condition for getting a job. As a consequence, women and girls from the Russian-speaking minorities are the most vulnerable group to become victims of trafficking. This can also be seen in the motivation for migration: According to an IOM opinion poll, 3.4 percent of ethnic Es-

³¹ It is spoken of “Russian-speaking minorities” because not all of the people affected by citizenship problems are ethnic Russians, yet the vast majority speaks Russian as their native language.

tonians indicated that they would be motivated to migrate to a foreign country, if they couldn't find a job in Estonia, compared to 14 percent of Russian speakers (IOM 2005a: 47).

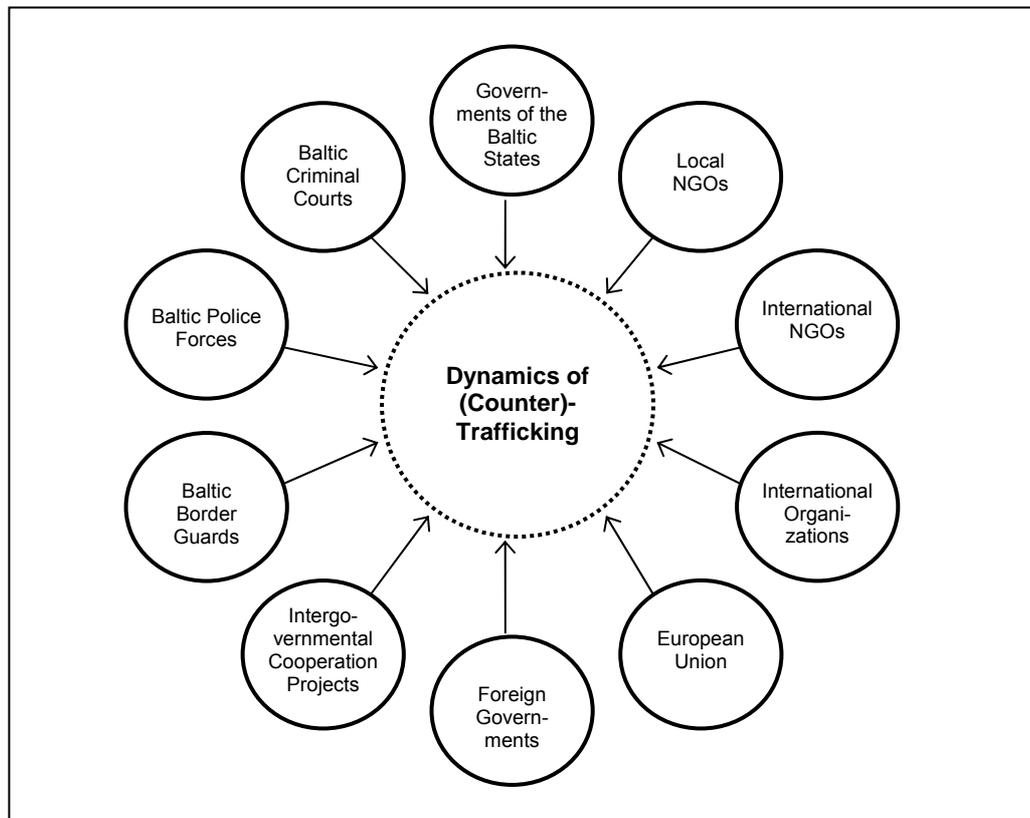
- *Class*: Another factor creating vulnerability for trafficking schemes is the factor *class*: In addition to being a female member of the Russian-speaking minorities, what makes women and girls vulnerable to be deceived is the condition of being poor. Women and girls who come from economically depressed regions have been mentioned as one of the primary target groups for traffickers. In particular, this applies to the rural areas of all three states. In addition, girls from orphanages or poor families are also vulnerable. In Estonia, the factors *class* and *race* seem to be particularly interrelated. This can be seen in the role of the north-eastern region Ida-Virumaa, representing one of the poorest parts of Estonia. Challenged by severe economical problems and a proportion of 80 percent Russian speakers in the region, Ida-Virumaa functions as the main source for trafficking victims from Estonia.
- *Gender*: Due to deeply-rooted concepts of gender-inequality, women are discriminated against on the labour market, e.g. via gendered pay structures. Thus, they are more affected by economic problems and financial hardship than men ("feminisation of poverty"). The role of *gender* becomes particularly evident when considering the fact that the absolute majority of persons trafficked into sexual exploitation are women and girls. In the literature consulted, boys have been mentioned as victims of trafficking into sexual exploitation only once (Kvinnoforum 2002).

4. Combating the trafficking of women and girls into sexual exploitation in the Baltic States

The previous chapter characterized the problem of trafficking in women and girls into sexual exploitation in the Baltic States. This was done by analysing current research on the *phenomenon* itself (numbers of trafficking cases, recruitment methods, risk groups, etc.) and the *migratory background*, which creates and reflects the vulnerabilities for trafficking (reasons for migration, trusted sources of information, when looking for employment abroad, etc.). – Now, it shall be looked at the fight against trafficking. The following chapter analyses the different elements that constitute counter-trafficking work in the Baltic States and the diverse actors involved herein.

Since trafficking in women and girls into sexual exploitation is an international problem of organized crime, the fight against it has also become an issue of international cooperation. When trying to analyse counter-trafficking activities in the Baltic States, one looks at a complex network of diverse actors following different aims and objectives (see Fig. 4). All counter-trafficking work is (more or less strongly) interrelated with different actors, their activities and strategies for achieving their aims. For example, Baltic law enforcement authorities, such as police forces and border guards, as well as Baltic criminal jurisdiction can only act upon prior decisions of their national governments, but they are also dependant on each other. Local and international NGOs are usually the first who help trafficking victims and implement projects in order to raise awareness on the issue. Thus, they formulate demands, what should be done by the governments, European Union bodies or international organizations, who later become the providers of funding for the NGOs. The creation of legal instruments is also influenced by obligations resulting from international law agreements, European Union requirements and pressure applied by foreign governments. In the area of victim protection there have to be cooperation-agreements between police forces and NGOs, as, in most cases, trafficking victims are only detected via brothel raids by the police. If the police don't provide referrals to NGOs, there are no victims to work with in the first place. These represent just some examples for the complexity of counter-trafficking work and the actors involved herein.

Fig. 4: Actors involved in counter-trafficking work in the Baltic States



In the context of this Master Thesis it is not possible to provide an in-depth analysis of all counter-trafficking activities carried out by every single actor, as this would simply be too much to include. Also, not all actors involved in counter-trafficking work in the Baltic States have so far been covered by research. For these reasons, it will be focussed on selected counter-trafficking measures only. In particular it will be focussed on three areas: The legal frameworks of the Baltic States, serving as the basis for any further counter-trafficking measures (chapter 4.1),³² the state of current law enforcement (chapter 4.2), and the practical side of counter-trafficking: Prevention-related counter trafficking measures and the protection and rehabilitation of victims (chapter 4.3).

³² Chapter 4.1.3 represents a short digression: Upon the analysis of trafficking-related legislation in the three Baltic States (chapter 4.1.2), a recent study of the European Parliament (2005) shall be reviewed, which investigates the impact prostitution-related legislation has on the number of trafficked women and girls and the manners of their exploitation.

4.1 Legal frameworks for counter-trafficking measures

4.1.1 Obligations resulting from international agreements

The Baltic States are signatories of diverse international human rights agreements, some of which are directly related to the issue of trafficking in women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

The United Nations' Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNC-TOC) as well as the supplementing Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (short: Palermo-Protocol) have been signed and ratified by all three of the Baltic States. Thereby, the governments of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have committed themselves to "adopt legislative and other measures to prevent and combat trafficking in persons" (Art. 2, 9-13 Protocol), to "protect and assist the victims of trafficking, with full respect for their human rights" (Art. 2, 6-8 Protocol) and to make trafficking in human beings a criminal offence (Art. 5 Protocol). The United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which has also been acceded to by all three states, requires that "States Parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women" (Art. 6 CEDAW).

The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) have also been signed and ratified, respectively acceded to, by all three states. They provide for the "prohibition of torture" (Art. 3 ECHR, Art. 7 ICCPR) and the "prohibition of slavery and forced labour" (Art. 4 ECHR, Art. 8 ICCPR).

There is one treaty that has been acceded to by Latvia only, which is the United Nations' Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others (hereafter: 1949 Convention). As has been shown in chapter two (Discourses on trafficking and sexual exploitation), the 1949 Convention was/is being perceived as highly controversial within the international feminist community. Its abolitionist approach and moralistic tone ("evil of prostitution") have hindered particularly the opponents of the abolitionist approach to sign the Convention. The Council of Europe Convention on Action

against Trafficking in Human Beings has so far also been signed by Latvia only; but since this has been very recently (May 2006), one may assume that Estonia and Lithuania will soon follow.

4.1.2 National laws and regulations

Although the three Baltic States have similar obligations resulting from international agreements, they have chosen different paths of implementing them. This becomes evident when looking at the definitions of trafficking-related offences and the penalties provided for the offenders.³³

a) Definitions of trafficking

The Latvian Criminal Code contains the longest definition of trafficking. Referring to § 154.2 LatCC, human trafficking is:

- (1) “the recruitment, conveyance, transfer, concealment or reception of persons for the purpose of exploitation, committed by using violence or threats or by means of fraud, or by taking advantage of the dependence of the person on the offender or of his or her state of helplessness, or by the giving or obtaining of material benefits or benefits of another nature in order to procure the consent of such person, upon which the victim is dependent.
- (3) (...) exploitation is the involvement of a person in prostitution or in other kinds of sexual exploitation, the compulsion of a person to perform activities or to provide services, the holding of a person in slavery or other similar forms thereof (debt slavery, serfdom or the compulsory transfer of a person into dependence upon another person), and the holding a person in servitude or also the unlawful removal of a person's tissues or organs.”

With § 165.1 the Latvian Criminal Code contains a provision, which additionally penalises “sending a person with his or her consent to a foreign state for sexual exploitation”, though in this case, “sexual exploitation” is not further defined.

³³ Unfortunately, there is not much information available in the English language, which would give detailed information about legal means for protecting and rehabilitating the victims of trafficking in the Baltic States. Although there is some information about the protection of witnesses of serious crimes, e.g. in Witness Protection Acts, Criminal Procedure Code, etc., there is no specification in terms of trafficking victims. What is being criticized a lot is that victims of trafficking are not guaranteed any protection or rehabilitation, if they are not willing to testify against their traffickers and/or pimps at court. Due to the severity of the offence, trafficking victims are usually traumatised and need psychological help, before they are able to cooperate with the police. Thus, the majority of trafficking victims are not protected by the law.

When looking at the definition of “exploitation” as in § 154.2 LatCC (“exploitation is the involvement of a person in prostitution or in other kinds of sexual exploitation”), one can see that prostitution is equated with sexual exploitation – which is irritating, considering the fact that Latvia is the only Baltic state, which legalised prostitution (see chapter 4.1.3), but which could be an important indicator for the prostitution discourses taking place on national level.

In contrast, the Lithuanian Criminal Code³⁴ contains a much shorter definition of trafficking (§ 149 LitCC): “Trafficking in human beings is the selling, acquisition or any other alienation of a person with the purpose to receive any material or personal gain.” This definition is, however, accompanied by § 131(3) LitCC, which penalises: “[t]he sale, hand-over or purchase of an individual for the purpose of sexual exploitation, implication into prostitution, or, for material and other personal gains, transporting an individual into or out of Lithuania for the purpose of prostitution”.

The Estonian Criminal Code gives no definition of trafficking, but uses the terms “enslavement” and “abduction” instead. The offence of enslavement (§ 133 EstCC) is defined as: “[p]lacing a human being, through violence or deceit, in a situation where he or she is forced to work or perform other duties against his or her will for the benefit of another person, or keeping a person in such situation”.

Abduction (§ 134 EstCC) is understood as: “[t]aking or leaving a person, through violence or deceit, in a state where it is possible to persecute or humiliate him or her on grounds of race or gender or for other reasons, and where he or she lacks legal protection against such treatment and does not have the possibility to leave the state”.

b) Penalties for the offenders

When looking at the penalties, which are applied for the trafficking offences as defined in the national Criminal Codes, it appears that the extent of the penalties

³⁴ Since no English translation of the Lithuanian Criminal Code has been available at the time of writing, all data on Lithuanian legal provisions analysed in this chapter is based on the studies of the European Parliament (2005), International Helsinki Federation of Human Rights (2000) and Kalikov (2004).

is similar in all three countries, ranging from one to eight years of imprisonment. Under aggravating circumstances, the highest penalty is to be found in Latvia, where the offender can be sentenced to fifteen years of imprisonment plus confiscation of property (see Tab. 6).

In Estonia, § 133 EstCC (Enslaving another person) provides a sentence of one to five years of imprisonment. Aggravating circumstances are given, if the offence is committed against two or more persons, or against a person of less than 18 years of age, in which case the sentence ranges from three to twelve years of imprisonment. The offence of abduction (§ 134 EstCC) is sentenced by a pecuniary punishment or up to five years of imprisonment. If it is committed against two or more persons, or against a person of less than 18 years of age, the punishment ranges from two to ten years of imprisonment.

Tab. 6: Penalties for trafficking offences

Country	Criminal Code	Penalties
Estonia	§ 133 EstCC (Enslaving another person)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 1 - 5 years of imprisonment ➤ In aggravating circumstances: 3 - 12 years of imprisonment
	§ 134 EstCC (Abduction)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Pecuniary punishment or 1 to 5 years of imprisonment ➤ In aggravating circumstances: 2 to 10 years of imprisonment
Latvia	§ 154.1 LatCC (Human trafficking)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 3 to 8 years of imprisonment, with or without confiscation of property
	§ 165.1 LatCC (Sending a person to a foreign state for sexual exploitation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Up to 4 years of imprisonment ➤ In aggravating circumstances: up to 15 years of imprisonment, with or without confiscation of property
Lithuania	§ 131.3 LitCC (Trafficking for sexual exploitation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 4 to 8 years of imprisonment ➤ In aggravating circumstances: 6 to 8 years of imprisonment

In Latvia, human trafficking is penalised by three to eight years of imprisonment, with or without confiscation of property. If it is committed against a minor, or by an organized group of persons, the punishment can go up to fifteen years, with con-

fiscation of property (§ 154.1 LatCC). Sending a person to a foreign state for sexual exploitation, with the consent of that person, is sentenced by four years of imprisonment (§ 165.1 LatCC). If it is committed for purposes of enrichment or against a minor, the sentence can go up to ten years of imprisonment, with or without confiscation of property. If it is committed by an organized group, the penalty ranges from eight to fifteen years, with confiscation of property (*ibid.*).

In Lithuania, until 1998, trafficking in human beings was penalised by six to twelve years of imprisonment as an unlawful deprivation of freedom (European Parliament 2005: 32). If trafficking was committed against a juvenile, as repeated action, in conspiracy or by a recidivist, a more severe penalty, ranging from six up to twelve years of imprisonment was applied (Kalikov 2004). In 1998 the Lithuanian Criminal Code was amended to include the offence of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, which entered into force in 2001 (European Parliament 2005; Kalikov 2004: 7). The new paragraph on trafficking for sexual exploitation (§ 131.3 LitCC) provides for an imprisonment between four and eight years. If it is committed repeatedly, against a minor, by a group of previously conspired persons, or by an especially dangerous habitual offender, the sentence ranges from 6 to 12 years of imprisonment (*ibid.*).

4.1.3 Impact of prostitution-related legislation on trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation

A study of the European Parliament (2005) investigated into the impact prostitution-related policies have on the numbers of trafficking victims and on the manners of their exploitation. The study distinguished between four legislation models: “abolitionism” (e.g. Czech Republic and Spain), “new abolitionism” (e.g. Estonia and Italy), “prohibitionism” (e.g. Lithuania and Sweden) and “regulationism” (e.g. Latvia and Germany).³⁵ Being a representative of the model “new abolitionism”, the Estonian legislation on prostitution can be characterized as not prohibiting the exercising of indoor or outdoor prostitution but explicitly prohibiting the existence of brothels (European Parliament 2005: vii). “New abolitionism” is the most common model in the European Union with 32 percent of the EU Member States handling prostitution this way (ibid.: 44).

The Latvian legislation on prostitution falls under the model “regulationism”, which is applied by 28 percent of all EU Member States. It is characterized by the regulation of indoor and outdoor prostitution, which are therefore not prohibited when exercised, according to the regulation. Prostitutes are often registered by local authorities and are in some cases obliged to undergo medical controls (ibid.: viii). In Latvia, prostitutes are obliged to undergo a health examination on a monthly basis and to possess a valid health card, which must be shown to the buyer on request (ibid.: 31).

The Lithuanian model on prostitution represents the legislation type “prohibitionism”, which is applied by 16 percent of all EU Member States. A country falls under this model, if outdoor and indoor prostitution are prohibited. Parties involved in prostitution can be liable to penalties, including in some cases, the clients (ibid.: viii). This is the case in Lithuania, where prostitutes are penalised by a fine of approximately € 85 to € 140, according to Art. 182 of the Code of Violations of Administrative Law. If committed repeatedly, prostitution can be punished by an

³⁵ These definitions have been given in the study: “Abolitionism”: Indoor and outdoor prostitution are not prohibited; the state decides to tolerate prostitution and not to intervene in it; “New abolitionism”: Indoor and outdoor prostitution are not prohibited, but brothels are; “Prohibitionism”: Indoor and outdoor prostitution are prohibited; “Regulationism”: Indoor and outdoor prostitution are regulated by the state and are therefore not prohibited when exercised.

administrative arrest of up to 30 days, whilst pimping is criminalised and punishable by a deprivation of liberty from three to seven years or a fine (Art. 239.3 Lithuanian Criminal Code). Nevertheless, outdoor prostitution seems to be tolerated and considered “rather free” in Lithuania (European Parliament 2005: 32).

Upon the analysis of eleven chosen EU Member States, the study reveals the impact that prostitution-related legislation models have on factors related to trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation, namely: their place of exploitation (indoors/outdoors), the level of violence within the exploitative situation, and the numbers of trafficking victims:

- 1) Place of exploitation: Under the models “regulationism”, “abolitionism” and “prohibitionism”, trafficked prostitution is more frequently exercised indoors, whereas under the model “new abolitionism” trafficked prostitution is more frequently exercised outdoors (ibid.: 130-131).
- 2) Level of violence: The models “abolitionism” and “new abolitionism” can develop a slightly higher level of violence than the other models (ibid.: 131-132). Also, the level of violence seems to be slightly higher in the new EU Member States (ibid.).
- 3) Numbers of trafficking victims: The number of women and children trafficked into sexual exploitation seems to be slightly higher under the models “new abolitionism” and “regulationism”, whilst the model “prohibitionism” shows the fewest victims: “Should the Member States take actions to implement a model of ‘new abolitionism’ or ‘regulationism’, they should consider that these models seem to ‘produce’ more victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation.” (ibid.: 137) The numbers of victims of trafficking seem to be higher in the old EU Member States, as they mainly function as destination countries (ibid.: 132).

On the basis of these results, it is possible to summarize the impact of prostitution-related legislation on the phenomenon of trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation in the Baltic States (see Tab. 7). When applying the results of the study, it should be noted though, that the typology was created on the basis of data provided by eleven EU Member States only. Also, in many cases the reliability of quantitative data was rated not very high, as few countries possess statistics about trafficking victims, offenders and offences. With regards to the Baltic States, the reliability of quantitative data was estimated “low” for both

Estonia and Latvia and “medium” in the case of Lithuania (ibid.: ix). Keeping in mind that the results of the study represent tendencies, which have to be validated through further research, one may draw following conclusions:

Tab. 7 Impact of prostitution-related legislation on the numbers of trafficking victims and on the manners of their exploitation

Country	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania
Legislation typology	“New abolitionism”	“Regulationism”	“Prohibitionism”
Status of prostitution	Prostitution is not prohibited, but brothels are.	Prostitution is regulated and therefore not prohibited.	Prostitution is prohibited.
Place of exploitation	Outdoors	Indoors	Indoors
Level of violence	- higher than under the other models - higher than in old EU Member States	- lower than under “new abolitionism” - higher than in old EU Member States	- lower than under “new abolitionism” - higher than in old EU Member States
Numbers of trafficking victims	- higher than under the models “abolitionism” and “prohibitionism” - lower than in the old EU Member States	- higher than under the models “abolitionism” and “prohibitionism” - lower than in the old EU Member States	- lower than under any other model - lower than in the old EU Member States

Source: European Parliament (2005).

- In Estonia, victims of trafficking are more likely to be exploited outdoors, whilst victims of trafficking in Latvia and Lithuania are more likely to be exploited indoors.
- The level of violence within the exploitative situation is likely to be higher in Estonia than in Latvia and Lithuania, whereas all three countries are likely to display higher levels of violence than the old EU Member States.
- In all three Baltic States, the numbers of trafficking victims is likely to be lower than in the old EU Member States, considering that the latter mainly function as destination countries. Among the three Baltic States, the fewest victims should be found in Lithuania. (This contradicts one finding that has been discussed in chapter 3.1.1: Lithuania has repeatedly been mentioned

as the only Baltic State that regularly functions as destination country.)

