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HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION: AN
EXAMINATION OF THE ANTI-TRAFFICKING EFFORTS OF THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT, NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION

by

Jennifer Ann Hartl

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts
degree in International Studies in the Graduate College of The University of Iowa

July 2010

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

MASTER'S THESIS

This is to certify that the Master's thesis of

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INTRODUCTION

The buying and selling of human beings for the purpose of exploiting their labor seems, to most people, a distant and archaic practice that disappeared in the mid-19th century. The trans-Atlantic slave trade and the infamous Middle Passage are phenomena studied in history courses, as though they were secured firmly in the past. To be sure, the ‘peculiar institution’ of the *legal* trade in human beings did end during the 19th century; the legal ownership of slaves in the United States ended when the Emancipation Proclamation was issued in 1863. Yet, the *illegal* trade in humans has continued and, today, illegal modern slavery exists on every continent in the world. It is sustained by global traffic of men, women, and children, which is financed and operated by international organized crime networks in some cases and unscrupulous individuals – including friends and family members of the enslaved – in others.

The trafficking of human beings for the exploitation of their labor in the Russian Federation is the focus of this paper. Specifically, this paper examines human trafficking operations in Russia and the efforts of the Russian government, non-governmental organizations, and the International Organization for Migration to prevent trafficking, prosecute traffickers, and provide assistance to survivors of trafficking. To put this into context, I first discuss the problem of human trafficking on a global scale, particularly focusing on the nature of human trafficking as a global issue as well explaining the differences between human trafficking and human smuggling. I then consider the root causes of human trafficking including both push and pull factors which sustain the business of trafficking in persons. I acknowledge the problem of conducting data and research on human trafficking, particularly methodological challenges, and the need for

better data on human trafficking. My in-depth study of human trafficking in the Russian Federation includes discussions of the main forms of trafficking, health issues related to human trafficking, trafficking and the shadow economy, and the relationships between trafficking, corruption, and organized crime. I evaluate the anti-trafficking efforts in Russia by the Federal Government, non-governmental organizations, and the International Organization for Migration. Following and evaluation of anti-trafficking efforts in Russia, I will discuss recommendations for future anti-trafficking policy.

Justification for Research

Russia has made considerable efforts in the past nineteen years to become a key economic player on the global stage as evidenced by its economic and foreign policies. Government corruption and an economy propped up by corporations entangled in the buying, selling, and exploitation of human beings undermines the pursuit of Great Power status. A demonstration of considerable efforts to combat human trafficking, including government and corporate involvement, will illustrate Russia's commitment to creating a stable and lawful economic and financial base that will promote the country's economic goals while protecting its citizens.

While building a strong economy and combating human trafficking are not mutually exclusive endeavors, the government's efforts to build an economy as cheaply and as quickly as possible contribute either directly or indirectly to the perpetuation of human trafficking both inside Russia's borders and outside them. The Russian Government cannot continue to turn the other cheek while industries key to the expansion of the economy, such as the tourism and construction industries, thrive on the

exploitation of its own citizens and foreign nationals. As an aid to understanding the problem of human trafficking in Russia, however, I first examine it as a global issue.

CHAPTER I. THE PROBLEM OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING ON A GLOBAL SCALE

Joel Quirk (2006) estimated that there were approximately 27 million slaves in the world at the time of his writing. Modern slavery, however, differs in a number of ways from the 'old' slavery taught about in history classes. For example, slaveholders who participated in the old slavery paid a great deal of money for each slave and considered each to be an investment whereas slaveholders today pay a relatively cheap price for each human being. According to Kevin Bales (2004), in today's world people get rich off of slaves by using them until they are physically and mentally worn out, become sick or die. This is what Bales refers to as the "new slavery which focuses on big profits and cheap lives" (p.4). Bales states that today, slavery is "not about owning people in a traditional sense of the old slavery, but about controlling them completely. People become completely disposable tools for making money" (p.4).

It is the demand for this endless supply of disposable people that fuels the business of human trafficking. The International Labor Organization (2009) states that approximately 2.5 million persons are trafficked each year. Although individuals of both genders and of all ages are trafficked, Kapstein (2006) estimates that about 80 percent of slaves on the global market today are female and that "up to 50 percent are under the age of 18" (p.105). According to the U.S. Department of State 2009 Trafficking in Persons Report, there are as many as "12.5 million adults and children in forced labor and sexual servitude...1.39 million victims of sex trafficking, both national and transnational...[and] 56 percent of forced labor victims are women and girls." It is also necessary to acknowledge that, although trafficking in women and children is often the main focus of human trafficking research, males are also trafficked for work as servants, yard workers,

pornographic models, and prostitutes, loggers in rainforests, miners, construction workers, and agricultural workers. Estimates of the percentage of males trafficked compared to the percentage of females trafficked, however, is considerably lower (Granville, 2004).

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime states in its 2009 Global Report on Human Trafficking that, in most of the cases reported, victims were trafficked across international borders (p.11). Long distance flows include the trafficking of East Asian persons to Europe, the Americas, the Middle East, Central Asia, and Africa; the trafficking of Africans to locations in Europe and North America; the trafficking of Latin Americans to North American and Europe; the trafficking of Central European, Eastern European and Central Asian persons (including Russia and the former Soviet states) to Europe and the Middle East; and the trafficking of South Asian individuals to the Middle East. Domestic trafficking appears to be more limited than international trafficking (p.59). This form of trafficking is likely most often reported under other offenses such as pandering or kidnapping.

A number of factors hinder efforts to combat human trafficking. For example, the fight to eliminate human trafficking is complicated by the lack of a universal definition of the concept. The definition most often used is the one included in the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children (2000), which states that:

“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...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 (Quirk, 2006, 77).

Criticisms of the U.N. definition generally focus on the first part regarding methods of recruitment and transport of persons, as persons who sometimes should be identified as trafficking victims are mistaken for individuals who have been willingly smuggled illegally across borders. Confusion continues to exist in discriminating between human trafficking and human smuggling. In contrast to trafficked persons, smuggled individuals are “partners, however unequal, in a commercial transaction” (Gallagher, 2001, p.25). Once a smuggled individual arrives at his or her destination, their relationship with the smuggler is terminated. Gallagher (2001) clarifies that, in contrast to smuggled persons, “the movement of trafficked persons is based on deception or coercion and is for the purpose of exploitation. The profit in trafficking comes not from the movement but from the sale of a trafficked person’s sexual services or labor in the country of destination” (p.25). There is also a demographic difference between smuggled persons and trafficked persons. According to Gallagher, most smuggled migrants are men while most trafficked persons are women and children.

The entanglement of trafficking, smuggling, and irregular migration have made it difficult to persuade governments to treat human trafficking as a human rights issue that should be dealt with the same way as any other human rights violation would be. As Gallagher notes, in many cases it seems that human trafficking is not an issue on states’ agendas because of humanitarian concerns but rather their “attempts to counter trafficking and smuggling seem to be motivated by a growing intolerance of all forms of irregular migration” (Gallagher, 2001,p.25). Thus, it tends to be easier for law enforcement agents to treat all irregular migrants taken into custody as though they are

simply illegal immigrants who need to be sent back from where they came, rather than to investigate the situation of those individuals to determine exactly how they came to be in their respective situations and then provide them with the necessary services.