4.2 Law enforcement

The analyses of the legal frameworks for counter-trafficking activities, which have been undertaken in the previous chapters, shall now be put in relation to their impact on national law enforcement activities. It appears of interest, whether the legal provisions penalising trafficking-related offences have so far been adequately implemented. In particular, it shall be tried to answer the question: What is the state of current law enforcement in the three Baltic States? This will be done by analysing available information about trafficking cases in Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian courts.

The most detailed information in this regard is available from the US Department of State, whose annual "Trafficking in Persons Report" (hereafter: TIP-Report), first published in 2001, provides country profiles for numerous states. Unfortunately, not all country profiles contain exactly the same information, depending on the extent of statistical information provided by the states, which weakens the comparability of data.³⁶ Nonetheless, they provide important information, as will be seen.

Estonia

In Estonia, the first trafficking-related convictions took place in the year 2004, when eleven prosecutions led to the conviction of nine traffickers, of which two were convicted to prison sentences (US Department of State 2005: 102).

In February 2005, the first trafficking case was prosecuted on the grounds of the new anti-enslavement statute (§ 133 Estonian Criminal Code), convicting four traffickers. Two of these were sentenced to four years of imprisonment and two to

³⁶ For Estonia, the numbers of prosecutions and convictions have been given, (though not in all reports); in Latvia, the amount of investigations and convictions is indicated, not the number of prosecutions. The most detailed information is available for Lithuania, where the number of newly opened investigations, prosecutions, defendants, convictions, and participations in international trafficking investigations are indicated. Thus, the only direct comparison can be made in relation to the conviction of traffickers, which has been indicated in all three countries (see Tab. 11).

sentences of only two years and four months of probation (*ibid.*). The courts convicted five other persons involved in the case under different statutes, such as forcing minors into prostitution and pimping, and sentenced them to conditional probation (*ibid.*). In the year 2005, seven cases were prosecuted, leading to 22 convictions of traffickers in total. Two of these cases were prosecuted on the grounds of enslavement (§ 133 Estonian Criminal Code); five were prosecuted on the grounds of child prostitution (§ 175 Estonian Criminal Code), convicting 15 offenders to sentences ranging from three months to two years and three months of imprisonment (US Department of State 2006: 115).

Tab. 8: Trafficking cases in Estonian courts

Year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Prosecutions	no data provided	no data provided	no data provided	11	7
Convictions	0	0	0	9	22

Sources: US Department of State 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006.

Latvia

According to the US Department of State, the first convictions of traffickers took place in 2002, sentencing eight people in total. Six offenders were sentenced to four years of imprisonment, one was sentenced to seven years of imprisonment, and one was sentenced to thirteen years of imprisonment (US Department of State 2003: 95). There is an inaccuracy of data regarding the numbers of convictions in the year 2003. The TIP-Report of 2004 mentions 23 convictions of traffickers during the year 2003 (US Department of State 2004: 154), whereas the TIP-Report of 2005 mentions 40 convictions during the year 2003 (US Department of State 2005: 141).³⁷

³⁷ Both numbers have been indicated in the "Trafficking in Persons Report" of the US Department of State (2004: 154; 2005: 141) in reference to the number of trafficking-related convictions in Latvia in the year 2003, which represents an inaccuracy of data. For the purpose of clarification, the author approached the State Police of the Republic of Latvia, who provided information about the amount of trafficking-related prosecutions between the years 2000 and 2006 (see Fig. 4). However, since the number of convictions were not displayed, it is not possible to clarify their correct amount in 2003.

While the number of trafficking-related investigations increased from 12 in 2003 up to 30 in 2004, there were fewer convictions in the year 2004. Of these (21 convictions) only one trafficker was sentenced to two years of imprisonment, while the rest received conditional sentences. In nine cases, the offenders were sentenced to confiscation of property (US Department of State 2005: 141).

Tab. 9: Trafficking cases in Latvian courts

Year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Newly opened investigations	no data provided	no data provided	12	30	23
Convictions	0	8	40/23 ³⁷	21	29

Sources: US Department of State 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006.

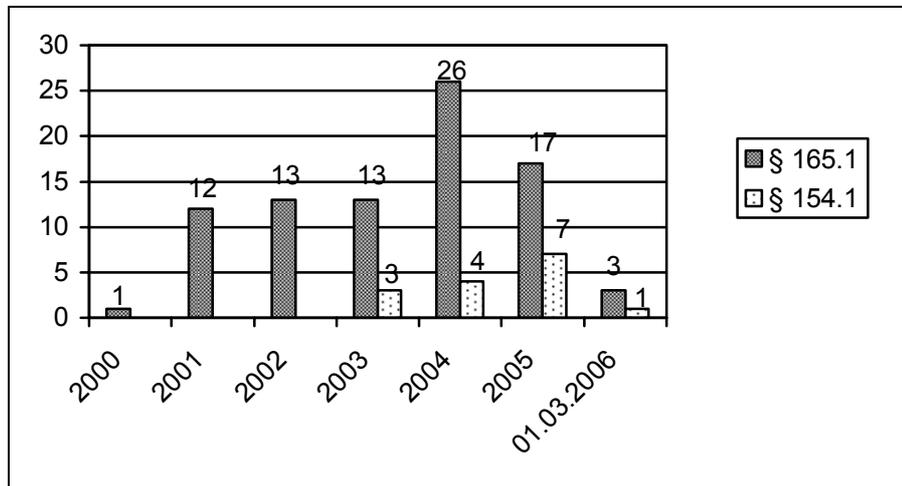
In 2005, 23 trafficking cases were investigated, seven less than in 2004. The conviction of traffickers, however, increased from 21 in 2004 to 29 in 2005 (US Department of State 2006: 161). Of these cases, one person was convicted of trafficking, and 28 people were convicted of recruiting victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation abroad. Again, only modest sentences were applied: One of the 29 convicted persons was sentenced to eight years of imprisonment, five people were sentenced to less than five years of imprisonment, and 14 people were sentenced to confiscation of their property (*ibid.*).

According to information from the Latvian State Police (which was approached by the author due to above mentioned inaccuracy of data), between the year 2000 and 01 March 2006, 85 cases have been dealt with in Latvian courts related to offences laid down in § 165.1 of the Latvian Criminal Code (Sending a person to sexual exploitation). On the basis of § 154.1 of the Latvian Criminal Code (Trafficking in human beings), which entered into force on 23 May 2002, 15 cases were prosecuted (State Police of the Republic of Latvia 2006a) (see Fig. 4).

As § 165.1 Latvian Criminal Code penalises to “send [...] a person with his or her consent to a foreign state for sexual exploitation”, one may assume that the cases dealt with on the ground of this paragraph represent cases of (external) trafficking in the understanding of this Thesis. However, it is not made clear, whether the cases dealt with on the ground of § 154.1 Latvian Criminal Code represent cases of trafficking into sexual exploitation, trafficking into forced labor

or else, since all forms of trafficking offences are included in this paragraph.

Fig. 5: Trafficking-related prosecutions in Latvian Courts



Source: State Police of the Republic of Latvia (2006a), slide 6, received via email.

As can be seen in Fig. 4, Latvian law enforcement authorities have been investigating trafficking offences since the year 2000. With 30 trafficking cases, the most prosecutions took place in 2004. In 2005, the number decreased to 24, and in the first three months of 2006, only four cases were prosecuted.

Lithuania

In the Lithuanian country profiles, the US Department of State publishes data relating to newly opened trafficking investigations, prosecutions, defendants, convictions as well as Lithuania's participation in international trafficking investigations (Tab. 10). When looking at the number of national trafficking investigations, one can see that the total numbers of cases dealt with in Lithuanian courts is relatively constant, between 15 cases in 2003 and 32 cases in 2005, whereas cooperation in international investigations increased significantly from 23 cases in 2004 to 172 in 2005, which represents an increase of 748 percent (US Department of State 2006: 165). In all reported categories, Lithuanian law enforcement has improved in the year 2005: 18 prosecutions took place (two more than in 2004), involving 43 defendants (18 more than in 2004), which led to 20 convictions (six more than in 2004) (ibid.).

At the same time, the number of convicted traffickers serving time in prison is low: Of the twenty convicted traffickers in 2005, only nine were imprisoned, whereas seven received suspended sentences, two received amnesty, and two received fines (ibid.).

Tab. 10: Trafficking cases in Lithuanian courts

Year	Newly opened investigations	Prosecutions	Defendants	Convictions	Participation in international investigations
2000	no data provided	0	0	0	no data provided
2001	no data provided	no data provided	no data provided	no data provided	no data provided
2002	22	6	no data provided	8	no data provided
2003	15	no data provided	no data provided	13	25
2004	22	16	25	14	23
2005	32	18	43	20	172

Sources: US Department of State 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006.

Whereas different data was published for each of the states, the number of convictions was indicated in every profile, which makes it possible to directly compare this information (Tab. 11): In 2002, Latvia and Lithuania have the same numbers of convictions (eight), which, in the following year, increases in both countries. Estonia's first conviction took place in the year 2004 (nine convictions), increasing to 22 in the year 2005. In this year, the most convictions took place in Latvia (29 convictions); Lithuania displays the smallest numbers (20 convictions) (US Department of State 2006: 115, 161, 165).

Tab. 11: Conviction of traffickers

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Estonia	0	0	0	0	9	22
Latvia	0	0	8	40/23 ³⁷	21	29
Lithuania	0	no data provided	8	13	14	20

Sources: US Department of State 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006.

4.3 The practical side: Victim protection and prevention of trafficking

In the following it will be looked at the activities of different actors in the Baltic States involved in the practical side of counter-trafficking work, i.e. working towards the prevention of trafficking and assisting its victims. Due to the complex net of actors involved in this part of counter-trafficking (see Fig. 4), it will be focussed on three levels of involvement: the governmental level, the civil society level and the level of international cooperation.

4.3.1 Governmental initiatives

Until the year 2004, there was a lot of criticism regarding the attitudes of the Estonian and Latvian state towards the problem of trafficking, which was felt to be inadequate (e.g. CBSS 2003; Eespere 2004; Kase and Pettai 2002; Kurova 2002). The main points of criticism were that no governmental action plans had been developed in order to prevent trafficking or to deal with its victims and that no resources had been allocated for the law enforcement authorities to deal with the problem. All counter-trafficking activities had either been financed by foreign governments or by civil society organizations (CBSS 2003; Eespere 2004; IOM 2001, Kurova 2002). Only in 2003, the Estonian government had started to become active and formed the “National Anti-Trafficking Roundtable”, which had the task to draft a national action plan against trafficking, but which had not formulated its first draft until December 2004 (US Department of State 2005: 103). The Latvian government had adopted its first national anti-trafficking plan in March 2004 (“National Programme for Prevention of Human Trafficking 2004-2008”) (State Police of the Republic of Latvia 2006a and b).

Although there was also some criticism that the Lithuanian government should have acted earlier, Lithuania was the first of the Baltic States to take action against trafficking. In the context of implementing the *acquis communautaire* of the European Union, the Lithuanian government approved the “Program for Control and Prevention of Trafficking in Human Beings and Prostitution 2002-2004” (CBSS 2003: 162-163). The second national action plan, covering the years 2005 to 2008, was approved in May 2005 (Donielaitė 2005).

In the following, the most important projects implemented by the governments of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, shall be characterized:

In Estonia, two public awareness projects were initiated by the Estonian government in 2004: One was a seminar on “Drugs, Prostitution, and Trafficking from a Gender Perspective” and the second included two essay competitions for young people to write on the issues of prostitution and trafficking (US Department of State 2005: 103). In 2005, trafficking curricula were introduced at the Police Academy, Border Guard School, and Public Service Academy (US Department of State 2006: 116), and training seminars were offered for a wide range of target groups, such as law enforcement authorities, teachers, social workers, etc. (ibid.). In Latvia, training seminars have been offered for the law enforcement authorities, and a special police unit consisting of 17 police officers was established in 2003 (State Police of the Republic of Latvia 2006a: slide 5).

Furthermore, there have been some singular projects aiming at awareness raising among the general public: “Project for Prevention of Adolescent Trafficking” (PPAT), developed on the initiative of the Youth Health Centre Council of Latvia at the Ministry of Welfare in 2002 (CBSS 2003: 146) and prevention-related training courses for unemployed women, organized by the Ministry of Labour in 2002 (US Department of State 2003: 95). In 2003 and 2004, the Ministries of Education and Welfare incorporated awareness campaigns into secondary school and high school curricula, using the Swedish anti-trafficking film “Lilya 4-Ever”, which was seen by more than 10,000 students in 2004 (US Department of State 2005). In 2005, high school teachers participated in several prevention-related training sessions. (US Department of State 2006: 162). In April 2006, Latvian Border Guards have started a new operation, tracing unusual travel patterns of foreign nationals across Latvian borders; it is believed this will help detect trafficking routes and identify potential victims (ibid.).

Since the start of the national action plan in 2002, the Lithuanian government provided funding for several counter-trafficking campaigns, carried out by local NGOs and directly funded preventive education at schools (US Department of State 2002-2006). This included the development of a specific curriculum for schools, training seminars for teachers, information leaflets and creation of a toll-free hotline for students and their parents, which provided information on sexual

abuse and trafficking in persons (US Department of State 2003: 98). In 2004, more than 200 boarding school organized educational events on the issue of trafficking (US Department of State 2005: 145). In 2003 the Lithuanian government conducted two preventive information and education campaigns in cooperation with international and non-governmental organizations and the Nordic Council of Ministers (US Department of State 2003: 98). In 2005, the Lithuanian government financed a “trafficking outreach and information program” directed towards potential trafficking victims and the procurers of prostitution, which included the display of posters about the dangers of trafficking in public areas (US Department of State 2006: 165).

4.3.3 Civil society action

In the following, it shall be looked at local non-governmental organizations in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania that are involved in victim protection and prevention-related counter-trafficking work. What is common to all these organizations is that they are active in the fight against trafficking on top of other issues, i.e. they provide services to victims of violence, *including* victims of trafficking, or they provide educational services to women *and* do preventative work. This is due to one of the main problems of civil society organizations: the lack of financial support. For this reason, there are a lot of projects funded by diverse national and international donors running for a relatively short timeframe, e.g. one year only.

Estonia

Among the most active Estonian NGOs are the “AIDS Information and Support Centre”, the “Estonian Women’s Studies and Resource Centre” (ENUT), the NGO “Living for Tomorrow”, the “Legal Centre for Human Rights”, and the Children’s Support Centre Tartu. In the following, two of the above mentioned NGOs shall be introduced with their work: The “Estonian Women’s Studies and Resource Centre”³⁸ has been particularly active in the organization of awareness raising and prevention-related seminars. For example, ENUT facilitated the final

³⁸ The NGO’s website is: <http://www.enut.ee> (last check: 10 Aug 06).

seminar of the Nordic-Baltic Campaign against trafficking in women, which was initiated by the Nordic Council of Ministers (CBSS 2003: 66). Also, ENUT has been a cooperation partner for the "Coalition Against Trafficking in Women" (CATW) and the European Women's Lobby (EWL), implementing their jointly funded project "Grassroots Campaign in Estonia to Combat Trafficking and Prostitution – Focusing on the Demand",³⁹ which aims at "public awareness [raising] about sex trafficking, its causes, the negative social effects of prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation" (ibid.). ENUT is also a member of the CATW-initiated "Baltic Network to Challenge the Legalization and Decriminalization of Prostitution Industries and Focusing on the Demand 2004 – 2006" and has implemented some projects in this context, e.g. educational trainings on prostitution and trafficking.⁴⁰

The Estonian NGO "Living for Tomorrow"⁴¹ has been carrying out counter-trafficking activities since the year 2000 (e.g. "Project on Prevention of Adolescent Trafficking", "Human trafficking prevention – trainings for teachers, youth workers and psychologists in Tallinn, Pärnu and Jõhvi", etc.).⁴² Since October 2004, Living for Tomorrow has been offering an anti-trafficking hotline service, which has been financially supported by the US Department of State, the Foreign Ministry of Finland as well as the Dutch and British Embassy in Estonia.⁴³ The hotline provides information for potential risk groups, i.e. women and girls planning to leave Estonia in search of work or for studying abroad, and provides help to trafficking victims that have returned from countries of destination (ibid.).⁴⁴ In 2005, Living for Tomorrow started the EU-funded project "Education and Prevention on Trafficking in Human Beings in Estonia", which provides, among other things, educational seminars in the North-East and North Eastonia.⁴⁵ In cooperation with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), three video spots on sexual exploitation and forced labour were produced, which were shown in public transport in May and June 2005 (ibid.).

³⁹ Internet: <http://www.womenlobby.org/SiteResources/data/MediaArchive/Violence%20Centre/Projects/Summary%20projects%20dec05.pdf> (retrieved on 14 Aug 06).

⁴⁰ Internet: <http://www.enut.ee/enut.php?keel=ENG&id=&uid=152> (retrieved on: 10 Aug 06).

⁴¹ The NGO's website is: <http://www.lft.ee> (last check: 10 Aug 06).

⁴² Internet: <http://www.lft.ee/?keel=eng&meny=3&menyy=1-0-3> (retrieved on: 10 Aug 06).

⁴³ Ibid., <http://www.lft.ee/?keel=eng&meny=3&menyy=1-0-4> (retrieved on: 10 Aug 06).

⁴⁴ The hotline operates on every working day from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. (Phone: ++ 372 6607 320).

⁴⁵ Internet: <http://www.lft.ee/?keel=eng&meny=3&menyy=1-0-3> (retrieved on: 10 Aug 06).

Latvia

Among the most active Latvian NGOs involved in victim protection and prevention-related counter-trafficking work are the organizations “Resource Centre for Women Marta”, “Rehabilitation Centre for children who have suffered from violence Dardedze”⁴⁶, and the “Latvian Gender Problem Centre Genders” (State Police of Latvia 2006b: slide 5), whose work shall be briefly introduced in the following.

“Genders”⁴⁷ was one of the first non-governmental organizations in the Baltic States to carry out counter-trafficking activities. Since the year 1998 more than ten projects related to awareness raising among the general public and the prevention of trafficking have been implemented by the organization.⁴⁸ The most recent projects are “Capacity Strengthening against Trafficking in Women in Latvia” (2003), “Moon Light against Trafficking in Prostitution in Latvia” (2003-2004), and “Transnational networking: co-operation among judicial authorities, NGOs and civil society for prevention and fight against trafficking” (2003-2004). They were funded by various national and international donors, e.g. by the Queen Juliana Foundation, Caritas Rome, the Latvian Aids Foundation, and the Swedish NGO Kvinnoforum (ibid.).

The NGO Marta⁴⁹ is an organization, which is active in both prevention-related counter-trafficking work and victim protection. Preventive work includes e.g. the filming of a documentary on combating trafficking in the Baltic countries⁵⁰ as well as the conduction of seminars, conferences and educational projects („Be careful – trafficking in human beings in Latvia!”; “NO to Human Trafficking! Nordic and Baltic campaign to eliminate human trafficking: efficient solutions for the future”, “Airport: Public Awareness Campaign in the International Airport of Riga”).⁵¹ Workshops are conducted with different target groups, such as potential risk groups (unemployed women and girls), but also with social workers, who are

⁴⁶ Unfortunately, there is no further information available for the work of “Dardedze”.

⁴⁷ The NGO’s website is: <http://www.genders.lv> (last check: 10 Aug 06) (only in Russian and Latvian).

⁴⁸ Internet: <http://www.genders.lv/index-lat.php?p=5&pp=6> (retrieved on: 10 Aug 06).

⁴⁹ The NGO’s website is: <http://www.marta.lv> (last check: 10 Aug 06).

⁵⁰ Internet: <http://www.marta.lv/vpage.php?lang=en&id=15&lpa=94> (retrieved on: 10 Aug 06).

⁵¹ Internet: <http://www.marta.lv/vpage.php?lang=en&id=15&lpa=97> (retrieved on: 10 Aug 06).

trained in providing qualified help to trafficking victims. Funding for these activities has come from e.g. CATW, EWL, the Nordic Council of Ministers, and the US Embassy in Latvia. By learning from the experience of the Estonian NGO "Living for Tomorrow", the centre Marta has established a toll-free anti-trafficking hotline⁵², which provides information about personal safety and protection abroad, about acceptable working conditions, and which offers psychological assistance to trafficking victims.⁵³ Furthermore, the centre provides socio-psychological rehabilitation of victims through professional consultation in the centre (with: family physician, social worker, psychologist, lawyer) and offers informational consultation, assisting with the search of legal employment opportunities abroad.⁵⁴

Lithuania

Among the most active Lithuanian NGOs involved in victim protection and prevention-related counter-trafficking work are the organizations Caritas, Lithuania, the "Missing Persons Family Support Center" (short: MPFSC), and the "Women's Issues Information Centre" (short: WIIC), whose work shall be briefly introduced in the following. Of these three organizations, two are particularly active in protecting and assisting the victims of trafficking (Caritas, MPFSC), whereas WIIC has specialised in preventive counter-trafficking work.

The services of the Missing Persons Family Support Centre⁵⁵ include the providing of temporary housing, supply in necessities (food, clothes, medicaments), and psychological, social, medical, and juridical help to victims of trafficking.⁵⁶ Similar services are provided by the project "Aid to the victims of Trafficking and Prostitution at Caritas, Lithuania",⁵⁷ whose head coordinator (Kristina Mišinienė) has recently been awarded with the US Department of State's public recognition as "A hero acting to end modern-day slavery" (Caritas 2006). The services offered by the project are: "help in crisis situation, psychosocial help (safe shelter, material help, consultations of a social worker, a psychotherapist, a lawyer; acquisition of

⁵² The hotline operates on every working day from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. (phone: ++ 371 80020 12).

⁵³ Internet: <http://www.marta.lv/vpage.php?lang=en&id=15&lpa=94> (retrieved on: 10 Aug 06).

⁵⁴ Internet: <http://www.marta.lv/vpage.php?lang=en&id=16&lpa=73> (retrieved on: 10 Aug 06).

⁵⁵ The NGO's website is: <http://www.missing.lt> (last check: 10 Aug 06).

⁵⁶ Internet: <http://www.missing.lt/en/paslaugos.htm> (retrieved on: 14 Aug 06).

⁵⁷ The NGO's website is: <http://www.anti-trafficking.lt> (last check: 14 Aug 06).

education or job skills) [and] follow up in the community”⁵⁸

The Women’s Issues Information Center⁵⁹ has been active in preventive counter-trafficking work since the year 2004:⁶⁰ It is member of the “European Network Against Trafficking in Women for Sexual Exploitation”⁶¹ as well as the “Baltic Network to Challenge the Legalization and Decriminalization of Prostitution Industries and Focusing on the Demand”. A project of the latter has been implemented by the WIIC in cooperation with the Klaipeda Center of Social and Psychological Help and Caritas, Lithuania, which involved the display of large posters with the slogan: “It is shameful to buy a woman!” in 13 cities of Lithuania. Other projects that are reported to be currently implemented (in the year 2006) are “Stop trafficking in women and children!”, “Prevention campaign against trafficking in human beings”, and the “Nordic-Baltic Pilot Project for the Support, Protection, Safe Return, and Rehabilitation of Women Victims of Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation” of the European Women’s Lobby.⁶²

4.3.3 International cooperation

When talking about international cooperation in counter-trafficking in the Baltic States, one looks at the diverse activities of intergovernmental cooperation projects, international organizations and international NGOs. In the following, some of the most important cooperation projects shall be introduced.

There is not much documentation about international police cooperation, but, as has already been shown (see chapter 4.2), international joint investigations are reported to be increasing: e.g. in the year 2005, Lithuanian law enforcement authorities cooperated in 172 international police investigations (compared to 23 cases in 2004), which represents a significant increase (US Department of State 2006: 165). In 2003, the “Nordic-Baltic Task Force Against Trafficking in Human Beings”, consisting of governmental representatives of the Nordic and Baltic

⁵⁸ Internet: http://www.anti-trafficking.lt/index.php?s_id=1&lang=en (retrieved on: 14 Aug 06).

⁵⁹ The NGO’s website is: <http://www.lygus.lt> (last check: 14 Aug 06).

⁶⁰ Internet: <http://www.lygus.lt/projects.php> (retrieved on 14 Aug 06).

⁶¹ More information on the “European Network Against Trafficking in Women for Sexual Exploitation” is available on this website: <http://www.aretusa.net> (last check: 14 Aug 06).

⁶² Internet: <http://www.lygus.lt/projects.php> (retrieved on 14 Aug 06). More information on the project initiated by the European Women’s Lobby will be given in the next chapter (4.3.3).

countries, was initiated. For a three-year period, the Task Force was given the mandate to monitor (inter-) national developments of counter-trafficking measures, including the creation of national action plans, rapporteurs and ombudspersons, the implementation of existing laws, and the cooperation of police forces (Nordic-Baltic Task Force 2003).

In 2005, the Task Force decided upon a pilot project (“Nordic-Baltic Pilot Project for the Support, Protection, Safe Return and Rehabilitation of Women Victims of Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation”), which is currently being implemented by the European Women’s Lobby (Nordic-Baltic Task Force 2005). This project aims at the improvement of victim support models in the Nordic and Baltic countries and includes the development of a regional network consisting of public agencies and NGOs.⁶³ Another project of the European Women’s Lobby (EWL) is implemented in cooperation with the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW), a US-based international NGO. It promotes preventive measures in combating trafficking in 14 Eastern European countries, including the Baltic States, which are carried out by local NGOs in each country (see chapter 4.3.2).⁶⁴ CATW also facilitates a second project in the region, entitled “The Baltic Network to Challenge the Legalization and Decriminalization of Prostitution Industries and Focus on the Demand”, which promotes programs “that address the demand for sexual exploitation that encourages trafficking” (CATW 2005: 6). The two-year project, which started in September 2005, is implemented in cooperation with local non-governmental organizations, and includes various activities, e.g. discouraging taxi companies to take their passengers to brothels and sex clubs (ibid.).

Another intergovernmental cooperation project was the “Nordic-Baltic Campaign Against Trafficking in Women”, which was organized by the Nordic Council of Ministers in 2002 with the purpose to increase the public’s awareness regarding the issue of trafficking (Nordic Council of Ministers 2004: 18). The campaign was carried out in cooperation of the Nordic Council member states (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden) and Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and con-

⁶³ Internet: http://www.womenlobby.org/site/1abstract.asp?DocID=1459&v1ID=&RevID=&namePage=&pageParent=&DocID_sousmenu= (retrieved on 14 Aug 06).

⁶⁴ Internet: http://www.womenlobby.org/site/1abstract.asp?DocID=568&v1ID=&RevID=&namePage=&pageParent=&DocID_sousmenu= (retrieved on 14 Aug 06).

sisted of three joint seminars⁶⁵ in the capitals of the Baltic States as well as of separate national campaigns in all of the states involved. In Estonia, the national campaign consisted of eight different projects, including research projects, training courses, educational meetings, youth workshops, and seminars for governmental officials and parliamentarians (Nordic Council of Ministers 2004: 65-71). In Latvia, the national activities during the campaign included the organization of training seminars for different target groups (such as governmental working groups, NGOs, women with no or little income, students, secondary school directors), a youth conference, a television programme and a radio discussion (ibid.: 89-95). In Lithuania, an information study was conducted, and training courses were held in different Lithuanian regions (ibid.: 98-101).

The International Organization for Migration is also very active in conducting projects related to counter-trafficking in the Baltic States, which range from “carrying out information campaigns, providing counselling services, conducting research on migrant trafficking, providing safe and dignified return and reintegration assistance to victims of trafficking [and] helping governments to improve their legal systems and technical capacities to counter trafficking”.⁶⁶ The most recent project (“Counter-trafficking Capacity Building and Awareness Raising for Officials in the Baltic States”, 2005-2007) is carried out with law enforcement officials, prosecutors, judges, and civil society representatives in all three of the Baltic States and focuses on improving the efficiency of the prosecution process in trafficking cases (ibid.).

⁶⁵ The joint seminars brought together members of governmental agencies, researchers, police, border and immigration authorities, non-governmental organizations, media representatives and members of the public from all eight participating countries (Nordic Council of Ministers 2004: 20). The first joint seminar was held in Tallinn, Estonia, 29-31 May 2002, focussing on: “The role and status of women in the Baltic and Nordic countries”, “The role and responsibility of the media” and “Transnational and national legislation pertaining to trafficking in women”. The second joint seminar took place in Vilnius, Lithuania, 20-22 October 2002, focussing on “The protection and support of victims of trafficking”. The third joint seminar (“Action for the future”) was held in Riga, Latvia, on 27-28 November 2002 (ibid.).

⁶⁶ Internet: <http://iom.fi/content/view/147/8/> (retrieved on 10 Aug 06).

4.4 Summary of discussed findings

The fight against trafficking in women and children into sexual exploitation in the Baltic States is characterized by the activities of diverse actors following different aims and objectives. This multitude of actors can be best described as a complex and *dynamic network* (see Fig. 4), in which all activities are interrelated with the activities and strategies of other actors.

In the previous chapter, some of these actors and their work (depending on the information that was available) have been introduced. This was done for two reasons: 1) to give an overview of the current situation regarding the fight against trafficking in the Baltic States, and 2) to characterize the actors, which will serve as *units of analysis* for the empirical part of this Thesis (chapters 5 to 7).

Other focuses of the previous chapter were the analysis of the legal frameworks of the Baltic States, representing the bases for all counter-trafficking activities, and the state of current law enforcement with regard to trafficking-related offences. This was done in order to highlight the importance, which is attributed to the fight against trafficking at national level. In the following, the most important findings of the previous chapter shall be summarized and discussed:

All three states have obliged themselves to fight trafficking in women and girls into sexual exploitation by ratifying, respectively acceding to, these international agreements: The United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC), its supplementing Trafficking in Persons Protocol (Palermo-Protocol), the United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR), and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).

Latvia furthermore acceded to the 1949 Convention and is signatory state of the CoE Convention on Action Against Trafficking in Human Beings. Whereas one may still expect Estonia and Lithuania to sign the CoE-Convention⁶⁷, it appears significant that Latvia is the only Baltic State that acceded to the 1949 Conven-

⁶⁷ It may take some time before a state decides to sign and ratify respectively accede to an international law agreement. The CoE on Action Against Trafficking in Human Beings entered into force on 01 May 2005. Thus, it is probable that Estonia and Lithuania will still join the Convention.

tion, which can be described as abolitionist and moralistic (“evils of prostitution”). Considering the fact that Latvia is the only Baltic State that legalised prostitution (“regulationism”), it appears irritating that Latvia acceded to the 1949 Convention. In comparison: In Lithuania, all forms of prostitution are prohibited (“prohibitionism”), whereas in Estonia, prostitution is not prohibited as such, but brothels are (“new abolitionism”).

When looking at the implementation of above mentioned agreements into national law, one finds another hint of abolitionist influence within the Latvian legal system: § 154.2 Latvian Criminal Code, which gives the definition of “trafficking”, states: “Human trafficking is the recruitment, conveyance, transfer, concealment or reception of persons for the purpose of exploitation [...]. [E]xploitation is the involvement of a person in prostitution or in other kinds of sexual exploitation [...].” The equation of prostitution with sexual exploitation stands in sharp contrast to the legal status of prostitution. (Why should the legislator regulate prostitution, if s/he admits its exploitative character?) – This contradiction shows that there is an abolitionist tendency of the Latvian legislator, which exists despite the legalisation of prostitution. One may therefore conclude that the legal status of prostitution is not the result of an elaborated (finished) societal discourse on prostitution, but that this discourse is still going on. Thus, when looking at the influence of European discourses on prostitution and trafficking in the empirical part, it will be interesting to see, how Latvian actors estimate the situation.

Let’s go back to the implementation of international obligations into national law and the state of current law enforcement. When comparing the definitions of trafficking-related offences in the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian Criminal Codes, one sees following differences: The Latvian Criminal Code contains the most detailed definition of trafficking (§ 154.2 LatCC), in which “trafficking into sexual exploitation” as well as other forms of trafficking are covered. An additional paragraph (§ 165.1 LatCC) further penalises “sending a person with his or her consent to a foreign state for sexual exploitation”. The Lithuanian Criminal Code also contains the offence “trafficking” (§149 LitCC), but does not explicitly cover the offence of “sexual exploitation”, which is penalised in another paragraph (§ 131(3) LitCC) not connected to trafficking. The Estonian Criminal Code contains no trafficking-specific offence but uses the terms “abduction” (§ 134 EstCC) and

“enslavement” (§ 133 EstCC) instead. The Estonian definitions appear the vaguest in comparison to the Latvian and Lithuanian ones and do not mention the offence of “sexual exploitation” at all.

The extent of penalties for trafficking-related offences is similar in all three countries, ranging from one to eight years of imprisonment. Under aggravating circumstances, the highest penalty is to be found in Latvia, where the offender can be sentenced to fifteen years of imprisonment plus confiscation of property (see Tab. 6). However, when looking at the state of current law enforcement, the legal instruments seem to have been implemented rather inadequately so far:⁶⁸ In Estonia, the first trafficking-related convictions took place in the year 2004, when eleven prosecutions led to the conviction of nine traffickers, of which two were convicted to prison sentences. In Latvia and Lithuania, the first convictions took place in 2002, when both states convicted eight offenders. Although the number of convictions has more than doubled since (2005: 22 convictions in Estonia, 29 convictions in Latvia, and 20 convictions in Lithuania), the numbers are still low, when considering the estimated numbers of trafficking cases in the Baltic States (see chapter 3.2.2).

When looking at the practical side of counter-trafficking, i.e. the conduction of activities aiming at the prevention of trafficking and the protection and rehabilitation of trafficking victims, it appears that those actors with the least (financial) capabilities carry out the most projects. Although some projects have been implemented by the Baltic governments that aimed at awareness-raising and the prevention of trafficking, most projects in this regard have been carried out by civil society actors as well as the International Organization of Migration. At the same time, this part of counter-trafficking work shows the most cooperation among different actors, which applies to the national as well as the international level. In comparison to other parts of counter-trafficking work, including projects aiming at the prevention of trafficking, it appears alarming how little is done for the protection and rehabilitation of trafficking victims, but which constitutes as much an obligation to the governments of the Baltic States as the adoption of counter-trafficking legislation and effective law enforcement (see 4.1.1).

⁶⁸ To see all references, please go back to the previous chapters. All sources, upon which this summary is based, have been indicated there.

II. Empirical Part

The empirical part of this Thesis consists of three main chapters: Chapter five gives an account of the research method, which was applied during the conduction of the survey. The presentation of the empirical findings will be given in chapters six and seven. Chapter six analyses recent changes in the phenomenon of trafficking, in the fight against it, and in the national discourses on prostitution and trafficking, and asks, whether they are due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. Chapter seven evaluates two qualitative telephone interviews that were conducted with different actors involved in counter-trafficking activities in the Baltic States, looking at e.g. how the Baltic States' EU membership influences their work.

5. Methodology

It is an essential part of any empirical study to give a detailed account of the research design, which was applied during the conduction of the survey (King/Keohane/Verba 1994). This will be done in the following chapter. The description of the research design has to be accurate in order to enable the reader to theoretically understand the conduction of the survey and to replicate it, if necessary, and defines, "whether the obtained interpretations can be generalized to a larger population or to different situations" (Nachmias and Nachmias-Francfort 1992: 77-78). The research design can be understood as "a 'blueprint' of research dealing with at least four problems: what questions to study, what data are relevant, what data to collect, and how to analyse the results" (Yin 1994: 20).

5.1 Research interest

The purpose of this Master Thesis is to investigate into the consequences of the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union on the phenomenon of trafficking and the development of counter-trafficking measures in the Baltic States. As can be seen from the state of current research on (counter-) trafficking in the Baltic States (see Tab. 2), this topic has not yet been covered by academic or other

research and represents therefore a pioneer approach. Also, not much research has been done using a comparative method of analysis. Although some studies have looked at the trafficking situation in different countries, they did not involve a comparative approach, as they provided country profiles written by different experts that did not relate to each others' analyses. The aim of this Thesis is to gain information not only about the developments at national level but about the dynamics at regional level also.

After having decided upon the general research interest, it is possible to formulate some specific research questions:

- Did the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union have any impact on the phenomenon of trafficking in the Baltic States, i.e. did changes occur in the criminal activities themselves (numbers of trafficking cases, trafficking routes, trafficking methods, function in the trafficking process)?
- In which ways have the Baltic governments changed their approaches to the problem of trafficking due to the new European Union membership (relevance of trafficking in the pre-accession negotiations, adoption and implementation of counter-trafficking legislation, importance of EU recommendations)?
- Have there been any recent developments in the fight against trafficking on the level of civil society action, which are due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union (prevention-related counter-trafficking measures, protection and rehabilitation of trafficking victims)?
- Have there been any developments on the level of society (e.g. a new societal discourse regarding prostitution and trafficking) due to the influence of European prostitution discourses?
- In which way do the national developments of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania differ from each other? What kinds of dynamics exist on the regional level?

On the basis of these research questions and the theoretical analysis of chapters two to four it is possible to formulate some propositions, which shall be examined during the empirical analysis (chapters 6-7). The propositions that have been developed for the purpose of this research will be introduced and briefly explained in the following (P 1 to P 6).

P 1: With the new European Union membership, the Baltic States will increasingly become countries of destination for trafficking victims.

As has been shown in chapter 3.1, the trafficking flow is always directed from less developed regions/countries to more developed regions/countries. The attractiveness of the European Union and the expectation of growing living standards in new EU member states might lead to a change in the Baltic States' function within the trafficking process. Should this proposition prove true, one may also expect an increase in trafficking cases and the emergence of new trafficking routes.

P 2: Other elements of the phenomenon of trafficking (i.e. trafficking methods, forms of recruitment, numbers of trafficking cases originating from the Baltic States) will not change significantly due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union.

There are no indications, which would suggest a change in the trafficking methods or the forms of recruitment, which might be due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. Regarding the numbers of trafficking cases into the European Union, one may expect no significant change either: Although travel regulations were loosened (no more entry visa are required), the Baltic States have not yet become signatory states of the Schengen agreement. An increase in trafficking cases from the Baltic States into the EU is therefore not very likely. On the other hand, a decrease in trafficking cases is not likely either, as the economic disparity between the Baltic States and the countries of destination within the European Union did not significantly reduce between 2004 and 2006.⁶⁹

P 3: The adoption of counter-trafficking legislation by the Baltic governments will have taken place under the influence of the European Union.

⁶⁹ One indicator for the economic prosperity is the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita in Purchasing Power Standards (PPS). According to EUROSTAT, the PPS indices of the Baltic States have developed as follows in the recent years (EU-25 average = 100): Estonia: 2003: 50.3, 2004: 53.0, 2005: 60.1, 2006: 64.4. Latvia: 2003: 40.8, 2004: 42.8, 2005: 47.2, 2006: 50.3. Lithuania: 2003: 45.2, 2004: 47.7, 2005: 52.0, 2006: 54.4. In comparison, Sweden's PPS index is more than twice as high. Sweden: 2003: 115.7, 2004: 117.2, 2005: 114.5, 2006: 115.7. (EUROSTAT 2006)

Proposition three assumes an influence of the European Union on the adoption of counter-trafficking legislation in the Baltic States, as the EU itself has dealt with the issue of trafficking in different ways (Experts' Group on Trafficking in Human Beings, Brussels Declaration⁷⁰, Framework Decision⁷¹, recommendations, etc.). Since no research has been undertaken in this regard yet, it is not possible to specify this proposition any further, i.e. it is not known to the author, in which form an influence - if any - may have taken place (e.g. during the pre-accession negotiations between the Baltic governments and the European Commission, through the issuing of recommendations, etc.). This shall be explored during the survey.

P 4: Civil society actors engaged in the implementation of prevention-related counter-trafficking projects and the protection and rehabilitation of trafficked victims in the Baltic States will benefit from the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union.

The new European Union membership has brought new alliances and cooperation partners for civil society actors, i.e. via the integration into European NGOs, bodies or networks that work towards the same issues. Also, there are new possibilities for funding, where non-governmental organizations of new EU member states can apply (e.g. EU programmes such as EQUAL or DAPHNE).

P 5: European discourses on prostitution and trafficking will have a significant impact on the development of national discourses on these issues.

This proposition, of course, depends on the extent of cooperation between Baltic NGOs and European civil society actors (see P 4). If proposition four proves true, it is assumed that the Swedish and the Dutch/German models on prostitution will play a significant role in the societal discourses of the Baltic States. This could manifest in specific political aims of counter-trafficking projects (e.g. abolition of prostitution / liberalisation of prostitution).

⁷⁰ European Union Brussels Declaration on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Human Beings (2002) (short: Brussels Declaration).

⁷¹ European Union Council Framework Decision of 19 July 2002 on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings (short: Framework Decision).

P 6: The Estonian and Lithuanian discourses on prostitution and trafficking will be more orientated towards the Swedish model. The Latvian discourse will be more orientated towards the Dutch/German model.

It is assumed that the ideological bias of existing legislation on prostitution will be reinforced with the influence of European prostitution discourses. According to the 2005 study of the European Parliament (which was discussed in chapter 4.1.3), Lithuania has so far applied a “prohibitionist” approach, i.e. prostitution is prohibited. In Estonia, prostitution is not prohibited, but brothels are (“neo-abolitionist” approach). In Latvia, prostitution is regulated and therefore not prohibited, when exercised (“regulationist” approach).

5.2 Methods of analysis

In order to examine the stated propositions by relevant empirical data, the author had to decide upon the units of analysis and the methods of collecting and analysing data. For this survey, the appropriate units of analysis are actors that are involved in counter-trafficking activities in the Baltic States, as they can provide own experiences on the subject. As has been shown in chapter four, there are diverse actors who are engaged in the fight against trafficking in the Baltic States working on different levels, both nationally and internationally (see Fig. 4: “Actors involved in counter-trafficking work in the Baltic States”).