Indeed, it is often difficult to categorize an irregular migrant as either a smuggled or a trafficked person, particularly because it is common that the person in question does not know his or her status. According to Bhabha (2005), “at the point of departure and at multiple stages of the journey, it may well be unclear which category of irregular migration is at issue – trafficking or smuggling” (p.4). States tend to focus on the point of departure as an indicator of whether a person has been smuggled or trafficked. This is problematic because a person may consent to illegal transport across borders for work. If that person, however, arrives at his or her destination to a situation in which they face violence, abuse, threats, coercion, and exploitation then that person is no longer a smuggled migrant – he or she is a victim of trafficking.

CHAPTER II. ROOT CAUSES OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Many factors – both push and pull – exist and serve as root causes of trafficking. ‘Pull factors’ are those that pull individuals into situations that result in trafficking. One pull factor identified by Hughes (2000) is globalization. Expanding economic, political, and social transnational linkages created by globalization are often beyond local and state control. Specifically, Hughes states that

An important component of globalization is the transnational linkages created by migration. Members of organized crime rings establish contacts with willing collaborators in diaspora communities throughout the world and work within migrating populations to build transnational criminal networks. Increased migration also serves as a cover for traffickers in transporting [persons] (p.2).

Hughes also points to computer communication technologies as another important component of globalization that contribute to an increase in human trafficking by enabling “the increased volume and complexity of international financial transactions, which increases opportunities for transnational crime and decreases the probability of detection and apprehension” (p.2). This technological component allows the profits made from the trafficking in persons to be transferred and laundered.

Kapstein (2006) claims that the “human stain” of modern slavery and the global trafficking of human beings “is a product of the same political, technological, and economic forces that have fueled globalization” (p.103) He refers to the system of globalization as one of the “flaws in our contemporary economic and governmental arrangements.” According to Kapstein, it is this flawed system that provides criminals and “outlaw states” with incentives to engage in activities like human trafficking while failing to sanction such behavior through legislation and enforcement, allowing organized criminal groups to operate within and between states, sometimes with the aid of state and

local governments paid by criminals to look the other way. The profits from trafficking are high; traffickers and slaveholders have plenty of money to pay off police and government officials (Kapstein, 2006, 107).

Organized crime is more active in developing nations – as Bales states (2004) “In Europe and North America the police fight organized crime; in Thailand the police *are* organized crime” (p.29). In areas where government corruption is the rule rather than the exception, trafficking in humans is a relatively low-risk endeavor since it is difficult to recognize and so well hidden. In addition, in many countries penalties for trafficking in persons carries weaker penalties than trafficking in drugs or weapons. Thus government corruption plus feeble penalties create a sustainable environment for human trafficking.

Other contributing factors, called ‘push factors,’ exist to perpetuate human trafficking. Push factors are generally economic. In areas of economic distress, particularly in underdeveloped countries or in areas of conflict, individuals are more likely to become victims of trafficking. Bales (2004) states that “ongoing impoverishment” drives people into the hands of traffickers. According to Bales, “with [economic] destitution, traditional systems of family or community support for the vulnerable collapse – and in these countries they are not replaced with any effective state welfare measures” (p.30). People in economically depressed areas are more likely to migrate in search of employment, or to seek out ways to provide better lives for their children, such as sending them away to work or go to school, thereby making them targets for traffickers.

It is important to note that not all women who fall victim to traffickers are uneducated. Some are fairly well-educated and have legitimate work experience and

professional qualifications. However, poor working conditions, low salaries, and lack of alternative employment opportunities drive them into traffickers' webs.

This is not to say that individuals in more economically prosperous regions are not at risk of being trafficked. Indeed, anyone traveling abroad without the skills to safely navigate his or her journey could be at risk. However, those who migrate in search of employment are more likely to be trafficked due the recruiting methods of traffickers that target migrants.

In addition, in areas of conflict, children and those who refugee to safer areas are also more likely to be kidnapped and trafficked. Women in these areas may be forced into prostitution to service soldiers. Children in those areas are at risk of being kidnapped and forced to fight as child soldiers.

Push and Pull Factors in Russia

In Russia, a number of push and pull factors exist that contribute to the perpetuation of human trafficking. The economic collapse experienced in the former Soviet States, including Russia, contributed to the rise of organized crime and corruption in government. According to Transparency International's 2009 Global Corruption Report, Russia is categorized as one of the countries with the second highest rate of bribery in the world (p.8). Institutions most likely to be paid bribes, according to the report are the police, the judiciary, and permit offices (p.9).

Prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, no cases of trafficking in persons from Russia to the West were reported (Pickup, 2003). The transition triggered by the collapse, however, thrust a large portion of the Russian population into poverty,

particularly women and children. Economic opportunities were limited and social protection networks that were available under the Soviet regime were dismantled (Orlova, 2004). According to Orlova, “the situation was exacerbated by the August 1998 financial crisis, when the ruble’s collapse erased almost overnight the meager savings that people had struggled to accumulate” (p.15).

Yeltsin’s policies of economic decentralization and privatization caused downsizing in many industries, leading to the displacement of workers all over Russia. Among the hardest hit were industries such as the textile industry, in which there was a high concentration of female workers (Orlova, 2004). In rural areas, women were also the hardest hit as most of the state-run collective farms were closed during the 1990s, with no private farm development. Many women were forced to migrate to the cities, where they had to compete with urban women for the few jobs that existed.

The economic issues triggered by the collapse of the Soviet Union have also had extremely negative effects on children, making them vulnerable targets for human traffickers. The loss of state-sponsored social protections as a result of economic restructuring has meant that many families can no longer afford to properly care for their children (Orlova, 2004). This has resulted in the problem of “artificial orphans” whom Orlova describes as “children abandoned by their families because of economic difficulties and raised in state institutions, in the best case scenario, or on the streets in the worst” (p.15). The number of state institutions able to care for children was dramatically reduced due to lack of funding and the remaining facilities were overcrowded, particularly those that specifically care for children with special needs. Neglect and abuse in these institutions cause children to run away, leading to an increase in the number of

street kids in Russia's cities while those who remain in state orphanages usually are not taught "basic skill sets and are unable to plan and organize their lives when released at the age of 16 or 17" (p.16). Traffickers often target homeless street children, orphans, and children who grow up without proper parental supervision.

Forced migration within and between former Soviet states is another push factor that puts women and children at risk for being trafficked. Orlova states (2004, 16) that "the break-up of the Soviet Union stranded many ethnic Russians outside the borders of the Russian Federation" which placed them in situations where they faced dire economic circumstances in the successor states, language issues, and discrimination. Instead of seeking citizenship in the new states, they migrated to the Russian Federation. In addition, violent conflicts in several former Soviet republics, as well as within Russian Territory, such as Chechnya, created refugee populations forced to flee their homes. These displaced persons often crossed the border into the Russian Federation illegally making them highly vulnerable to trafficking, especially women and children.