Representatives of these levels of actorhood were approached by the author via email and, in some cases, via telephone, and were asked, whether they would be interested to participate in the research, either in writing (questionnaire) or in oral (telephone interviewing). All together, thirteen persons were willing to answer the questionnaire, and three persons (who also participated in the written survey) were willing to be interviewed via telephone. As shown in Tab. 12-14 the interviewed persons represent seven levels of actorhood, namely: the Estonian Government (two actors), the Latvian Criminal Police (one actor), the Lithuanian Border Guard (one actor), Estonian NGOs (three actors), Latvian NGOs (two actors), international NGOs (two actors), and international organizations (two actors).

Tab. 12: Interviewed actors at national level

Representatives of	Estonia	Latvia	Lithuania	Total
Government	2	-	-	2
Police Forces	-	1	-	1
Border Guard	-	-	1	1
National NGOs	3	2	-	5
Total	5	3	1	9

Tab. 13: Interviewed actors at international level

Representatives of	Total
International NGOs	2
International Organizations	2
Total	4

Tab. 14: All interviewed actors

Representatives of	Total
National level	9
International level	4
Total	13

The questionnaires were sent out between April and September 2006. Each actor was given those questions that reflected best her/his area of expertise, i.e. for each level of actorness an individual questionnaire was created. (Example: Representatives of Estonian NGOs were asked about changes in the phenomenon of trafficking in Estonia, but not about the relevance of trafficking in the pre-accession negotiations between the European Commission and the Estonian Government.) In total, 27 questions were asked, covering six sets of questions: 1. Characterization of the actors, 2. Changes in the phenomenon of trafficking due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union, 3. Relevance of trafficking in the pre-accession process, 4. Impact of European Union regulations on the adoption of law and national law enforcement, 5. Changes in victim protection and the prevention of trafficking due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union, and 6. Impact of European prostitution discourses on national discourses in the

Baltic States (see Annex: Questionnaire).

In addition, three telephone interviews were conducted with actors that had also participated in the first part of the research, i.e. who had answered a questionnaire. These interviews were conducted by the author in April 2006 with the help of the CATI-Laboratory⁷² of the Institute of Sociology at the Friedrich-Schiller-University of Jena and aimed at highlighting some of the experiences made by actors involved in counter-trafficking work in the Baltic States. Two of these interviews will be presented as case studies (chapter seven) after having discussed the findings of the written survey (chapter six).

The conduction of the interviews (both the questionnaires and the telephone interviews) involved a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis. Some questions sought to explore the knowledge and experiences made by the actors; others aimed at gathering comparable data and provided a fixed set of answer categories.

Most of the interviewed actors agreed to being quoted and their contact details being published. Four of the thirteen interviewed actors wished not be quoted; one actor indicated that she did not want her contact details to be published. In these cases, the relevant answers were used in relation to level of actorness only, e.g. representative of an Estonian NGO, Latvian Social Worker, etc.

⁷² The abbreviation "CATI" stands for Computer-Assisted-Telephone Interviewing.

6. Presentation of Empirical Findings: Part one

6.1 Characterization of the actors

In the first part of the survey the actors were asked to provide some information about their counter-trafficking activities and about the aims and objectives of their work. The following table gives an overview about the range of activities, which are carried out by all actors.⁷³

Tab. 15: Counter-trafficking activities of all interviewed actors

Victim protection & assistance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduction of an Anti-Trafficking Hotline (1) • Legal advice (1) • Creation of a regional coordination mechanism (1) • Providing direct services to trafficking victims, i.e. protection, medical & psychological assistance, etc. (3) • Reintegration of trafficking victims into the labour market (1) • Setting up national contact points to deal with unaccompanied and trafficked children (1)
Trafficking prevention / awareness raising	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research on trafficking (2) • Information dissemination (4) • Lectures to target groups (2) • International cooperation (1) • Training how to prevent trafficking (3) • Conduction of seminars / events (8) • Integrating unemployed women into the labour market (1)
Law enforcement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coordinating the investigation in all trafficking cases (1) • International cooperation (1)
Policy Making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political lobby work (3) • Cooperation with state and municipalities (1) • Being the Ministry's contact point on trafficking in women (1) • National coordination of the Nordic-Baltic Pilot Project (1) • Represented Estonia in Nordic-Baltic Task Force (1) • Coordinated subject in Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1)

Answers from: all actors (thirteen persons).

As one can see from the table, the majority of activities carried out by the interviewed actors may be subsumed under the category "Trafficking prevention/ awareness raising", to which 21 of 38 activities are related. In this category, the

⁷³ Please note that the interviewed actors gave multiple answers to this and the two following questions.

most activities are the conduction of prevention-related seminars and events (eight answers), followed by information dissemination (four answers) and trainings about how to prevent trafficking (three answers). Counter-trafficking activities that are related to the protection and rehabilitation of trafficking victims were mentioned eight times in total. Of these, three answers relate to the provision of direct services to victims (such as medical and psychological care, etc.), one mentions the conduction of an “Anti-Trafficking Hotline” (which provides information and anonymous help to trafficking victims and/or risk groups), one mentions legal advice, one mentions the reintegration of trafficking victims into the labour market, and two are related to the creation of formal cooperation mechanisms.⁷⁴

Eight of the given answers reflect the actor’s involvement in the (inter-)national policy making process, either via direct political influence (one expert of the Estonian Social Ministry, one expert of the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs) or via political lobbying, which was indicated by three civil society actors. Two of the interviewed actors are involved in law enforcement activities (Latvian State Police, Lithuanian State Border Guard Service).

Tab. 16: Aims of counter-trafficking activities

- Protection of trafficking victims and their human rights (7)
- Prevention / reduction of human trafficking (6)
- Improvement of the wider public’s knowledge on trafficking and human rights (4)
- Creation of a proper victim support system for trafficking victims (3)
- Better communication procedures between key stakeholders in countries of origin and countries of destination (3)
- Improvement of social workers’ knowledge on trafficking (2)
- Improvement of law enforcement agencies’ knowledge on trafficking (1)
- “To make people aware about the link between trafficking and prostitution” (1)
- Adoption of legislation to combat trafficking and violence against women and children (1)
- Better policies at European level (1)
- Better laws and policies at national level and at municipal level (1)
- Enhanced treatment of the issue at political level (1)

Answers from: all actors (thirteen persons).

⁷⁴ One of these is the “Nordic-Baltic Pilot Project for the Support, Protection, Safe Return and Rehabilitation of Women Victims of Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation”, which was commissioned by the Nordic-Baltic Task Force against Trafficking in Human Beings and which is carried out by the European Women’s Lobby (EWL). The other is a programme of the Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS) on unaccompanied and trafficked children in the region of the eleven Member States of the CBSS as well as Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine.

Regarding the aims of the conducted counter-trafficking activities, most actors named the protection of trafficking victims and their human rights (seven answers) and the prevention or reduction of human trafficking (six answers). This was followed by the improvement of the wider public's knowledge about trafficking and human rights (four answers), the creation of a proper victim support system (three answers) and better communication procedures between key stakeholders in countries of origin and countries of destination of trafficking victims (three answers). When looking at the actors' strategies for achieving these aims, one notices that eight of thirteen actors mentioned networking as one of their main strategies.⁷⁵ This included cooperation practices between national and international NGOs, between civil society actors and decision-makers as well as between law enforcement authorities in different countries.

Tab. 17: Strategies to achieve these aims

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Networking (cooperation with other actors) (8) • Using mass media to raise awareness (2) • Producing information material (2) • Information analysis and evaluation (2) • Employing experts from different areas (1) • Developing formal cooperation procedures (1) • Mapping results with publications (1)

Answers from: all actors (thirteen persons).

This is an interesting finding, as it confirms the former assumption that counter-trafficking work takes place within a dynamic network of diverse interrelated actors and activities (see Fig. 4). In order to get an impression of how these dynamics actually work, see following statement of Målin Bjørk, Project Director of the Nordic-Baltic Pilot Project:

“[B]EFORE [...] BEING ABLE TO ESTABLISH A REGIONAL MECHANISM TO COORDINATE THIS ASSISTANCE TO [...] VICTIMS, WE NEED TO ESTABLISH A LEVEL OF COOPERATION AT NATIONAL LEVEL. IN SOME COUNTRIES, THIS EXISTS ALREADY. BUT IN MOST COUNTRIES IT DOESN'T EXIST. [...] [T]HE PROCESS IS TO STIMULATE AND ENCOURAGE [...] THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL CO-

⁷⁵ Though it was possible to give multiple answers to this question, each actor was noted just once per answer category.

OPERATION MECHANISMS BETWEEN KEY STAKEHOLDERS TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO VICTIMS. [...] [T]HE IDEA IS TO GET THEM WORKING TOGETHER AT NATIONAL LEVEL SO THAT WE CAN BUILD ON THAT AT REGIONAL LEVEL ALSO.”

MALIN BJØRK, PROJECT-DIRECTOR OF THE NORDIC-BALTIC PILOT PROJECT, EWL, BRUSSELS

6.2 Changes in the phenomenon of trafficking due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union

After having characterized the actors that were interviewed for this survey, it shall be moved to the first main part of empirical findings. This subchapter analyses the recent developments of the phenomenon of trafficking and seeks to find out, whether these are due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. All questions relating to possible changes in the phenomenon of trafficking have been answered by local actors only, as they can best evaluate the developments at national level (in total: eight persons). These are: three representatives of Estonian NGOs, two representatives of Latvian NGOs, one representative of the Latvian State Police, one representative of the Lithuanian State Border Guard Service, and one representative of an international organization (IOM Riga).

The interviewed actors have been asked about possible changes within these elements of the phenomenon of trafficking: 1) numbers of trafficking cases, 2) function of the Baltic States in the trafficking process, 3) trafficking routes, and 4) trafficking methods.

6.2.1 Numbers of trafficking cases

The actors were asked to give their estimation about how many women and girls are annually trafficked into and out of their country for the purpose of sexual exploitation. For most actors, this question was very difficult to answer, and it was emphasized that there is no trustful research or documentation regarding this issue.

“IT IS VERY DIFFICULT TO ESTIMATE APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF TRAFFICKING VICTIMS FROM ESTONIA AND INTO AS A LARGE AMOUNT OF TRAFFICKING CASES STAY CONCEALED FROM THE AWARENESS OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC.”

ZANNA JOZEF, ANTI-TRAFFICKING PROGRAM MANAGER, LIVING FOR TOMORROW, TALLINN

Nonetheless, four gave an estimation of the situation (one Estonian and three Latvian respondents): “More than 500 per year” (from Estonia), respectively: “about a hundred of people per month”, “several hundreds per year”, “several hundred” (from Latvia). But even though it appeared hard to give exact numbers, the actors provided important information about the extent of the problem:

“HAVE NO IDEA, AS THERE IS NO DATA COLLECTED AT ALL. HOWEVER IT IS [...] PROBABLE THAT THE NUMBER IS RATHER HIGH, MORE THAN 500 PER YEAR. IN THE COURSE OF INTERVIEWS WITH LOCAL RESIDENTS OF THE EAST-NORTH REGION ALMOST EVERY 3-D PERSON CAN BRING A CASE OF TRAFFICKING OR TRAFFICKING ATTEMPT THAT TOOK PLACE WITH THE MEMBER OF THE FAMILY OR PERSONS THEY KNOW.”

JULIA KOVALENKO, LEGAL INFORMATION CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, TALLINN

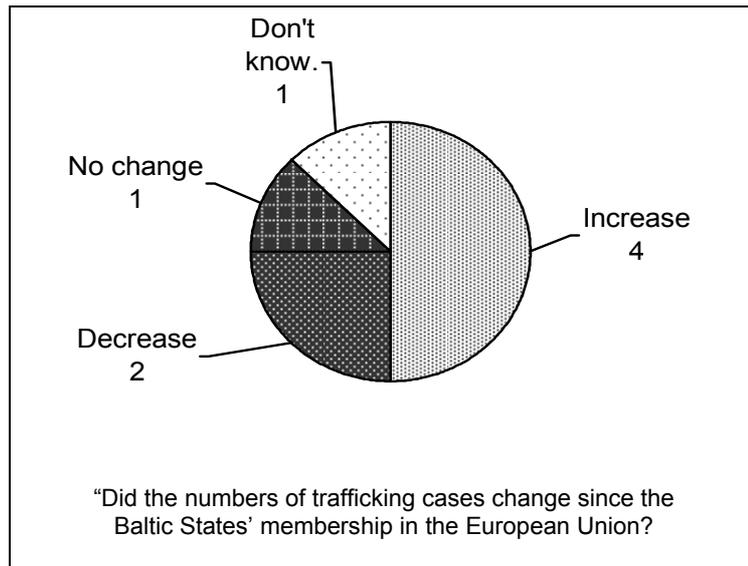
According to Helena Stare from IOM Riga, “approximately 100 women monthly leave Latvia to work in business of sexual services abroad”, though it is not indicated, whether these are believed to be trafficking victims or not. However, since the year 2002, IOM Riga has provided help to 40 victims of trafficking. Arturs Vaišļa from the Latvian State Police highlighted the fact that “law enforcement institutions have gained important achievements in fighting the trafficking of children”, which could be substantially reduced: “During year 2004 no case of trafficking in children was stated.” (Arturs Vaišļa)

It was then asked, whether the numbers of trafficking cases appear to have changed since the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. As one can see from Fig. 6, the interviewed actors do not share the same opinion. The majority of interviewees (four persons) have the impression that the numbers of trafficking cases has increased since the membership of their country in the European Union. At the same time, two actors believe that the numbers of trafficking cases have reduced; one actor believes that the numbers of trafficking cases have not changed, and one actor doesn't know, which category might apply.

When considering who gave these answers, one looks at following picture: Of the three Estonian respondents (all representatives of local NGOs), two were of the impression that the numbers of trafficking cases have increased; one believed that there has been no change. Of the four Latvian respondents, two believed that the numbers of trafficking cases have decreased (Latvian State Police and IOM Riga), one believed that the number of trafficking cases has increased (local

NGO), and one respondent does not know, which of the categories might apply (local NGO). The Lithuanian respondent (Lithuanian State Border Guard Service) estimates that the numbers of trafficking cases have increased.

Fig. 6: Changes in the numbers of trafficking cases. All respondents.



Answers from: NGOs, PF, BG, and IOM Riga (eight persons).

Tab. 18: Changes in the numbers of trafficking cases. Answers per level of actorness

	Estonian actors	Latvian actors	Lithuanian actor
Increase	2	1	1
Decrease	-	2	-
No change	1	-	-
Don't know	-	1	-

Answers from: NGOs, PF, BG, and IOM Riga (eight persons).

Bearing in mind that these results reflect the estimation of a small number of counter-trafficking actors only, one can see a slight tendency for each country: In Estonia and Lithuania, the numbers of trafficking cases seem to have increased since the Eastern Enlargement of the EU, while in Latvia, the number of trafficking cases seems to have decreased since the Eastern Enlargement of the EU. In Lithuania, this increase in trafficking cases seems to relate to victims that are

trafficked into or transited through the country, because the Lithuanian respondent Giedrius Strikulis, Chief Specialist of the Lithuanian State Border Guard Service, who had indicated an increase in trafficking cases, also states: “My personal impression is that the growth of economy in Lithuania will reduce a number of potential victims of THB of Lithuanian nationality.”

6.2.2 The Baltic States’ functions in the trafficking process

Another element of the phenomenon of trafficking that has been looked at during the survey is the role of the Baltic States in the trafficking process. It was asked, whether Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania function as countries of origin, as countries of transit or as countries of destination of trafficking victims (see Tab. 19), and, whether there have been any recent changes in this role, which might be due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union (see Fig. 7).

The Estonian respondents (three actors) agreed that Estonia is currently both a country of origin and a country of transit. Furthermore, one of the Estonian respondents found that Estonia also functions as country destination of trafficking victims. Regarding the question, whether there have been any changes in this role since the Eastern Enlargement of the EU, two actors were of the opinion that there have been none. Only one actor believed that Estonia’s functions in the trafficking chain have changed since the Eastern Enlargement of the EU. See exemplarily following answer of an Estonian actor:

“ESTONIA [...] IS PRIMARILY AN ORIGIN AND TRANSIT COUNTRY OF VICTIMS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING. ACCORDING TO THE REPORT OF UN OFFICE ON DRUGS AND CRIME WITHIN THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE ESTONIA IS RANKED HIGH IN THE CITATION INDEX AS ORIGIN COUNTRY OF TRAFFICKING VICTIMS. THE MOST COMMON DESTINATION COUNTRIES FOR TRAFFICKING VICTIMS FROM ESTONIA ARE SURROUNDING NORDIC AND EU COUNTRIES INCLUDING GERMANY, THE NETHERLANDS, IRELAND, SPAIN, DENMARK, BELGIUM, SLOVENIA, ITALY, PORTUGAL, AND SWITZERLAND. [...] THERE ARE SOME INDICATORS WHICH SHOW THAT ESTONIA IS A COUNTRY OF DESTINATION FOR VICTIMS FROM LATVIA, RUSSIA, MOLDOVA AND UKRAINE.”
ZANNA JOZEF, ANTI-TRAFFICKING PROGRAM MANAGER, LIVING FOR TOMORROW, TALLINN

It appears interesting that one of the respondents who had answered “no” (i.e. the country’s functions did not change) admitted that there had been some “undramatic” changes. Though, she wasn’t sure, whether these represented real

changes, or whether one had not known about this fact before:

“I WOULD PREFER TO SAY “NO”, BUT IT DID THEN UNDRAMATICALLY. IT IS POSSIBLE TO SAY THAT CHANGES TOOK PLACE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE THAT A BIT MORE WOMEN ARE BROUGHT TO ESTONIA FROM NON-EU STATES, FOR EX. UKRAINE, HOWEVER IT CAN ALSO BE DUE TO A FACT THAT BEFORE WE SIMPLY DID NOT KNOW ABOUT THIS FACT AS THERE WAS AND STILL IS NO DATA AVAILABLE.” JULIA KOVALENKO, LEGAL INFORMATION CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, TALLINN

When looking at the answers given by Latvian actors, one can see that there is a general concurrence: All four respondents agreed that Latvia currently functions as a country of origin, of transit, and of destination of trafficking victims.

“LATVIA NOW IS REGARDED AS COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, TRANSIT FOR VOTs FROM FORMER USSR COUNTRIES AND ALSO COUNTRY OF DESTINATION.”

HELENA STARE, PROJECT ASSISTANT, IOM RIGA

“SOCIAL AND ECONOMICAL CONDITIONS ARE A REASON WHY LATVIA STILL IS A COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING IN HUMAN BEINGS, LESS A COUNTRY OF TRANSIT AND DESTINATION.” ARTURS VAIŠĻA, ORGANISED CRIME COMBATING BOARD, LATVIAN STATE POLICE

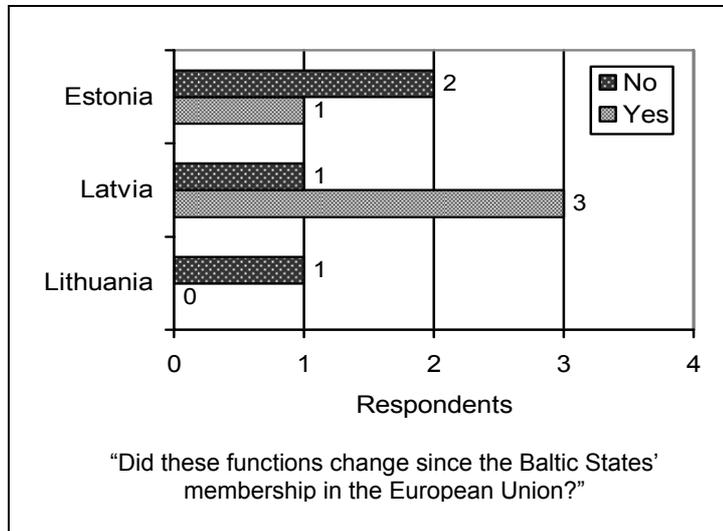
There is also a clear trend in terms of the influence of the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union: Three of the four Latvian actors estimated that the functions of the country changed since the EU Eastern Enlargement. Finally, the representative of the Lithuanian Border Guard estimated that Lithuania currently functions as a country of origin, as a country of transit, and as a country of destination of trafficking victims. His impression was that these functions did not change since the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. However, this is not surprising, as the country already represented a country of destination of trafficking victims before 2004 (see chapter 3.2.1).

Tab. 19: Current functions of the Baltic States in the trafficking process

	Estonia	Latvian	Lithuania
Country of origin	3	4	1
Country of transit	3	4	1
Country of destination	1	4	1

Answers from: NGOs, PF, BG, and IOM Riga (eight persons).

Fig. 7: Changes in the Baltic States' functions in the trafficking process since the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union



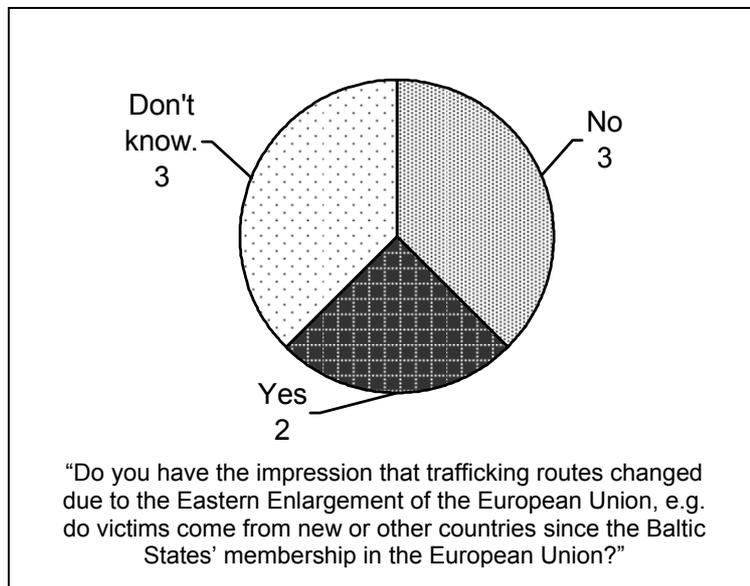
Answers from: NGOs, PF, BG, and IOM Riga (eight persons).

Consequently, the results we have at hand suggest a change of function in relation to Latvia only. In Estonia, it is not possible (yet) to speak of a significant change of function, although one shouldn't ignore the statement of Zanna Jozef, who reported some known cases where victims from Latvia, Russia, Moldova, and Ukraine had been trafficked into Estonia. However, on the basis of this survey, it is only possible to speak of minor changes within Estonia's functions in the trafficking chain, as the majority of respondents did not confirm this development.

6.2.3 Trafficking routes

The actors were also asked, whether they were of the impression that trafficking routes had changed due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union, e.g. whether victims that are transited through the Baltic States come from new or other countries than previously known. Of the eight actors that answered this question, three were of the opinion that trafficking routes had not changed since the Eastern Enlargement of the EU; three respondents did not know. Two actors answered that they did observe changes in the use of trafficking routes. One of the actors who answered “yes” was a Latvian Social Worker, the other one was a representative of an Estonian NGO.

Fig. 8: Changes in trafficking routes since the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union



Answers from: NGOs, PF, BG, and IOM Riga (eight persons).

According to the Latvian Social Worker this change is due to the new economic relations with other EU Member States. The example she gives, however, relates to the issue “trafficking into forced labour” and not to the issue “trafficking into sexual exploitation”. Zanna Jozef, Anti-Trafficking Program Manager of the Estonian NGO “Living for Tomorrow” reports that victims that were trafficked into Estonia for the purpose of sexual exploitation were re-trafficked to Asian countries:

“WE GOT BY HOTLINE SOME INDICATORS THAT GIRLS FROM UKRAINE COMING TO ESTONIA AND THEN GOING TO JAPAN AND CHINA.”

ZANNA JOZEF, ANTI-TRAFFICKING PROGRAM MANAGER, LIVING FOR TOMORROW, TALLINN

Following answer by Arturs Vaišļa, representative of the Latvian State Police (who had indicated “no change” in trafficking routes), illustrates, which travel ways are currently the most frequented:

“BY LAND WOMEN MOSTLY TRAVEL VIA LITHUANIA, POLAND THEN TO GERMANY, WHICH IS ONE OF DESTINATION COUNTRIES. IF THEIR DESTINATION COUNTRY IS DIFFERENT THEN THEY TRAVEL FURTHER TO UK, DENMARK, SPAIN, ITALY, GREECE, AND SWITZERLAND. SOMETIMES WOMEN TRAVEL TO SOME THIRD EU COUNTRY DIFFERENT TO THE DESTINATION COUNTRY WITH A VIEW TO GET EASIER INTO THE EU TERRITORY. TRANSIT COUNTRIES OFTEN ARE USED WHEN TRAVEL BY AIR. IN ORDER NOT TO BE REFUSED ENTRY IN THE TARGET-COUNTRY, OTHER TRANSIT- COUN-

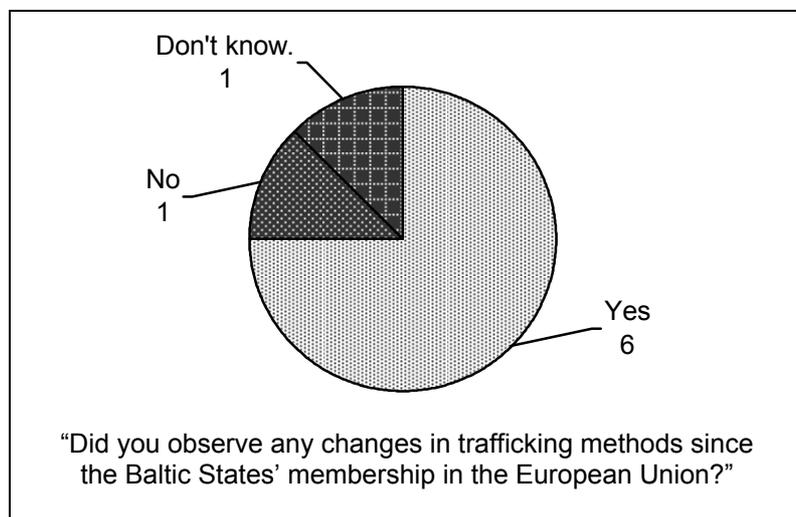
TRIES ARE USED. FOR INSTANCE, IN ORDER TO GET TO DENMARK WOMEN FLY THROUGH FINLAND.” ARTURS VAIŠĻA, ORGANISED CRIME COMBATING BOARD, LATVIAN STATE POLICE

As result of this subchapter, one may conclude that there have been no major changes in the use of trafficking routes since the Eastern Enlargement of the EU.

6.2.4 Trafficking methods

Another part that was looked at during the survey was the use of trafficking methods. The actors were asked, whether they had observed any changes in trafficking methods, which might be due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. It appears significant that six of eight respondents indicated that they had, indeed, observed changes in trafficking methods since the Baltic States' membership in the European Union. The answers “no” and “don't know” had both been given by representatives of Estonian NGOs. All other actors reported changes in trafficking methods.

Fig. 9: Changes in trafficking methods since the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union



Answers from: NGOs, PF, BG, and IOM Riga (eight persons).

According to one observation, Estonia has become an even more popular destination for sex tourists since the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. This was stated by Zanna Jozef, Anti-Trafficking Programm Manager of the Estonian NGO “Living For Tomorrow” who had earlier on pointed to cases of traffick-

ing, where victims from Latvia, Russia, Moldova and Ukraine had been sexually exploited in Estonia. Thus, one may suppose that both statements have to be seen in relation to each another.

All Latvian respondents (three actors) reported changes in trafficking methods in Latvia. An observation similar to the one, which has just been discussed, was made by a Latvian Social Worker. She reported that Latvian citizens are increasingly trafficked into sexual exploitation within their own country, which she sees as a result of the sex industry.

Furthermore, one Latvian and one Lithuanian actor reported that trafficking victims increasingly “recruit” themselves into sexual exploitation: According to Arturs Vaišļa, representative of the Latvian State Police, young women frequently cross inner EU borders on their own, i.e. “without mediation of the recruiters”, “as tourists”, in order to provide sexual services in other EU Member States without knowing, which conditions might be awaiting them. This is confirmed by Giedrius Strikulis, Chief Specialist of the Lithuanian State Border Guard Service. He reported that trafficking has become “more latent” since the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union and that victims of trafficking may even cross borders without their traffickers, while being “very barely aware of the real consequences” of their travels.

“AS FAR AS IT CONCERNS TRAFFICKING VICTIMS OF LITHUANIAN NATIONALITY, TRAFFICKING HAS BECOME MORE LATENT. HERE WE HAVE THE SITUATION WHEN THB IS NOT COMBINED WITH ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION, IT MEANS THAT THE EU NATIONALS ENJOY FREE MOVEMENT ALL OVER THE EU AND THERE IS NO NEED IN ILLEGAL CROSSING OF THE BORDER. CONSIDERING, THAT WHEN POTENTIAL VICTIM IS TRAVELING ABROAD (ESPECIALLY BY AIR), A TRAFFICKER IS USUALLY NOT NEXT TO A VICTIM. IN CONTRAST, OFTEN A TRAFFICKER EVEN DOES NOT BOOK THE SAME FLIGHT OR DOES NOT TRAVEL AT ALL. ON THE OTHER HAND A POTENTIAL VICTIM MAY BE VERY BARELY AWARE OF REAL CONSEQUENCES OF A TRAVEL FOR A ‘NEW JOB’.”

GIEDRIUS STRIKULIS, CHIEF SPECIALIST, LITHUANIAN STATE BORDER GUARD SERVICE

This development seems to be particularly due to the improved travel opportunities that enable young migrants to cross borders more freely. This is confirmed by Helena Stare, Project Assistant of IOM Riga, who says that it has become easier to travel and more difficult to detect trafficking victims on the borders.

“DUE TO EU ENLARGEMENT PROCESS AND OPEN BORDER POLICY IT IS EASIER FOR PERSONS TO

LEAVE COUNTRY AND TO TRAVEL WITHIN EU, THUS LESS CHANCES TO STOP POTENTIAL VOTs ON THE BORDERS. BESIDES TRAFFICKERS HAVE CHANGED THEIR METHODS OF RECRUITMENT: NOW VOTs BEFORE LEAVING LATVIA ARE MORE INFORMED THAT THEIR WORK ABROAD MIGHT BE CONNECTED TO SEXUAL SERVICES AND VOLUNTARY AGREES TO SUCH OFFERS.”

HELENA STARE, PROJECT ASSISTANT, IOM RIGA, LATVIA

The second point Helena Stare makes is also very interesting: She mentioned that trafficking victims were now more informed about the fact that their “job” abroad would be related to providing “sexual services” before leaving the country. This statement confirms one finding of the literature analysis, which found that advertisements of non-existent jobs in the commercial sex industry, which promise better living conditions and higher wages than in the local prostitution scenes (p. 35) is the most common form of recruitment in Latvia. Apparently, this tendency of recruiting victims has increased even more.

Arturs Vaišļa, representative of the Latvian State Police, furthermore reported some changes in trafficking methods, but which are not directly related to the Eastern Enlargement of the EU. As it provides nonetheless important indications of how trafficking methods in Latvia are developing and changing, his observation shall be quoted in the following:

“SOME TIME AGO RECRUITERS OFTEN BROUGHT WOMEN BY THEIR OWN CARS. THIS SCENARIO WAS COMMON FOR GERMANY COUPLE OF YEARS AGO. HOWEVER WHEN POLICE USING BORDER-CROSSING RECORDS EASILY IDENTIFIED VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING, NOW RECRUITERS DON’T DO THAT ANYMORE. THE MOST COMMON MEAN OF TRANSPORTATION IS COACHES. PLANES USUALLY ARE USED FOR WOMEN TRANSPORTATION TO UK, DENMARK, SWITZERLAND, GREECE. OFTEN DIFFERENT MEANS OF TRANSPORT ARE USED UNTIL THE PERSONS ARE DELIVERED TO THE PURPOSE-COUNTRY. MAINLY CHEAPEST MEAN OF TRANSPORT IS CHOSEN. IN CASES WOMEN HAVE BEEN REFUSED ENTRY INTO THE DESTINATION COUNTRY RECRUITERS USE CHEAPEST AVAILABLE TRANSPORT TO GET THEM BACK SUCH AS COACHES, PASSENGER FERRIES. IN MOST CASES RECRUITERS DO NOT TRANSPORT WOMEN THEMSELVES, THEY JUST ARRANGE THEM BUS TICKETS. IN SOME CASES RECRUITER IS NOT ACTING ALONE: HE/SHE HAS AN ACCOMPLICE OR MEDIATOR AT DIFFERENT STAGES: FIRST MEETING WITH A POTENTIAL PROSTITUTE TO BE TRAFFICKED, BUYING TICKETS, ETC. THE PURPOSE IS TO AVOID LEAVING ANY TRACES, WHICH COULD BE USED TO PROVE THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN THE CRIME.”

ARTURS VAIŠĻA, ORGANIZED CRIME COMBATING BOARD, LATVIAN STATE POLICE

6.3 Changes in counter-trafficking measures due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union

The second main part of the survey analysed the development of counter-trafficking measures in the Baltic States and tried to find out, if and in which way the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union has had any impact on these.

6.3.1 National policy development

Two of the counter-trafficking actors participating in this survey were Estonian Government Officials. They were given some questions relating to the normative impact of Estonia's EU membership on national counter-trafficking policies and relevant legislation. The first question in this context related to the pre-accession negotiations between the European Commission and the Estonian government prior to 2004. The answers to this question can be summoned very shortly: One of the actors did not know, whether trafficking had played a role in the pre-accession negotiations; the other actor indicated that the issue was not dealt with at this political level: "To my knowledge the question was not raised in accession negotiations." Similar answers were provided to the questions, 1) whether legislative counter-trafficking measures (i.e. laws or regulations) were taken by the Estonian government because of requirements of the European Commission, and 2) whether there have been any legal means in this regard that have been taken independently from any such requirements.

Again, one answer was "don't know" and one answer negated any EU influence: "No. [...] Estonian legal obligations stemmed from UN and OSCE documents." However, this answer is a clear statement and represents thus an important finding. As the answer was not further elaborated, an example can not be given, i.e. it is not possible to clarify with this survey, how national counter-trafficking policies developed in Estonia. According to one of the respondents, EU policies on (counter-) trafficking have had a rather limited impact on the national situation:

"WE ARE TAKING THE RECOMMENDATIONS INTO ACCOUNT, BUT IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO SAY WHETHER THEY HAVE SIGNIFICANTLY CHANGED THE WAY OF DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM."

ESTONIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL

6.3.2 Protection and rehabilitation of trafficking victims

This subchapter analyses the influence of the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union on the development of victim-centered counter-trafficking measures in the Baltic States. For this purpose, these key actors were interrogated: representatives of national NGOs, of international NGOs, and of international organizations (total: nine persons). Of these, three were local Estonian actors, three were local Latvian actors, and three were actors at international level. (In this subchapter, the representative of IOM Riga is again treated as a local actor, although, strictly speaking, IOM is an international organization.)

The actors were asked about their observations regarding the development of victim protection and victim assistance measures since the Baltic States' membership in the European Union. According to Julia Kovalenko, victim assistance and victim protection measures are "just starting to be created" in Estonia. This, however, she sees not related to European funding opportunities but due to the "availability of certain funds from the Nordic countries". The Acting Director of an Estonian NGO reported that shelters in the main cities would be prepared to provide help to trafficking victims, but that this has not yet happened:

"THERE HAS NOT BEEN MUCH DEVELOPMENT. SHELTERS IN THE PRINCIPAL CITIES ARE IN DIFFERENT STAGES OF READINESS TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE AND PROTECTION TO VICTIMS. [...] PRACTICALLY SPEAKING, WE HAVE NOT YET PROVIDED ASSISTANCE OR PROTECTION TO VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING."

ACTING DIRECTOR OF AN ESTONIAN NGO

Zanna Jozef, Anti-Trafficking Program Manager of the Estonian NGO "Living For Tomorrow" hopes that there will be some changes, now that the "National Action Plan" has been adopted by the Estonian Government. When looking at the answer of Målin Bjørk, Project-Director of the Nordic-Baltic Pilot Project who is active in all three of the Baltic States, the Estonian development appears to be "lagging behind" when comparing it to the Latvian and Lithuanian situation:

"[W]HEN I MET WITH [ESTONIAN] WOMEN'S NGOs AND SHELTERS, THEY'VE HAD A FEW VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING, VERY FEW IN THE WOMEN'S SHELTERS. AND COMPARED TO LATVIA AND LITHUANIA, WHERE THEY'VE HAD QUITE A LOT. AND THEY'VE DEVELOPED EXPERTISE AND CAPACITY, YOU KNOW, LIKE TRAINING AND RESOURCING THEMSELVES TO BE ABLE TO [...] PROVIDE

ADEQUATE SERVICES. SO, THAT SITUATION IN ESTONIA IS LAGGING BEHIND NOW, I WOULD SAY. [...] I THINK, THE NGOs, ESPECIALLY IN LATVIA AND LITHUANIA, THEY DO FANTASTIC WORK, WHEN IT COMES TO ASSISTANCE OR SERVICES TO VICTIMS, AND THEY JUST NEED MORE RESOURCES, MORE SUPPORT TO BE ABLE TO DO THEIR WORK EVEN BETTER AND PROVIDE IT TO MORE WOMEN. THEN IN ESTONIA, THEY NEED TO DEVELOP VICTIM ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME, THAT'S FOR SURE. SO [...] THAT'S UNDERDEVELOPED THERE.”

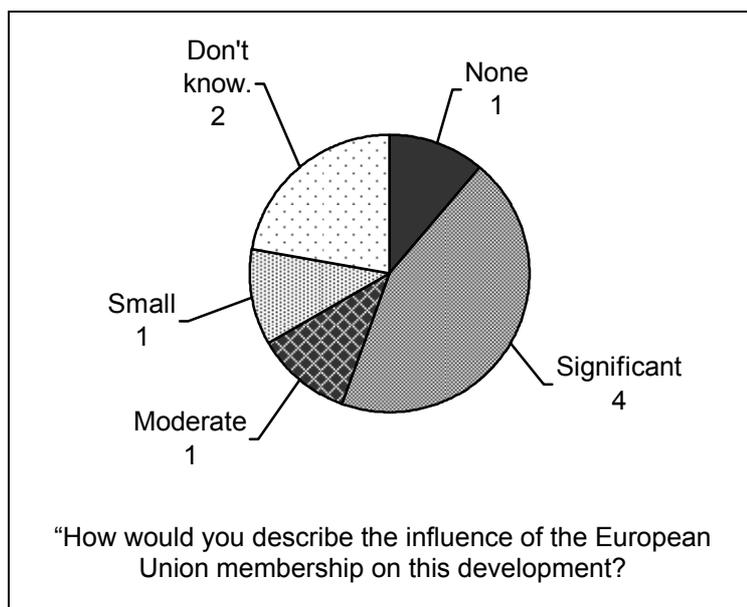
MÅLIN BJØRK, PROJECT-DIRECTOR OF THE NORDIC-BALTIC PILOT PROJECT, EWL, BRUSSELS

Latvian actors, however, pinpointed to the fact that victim assistance measures are still provided by few organizations only and that assistance measures for children have not been developed yet. It would only be since this year that victim assistance efforts have been financially supported by the Latvian government:

“THERE ARE STILL ONLY SOME ORGANIZATIONS PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING. THE WORK WITH CHILDREN- VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING IS NOT DEVELOPED. BUT THE NEED OF SUCH SERVICES IS EVALUATED IN NATIONAL LEVEL; REHABILITATION FINANCED BY STATE IS RUNNING NOW. THE STATE IS GOING TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY CONCERNING TO ASSISTANCE AND PROTECTING OF VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING IN LATVIA AS COUNTRY OF DESTINATION.”

LATVIAN SOCIAL WORKER

Fig. 10: Influence of the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union on the development of victim protection measures. All interviewed actors.



Answers from: NGO, INGO, and IO (nine persons).

When it was asked, how the actors would rate the influence of the Baltic States’

EU Membership on the development of victim-centered counter-trafficking measures, quite different answers were given: Four respondents were of the impression that the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union has had a significant influence on the development of victim protection and victim assistance measures. One respondent rated the influence as moderate, one rated it as small, and one believed that there had been no influence. Two respondents did not know how to rate the influence of the EU Eastern Enlargement on the development of victim protection measures. When looking at the distribution of answers, following picture appears: Two of the local actors in Latvia rated the influence of the Eastern Enlargement of the EU as significant, one actor did not know. The distribution of answers from the Estonian and the international actors were more balanced, i.e. there is no clear trend regarding the Estonian situation or the situation of the Baltic States as a whole.

Tab. 20: Influence of the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union on the development of victim protection measures. Answers per level of actorness.

	Local actors in Estonia	Local actors in Latvia	International actors
Significant	1	2	1
Moderate	-	-	1
Small	1	-	-
None	-	-	1
Don't know.	1	1	-

Answers from: NGO, INGO, and IO (nine persons).

When considering above quoted statements, this is not surprising, at least in relation to the Estonian development. According to the Acting Director of an Estonian NGO “political action is yet to come”, as protection and rehabilitation-related facilities are underdeveloped in Estonia. Thus, no significant influence could be observed in relation to the EU Eastern Enlargement.

“I THINK IT HAS HAD A SIGNIFICANT PSYCHOLOGICAL INFLUENCE, BUT POLITICAL ACTION IS YET TO COME. EU’S ATTITUDE TOWARD CITIZENS IS CONSIDERABLY DIFFERENT FROM THE ONE THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD.”

ACTING DIRECTOR OF AN ESTONIAN NGO

However, one Estonian actor observed a significant influence of the European Union membership, and she even saw the adoption of the “National Action Plan” in the beginning of 2006, as a result of this influence. One Latvian actor also saw an influence of the EU membership on the development of governmental policies and the adoption of national counter-trafficking legislation:

“I DESCRIBED IT AS SIGNIFICANT SINCE STARTING FROM THIS YEAR THE STATE FINANCES SOCIAL REHABILITATION ASSISTANCE TO VOTs AND ALSO HAS STARTED LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVES REGARDING ASSISTANCE TO VOTs FROM 3RD COUNTRIES (ACCORDING TO EU DIRECTIVE).”