Recruitment and Control

Throughout the world, traffickers utilize expert recruiters who use a variety of methods to trick victims into leaving their homes. Recruitment of children is fairly straightforward; recruiters simply offer children what they need and/or desire most – food, shelter, toys, drugs, or alcohol (Orlova, 2004). Recruitment of adults generally involves more effort. Oftentimes individuals use media outlets to recruit unwitting individuals by posing as employment agents searching for individuals who wish to work abroad. In fact, Hughes (2000) estimates that 20 percent of trafficked women are

recruited through media advertisements. She identifies a number of common methods of recruitment including the use of “advertisements in newspapers offering lucrative job opportunities in foreign countries for low – skilled jobs, such as waitresses and nannies” (p.3). They then exploit individuals’ vulnerabilities in their recruitment methods by promising economic opportunity and a better life (Orlova, 2004).

In Russia, traffickers take advantage of the social, economic, and political factors that have made certain populations susceptible to trafficking. Advertisements for jobs as waitresses, office clerks, dancers, or as “unskilled laborers” promising high salaries are typically used by traffickers to target their victims. In Russia, according to Orlova, “one of the most common methods is for “employment agencies” to advertise jobs abroad that are generally “too good to be true” (p.17). The “employment agencies” often look extremely legitimate due to the organization of the process and the appearance of the “employment contracts” used by traffickers. As Orlova describes,

Women who apply for jobs advertised by an employment agency are often made to sign a contract stipulating that they will reimburse the agency for their air fare, medical insurance, and the necessary documentation upon commencing employment. The contract often guarantees room and board as well as personal safety, in addition to high wages. The agency contracts contravene most domestic and international labor laws. They often specify, for instance, that women cannot...own a cell phone or a pager. A range of financial penalties is imposed for violations of a contract’s provisions. Most members of the vulnerable populations targeted by traffickers do not have enough basic legal knowledge to question the provisions of the contract they are forced to sign and tend to believe it is legally binding. (p.17)

While many phony employment agencies operate by word of mouth, some traffickers go as far as to set up employment agency booths at Career Day events at Russian universities, promising profitable careers abroad.

Another recruitment technique used specifically in the trafficking of women is the “marriage agency” or mail order bride agency front. Recruiters who use this technique target women who are eager to emigrate, according to Hughes (2000). The recruiters may be traffickers themselves or work directly with traffickers. The recruiter may pose as a potential husband, who promises marriage in the future. Another common method of recruitment is through a friend or acquaintance. After gaining the potential victim’s trust, the recruiter tricks him or her into a trafficking situation.

Hughes (2000) also describes the practice of trafficked women who return home to recruit other women, describing it as “the second wave.” Women trafficked into the sex industry often find that their only way out of being forced into having sex with multiple men every day is by recruiting other women into sexual slavery. These women are thereby forced to victimize other women in order to alleviate some of their own physical pain and suffering.

Recruiters also pose as agents willing to transport migrants illegally across borders for a fee (Hughes, 2000). In the same way that recruiters for “employment agencies” or “marriage agencies” promise to secure the necessary legal documents for individuals seeking to migrate, agents posing as people who help individuals migrate illegally to a country for employment promise to come up with false documentation for migrants.

Indeed, a number of victims trafficked within and out of Russia leave their communities voluntarily under the impression that they will be employed in legitimate jobs. Even those who agree to work in the sex industry are unaware of the conditions in which they will be working. Therefore, whether or not a person has been trafficked does

not depend on the type of work they agree to do once they arrive at their destination but, rather, it depends on their treatment once they arrive at that destination.

A number of methods are used by traffickers and slave-holders to control their victims once they have reached their destinations and have been informed of their situation. These methods include “confiscation of travel documents, violence, threats to harm family members, and debt bondage” (Hughes, 2000, p.3). Traffickers convince their victims that they that they need them to survive. Traffickers tell victims that they will be arrested and thrown in jail if they run away or that they will be deported. Oftentimes, victims are taught to fear law enforcement more than their captors. As will be discussed further later in this paper, these factors demonstrate that a one – size – fits all mentality for all irregular migration is ineffective and, in most cases, harmful.

CHAPTER III. DATA AND RESEARCH ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Methodological Challenges

The root causes of human trafficking, recruitment methods, and methods of control used by captors have serious implications for anti-trafficking efforts. Thus, good research on trafficking will contribute to better anti-trafficking policy. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to conduct research on human trafficking. Not only does the complex nature of the issue complicate the study of trafficking in persons, these persons are often a concealed population. Tyldum and Brunovskis (2005) declare this to be the most challenging factor in human trafficking research. They describe the populations relevant to the study of human trafficking as “hidden populations,” which are groups of “individuals for whom the size and boundaries are unknown, and for whom no sampling frame exists” (Heckathorn, 1997; Tyldum and Brunovskis, 2005, p.18). These individuals are difficult to identify as “membership in hidden populations often involves stigmatized or illegal behavior, leading individuals to refuse to cooperate, or give unreliable answers to protect their privacy” (p.18). According to Tyldum and Brunovskis, the hidden nature of target populations in human trafficking research requires methodological approaches that are different from the approaches most often used for more visible populations.

One of the biggest problems with conducting accurate human trafficking research is the reluctance of trafficking victims to report what happened to them or to testify against their traffickers. Trafficking victims often fear retaliation by their traffickers as well as government penalties for their undocumented migrant status (Laczko, 2002, p.3). This leads to a continued lack of data collection on human trafficking on the part of law enforcement officers, which is another problem.

According to Laczko (2002), even though an increasing amount of attention is being paid to human trafficking in the literature, “relatively few studies are based on extensive research, and information on the actual numbers of people trafficked remains very sketchy” (p.1). When studies are able to be conducted, sample sizes are generally small, making it difficult to generalize the results of those studies to human trafficking on a national or global scale. Samples tend to consist of survivors identified by law enforcement agencies assisted by NGOs or international organizations (Laczko, 2005). The ratio of assisted survivors to the total number of trafficking victims, however, remains unknown. Thus, the studies based on these samples are most likely not representative of the total number of trafficked persons (p.8).

Laczko (2005) also notes that a lack of funding – which is increasingly becoming a problem in human trafficking research – has also had an effect on research methodology. Less funding for long-term research to investigate the causes of trafficking and the best way to combat it and prevent it, has resulted in a focus on “action – oriented and applied research” (p.9). This means that studies are generally conducted within a short six to nine-month timeframe, with limited resources. Little longitudinal research has been done that has focused on the circumstances of individuals prior to, during, after trafficking and very few comparative studies based on extensive field work have been conducted. This has hampered the ability of researchers to acquire a genuine understanding of the long-term effects of human trafficking on survivors. Another effect has been that the research conducted has tended to focus on the supply-side of human trafficking such as the root causes of trafficking in particular areas, while the demand side of the equation has been neglected.