HELENA STARE, IOM RIGA

The other two actors who believe that there has been a significant influence of the Eastern Enlargement of the EU mainly attribute this to the better availability of funding.

“ACCESS TO EU FUNDING HAS MADE THE TRAINING PROGRAMME POSSIBLE. OTHER EU CONTACTS HAVE ALSO BEEN USEFUL. MORE FOCUS ON QUALITY IN ASSISTANCE. STILL TOO SMALL CAPACITY TO DEAL WITH VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING NOT FITTING THE EXPECTED FRAME. THIS APPLIES TO ALL COUNTRIES, NOT JUST THE BALTIC STATES.”

LARS LÖÖF, HEAD OF CHILDREN’S UNIT, COUNCIL OF THE BALTIC SEA STATES

The Resource Centre for Women “Marta”, a Latvian NGO, which offers protection and rehabilitation services to trafficking victims, is already benefiting from European funding, which has not only improved the protection services for trafficking victims, but which has also had a significant influence on the actors’ work itself. (This will be analysed in more detail in chapter 7.1, Case Study 1). According to Zanna Jozef, Anti-Trafficking Program Manager of the Estonian NGO “Living For Tomorrow”, also Estonian NGOs have already received funds from European programmes, which enable the organizations, among other things, to organize “round tables for police officials”, i.e. to improve the protection mechanisms for trafficking victims.

6.3.3 Prevention-related counter-trafficking measures

The actors were also asked to describe the development of prevention-related counter-trafficking measures since the year 2004 and to rate, which influence the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union has had on this development. This was answered by following actors: representatives of local NGOs, international NGOs, international organizations, the Latvian State Police, and the Lithuanian State Border Guard Service (eleven actors). Six of the interviewed actors mentioned that the national governments had not done enough in this area of counter-trafficking and described the development of prevention-related counter-trafficking work as weak and insufficient. The main points of criticism can be summarized as follows: The majority of preventive measures are solely carried out by NGOs. The governments don't provide enough support for civil society actors. In most cases, funding for these projects comes from sources other than the national governments. The governments do not pay enough attention to the issue. See exemplarily following statements of two actors:

"THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT HAS DONE LITTLE; MOST OF THE PREVENTION MEASURES ARE PROMOTED BY NGOs THAT ARE FUNDED BY OUTSIDE SOURCES – THE US AND NORDIC COUNCIL OF MINISTERS."

ACTING DIRECTOR OF AN ESTONIAN NGO

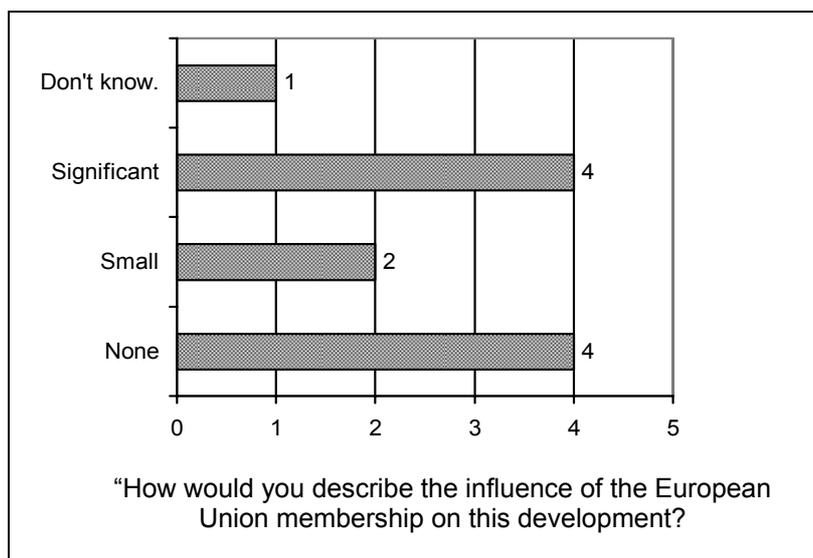
"LATVIAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE MORE INVOLVED IN SUCH ACTIVITIES. NOW ALL THE PREVENTION ACTIVITIES HAPPEN WITHIN DIFFERENT PROJECTS SUPPORTED BY IOM OR BY LOCAL NGOs, NO STATE FINANCIAL PARTICIPATION."

HELENA STARE, PROJECT ASSISTANT, IOM RIGA

But there were also positive remarks. According to Zanna Jozef, Anti-Trafficking Program Manager of the Estonian NGO "Living For Tomorrow", the Estonian government pays more attention to the problem of trafficking since the EU membership: "Before Estonia became EU member [...] government does not pay attention to problem of human trafficking but after it government admitted this problem." A Latvian Social Worker acknowledged that the EU membership had brought new funding possibilities for preventive activities: "There is still lack of preventive measures in Latvia. But since membership in the EU we have an access to EURESS and other resources." Also the representatives of the Latvian

State Police and the Lithuanian State Border Guard Service described recent developments as positive, e.g. the recent establishment of the Lithuanian Police Counter-Trafficking Unit is seen as a “significant step in prevention and counter-trafficking”. Again, it was asked how the actors would rate the influence of the Eastern Enlargement of the EU on the developments they had just described. When looking at the results, one faces a slightly irritating picture: Four actors rate the influence of the Eastern Enlargement of the EU as “significant”, four actors believe that there has been none. Two actors think the influence has been small, and actor doesn’t know, which category might apply.

Fig. 11: Influence of the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union on the development of prevention-related counter-trafficking measures



Answers from: PF, BG, NGO, INGO, and IO (eleven persons).

Tab. 21: Influence of the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union on the development of prevention-related counter-trafficking measures. Answers per level of actorness

	Estonian actors	Latvian actors	Lithuanian actors	International actors
Small	2	-	-	-
Significant	1	2	1	-
None	-	2	-	2
Don't know	-	-	-	1

Answers from: PF, BG, NGO, INGO, and IO (eleven persons).

When considering above quoted statements, however, it becomes clear that there is no general trend that can explain the recent developments of prevention-related counter-trafficking activities. This is further confirmed when looking at the distribution of answers according to the level of actorness (Tab. 21). Even here, we have a rather uneven distribution of answers, e.g. two Latvian actors rate the influence “significant”, two think that there has been “none”. According to Målin Bjørk, Project-Director of the Nordic-Baltic Pilot Project, the European Union has to be seen as one of many actors that shape the development of prevention-related counter-trafficking measures in the Baltic States: “I think influence has come from many directions. The EU is of course one. But also the Nordic Baltic cooperation, the fact that there a domestic sense of urgency about the issue, etc.” One of the respondents who rated the influence of the Eastern Enlargement of the EU as “significant” is Giedrius Strikulis, Chief Specialist of the Lithuanian State Border Guard Service. He pointed to the fact that the EU membership has brought new opportunities for international cooperation:

“THE INFLUENCE OF THE EU MEMBERSHIP IS SIGNIFICANT: IT PROVIDES [...] HUGE POSSIBILITIES FOR INFORMATION EXCHANGE, JOINT INVESTIGATIONS, AND OTHER FORM OF COOPERATION IN TACKLING THIS CRIME.”

GIEDRIUS STRIKULIS, CHIEF SPECIALIST, LITHUANIAN STATE BORDER GUARD SERVICE

This is confirmed by Arturs Vaišļa, representative of the Latvian State Police, who noted an increase in joint investigations. As result of this subchapter one may therefore take that there have been some improvements in the prevention of trafficking that are, indeed, due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. Here are to name more funding opportunities for civil society actors, increased attention paid by the Baltic governments towards the issue, and increased cooperation possibilities with foreign governments and law enforcement authorities as well as other international actors.

6.4 Impact of European prostitution discourses on national discourses in the Baltic States

The following sub-chapter analyses the relevance of European prostitution discourses for the development of national discourses in the Baltic States. For this purpose, all national actors have been interviewed. These are: three representatives of Estonian NGOs, two representatives of Latvian NGOs, one representative of the Latvian State Police, one representative of the Lithuanian State Border Guard Service, and two Estonian Government Officials (i.e. nine persons).

The actors were asked to take a look at the prostitution discourses in a European context, particularly the Swedish Model and the Dutch/German Model, and to give their opinion about whether they play any role at national level: “In the Swedish model all prostitution is perceived as violence against women and is seen as a push factor for trafficking. In the Dutch/German model it is spoken of ‘voluntary’ and ‘forced’ prostitution, which are seen as not interrelated. Do these models play any role in the Estonian, respectively Latvian or Lithuanian prostitution discourse? For example: Is prostitution perceived as a possible push factor for trafficking? Or is prostitution seen as an acceptable work that has nothing to do with the emergence of trafficking?”

Of five interviewed Estonian actors, three indicated that there is no unified position towards prostitution within the Estonian society and that both models (Swedish and Dutch/German Model) play a significant role in the prostitution discourse. One respondent did not know, how to answer the question, and one respondent reported that “[a] considerable part of the population still sees prostitution in traditional terms (“oldest profession”, “they like doing it”, etc.). I don’t think it’s seen as ‘acceptable work’.” (Acting Director of an Estonian NGO)

According to an Estonian Government Official, “[t]rafficking for sexual exploitation and prostitution are seen mostly connected to each other”. What is interesting, in her statement she speaks of “victims of prostitution/trafficking”, which indicates that she herself does not consider prostitution to be a normal kind of profession but to be a human rights violation – as it victimizes women. See exemplarily following two statements of Estonian actors:

“THE MODELS PLAY ROLE IN THE ESTONIAN PROSTITUTION DISCOURSE. THERE ARE DIFFERENT

OPINIONS: SOME THINK PROSTITUTION CAN BE VOLUNTARY VOCATIONAL CHOICE, SOME THINK IT IS VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN, AND/OR THAT IT IS A SOCIAL PROBLEM. ONE OPINION ABOUT PROSTITUTION IS THAT IT IS A SOCIAL PROBLEM AND NOT A POSITIVE THING, AND THE STATE MUST DEAL WITH IT – TO HELP PROSTITUTED WOMEN INTEGRATE INTO LEGAL LABOUR MARKET ETC (WE HAVE THE EU EQUAL PROJECT RIGHT NOW, WORKING ON THESE ISSUES AND PROVIDING SUPPORT FOR PROSTITUTED/TRAFFICKED WOMEN). ALSO, WE HAVE NEW STATE-LEVEL NORDIC-BALTIC PILOT PROJECT ON SAFE RETURN AND REINTEGRATION OF WOMEN VICTIMS OF SEXUAL EXPLOITATION WHICH SHOULD HELP VICTIMS OF PROSTITUTION/TRAFFICKING TO RECOVER. TRAFFICKING FOR SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND PROSTITUTION ARE SEEN MOSTLY AS CONNECTED TO EACH OTHER.”

ESTONIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL

“THERE IS NO UNIFIED POSITION FOR ESTONIA. MAJORITY OF LOCAL NGOs AND MINISTRY OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS SUPPORT THE SWEDISH MODEL, HOWEVER MAJORITY OF POLITICIANS AND OTHER RELATED MINISTRIES SUPPORT THE DUTCH MODEL. THEREFORE THEY DO PLAY A ROLE IN THE DISCOURSE, HOWEVER IT IS NOT YET VERY SERIOUS AND ACTIVE.”

JULIA KOVALENKO, LEGAL INFORMATION CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, TALLINN

The Latvian actors pointed to the fact that prostitution is being regulated in Latvia. Arturs Vaišļa, representative of the Latvian State Police, stresses that “every person after 18 with free will could use his body as he want”, whereas “any third person activity in sex business is prohibit. Swedish or Dutch/German model have some positive and some negative sides and in nearest future we don’t want to choose.” However, according to Guna Garokalna-Bihela of the Resource Centre for Women “Marta”, it is not really clear, whether prostitution has to be considered legal or illegal:

“[W]E HAVE RIGHT NOW VERY BIG DISCUSSIONS [...] ABOUT THIS MATTER. [...] SO, THIS IS NEITHER LEGAL, NEITHER UNLEGAL IN LATVIA. WE HAVE ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS ON PROSTITUTION. SO THAT MEANS THAT THE PROSTITUTES NEED TO HAVE A HEALTH CARD TO PROVE THAT THEY HAVE WENT THROUGH THIS MEDICAL CHECK AND SO ON AND SO ON. WHEN A TAIWANESE PROSTITUTE DOESN’T HAVE IT, THEN SHE HAD BE CHARGED FOR IT. SO, SHE IS THE ONE WHO IS RESPONSIBLE ABOUT THIS SITUATION. [...] IT’S KIND OF NOT REALLY CLEAR [...] IT’S NOT REALLY LEGAL AND ALSO NOT UNLEGAL.”

GUNA GAROKALNA-BIHELA, RESOURCE CENTRE FOR WOMEN “MARTA”, RIGA

Regarding the level of society, a Latvian Social Worker highlighted the fact that “[t]he discussions on [...] prostitution in Latvia are only started little time ago”. But

she acknowledged that prostitution is “perceived as a significant factor of risk for trafficking”. This view is shared by Målin Bjørk, Project Director of the Nordic-Baltic Pilot Project, who was interviewed via telephone for this survey. She is of the impression that particularly civil society actors engaged in counter-trafficking work in Latvia support the Swedish Model on prostitution:

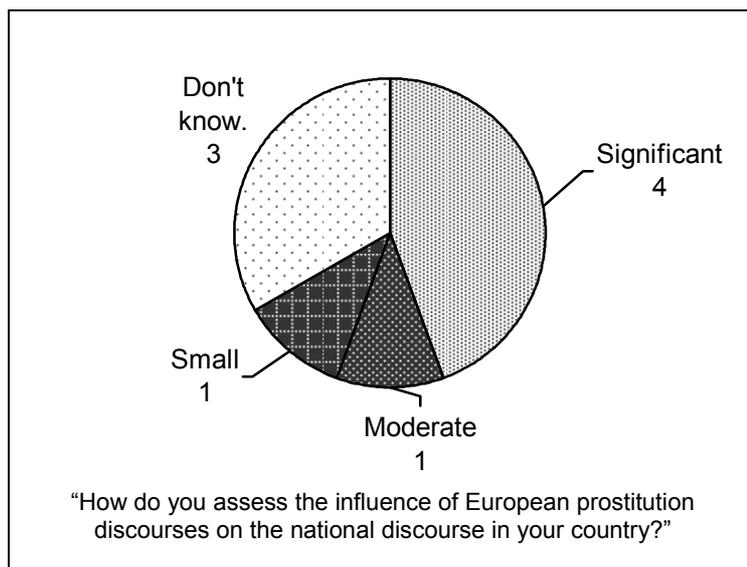
“[A]MONG THE [...] PEOPLE THAT WORK WITH SERVICE PROVISION AND ASSISTANCE [...] THERE IS A FEELING [...] THAT THE PROSTITUTION MARKET IS DETRIMENTAL, [...] IS A PUSH FACTOR FOR TRAFFICKING BECAUSE OF THE RECRUITMENT AND EVERYTHING IN THIS ENVIRONMENTS. [...] FOR EXAMPLE, LOTS OF BRITISH TOUR OPERATORS ORGANIZE STAG PARTIES AND WEEKEND TRIPS OVER THERE [RIGA]. IT HAS BECOME NOW A VERY HEAVY SEX TOURISM DESTINATION. AND [...] THAT KIND OF AFFECTS THEIR WORK AS SOCIAL WORKERS AND SERVICE PROVIDERS FOR WOMEN. BECAUSE OF VIOLENCE AND PROSTITUTION.”

MALIN BJØRK, PROJECT DIRECTOR OF THE NORDIC-BALTIC PILOT PROJECT

Unfortunately, the only Lithuanian respondent could give no information about the prostitution discourse at national level.

The actors were then asked to rate the influence of European prostitution discourses on the development of discourses at national level. When looking at the answers to this question by all responding actors, we have a clear trend:

Fig. 12: Influence of European prostitution discourses on national discourses in the Baltic States



Answers from: PF, BG, NGO, and G (nine persons).

The majority of actors are of the impression that the influence of European prostitution discourses is “significant” (four answers). One person rates the influence as “moderate”, one as “small”, and three respondents don’t know, which category might apply. When looking at the distribution of answers, one sees following picture: Three of the Estonian respondents rate the influence as “significant” compared to one Latvian actor. Of the three Latvian respondents, two cannot answer the question.

Tab. 22: Influence of European prostitution discourses on national discourses in the Baltic States. Answers per level of actorness.

	Estonian actors	Latvian actors	Lithuanian actors
Significant	3	1	-
Moderate	1	-	-
Small	1	-	-
None	-	-	-
Don't know.	-	2	1

Answers from: PF, BG, NGO, and G (nine persons).

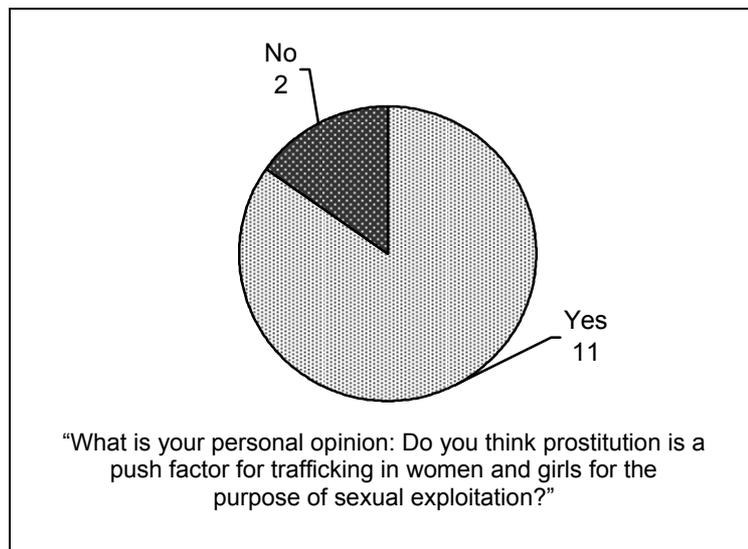
One may conclude that there is some influence of European prostitution discourses on the national discourses in the Baltic States. For Estonia, this can be confirmed with this survey, as the majority of Estonian actors share this opinion. On the basis of above results, it is, however, not possible to speak of a particular trend in relation to Latvia or Lithuania.

In order to get some more information about the prostitution discourses in the Baltic States, the actors were also asked about their personal views on prostitution (see Fig. 13). It is assumed that all responding actors are key agents in the shaping of counter-trafficking policies in the Baltic States. Therefore, their personal opinions are valuable indicators for the further development of national prostitution discourses and counter-trafficking policies.

The answers to the question “Do you think prostitution is a push factor for trafficking in women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation?” show a clear result: Of all thirteen responding actors, eleven are of the opinion that prostitution represents a push factor for trafficking, representing 84.6 percent of all participating actors. Only two are of the opinion that there is no interrelation between pros-

titution and trafficking.

Fig. 13: Prostitution – a push factor for trafficking?
Personal opinions of the actors interviewed



Answers from: all actors (thirteen persons).

This represents an important finding. It suggests that the majority of counter-trafficking actors in the Baltic States rather support the Swedish Model on prostitution (which is characterized by criminalizing the consumers of prostitution and seeing prostitutes as victims of human rights abuses) than the Dutch/German Model (which considers the provision of commercial sexual interactions as profession and the buying of sex as legitimate customers' demands). See exemplarily following statement of an international actor who had indicated “yes, prostitution represents a push factor for trafficking”:

“YES. I THINK THIS [PROSTITUTION] IS THE MAIN FACTOR OF TRAFFICKING. THIS IS CLEARLY THE MAIN FACTOR. AND I THINK THE OTHER FACTORS ARE JUST FACILITATING.”

COLETTE DE TROY, EUROPEAN POLICY CENTRE AGAINST VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Interestingly, both “no”-answers were given by Latvian actors – the only Baltic State where prostitution is regulated. See following statements that were given by these actors:

“MY PERSONAL VIEW IS THAT THESE TWO TERMS “PROSTITUTION” AND “TRAFFICKING” SHOULD BE SEPARATED. THE LINKAGE I SEE BETWEEN TRAFFICKING AND PROSTITUTION IS THE FACT THAT PROSTITUTES ARE ONE OF THE TARGET GROUPS WHICH MIGHT BE INVOLVED INTO TRAFFICKING.

BY ABOLISHING PROSTITUTION I DON'T THINK THAT WE WILL COMBAT TRAFFICKING.”