The Need for Better Data

Other criticisms of current human trafficking research focus on the lack of evaluation of counter-trafficking policies and programs, which makes it difficult to identify which practices are effective and to assess which countries have been most successful in their efforts to combat trafficking (Laczko, 2005, p.9). Organizations such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM) continue to publish statistics by region as evidence of their success in the fight against human trafficking. However, few other organizations generate similar figures with which to evaluate those data. Little if any data are available on counter-trafficking programs sponsored by other organizations and/or governments in the same regions in which IOM programs are located. This presents a skewed perspective of the success rates of such programs.

Once agencies or governments have data, another problem is created when those agencies or governments refuse to release that data or only release some of it. Laczko (2002) explains that this occurs when countries consider human trafficking data to be classified information, when they have data protection laws prohibiting the dissemination of prohibited information, and when authorities in destination countries are “reluctant to share information with source countries whose authorities and law enforcement agencies are suspected of involvement in trafficking” (p.4). Other agencies and NGOs, according to Laczko, are reluctant to share their data simply because of concerns regarding its quality (p.5).

Where data are reported, discrepancies between sources exist. According to Laczko (2002), “it is often the case that existing data are program-specific” (p.4). Thus, data may apply only to certain types of trafficking such as the trafficking of women or

children for work in the sex industry rather than on trafficking in general. In addition, as there is no universal definition of human trafficking used by agencies to identify the issue, data are frequently based on the definitions used by individual agencies.

Despite the numerous impediments to methodology and data collection in human trafficking research, efforts are being made to reduce or eliminate them. As governments partner together with NGOs and international organizations in their efforts to combat trafficking, better strategies will be used to create more accurate methods of research and reporting of human trafficking that will help develop a clearer understanding of the issue, its causes, and its effects on individuals, their communities, as well as on a larger global scale. The annual Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report released by the United States Department of State, for example, is increasingly used as an important data tool in the global fight against trafficking in persons.

The U.S. Department of State Annual Trafficking in Persons Report

The United States has become a leader in human trafficking monitoring and reporting. In 2000, the U.S. passed the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA), which continues to guide efforts to combat human trafficking within the U.S. and worldwide (U.S. Department of State, 2009). The TVPA was most recently amended in 2008 in order to more effectively punish traffickers, protect victims, and prevent trafficking from occurring – known as the “three Ps.” The State Department’s Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons uses a variety of methodologies to acquire data for its report. It uses data gathered from U.S. embassies, foreign government officials, NGOs and international organizations, published reports, research trips to every

region, and information submitted to tipreport@state.gov, which allows NGOs and individuals to share information on government progress in counter-trafficking (U.S. Department of State, 2009, p.9).

The TVPA sets minimum standards for the elimination of human trafficking. Countries' efforts to comply with the minimum standards are analyzed each year by the U.S. Department of State, resulting in a specific tier placement. Countries that make every effort to comply with minimum standards are placed on Tier 1, those who do not currently comply with minimum standards but who are making efforts to do so are placed on Tier 2, while countries that do not make significant efforts to comply with minimum standards are placed on Tier 3. Countries on Tier 3 may face consequences for their failure to comply, such as withholding by the U.S. of non-humanitarian, non-trade-related foreign assistance. The Annual TIP Report remains an effective tool with which to combat human trafficking both in the United States and abroad. Not only is it used as a diplomatic tool by the U.S. to encourage other nations to improve efforts to eliminate human trafficking and to facilitate partnerships between nations in their anti-trafficking efforts, it is a valuable resource to help guide prosecution, protection, and prevention efforts worldwide.

The TVPA's minimum standards of compliance are strict. Accordingly, the "Report does not give great weight to laws in draft form or laws that have not yet been enacted (Trafficking in Persons Report, 2009, p.10). In addition, the Report does not focus on governmental efforts that have indirect effects on the rate of human trafficking but rather it focuses on direct anti-trafficking efforts such as those that prevent

trafficking, protect victims, and punish traffickers. For example, efforts to improve school retention or economic development do not meet TVPA standards.

In addition to placement of each country on an appropriate Tier, the TVPA contains a special Watch List on which certain countries' placement is required (Trafficking in Persons Report, 2009). This includes countries in which:

- a. The absolute number of victims of severe form of trafficking is very significant or significantly increasing;
- b. There is a failure to provide evidence of increasing efforts to combat severe forms of trafficking in persons from the previous year, including increased investigations, prosecutions, and convictions of trafficking crimes; increased assistance to victims; and decreasing evidence of complicity in severe forms of trafficking by government officials; or
- c. The determination that a country is making significant efforts to bring itself into compliance with the minimum standards was based on commitments by the country to take additional steps over the next year (p.12)

Thus, the placement of a country on the Watch List can be positive or negative, depending on its Tier placement the previous year. According to the Report, the most recent amendments made by the TVPRA of 2008 require that "any country that has been ranked Tier 2 Watch List for two consecutive years (beginning with the 2009 Report) will be ranked Tier 3, unless the President waives application of this provision..." (2009, p.12).

Each year, the U.S. Department of State compiles country profiles which:

describe the nature and scope of the trafficking problem, and the government's efforts to combat trafficking. Each narrative also contains an assessment of the government's compliance with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking as laid out in the TVPA and includes suggestions for additional government actions. The remainder of the country narrative describes each government's efforts to enforce laws against trafficking, to protect victims, and to prevent trafficking. Each narrative explains the basis for ranking a country as Tier 1, Tier 2, Tier 2 Watch List, or Tier 3. In particular, if a country has been placed on Tier 2 Watch

List, the narrative will contain a statement of explanation, using the special criteria found in the TVPA for the Watch List (p.9)

Russia has been on the Tier 2 Watch List since 2004 when the Watch List was created. According to the 2009 TIP Report (p.247)¹,

the Government of the Russian Federation does not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking; however, it is making significant efforts to do so. Despite these significant efforts, the government over the last year: decreased the number of reported trafficking investigations, prosecutions, and convictions; did not vigorously prosecute, convict, and punish government officials; made no significant efforts to improve identification of and assistance to victims of trafficking; and did not make adequate efforts to address labor trafficking...

In addition

victim identification and assistance remained and varied in quality and availability, despite efforts by some regional and local authorities. The federal government did not dedicate funding to anti-trafficking activities or trafficking victim assistance during the reporting period; and, despite limited funding by some local governments, the majority of shelter and direct trafficking assistance continued to be provided by foreign funded international organizations and NGOs.

Therefore, Russia remains on the Tier 2 Watch List.

¹ At the time of this writing, the 2010 TIP Report had not yet been released. The 2010 Report was released on June 14, 2010. Russia remains on the Tier 2 Watch List for the same reasons stated in the 2009 TIP Report (www.state.gov/documents/organization/142979.pdf)

CHAPTER IV. HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Main Forms of Trafficking

The 2009 United States Department of State's Trafficking in Persons Report declares that "Russia is a source, transit, and destination country for men, women, and children trafficked for the purposes of forced labor and commercial sexual exploitation" (p. 246). According to the International Organization for Migration (*Victims*, 2009), most of the trafficking victims in Russia assisted by the organization in 2008 were women between the ages of 17 - 28. Approximately 65% of victims assisted were female while approximately 35% of assisted victims in 2008 were men.

According to the International Organization for Migration (*Reintegration*, 2009), exploitation patterns differ from region to region however the number of labor exploitation cases, especially involving non-Russian nationals exploited in the territory of the Russian Federation, is gradually increasing. The 2005 United Nations/International Organization for Migration Working Group on Trafficking in Human Beings Report on Human Trafficking in the Russian Federation (UN/IOM Report), states migrants from countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) working illegally in the Russian shadow economy as unskilled laborers are the main targets for labor trafficking (p.33). These migrants are usually young and middle aged men and women with low education levels.

The UN/IOM Report on human trafficking in the Russian Federation (2005) states that "trafficking for labor exploitation is the most common type of human trafficking in the Russian Federation" (p.35). This appears to be due to the Russian government's goal

of doubling its GDP combined with its severe demographic crisis, which “sets conditions for reliance of migrant-based development in both the immediate and the more long-term future” (p.33). This enormous demand for mass labor in sectors such as construction and renovation, transportation, trade, lumbering, or seasonal farming is met by illegal migrants. According to the report, “over 75 percent of illegal migrants are paid cash “under the table,” and 80 percent have no written contracts with their employers, creating easy conditions for employers to exploit conditions frequently bordering on slavery” (p.34).

According to 2005 reports, Russia’s sex industry continues to expand rapidly. The United Nations/IOM Working Group (2005) estimates suggest “that the majority of women involved in commercial sex work in large cities are migrants from other states or from neighboring small towns and villages” (p.36). Even those who voluntarily enter the sex industry are vulnerable to exploitation resulting in situations of slavery. According to the UN/IOM Report,

virtually all commercial sex work in Moscow is organized, i.e. sex workers work for their pimps who have “protection” from organized criminal groups. Experiences in regions where the Ministry of Internal Affairs has special sex crime units, such as Moscow, St. Petersburg, Omsk, or Yekaterinburg, confirm close relationship between the sex industry and organized crime. In such cases of organized prostitution, most of it can be assumed to fall within the category of human trafficking (p.36).

Russia is also a major origin country for cross–border human trafficking. The UN/IOM Report states that a “considerable number” of women have also been trafficked from Russia abroad for purposes of sexual exploitation.

The increasing rate of child trafficking in Russia is a major issue of concern. “Transitional economies, which include Russia and the whole Commonwealth of

Independent States (CIS) region, are a “breeding ground for trouble” in this area” (UN/IOM, 2005, p.39). Child trafficking for the purposes of commercial sexual exploitation (child prostitution, pornography production), labor exploitation (manufacturing and service industries, domestic labor), begging (exploitation of children as “little beggars,” “renting out” infants for the purpose of begging), organ and tissue transplants, and illegal adoption are the most common forms in Russia. According to the UN/IOM Report, “the level of exploitation affecting children has become such that the problem has ceased to be just marginal, becoming institutionalized and operating as an established system.”

Trafficking and Health Issues in the Russian Federation

Human trafficking creates a number of problems that affect both trafficked and non-trafficked persons. For example, in addition to being a major human rights violation, human trafficking is a serious public health concern. According to the UN/IOM Report (2005), “experts acknowledge that the situation of human trafficking victims is one of virtually 100% vulnerability to accidents, traumas, infection, including those sexually transmitted, tuberculosis, HIV and other dangerous illnesses, psychological damage, suicide, and early death” (p.52). This has a detrimental impact on the victim’s health and can be passed on to others, particularly by individuals forced to work in the sex industry, as well as on to subsequent generations thus having severe negative long-term effects.

The commercial sex sector is one channel for HIV transmission in Russia (UN/IOM, 2005, p.54). Women trafficked for work in the sex industry in Russia are at great risk of HIV infection. According to the UN/IOM Report, those who control the

women have little or no interest in their health and so do not care whether or not they are exposed to high risk of HIV infection. This not only creates a problem regarding the spread of HIV in Russia but it also leads to the spread of HIV from Russia to destination countries.

Another disturbing trend which has grown out of the expanding HIV epidemic in Russia has been the growing demand for child sex services (UN/IOM, 2005, p.54). Children are considered to be safer sexual partners than adults who are considered more likely to be infected with HIV. This has contributed to the growth of child sex trafficking in Russia.

CHAPTER V. THE CAUSES OF TRAFFICKING IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Trafficking and the Shadow Economy

The restructuring of the Russian economy over the past 15 years has led to the development of an informal economy in certain sectors. As of 2005, the overall size of the informal or “shadow” economy in Russia was estimated to comprise 22 – 40% of the GDP, however sectors existed where the shadow economy is estimated to account for 60 – 80%, including “construction, commerce, small private businesses engaged in light industry or catering, and services such as car maintenance services, tourism, and entertainment” (UN/IOM, 2005, p.55). In order to meet demand for low-cost, unprotected labor “agents in these sectors maintain totally informal and highly criminalized relations” through which criminal channels are used to recruit mostly migrants “from the poorest and most marginalized social groups” who are at risk for becoming involved in situations of trafficking. It is estimated in the UN/IOM Report on Human Trafficking in the Russian Federation (2005) that Russia has 3 – 5 million illegal migrants; approximately two-thirds of whom are from CIS countries, “operating in the shadow economy, which frequently contains elements of slavery and human trafficking” (p.34).

According to the United Nations/International Organization for Migration (2005), “the most conservative assessments suggest that the volume of the shadow economy in Russia is twice the numbers of developed countries...at least 15 percent of those in employment, operate in the shadow economy” (p.55). Unprotected labor to this extent in Russia creates unlimited opportunities for the exploitation of slave labor and human trafficking.

According to the UN/IOM, Russia has weak small- and medium-business sectors that contribute to an increasing demand for low-cost labor (2005). Small and medium-size businesses cannot survive in the labor market without cheap labor. Moreover,

in today's climate, these businesses are virtually incapable of survival without the complicity of corrupt local and state authorities, which in turn results in the weakening of Russia's system of control and makes employees of such businesses even more vulnerable to exploitation. In sectors where migrants are traditionally employed, it is a widespread practice for small businesses to work on the basis of informal relations. Russia's inadequate legal regulation of labor migration further enhances the vulnerability of exploitation for employees from these sectors...(p.56)

Practices of exploitation in the shadow economy including debt bondage, confiscation of documents, and violence are “elements of human trafficking and practices compatible with slavery” that are widespread and affect “a significant number of social groups” in Russia (p.58). Thus, an extremely large shadow economy and weak control of the shadow economy by authorities and the law contribute to, and are perpetuated by, human trafficking in Russia.

Trafficking, Corruption and Organized Crime

Weak laws, the extent of the shadow economy, and “shadowy practices” in all areas of everyday activities encourage corruption in Russia (UN/IOM, 2005, p.58). Unregulated informal economic relations and unrecorded flows of money provide criminal organizations with opportunities to “buy” state and local officials and other people in positions of authority. The following are examples of corrupt practices directly related to human trafficking: forgery, illegal preparation or receipt of ID or migration documents via state officials in origin and destination countries; direct collusion between

employers or others engaged in the criminal exploitation of people and law enforcement authorities; sale of registration and migration certificates, as well as Russian citizenship papers; lax migration control; illegal exploitation of labor of migrant soldiers, who are arrested and pending charges, by police, administrative, and supervising authorities; and interconnected relationship between the porn industry and law enforcement authorities.