HELENA STARE, PROJECT ASSISTANT, IOM RIGA

“I AM HERE THE, HOW DO YOU SAY, THE BLACK SHEEP! BECAUSE [...] MY EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND [...] IS COMING FROM GERMANY, AND I HAVE ALSO LITTLE BITS OF DIFFERENT UNDERSTANDING FROM THAT. [...] SURE, THAT HUMAN TRAFFICKING IS VERY OFTEN FOR THE PURPOSE TO FORCE A PERSON IN PROSTITUTION. BUT I DON'T SEE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE SWEDISH MODEL SO POSITIVE. BECAUSE I THINK THAT THERE IS QUITE A LOT HUMAN TRAFFICKING GOING ON IN SWEDEN, ONLY THAT IT IS EVEN LESS VISIBLE. SO, IT'S HIDDEN, WHICH MAKES IT EVEN MORE DIFFICULT TO KIND OF COMBAT IT. [...] BECAUSE THERE IT IS CERTAIN DIFFICULTIES TO [...] PROVIDE HELP TO THE PERSON WHO IS IN PROSTITUTION. AS SOON AS YOU HAVE THIS [...] NEGATIVE MARK [...] IT MAKES ACTUALLY DIFFICULT SITUATION FOR THE PERSON WHO IS IN PROSTITUTION. BECAUSE IF I LOOK ON THE LATVIAN SITUATION, THEN SURE, IT IS NOT, MOST OF THE CASES, IT IS NOT FREE CHOICE. BUT IT IS CHOICE BY NO CHOICE, TO SAY LIKE THAT. [...] SO SHE NEEDS TO DO THE EXTRA JOB. SO VERY OFTEN SOME OF THEM ARE ACTUALLY FORCED TO GO TO PROSTITUTION. WHAT WE NEED TO DO, WE NEED TO THINK ABOUT THE SOCIAL HELP FOR THE PERSONS WHO ARE FORCED TO GO TO THE PROSTITUTION AND WHO DOESN'T HAVE ANY OTHER CHOICE. SO, THIS IS WHAT WOULD HELP THE PERSON IN THE PROSTITUTION A LOT MORE THAN FORBIDDING SOMETHING. SO, IT LOOKS LIKE [...] IT'S A LITTLE BIT WORKING AGAINST ITSELF.”

GUNA GAROKALNA-BIHELA, RESOURCE CENTRE FOR WOMEN “MARTA”, RIGA

Although the last statement makes clear that the Swedish model on prostitution is not supported, the actor stresses that women in prostitution often offer commercial sexual services as a result of “choice by no choice”. Thus, she doesn't see prostitution as a kind of “profession”, which would be the case in the Dutch/German model on prostitution, but as a job, which puts prostituted women in a position, where they need “help” to get out of it again. In fact, her position is closer to the Swedish model on prostitution than to the Dutch/German Model. Her main critique of the Swedish Model is that it appears ineffective, as the phenomenon of trafficking has neither disappeared in Sweden, nor has it improved the living conditions of prostituted women, as it is more difficult to provide “help” to them.

6.5 Discussion of main findings

The previous subchapters presented the findings of the first main part of the empirical survey of this Thesis. (An evaluation of the conducted telephone interviews will be given in chapter seven.) The most important findings that have been presented so far shall now be summarized and discussed.

The analysis was divided in three main parts: In the first part (chapter 6.2) it was looked at recent changes in the phenomenon of trafficking in the Baltic States trying to find out, whether the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union has had any influence on these developments. These are the most important findings:

► *Numbers of trafficking cases*

In Estonia and Lithuania, the numbers of trafficking cases seem to have increased since the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union, while in Latvia, the numbers of trafficking cases seem to have decreased. In Lithuania, the increase in trafficking cases seems to relate to victims that are trafficked into or transited through the country, because the Lithuanian respondent also stated that he expects a decrease of “potential victims of THB of Lithuanian nationality”, which he relates to the recent growth of the Lithuanian economy.

► *The Baltic States' functions in the trafficking chain*

The results of this survey suggest a change of function with regard to Latvia only. Here, the majority of respondents were of the impression that the country's functions in the trafficking process have changed due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union (three of four actors), while the majority of Estonian actors and the one Lithuanian respondent observed no significant changes.

It is, however, important to consider the statement of an Estonian actor, who reported known cases, where victims from Latvia, Russia, Moldova, and Ukraine had been trafficked into Estonia, where they had been sexually exploited. This suggests that Estonia's role in the trafficking chain has also changed, but to a smaller extent than Latvia's. Only one of three Estonian respondents believes that Estonia is a country of destination of trafficking victims (compared to four of four Latvian actors). Research proposition P1 (“With the new European Union

membership, the Baltic States will increasingly become countries of destination for trafficking victims.”) could thus only partially be proved. Furthermore, it was expected, should proposition P1 prove true, that the numbers of trafficking cases would increase and that new trafficking routes should emerge. Neither could be firmly validated by this survey. (The answers of Latvian actors even indicated that the numbers of trafficking cases decreased. See last finding.)

► *Trafficking routes*

Only two of eight persons were of the impression that trafficking routes had changed since the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. One of the given examples relates to trafficking for the purpose of forced labor, thus, there was only one answer that gave account of changed routes for trafficking women and girls into sexual exploitation. This answer was given by a representative of an Estonian NGO. She received indications from the organization’s “Anti-Trafficking Hotline” that girls from Ukraine had been trafficked into Estonia that were afterwards re-trafficked into Asian countries (i.e. Japan and China).

► *Trafficking methods*

The majority of respondents (six of eight actors) observed changes in trafficking methods since the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. This represents a significant finding. It was reported that Estonia and Latvia have become even more popular destinations for sex tourism, which has led to an increased level of violence in the local prostitution scenes and to an increase in internal trafficking cases (i.e. trafficking of women and girls within their own country).

According to the two participating law enforcement officials, trafficking has become “more latent”. This was reported in relation to Latvia and Lithuania. This means that the victims’ movement into sexual exploitation is less facilitated by traffickers; instead, particularly Latvian victims leave the country “as tourists” in order to provide sexual services in other EU Member States. Only upon their arrival they realise the slavery-like conditions of their “job”. According to the Lithuanian respondent, traffickers do not even travel with the victims, as there is no more need for illegal crossing of the borders.

Research proposition P2 (“Other elements of the phenomenon of trafficking – i.e. trafficking methods, forms of recruitment, etc. – will not change significantly due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union.”) was therefore disproved.

The second part of the analysis (chapter 6.3) looked at recent changes in the fight against trafficking in the Baltic States trying to find out, whether there has been any influence of the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union on these developments. These are the most important findings of the survey:

► *Normative influence*

The normative influence of the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union on the shaping of national policies and the adoption of counter-trafficking legislation has to be rated moderate. According to one Estonian Government Official, trafficking was no issue during the pre-accession negotiations between the Estonian Government and the European Commission, and Estonian legal obligations stem “from UN and OSCE documents”.

Nonetheless, the European Union has played some role in the development of national counter-trafficking policies of the Baltic States, but which, according to one international actor, has to be seen in relation to the importance trafficking currently holds at various international levels (e.g. the United Nations, the OSCE, the Nordic Council of Ministers, the Nordic-Baltic Task Force, etc.). In this sense, the EU has to be seen as one of many actors that have contributed to the shaping of governmental counter-trafficking policies.

Interestingly, a Latvian civil society actor reported the adoption of “legislative initiatives regarding assistance to VOTs from 3rd countries” that were taken during 2006 in order to implement a EU directive. An Estonian actor also sees the adoption of the Estonian “National Action Plan” to combat human trafficking as a result of Estonia’s EU membership. Research proposition P3 (“The adoption of counter-trafficking legislation by the Baltic governments will have taken place under the influence of the European Union.”) could therefore be partially confirmed.

► *Trafficking prevention*

Regarding the influence of the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union in relation to the development of prevention-related counter-trafficking measures,

the interviewed actors were of diverging opinions. The majority of actors (among these: particularly civil society actors) saw no or just a small influence. A lot of criticism was triggered with this part of the survey, the main point being that the governments don't pay enough attention towards the issue. There were also four actors who rated the influence of the EU Eastern Enlargement as "significant". Among these were the two law enforcement officers (Latvian State Police and Lithuanian State Border Guard Service) and two civil society actors. According to their answers, the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union has created more and better possibilities of international cooperation and has increased the number of joint investigations carried out by the national police forces. Also, NGOs have attained more funding opportunities.

► *Protection and rehabilitation of trafficking victims*

The majority of respondents were of the impression that the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union has had an influence on the development of victim protection and victim assistance measures in the Baltic States. This was estimated by six of nine actors; four of these rated the influence as "significant". When looking at the distribution of answers according to the level of actorness, one can see a clear trend for Latvia, as the majority of local Latvian actors rated the influence as "significant". In comparison, international as well as local Estonian actors gave more diverse answers. With regard to Estonia, this can be explained with the level of service provision, which is reported as "underdeveloped" and "lagging behind" the developments in Latvia and Lithuania.

The main influence of the EU membership can be seen in the improved funding opportunities for civil society actors. Interestingly, two respondents (one Latvian and one Estonian civil society actor) saw a direct relation between the EU membership of their country and the adoption of counter-trafficking legislation that improved the status of victim protection at governmental level (see above in this subchapter: "normative influence"). Research proposition P4 ("Civil society actors engaged in the implementation of prevention-related counter-trafficking projects and the protection and rehabilitation of trafficking victims in the Baltic States will benefit from the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union.") could thus be confirmed.

The third part of the analysis (chapter 6.4) looked at the development of national prostitution discourses in the Baltic States trying to find out, whether European prostitution discourses (particularly the Dutch/German and the Swedish Model on prostitution) have had any influence on national discourses in the Baltic States. These are the most important findings of the survey:

► *Development of prostitution discourses*

Answers of local Estonian and Latvian actors have shown that prostitution discourses are taking place in both countries. The only Lithuanian respondent could give no information about the prostitution discourse at national level. Different opinions were expressed that show the diversity of prostitution-related opinions and beliefs. Of nine interviewed actors, four were of the impression that European prostitution discourses have had a significant influence of the development of national prostitution discourses. When looking at the distribution of answers one can see a clear trend for Estonia: Three of five actors were of the impression that the influence of European prostitution discourses has to be rated “significant”, compared to one Latvian actor.

On the basis of this survey’s results, however, it is not possible to speak of a particular trend in relation to Latvia or Lithuania. According to one Latvian actor, the societal discourse on prostitution has started only recently. Research proposition P5 (“European discourses on prostitution and trafficking will have a significant impact on the development of national discourses on these issues.”) could therefore only be confirmed in relation to Estonia. Research proposition P6 (“The Estonian and Lithuanian discourses on prostitution and trafficking will be more orientated towards the Swedish model. The Latvian discourse will be more orientated towards the Dutch/German model.”) could not be validated, as the respondents’ answers did not provide enough information on this issue.

► *Personal opinion of the actors*

All interviewed actors of this survey (i.e. thirteen persons) were asked to give their personal opinion about the discussed models on prostitution. The outcome of this question can be seen as being one of the most interesting findings of this survey. Eleven of thirteen actors expressed that they see prostitution as a “push

factor for trafficking”. What is also significant, both actors that had indicated another opinion (i.e. they see prostitution and trafficking as not interrelated) were from Latvia – the only Baltic State, which legalised prostitution. It is assumed that all interviewed actors are key agents in the shaping of counter-trafficking policies in the Baltic States. Therefore, their personal opinions are valuable indicators for the future development of national prostitution discourses and counter-trafficking policies.

7. Presentation of empirical findings: Part two

In the following chapter, an evaluation shall be given of two qualitative telephone interviews that were conducted by the author in order to have a closer look at the experiences made by actors involved in counter-trafficking work in the Baltic States. It was asked how they perceived the consequences of the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union: Had they noticed any changes, and if yes, did they influence their work? Two actors were interviewed who had also participated in the quantitative analysis of this Thesis: 1) a member of a Latvian NGO active in the protection and rehabilitation of trafficking victims, and 2) a member of an international NGO, which carries out two counter-trafficking projects in the Baltic States, one aiming at the improvement of regional cooperation mechanisms and one aiming at the creation of public awareness regarding trafficking. The interviews were conducted in April 2006 in the CATI-Laboratory (Computer-Assisted-Telephone-Interviewing) of the Institute of Sociology at the Friedrich-Schiller-University of Jena, Germany. The evaluation will be split in two case studies, one for each interview, which will then be discussed and put in relation to the empirical findings of the last chapter.

7.1 Experiences of Ms. Guna Garokalna-Bihela, representative of the Resource Centre for Women "Marta", Riga (Case Study 1)

This case study is based on the interview with Ms. Guna Garokalna-Bihela, representative of "the Resource Centre for Women Marta", a Latvian women's NGO, which was conducted on 10 April 2006.

The centre "Marta" works on the issue of trafficking since the year 2002. On the macro-level, the centre carries out political lobby work seeking to influence the policy making of the Latvian state and municipalities; on the micro-level the centre provides direct help to victims of trafficking.⁷⁶ A team of specialists are working with the victims, including a social worker, a social recuperator, a medical doctor, a psychotherapist, and a lawyer. In the year 2005, the centre Marta pro-

⁷⁶ Please see also chapter 4.3.3 (Civil society action), where the Resource Centre for Women "Marta" has been introduced.

vided recuperation services for 22 women that were victims of trafficking. Of these 22 women, five had been trafficked to Germany, five to Denmark, four to Spain, four inside Latvia, one to Ireland, one to Great Britain, one to Sweden, and one to France. Nineteen had been trafficked into sexual exploitation; three had been trafficked into forced labour.

The first part of the interview looked at the recent development of the phenomenon of trafficking in Latvia. According to Guna Garokalna-Bihela, Latvia has been a country of origin and of transit since the emergence of the phenomenon trafficking. “But now, [...] with entering EU, [...] we have become also a country of destination. That’s what we are facing now. [...] That is the main [...] difference.” She reports that there are two known cases where girls from Ukraine and Belarus were trafficked to Latvia for sexual exploitation, but which are not officially known cases, since they had not involved the police. “We know that we have had two cases, two first cases, where there have been girls from Ukraine and Belorussia, here, in forced prostitution. [...] that is only the cases, which we know. [...] [But] you always need to remember that there is probably more, lot and lot more cases we simply don’t know.” But it is difficult for her to judge, whether these changes are really due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union, or whether they are the consequences of a developing infrastructure, which are not related to the EU membership:

“I REALLY THINK THAT THE ONLY REAL THING WHAT CHANGED IS THAT WE BECOME A COUNTRY OF DESTINATION ALSO, A TARGET COUNTRY. THE POINT IS THAT THE TRANSIT COUNTRY WE [WERE] BEFORE, [...] MAYBE NOW THREE YEARS AGO, [...] THERE WASN’T SUCH AIRLINES THROUGH VILNIUS, THROUGH TALLINN; NOW THERE IS MORE CHEAP CARRIERS ALSO FROM OTHER CAPITALS OF [THE] BALTIC STATES. SO THIS COULD BE A CHANGE. BUT I WOULDN’T SAY THAT THIS IS CONCRETELY CONNECTED WITH THE EASTERN ENLARGEMENT. IT’S MORE ABOUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF STRUCTURES OF [...] TRAVEL WAYS, I MEAN, AS THERE IS MORE WAYS TO TRAVEL VIA SEA, THERE IS ALSO MORE WAYS TO TRAVEL VIA AIR. SO THAT IS WHAT MAKES IT EASIER AND MORE CHOICES FOR THE TRAFFICKERS TO MOVE THE PEOPLE.”

Other questions that looked at the development of the phenomenon of trafficking (i.e. changes in the numbers of trafficking cases, trafficking routes, etc.) were more difficult to answer, due to the lack of “real trustful research” on the issue, which has been done “neither before Eastern Enlargement, neither after”. Furthermore, since the “Marta” Centre only works with a small number of trafficking

victims (i.e. 22 persons in 2005), it is difficult to assess the developments at national level. However, Guna Garokalna-Bihela estimates that the number of Latvian women and girls who become victims of trafficking is rather high: "I think it could be [...] approximately one thousand persons per year."

In the second part of the interview it was asked about the influence of the European Union membership on the development of counter-trafficking measures, i.e. the creation of legal means, their implementation and availability of funding for civil society actors. In the estimation of Guna Garokalna-Bihela, the creation of Latvian counter-trafficking legislation was not influenced by the European Union, and from the legal point of view, she thinks that Latvia has an "actually quite good law system according to the trafficking", which even overfulfills European requirements.

"WE HAVE REALLY VERY GOOD LAW ACCORDING TO THE HUMAN TRAFFICKING THAT YOU CAN'T FIND MAYBE IN FRANCE FOR EXAMPLE [...]. BUT THERE IS ANOTHER PROBLEM: IMPLEMENTATION. [...] LAW IS NOT ENOUGH GOOD, IF IT'S WRITTEN, IT [HAS] TO BE IMPLEMENTED. [...] WE HAVE A GREAT STATE PROGRAMME FOR COMBATING HUMAN TRAFFICKING, BUT WE DON'T HAVE THE FINANCES FOR IMPLEMENTING IT. SO THIS IS A CONSTANT FIGHT FOR EACH [...] EURO TO MAKE THIS PROCESS WORK."

The lack of financial resources represents one of the main problems of Latvian NGOs that try to provide protection and rehabilitation services for trafficking victims. Before the creation of an anonymous flat by the centre "Marta", there was no shelter for victims of human trafficking in Latvia, which created big difficulties for the protection of victims:

"WE HAD CREATED OUR OWN SYSTEM WITH COOPERATION PARTNERS, SO THAT WE COULD [...] [FIND] ACCOMMODATION FOR THE WOMEN WHEN THEY RETURN TO LATVIA." – "THIS [2006] IS THE FIRST YEAR WE GAINED SOME STATE FINANCING FOR THE RECUPERATION."

In this context, Latvia's membership in the European Union has proved positive, since it has created new opportunities to apply for funding: "there is more [...] financial support, [...] such things as EQUAL, Structural Funds, where you can gain financial support and the possibility to really develop a project to help victims of human trafficking, what is very important." The centre "Marta" already benefits from European funding:

"WE HAVE A BIG EQUAL PROJECT, [...] 'OPEN LABOUR MARKET FOR WOMEN' IS THE TITLE. AND

THERE IS, INSIDE THIS EQUAL PROJECT, [...] A PILOT PROJECT [...] WHERE IS ALSO INCLUDED CONCRETE SERVICES TO [...] THE VICTIMS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING. AS WELL, THERE IS ONE [...] INTER-INSTITUTIONAL COOPERATION NETWORK FOR CREATING A FUNCTIONAL MODEL FOR RECOVERY OF VICTIMS [...] OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING. SO, WE ARE RIGHT NOW STARTING [...] ALL THIS ACTIVITY. THE LEADING PARTNER IS THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR. AND SO, WE ARE A GROUP OF ORGANIZATIONS, MINISTRY OF INTERIOR, POLICE, BORDER GUARDS, IMMIGRATION OFFICE, FOREIGN MINISTRY, WELFARE MINISTRY, POLICE SCHOOL, AND WE AS A RESOURCE CENTRE.”

Particularly the last project represents a change in the working procedures of the involved organizations, which one may call significant. Before the start of this EQUAL-project, the centre “Marta” had to apply its own strategies in order to convince the police to cooperate with them.

“THROUGH THE LAST YEARS WE HAVE DEVELOPED, I WOULD SAY, QUITE GOOD COOPERATIONS WITH THE POLICE, SOMETHING THAT WE’RE REALLY PROUD OF. [...] BECAUSE THE POLICE INFORMS US IMMEDIATELY, AS SOON AS THEY GET TO KNOW THAT THERE IS, FOR EXAMPLE, A RETURNING VICTIM OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING. [...] AND ONCE A VICTIM WILL ARRIVE IN THE AIRPORT, [...] THEN POLICE RINGS US IMMEDIATELY AND WE GO AND MEET THE PERSON.”

That this is not necessarily the case can be seen in following statements: “Before [the EQUAL-project] we didn’t have real cooperations.” – “If the policemen had to break a leg, then we had none. As we didn’t have a formal [...] cooperation model.” Another positive consequence of Latvia’s membership in the European Union is, according to Guna Garokalna-Bihela, the existence of a developed civil society in Western EU member states, from which the new EU Member States can learn. “There is [...] more awareness and there is more [...] international basis you can lean on.”

7.2 Experiences of Ms. Målin Bjørk, Project Director of the Nordic-Baltic Pilot Project, EWL, Brussels (Case Study 2)

This case study is based on the interview with Ms. Målin Bjørk, representative of the European Women's Lobby (EWL) and Project Director of the "Nordic-Baltic Pilot Project for the Support, Protection, Safe Return and Rehabilitation of Women Victims of Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation" (short: Nordic-Baltic Pilot Project), which was commissioned by the Nordic-Baltic Task Force against Trafficking in Human Beings. The interview was conducted on 12 April 2006.

The European Women's Lobby is involved in two counter-trafficking projects in the Baltic States: 1) the Nordic-Baltic Pilot Project and 2) a joint project with the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW), a US-based international NGO. The joint EWL/CATW project focuses on the prevention of trafficking via awareness-raising seminars and events, whereas the Nordic-Baltic Pilot Project aims at the improvement of victims' assistance by setting up a "regional coordination mechanism". The Nordic-Baltic Pilot Project runs from October 2005 to September 2009.

The first part of the interview looked at recent changes in the phenomenon of trafficking, which might be due to the Eastern Enlargement of the EU. Regarding trafficking routes and trafficking methods, Målin Bjørk does not see any significant changes. She does, however, see changes in the numbers of trafficking cases and in the functions of the Baltic States within the trafficking process: Reports from Estonia and Latvia suggested to her that these countries were also becoming countries of destination of trafficking victims. Målin Bjørk sees this as a very recent development.