The pervasive nature of corruption that has infiltrated the spheres of labor migration, entertainment, the sex and porn industries, gambling, and other businesses encourages human trafficking by creating and maintaining a demand for cheap labor in attempts to make an enormous profit (UN/IOM, 2005). According to the UN/IOM Report on Human Trafficking in the Russian Federation, “corruption erodes the government system and the system for combating criminal exploitation of others” (p.60).

The United Nations/International Organization for Migration Working Group on Trafficking in Human Beings Report on Human Trafficking in the Russian Federation states, “International practice shows that human trafficking is usually carried out by organized crime groups” (p.60). The same appears to be true for Russia as statistics cited by the UN/IOM demonstrate that, in 2004, almost all criminal cases brought under Russia’s human trafficking criminal code article 127.1 concerned activities of organized crime groups. Many cases charged in 2004 under article 152, trafficking in minors, also involved organized crime groups.² According to the UN/IOM Report (2005), members of organized crime groups perform a specific number of duties that make up a chain of criminal activities including “recruitment, provision of documents, transportation, delivery to an employer, and exploitation” (p.61). In addition to larger more complex

² More recent data could not be found.

criminal groups, smaller more flexible groups are also active in human trafficking that are able to more easily alter trafficking routes and recruiting methods as needed depending on changing situations. Involvement of organized crime in human trafficking does not cause human trafficking, however it does perpetuate the problem. Likewise, the institution of human trafficking as a business supports organized crime.

CHAPTER VI. REPORT ON FIELDWORK

When I began researching human trafficking in 2008, I wanted to research a country on the Trafficking in Persons Report's Tier 2 Watch List. I have always been interested in Russian history and culture so chose to focus on human trafficking in Russia. At that time, Russia had been on the Tier 2 Watch List for four years, which I also found interesting as India was the only other country to have remained on the Watch List for the same length of time. In 2008, 41 countries were placed on the Tier 2 Watch List (U.S. Department of State, 2008). When the 2009 Trafficking in Persons Report was released, 50 countries were listed on the Tier 2 Watch List, including both India and Russia (U.S. Department of State, 2009). Four countries had been moved down to Tier 3 in 2009 from the Watch List in 2008, while three countries had been moved up to the Tier 2 Watch List in 2009 from Tier 3 the previous year. Eleven countries were moved down to the Tier 2 Watch List in 2009 from Tier 2 in 2008. Nine countries had moved up from their placements on the 2008 Tier Watch List to Tier 2 in 2009. Those countries that improved their placements from the Tier 2 Watch List to Tier 2, appear to have done so by putting more effort towards prosecuting human trafficking cases and convicting traffickers. In addition government efforts in those countries on the federal level in terms of funding anti-trafficking programs, law enforcement training, and victim identification and assistance centers had greatly improved from the previous year. It is in these areas in particular that Russia consistently fails to meet standards set forth by U.S. Department of State recommendations each year. This motivated me to further explore in-depth the situation of human trafficking in Russia.

I chose to focus heavily on the work of non-governmental organizations in Russia because, worldwide, the efforts of these organizations, in conjunction with the work of international organizations including the United Nations, International Organization for Migration, International Labor Organization, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, are the most visible when examining the global fight against human trafficking. This is true for Russia, as well, which is particularly interesting given the current political climate in the country, which appears increasingly inhospitable to civil society organizations there. Current legislation regulating civil society serves to keep it relatively weak compared to civil society in other countries. However, at the same time civil society organizations in Russia appear to be putting forth the most effort in the fight against human trafficking.

In an effort to more thoroughly examine Russian government efforts to combat human trafficking, primarily through legislation and enforcement, and through efforts of NGOs and the International Organization for Migration I conducted field research. This field research was conducted in Moscow in June and July 2009. Fieldwork included interviews with NGO employees, employees of the IOM, and an employee of the United States Embassy in Moscow.

While in Moscow I had the opportunity to intern at MiraMed, an American NGO in that focuses on human trafficking. I acquired my internship at MiraMed through the School of Russian and Asian Studies, a private educational consulting company that represents Russian universities in International markets (www.sras.org/about_sras). MiraMed is a member of the Angel Coalition, an umbrella organization of anti-trafficking NGOs in Russia. Thus, I spoke with an Angel Coalition employee and I met

with an individual who, at that time, was involved in anti-trafficking activities in Russia as an employee of the Embassy of the United States.

It is with the help of those I interviewed that I was able to more clearly understand both the challenges and successes of efforts to combat human trafficking in Russia. Non-governmental organization representatives provided a grass-roots perspective while IOM representatives illustrated the role of international organizations. The interview I conducted with the American Embassy official provided a unique perspective that was focused more on government anti-trafficking efforts in Russia. Interview questions are included in the Appendix .

In addition to an analysis of literature on human trafficking, I also reviewed documents such as pamphlets and materials created by MiraMed, The Angel Coalition, and IOM, which I acquired from those organizations in June and July 2009. Although I include trafficking for all forms of exploitation, most of the literature reviewed for this paper focuses on the trafficking of women and children for purposes of sex work.

Government Anti-Trafficking Efforts in Russia

On December 12, 2000, the Russian President Vladimir Putin signed the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and its supplemental Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children; both were ratified on May 2, 2004 (<http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/treaties/CTOC/signatures.html>). The Protocol, also called the Palermo Protocol, “is a wide-ranging international agreement to address the crime of trafficking in persons, especially women and children, on a transnational level”

(Raymond, 2001, p.1). It focuses specifically on the illegal trade in human beings for the purposes of exploitation of labor, prostitution and other sexual services, domestic servitude, slavery, and the removal of organs. The Russian government's ratification of the Protocol was its first major international step in combating human trafficking.

Domestic legislation against human trafficking in Russia was developed in late 2003 when, under international pressure, the Russian criminal code was amended to make human trafficking illegal (Parfitt, 2004). In December 2003, Article 127.1 on trafficking in persons and Article 127.2 on use of slave labor were introduced into the criminal code by Law No. 162 (UNODC, 2010). According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime's Global Report on Trafficking in Persons (p.224), Law No. 162 "covers all the forms of exploitation listed in Article 3 of the UN Trafficking Protocol" which states

for the purposes of this Protocol:

- a) "Trafficking in Persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments of benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;
- b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used;
- c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered "trafficking in persons" even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article;

- d) “Child” shall mean any persons under eighteen years of age
(United Nations, 2000, p.2)

Following the passage of Law No. 162, draft legislation was submitted in 2003 calling for commission to combat the trade in human beings. It was never passed after it was introduced at a preliminary hearing in the Duma (Parfitt, 2004). Parfitt states “the draft legislation envisages a commission under the presidential administration or the interior ministry with equal status to an existing drug-control agency set up by President Vladimir Putin” in 2002 (p.1048). The commission “would coordinate the efforts of the federal security service, police, non-governmental organizations, and the ministry of health to catch traffickers and provide support to their victims.”

Several theories exist as to why the draft law stalled. According to Parfitt (2004), NGO representatives feel that deputies in parliament supported such a law but that issues arose when different state bodies could not decide which of them would lead the commission proposed by the legislation. In addition, there has been “concern that too much responsibility could be handed to corrupt law-enforcement structures, which are themselves implicated in sex and labor trafficking” (p.1048). Finally, Parfitt states that anti-trafficking groups remain concerned that Russian institutions do not want to move forward on such anti-trafficking measures because they do not want the financial burden.

Most recently, a draft law amending Article 127.1 of the criminal code was submitted to the State Duma of the Federal Assembly in 2008 (UNODC, 2010). The draft is intended to improve the definition of human trafficking. It had not been passed as of the time of this writing.

Although Russia has the legislation under which human trafficking crimes can be prosecuted, prosecution efforts remain weak and inconsistent. According to the U.S.

Department of State (2009),

in 2008, police conducted 111 trafficking investigations under Article 127 for sex trafficking and 16 for forced labor cases – down from 139 trafficking investigations in 2007. It was difficult to ascertain the exact number prosecutions and convictions resulting from these investigations because the government again did not collect and maintain such statistics. At least nine traffickers were prosecuted during the reporting period, compared with at least 46 prosecutions in 2007. The government did not report the number of convicted traffickers or those sentenced to serve time in prison during the reporting period. In July 2006, the Duma passed asset forfeiture legislation that permits prosecutors to forfeit the assets of convicted persons, including traffickers; however, there were no reports that the law has been used against human traffickers since its enactment (p.247).

In addition to its weak prosecution efforts regarding human trafficking, the Federal Government also falls short in its efforts to provide assistance to trafficking victims. According to the U.S. Department of State (2009, p.247), “Russia demonstrated limited progress in improving its inadequate efforts to protect and assist victims during the reporting period. Russia lacks national policies and national programs” to provide victims with assistance. Most victim assistance programs continue to be funded by international donors while some programs receive limited assistance from local governments. Many of the municipal shelters, however, are not specifically for victims of human trafficking but are domestic violence and homeless shelters. Thus, they are ill-equipped to deal with the specific needs of human trafficking victims.

Victim identification is another area in which the Russian government is reprimanded by the U.S. Department of State in the 2009 Trafficking in Persons Report. According to the Report, “the majority of trafficking victims continued to be identified by

NGOs or international organizations” (p.248). This eludes to the fact that local law enforcement authorities are not properly skilled in victim identification, which is problematic because they are often the first people with whom rescued victims come into contact. Training programs have been developed, however, by the Ministry of the Interior that are being presented to local law enforcement in efforts to improve identification efforts. In addition, local law enforcement and NGOs are beginning to work together more closely in order to effectively identify victims of human trafficking.

The U.S. Department of State describes Russian government efforts at human trafficking prevention as “modest. The 2009 Trafficking in Persons Report states

government-owned media in newspapers, television, and over the Internet reported numerous stories and aired documentaries relating to human trafficking, and often detailed preventative measures for potential victims to avoid falling prey to traffickers. The Russian Academy of Sciences conducted a recent survey of 837 potential victims of trafficking; the results indicated that more than 70 percent of those surveyed were aware of the dangers of both sex and labor trafficking. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs continued to maintain a website warning Russian citizens traveling abroad about the dangers of trafficking. The government did not take specific steps to reduce the demand for commercial sex acts (p.247).

This demonstrates that, although the government is taking steps to prevent human trafficking through awareness campaigns, it needs to make significant effort to reduce the demand for trafficked persons in all sectors.

Civil Society Efforts

Civil Society institutions, consisting of non-governmental organizations, are the most visible actors in the anti-trafficking movement in Russia. These institutions conduct human trafficking awareness campaigns, law enforcement trainings, and human

trafficking victims assistance programs. NGO employees in Russia continue to work hard to maintain their status as leaders of the anti-trafficking movement.

The role of NGOs in Russia was curtailed after new legislation was adopted in 2006. According to the International Center for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL), there are approximately 240,000 non-governmental organizations operating in Russia (www.icnl.org/knowledge/ngolawmonitor/MonitorRussia). The Center's October 2009 report on NGOs in Russia states

the Russian government views civil society as a potential power to affect social change. It was no surprise therefore that following the "colored" revolutions in Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan, Russia developed laws and policies designed to curtail the capability of civil society to replicate those events. In January, 2006, Russia enacted the Russian Federation Law, *On Introducing Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of the Russian Federation* (the new Russian NGO Law). The new Russian NGO Law introduced burdensome registration procedures for Russian and foreign NGOs operating in Russia; and new broad powers of the registration bodies to audit the activities of NGOs (p.1).

This legislation has made registration and reporting requirements costly and it is difficult for NGOs to comply with them. They are also extremely complex, which makes them difficult to understand.

Another piece of legislation, the Russian Law on Public Associations (PAs) increases complexity by imposing "burdensome reporting requirements on PAs, by requiring them to submit information about the funding and property they receive from foreign and international organizations and foreign persons to the registration authorities" (ICNL, 2009, p.9). Coupled with the Russian NGO law requirements, the Russian Law on Public Associations requirements particularly affect Russian NGOs active in the anti-trafficking movement as all of them receive funding for their anti-trafficking programs

from foreign governments and some of them, like the MiraMed Institute, are NGOs founded by foreign persons.

In addition to the difficult registration and reporting processes for NGOs in Russia, the ICNL (2009) states that there are a range of regulations “including criminal and administrative penalty codes, which can be applied against human rights or advocacy groups” (p.10). These create barriers to advocacy on behalf of victims of human rights abuses including human trafficking. As with the registration and reporting requirements, these barriers negatively affect NGOs ability to effectively operate, thereby impeding their anti-trafficking efforts.

The Angel Coalition appears to be the strongest domestic force in the anti-trafficking movement in Russia. The organization unites an extensive number of NGOs who work together in anti-trafficking efforts throughout the country. The Angel Coalition, a consortium of 760 NGOs from throughout Russia and nine CIS states, is Russia’s largest, most – respected anti-trafficking association (www.angelcoalition.org). It was created in 1999 and is registered in Moscow and St. Petersburg. The Angel Coalition’s mission is “the prevention of sexual trafficking from and within the Commonwealth of Independent States through research, education and training and the rescue, return, and rehabilitation of victims”(p.2).

The Angel Coalition established the Trafficking Victims Assistance Center (TVAC) in Moscow (Angel Coalition, 2009). The TVAC “works with Russian federal, regional, and local government agencies to raise awareness of human trafficking, improve the prosecution of criminal traffickers and provide assistance to victims and their families” (p.3). The TVAC partners with the members of the Angel Coalition comprising

more than 60 NGOs from 27 regions of Russia and nine Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries. The TVAC operates international hotlines to provide immediate assistance to Russian speaking trafficking victims. Skilled experts provide free 24-hour legal and psychological consultations for victims and their families, offer recommendations, and provide other necessary help including contacts with police trafficking task forces who can provide immediate rescue assistance in countries around the world. The hotline is toll-free and operates 24 hours a day, seven days a week. It can receive calls from any region in Russia, from the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and from the United States.