"[A]T THESE MEETINGS I'VE HAD AT NATIONAL LEVEL WITH KEY STAKEHOLDERS [...] IN ESTONIA, THEY WERE CLEARLY SAYING THAT [...] ESTONIA IS ALSO BECOMING A COUNTRY OF DESTINATION. AND MY PERSONAL GUESS IS THAT RIGA IS ALSO [BECOMING] [...] A CITY OF DESTINATION. [...] "FOR EXAMPLE, LOTS OF BRITISH TOUR OPERATORS ORGANIZE STAG PARTIES AND WEEK-END TRIPS OVER THERE [RIGA]. IT HAS BECOME NOW A VERY HEAVY SEX TOURISM DESTINATION."

Furthermore, she is of the impression that trafficking represents an increasing problem, which is due to "the more easy way to [...] cross borders" and the development of the sex industry.

“SINCE IT’S BECOMING EASIER TO [...] TRAVEL [...] WITHOUT VISA DOCUMENTS; [...] THE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT [...] IS GREATER. FOR EXAMPLE, HAVE YOU HEARD FROM THE UK THAT [...] TRAFFICKERS DON’T [...] FOLLOW UP ON, [...] IF [...] A VICTIM OF TRAFFICKING [...] GETS HELP FROM THE POLICE OR SHE GETS OUT OF THE TRAFFICKERS’ HANDS? [...] BEFORE, THERE WAS THIS [...] FEAR OF THAT THEY WOULD GO AFTER THEM AND THAT THEY WOULD RECUPERATE THE WOMEN BECAUSE THEY HAD PAID A LOT FOR THEM. [...] AND NOW, IT’S EASIER JUST TO [...] GO AND GET A NEW WOMAN. TO RECRUTE A NEW WOMAN [...] BECAUSE IT’S NOT [...] AS COMPLICATED AS IT WAS BEFORE.”

However, since the Baltic States are not yet signatory states of the Schengen agreement, Målin Bjørk supposes that the numbers of trafficking cases might increase even more in the future.

“THEY WERE ALL SAYING THAT WITH SCHENGEN, BECAUSE THEY’RE NOT PART OF SCHENGEN, YET. [...] [T]HEY SAID THAT [...] IT WOULD CHANGE AGAIN THEIR SITUATION [...] BECAUSE THEN, YOU CAN TRAVEL WITHOUT PASSPORT [...] AND THAT MAKES A BIG DIFFERENCE. BUT IT ALSO MEANS THAT THE BORDER CONTROLS IN ESTONIA WILL BE DIFFERENTLY MONITORED.”

Also, she confirms, what has already been found in chapter 3.1.3 of this Thesis, that women and girls from the Russian-speaking minorities in the three Baltic States are more vulnerable to become victims of trafficking, which appears to be unchanged by the Eastern Enlargement of the EU. “[I]n all these countries they have a Russian speaking minority. And [...] the recruitment of [...] victims is more common there.” – The second part of the interview focused on the perceived influence of the Eastern Enlargement of the EU on the adoption of law and the countries’ ways of dealing with trafficking. In relation to the pre-accession negotiations between the European Commission and the governments of the Baltic States, Målin Bjørk stated that, from her impression, the issue of trafficking had had no relevance: “[A]t some political level it was emphasized. But it was not part of the process of the *acquis communautaire* and all that.”

“THE EU-15 [...] REFUSED TO SPEAK ABOUT, IF WOMEN WERE TRAFFICKED FROM [...] THE FUTURE MEMBER STATES AT THAT TIME. IT WAS BECAUSE THERE WAS A DEMAND FOR THESE WOMEN IN THE SEX INDUSTRY IN THE WEST, A DEMAND FROM WESTERN EUROPEAN MEN WITH MORE PURCHASE POWER. SO, SINCE ONE DIDN’T WANT TO ADDRESS THAT – BECAUSE THERE ARE COUNTRIES LIKE [...] HOLLAND [...] AND [...] GERMANY THAT HAVE LEGALIZED THE INDUSTRY AND THE PIMPS, [...] THAT QUESTION COULD NEVER BE ON THE TABLE.”

Instead, trafficking was treated as “a problem of people moving over borders rather than as a problem of [...] violating human rights of women”. The future EU-Member States should learn “how to close their borders” so that they wouldn’t become transit countries for illegal immigrant into the EU. Nonetheless, Målin Bjørk thinks that there was some influence of the EU in relation to the adoption of counter-trafficking legislation by the Baltic States, even if she would rate its importance rather limited:

“THE EU FRAMEWORK DECISION ON TRAFFICKING THAT LAYS DOWN THAT MEMBER STATES SHOULD ADOPT NEW LEGISLATION AND HOW THEY SHOULD WORK ON TRAFFICKING. [...] THAT WAS PART OF THE PACKAGE THAT [...] NEW MEMBER STATES ALSO HAD TO [...] INTEGRATE IN THEIR LEGISLATION. SO THAT HAS HAD AN IMPACT. [...] AND ALSO NOW THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EU DIRECTIVE ON THE RESIDENCE PERMITS TO VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING. THAT WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE IMPLEMENTED.”

But this influence has to be seen in the context of other international obligations, particularly those stemming from the UN Trafficking in Persons Protocol, and in the future also possibly from the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings.⁷⁷ Another factor, which has had an influence on the development of counter-trafficking policies of the Baltic governments, is, in Målin Bjørk’s opinion, the collaboration between the Baltic and the Nordic countries:

“IT HAS HAD AN IMPACT ON THE NORDIC COUNTRIES, BUT IT HAS ALSO, OF COURSE, HAD AN IMPACT ON THE BALTIC COUNTRIES. AND AT THE GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL THE ISSUES WERE PUT QUITE HIGH ON THE AGENDA, AND [...] ONE WAS [...] FOCUSSED ON TRAFFICKING FOR SEXUAL EXPLOITATION TO [...] RAISE AWARENESS AROUND IT. [...] SO [...] THERE IS THE EU LEGISLATIVE BIT, BUT THERE IS ALSO THE KIND OF GOVERNMENTAL COOPERATIONS THAT GOES BEYOND OR PARALLEL TO LEGISLATIVE MEASURES.”

Interestingly, Målin Bjørk sees the adoption of counter-trafficking legislation of the Baltic governments as a result of highlighting the issue of trafficking at diverse international arenas over a certain period of time. “The way it’s been highlighted at international level the last couple of years [...] then you committ yourself to do something.” As examples for this success she sees the development of investigation methods in Latvia, where “several successful cases of prosecution lead to

⁷⁷ Comment of the author: Of the three Baltic States, only Latvia has so far acceded to the CoE Convention on Action Against Trafficking in Human Beings. (last check: 14 October 2006)

the conviction of traffickers” and the establishment of two Lithuanian police units dealing with this crime. “In Lithuania it used to be only one police woman working on this [...] and they have now [in 2006] increased, two units with five or six people.” Regarding the consequences of the Eastern Enlargement of the EU for trafficking victims originating from the Baltic States, Målin Bjørk sees a significant improvement due to the Enlargement of the Union. This is due to the fact that citizens of EU Member States enjoy more rights in terms of victim protection and assistance, when they are trafficked into other Member States of the EU:

“IT MAKES A BIG DIFFERENCE, [...] IF WOMEN COME FROM ESTONIA OR LITHUANIA OR LATVIA. [...] THEY HAVE [...] MUCH MORE RIGHTS IN TERMS OF [...] BEING ABLE TO [...] RESIDE IN SWEDEN, WHILE AS, IF YOU COME FROM NIGERIA, [...] THERE IS MUCH MORE [...] RESTRICTIONS ON [...] THE POSSIBILITY FOR YOU TO STAY, WHILE AS EU CITIZENS YOU HAVE THE RIGHTS. SO, FOR THE VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING IT CHANGES A LOT, WHETHER YOU COME [...] FROM THE BALTIC STATES OR WHETHER YOU COME FROM AFTER EU COUNTRIES.”

Målin Bjørk’s work itself does not appear to be significantly influenced by the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. As the Nordic-Baltic Pilot Project is carried out under the auspices of the Nordic-Baltic Task Force (which itself was set up by the Nordic Council of Ministers) there is no direct influence of EU policies on the project. However, the European Women’s Lobby enlarged itself in 2004, according to the enlargement of the European Union, by national women’s co-ordinations of the candidate states that had applied for accession to the EU. This, of course, contributed to the importance the Baltic States have in the context of political lobby work the EWL carries out and was one of the reasons the organization applied for directing the Nordic-Baltic Pilot Project.

7.3 Discussion of main findings

The two cases studies that were presented in the last two subchapters shall now be discussed and put in relation to the empirical findings of chapter six of this Thesis. First, it shall be looked at the main findings of the two cases studies. What appears important is that both interviewed actors see a change in the Baltic States' functions in the trafficking process: Guna Garokalna-Bihela reported about some known cases where girls from Ukraine and Belarus had been trafficked into Latvia for sexual exploitation. Målin Bjørk confirmed the same trend for Latvia and for Estonia. This would mean that before the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union, Estonia and Latvia functioned as countries of origin and of transit "only", whereas since the Eastern Enlargement of the EU, the two states have additionally become countries of destination of trafficking victims, though this (yet) to a smaller extent. In comparison: The findings of the first part of the empirical analysis (chapter six) suggest a significant change in function with regard to Latvia only. However, one Estonian actor had reported some known cases, where victims had been trafficked into Estonia, where they were sexually exploited. The impressions of Målin Bjørk confirm this development.

In the telephone interviews, no reference was given to Lithuania, but according to the findings of the literature analysis, Lithuania functioned as country of destination of trafficking victims long before the Eastern Enlargement (see chapter 3.2.1). According to the first part of the empirical analysis, a change of Lithuania's functions in the trafficking process did not take place.

Guna Garokalna-Bihela believes that the improvement of travel ways and national infrastructure (e.g. new airports, etc.) has played a considerable role in this development, but which might not be concretely connected to the Eastern Enlargement of the EU. In Målin Bjørk's opinion, the freedom of movement is the responsible factor, which has become greater with the EU Enlargement, since Baltic citizens do not need entry visa anymore. She is also of the impression that the numbers of trafficking cases have increased since the Eastern Enlargement of the EU – an impression, which is not shared by Guna Garokalna-Bihela. Målin Bjørk also thinks that the numbers might even more increase, when Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania become signatory states of the Schengen agreement.

According to Guna Garokalns-Bihela's estimation, one thousand Latvian women and girls become victims of trafficking into sexual exploitation each year. This is interesting, because it exceeds the highest estimated number found in the literature analysis by 100 percent (here the estimation was 500 Latvian citizens per year, see chapter 3.1.2). Both interviewed actors agree that other elements of the phenomenon of trafficking appear not to have changed since the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union (i.e. trafficking routes, trafficking methods, risk groups). This stands in contrast to the findings of the first part of empirical analysis, as the majority of respondents had observed changes in trafficking methods (e.g. trafficking has become "more latent").

Regarding the adoption of counter-trafficking legislation by the Baltic governments, Målin Bjørk sees some influence of the new EU membership, which she attributes mainly to the Framework Decision and an EU Directive, but which she considers relevant only in relation to other international obligations. Here are to name the Palermo Protocol and obligations that stem from Nordic-Baltic collaboration mechanisms.⁷⁸ The pre-accession negotiations between the European Commission and the governments of the Baltic States did not focus on counter-trafficking measures, thus, they played no significant role in her impression. This confirms, what has also been found in the evaluation of the questionnaires: The government officials that were interviewed for this Thesis, stated that counter-trafficking measures were not discussed during the pre-accession negotiations, and that the EU membership of the Baltic States has had rather little influence on the adoption of legislation in this regard.

Furthermore, Målin Bjørk criticized the way, in which the Baltic governments implemented international obligations into national policies, as they focussed more on border controls and the regulation of immigration rather than on the protection of women's human rights. Insofar, the influence of the EU Eastern Enlargement on the protection and rehabilitation of trafficking victims appears twofold: One the one hand, Baltic citizens have more rights to victim protection and victim assistance, in case they are trafficked into other EU Member States, where they are

⁷⁸ Comment of the author: The Nordic and Baltic countries have dealt with the issue of trafficking at various levels, the most important being: the Nordic Council of Ministers, the Nordic-Baltic Task Force Against Trafficking in Human Beings, the Nordic-Baltic Campaign Against Trafficking in Women.

sexually exploited. On the other hand, there is no normative influence on the rights of those victims that are trafficked from non-EU Member States into sexual exploitation in the Baltic States.

Finally, the interviews looked at the influence the Eastern Enlargement of the EU has had on the actual work of the interviewed actors. While Málin Bjørk reported no direct influence, Guna Garokalna-Bihela's work has been influenced quite strongly: With Latvia's membership in the European Union, the Resource Centre for Women "Marta", became eligible to apply for funding from EU programmes, which was immediately done by the centre – with success. With funding of the EU programme "EQUAL" the centre has now more possibilities to offer protection and rehabilitation services to trafficking victims. Within the EQUAL-project the centre is also involved in the creation of new cooperation structures between different key-stakeholders at national level (police, immigration authorities, etc.), which represents a significant improvement of former cooperation mechanisms.

8. Conclusions

The aim of this Master Thesis was to investigate the influence of the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union on trafficking and counter-trafficking measures in the Baltic States. The first part of the Thesis provided an analysis of current research on the phenomenon of trafficking in the Baltic States as well as the efforts to combat it. On the basis of this analysis, it was possible to develop the methodological approach for the empirical survey. Of particular interest was how the actors would describe the recent developments of (counter-) trafficking in the Baltic States and how they would rate the influence of the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union on these possible changes. This was examined with questionnaires that were sent to thirteen actors involved in counter-trafficking activities at national and international level as well as with three qualitative telephone interviews, of which two were presented as case studies.

The research propositions that were examined during the empirical analysis proved true only to some extent. Considering that the units of analysis represent a small number of counter-trafficking actors only and that the achieved results represent tendencies, which have to be validated through further research, one may draw following conclusions:

- The Eastern Enlargement of the European Union has led to some significant changes in the phenomenon of trafficking in the Baltic States.
- All Baltic States are now countries of origin, of transit, and of destination of trafficking victims. For Lithuania this was true already before the Eastern Enlargement of the EU. Latvia and Estonia have become countries of destination only recently, though to a different extent. There is a clear trend for Latvia that this development is due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union. With regards to Estonia, there are so far only some indications for this development.
- In Estonia and Lithuania, the numbers of trafficking cases seem to have increased since the EU Eastern Enlargement, while in Latvia, the majority of actors observed a decrease in the numbers of trafficking cases.
- Trafficking methods have changed significantly since the Baltic States' membership in the European Union: The facilitated movement of women and girls

into sexual exploitation has become “more latent”, i.e. young women and girls increasingly travel on their own and cross borders without their recruiters.

- The normative influence of the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union on the shaping of national policies and the adoption of counter-trafficking legislation has to be rated moderate. The role of the European Union has to be seen in relation to other international actors (e.g. the United Nations, the OSCE, the Nordic Council of Ministers, the Nordic-Baltic Task Force against Trafficking in Human Beings, etc.).
- Non-governmental organizations benefit from the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union due to better funding opportunities, which influences the development of prevention-related counter-trafficking activities as well as the protection and rehabilitation of trafficking victims.
- The EU membership of the Baltic States has improved the international cooperation of national law enforcement authorities, which improves the investigation of trafficking cases and the prevention of trafficking.
- The Eastern Enlargement of the European Union has led to an increased cooperation among national and international civil society actors in the Baltic States. This has contributed to an influence of European prostitution discourses on the national prostitution discourse in Estonia. In Latvia, prostitution discourses are reported to having started only recently.
- The majority of counter-trafficking actors in the Baltic States support the Swedish model on prostitution rather than the Dutch/German model.

It is assumed that all interviewed actors are key agents in the shaping of counter-trafficking policies in the Baltic States. Therefore, their personal opinions are valuable indicators for the future development of national prostitution discourses and counter-trafficking policies. The last finding appears therefore significant and it will be interesting to see how counter-trafficking policies in the Baltic States will further develop.

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One actor did not wish her name to be published in this Thesis. Therefore, she is listed in relation to the level of actorness only.

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Annex

Questionnaire

This questionnaire served as the basis for the empirical part of this Thesis. Each actor was given those questions that reflected best her/his area of expertise. Example: Representatives of Estonian NGOs were asked about changes in the phenomenon of trafficking in Estonia, but not about the relevance of trafficking in the pre-accession negotiations between the European Commission and the Estonian Government.

- I. CHARACTERIZATION OF THE ACTORS
 1. What kind of activities do you carry out that are related to counter-trafficking in the Baltic States / Estonia / Latvia / Lithuania?
 2. Which aims do you wish to achieve by carrying out these activities?
 3. What are your strategies in achieving the aims that you have just outlined?

- II. CHANGES IN THE PHENOMENON OF TRAFFICKING DUE TO THE EASTERN ENLARGEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN UNION
 4. Did the numbers of trafficking cases change since the membership of Estonia / Latvia / Lithuania in the European Union? (Increase / Decrease / No change / Don't know)
 5. What is your estimation of the current numbers of trafficking cases into and out of Estonia / Latvia / Lithuania?
 6. What is the function of Estonia / Latvia / Lithuania in the trafficking process: Is it a country of origin, of transit or of destination of the victims?
 7. Did this function change since the membership of Estonia / Latvia / Lithuania in the European Union? (Yes / No / Don't know) If yes, how did it change?
 8. Do you have the impression that trafficking routes changed due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union, e.g. do victims come from

new or other countries since the membership of Estonia / Latvia / Lithuania in the European Union? (Yes / No / Don't know) If yes, please describe the changes.

9. Did you observe any changes in trafficking methods, e.g. emergence of internal trafficking since the membership of Estonia / Latvia / Lithuania in the European Union? (Yes / No / Don't know) If yes, please explain the changes.
10. Did you observe any other changes in the phenomenon of trafficking that might be due to the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union?

III. RELEVANCE OF TRAFFICKING IN THE PRE-ACCESSION PROCESS

11. How do you assess the relevance of trafficking in the pre-accession negotiations between the European Commission and the national governments of Estonia / Latvia / Lithuania? Please explain your answer.

IV. IMPACT OF EUROPEAN UNION REGULATIONS ON NATIONAL LAW ENFORCEMENT

12. Do you know, whether legislative counter-trafficking measures (i.e. laws or regulations) were taken by the Baltic governments / the government of Estonia / Latvia / Lithuania because of the requirements of the European Union? (Yes / No / Don't know) If yes, can you give an example?
13. Do you know, whether legislative counter-trafficking measures (i.e. laws or regulations) were taken by the Baltic governments / the government of Estonia / Latvia / Lithuania independently from European Union requirements? If yes, can you give an example?
14. Are there any European Union regulations or recommendations that have significantly changed the country's way of dealing with the problem of trafficking?
15. What is your personal opinion: Are the counter-trafficking laws in the Baltic States / Estonia / Latvia / Lithuania strict enough? Are they appropriate? If no: What should be improved?
16. How would you describe the implementation of existing counter-trafficking

legislation in the Baltic States / Estonia / Latvia / Lithuania?

- V. CHANGES IN VICTIM PROTECTION AND PREVENTION OF TRAFFICKING DUE TO THE EASTERN ENLARGEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN UNION
17. What is your observation regarding the development of victim assistance and victim protection measures in Estonia / Latvia / Lithuania since its membership in the European Union?
 18. How would you describe the influence of the European Union membership on this development? (none / small / moderate / significant / don't know) If you see an influence, what do you think are the reasons for it?
 19. What is your observation regarding the development of prevention-related counter-trafficking measures in Estonia / Latvia / Lithuania since its membership in the European Union?
 20. How would you describe the influence of the European Union membership on this development? (none / small / moderate / significant / don't know) If you see an influence, what do you think are the reasons for it?
 21. How would you characterize the cooperation between Estonian / Latvian / Lithuanian police forces and local NGOs that provide assistance or protection to victims of trafficking?
 22. How would you describe the influence of the European Union membership on the cooperation between police forces and local NGOs? (none / small / moderate / significant / don't know) If you see an influence, what do you think are the reasons for it?
 23. How would you describe the cooperation between Estonian / Latvian / Lithuanian police forces and police forces from other EU member states? (Increase in joint investigations / Decrease in joint investigations / No change / Don't know)
 24. How would you rate this cooperation? (Very good / Good / Satisfactory / Sufficient / Insufficient)

VI. IMPACT OF EUROPEAN PROSTITUTION DISCOURSES ON NATIONAL DISCOURSES IN THE BALTIC STATES

25. If we have a look at the prostitution discourses in a European context, we have two contrary models: the Swedish and the Dutch/German model. In the Swedish model all prostitution is perceived as violence against women and is seen as a push factor for trafficking. In the Dutch/German model it is spoken of “voluntary” and “forced” prostitution, which are seen as not inter-related. Do these models play any role in the Estonian / Latvian / Lithuanian prostitution discourse? (For example: Is prostitution perceived as a possible push factor for trafficking? Or is prostitution seen as an acceptable work that has nothing to do with the emergence of trafficking?) Please explain your answer.
26. How do you assess the influence of European prostitution discourses on the national discourse in Estonia / Latvia / Lithuania? (none / small / moderate / significant / don't know)
27. What is your personal opinion: Do you think prostitution is a push factor for trafficking in women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation? (Yes / No / Don't know)