To publicize the hotline, the Angel Coalition partnered with the city of Moscow in 2008 to design billboards, bus and metro placards, metro posters and informational booklets for distribution at airports' passport control areas (Angel Coalition, 2009). Billboards were also displayed near university and college bus stops in downtown Moscow and along the roads to Moscow's international airports. Booklets were distributed through the Federal Migration Service to firms through which Russian citizens seek to travel abroad for work. Booklets and cards with the European hotline phone number were distributed among participants at European embassy trainings and Angel Coalition booklets were distributed in Switzerland by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. "Over 20,000 copies of booklets, pamphlets, and posters have been distributed by Angel Coalition regional partners at training sessions throughout various regions in Russia and Central Asia..."(p.5).

Other things the Angel Coalition does that focus on individuals traveling abroad include the dissemination of cards with contact information for victim assistance centers

throughout Western Europe as well as the distribution of brochures at airports (Angel Coalition interpersonal communication, July 14, 2009). The cards are handed out in public spaces like airports, train and metro stations, and on street corners. They look like horoscope cards so they will not be confiscated by traffickers. The brochures distributed are given to travelers who are considered to be or who appear to be at-risk for being trafficked. The Angel Coalition representative with whom I spoke said that women or girls traveling alone or in groups to countries considered to be destination countries for individuals trafficked from Russia, such as Greece or Turkey, are examples of the types of individuals to whom brochures would be given.

The Angel Coalition and TVAC members provide training for government officials and law enforcement personnel on human trafficking and protection of victims (Angel Coalition, 2009). Trainings involve participation of experts from around the world who work in the anti-trafficking movement. Training seminars

allow for an open discussion about the high-level problems encountered in combating human trafficking, and participants in the seminars are able to share their professional experiences and plan ways for further cooperation among the different government, public, and international organizations (p.3).

In 2008, the Angel Coalition partnered with the EU for a project, “Changing Stereotypes, Building Partnerships,” a 14-month project conducted in Moscow, Chelyabinsk, Yaroslavl, Nizhny Novgorod, and Petrozavodsk. The project provided training for law enforcement agencies on the execution of “new standards of humane treatment of victims of sexual trafficking in the Russian Federation and creating models of partnership between NGOs and law enforcement agencies to prevent human rights violations by police and remove the threat of criminal traffickers from civil society” (Angel Coalition, 2009, p.7). Participants included 200 law enforcement and government

officials and 150 non-profit sector representatives. According to the Angel Coalition, the project launched a website, www.yk127-1.ru, which provides law enforcement and NGOs with access to online resources such as lists of anti-trafficking organizations, international documents, and databases containing Russian Federation laws. In addition, 20,000 pocket-sized copies of an “Instructions for Identifying Potential Victims of Human Trafficking” card were handed out to law enforcement and NGOs in 2009. NGOs in each region are monitoring the use of the card, according to the Angel Coalition 2009 Report.

The Angel Coalition states (2009) that “the project has resulted in the strengthening of partnerships between regional NGOs and law enforcement agencies” and “better coordination efforts to protect the rights of human trafficking victims” (p.8). Also, referrals of victims from law enforcement to NGOs have increased as have numbers of invitations for NGOs to participate in Ministry of Internal Affairs trainings and programs.

The Angel Coalition has also participated in projects aimed at preventing child trafficking and improving efforts to protect child trafficking victims (Angel Coalition, 2009). Law enforcement trainings on working with child victims in Moscow and the Moscow region have been conducted in addition to training and preventive programs involving at-risk children.

The Angel Coalition is involved in a new project that focuses on migrants, particularly men, who are at-risk of being trafficked and is funded by the European Union (Angel Coalition interpersonal communication). The trafficking and exploitation of male migrant laborers is increasingly becoming a problem, particularly in the Russian

construction industry. The Angel Coalition project is working to develop protections for trafficked migrants who start working illegally in Russia and find themselves enslaved and exploited. Under the protection program developed by the Angel Coalition, these individuals would not need a visa to stay in Russia following their release from their trafficked situations if their countries of origin are one of the Commonwealth of Independent States countries. The program will also provide consultations for migrants that will educate them on how to legally acquire work as well as what to do if they problems once they begin working.

The program will also provide special training for 51 embassies of former Soviet states including the embassies of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Ukrain, and Belarus (Angel Coalition interpersonal communication, July 13, 2009). The trainings will focus on how Angel Coalition members and embassy officials can help migrants together. According to an Angel Coalition employee, embassies must know how to protect their own citizens in Russia which is something she feels has not been done will up to now.

Direct help for migrants will also be provided through the new Angel Coalition program, as it will include training for migrants who seek employment in Russia. (Angel Coalition interpersonal communication, July 13, 2009). The training provided through the program will mostly consist of legal training to educate migrants on their legal rights as migrant workers. The Angel Coalition plans to determine what the major needs are of migrants in order to develop a database for assistance so that they can find medical care, embassy contact information, and other valuable contacts.

The Angel Coalition programs and projects appear to be the main source for training on human trafficking in Russia, prevention, protection, and identification of trafficked persons. Law enforcement, foreign embassy officials, at-risk youth, educators, and shelter employees receive comprehensive training through Angel Coalition programs that not only educate training recipients but also eliminate negative stereotypes of human trafficking victims that often impede identification, protection, and prevention efforts. The Angel Coalition is an invaluable resource in the anti-trafficking movement in Russia.

From what I observed it appears that the Angel Coalition attacks the problem of human trafficking from all sides through education and assistance. The one side it seems to neglect, intentionally or not, is the demand side of human trafficking. Public campaigns protesting the demand for trafficked individuals and projects involving industries involved in the use of trafficked and exploited individuals would be effective additions to the Angel Coalition strategy by addressing the issue of demand.

Another key player in the anti-trafficking movement in Russia is the MiraMed Institute. The MiraMed Institute is a non-profit public charity registered with the U.S. government with offices in Washington D.C. and Moscow. The organization is also registered in Russia as a representative office of a public charity (MiraMed, 2009). MiraMed partners with over 100 non-governmental organizations in 35 regions of Russia, the former Soviet Union, the Baltic states, and Europe. It is also a member of the Angel Coalition and has participated in a number of anti-trafficking projects in partnership with the Angel Coalition including law enforcement trainings.

In addition to the projects conducted with the Angel Coalition, MiraMed runs the Moscow Child Rescue Project. The project is designed to help child victims of

trafficking, trauma and abuse and is funded by the World Childhood Foundation. The World Childhood Foundation was founded by Queen Silvia of Sweden in 1999 and focuses on the prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse of children (World Childhood Foundation, 2009). In 2007 – 2008, the Moscow Child Rescue Project established therapy play rooms in Moscow rehabilitation centers, shelters and orphanages, trained 68 specialists to use the play rooms in individual consultation with children, and published a series of methodological materials for specialists (The MiraMed Institute, 2009). In 2009, MiraMed worked with governmental and non-governmental partners to “develop an interdisciplinary approach to assisting trafficked, abused and traumatized children, increase training for psychologists to use the play rooms, and prevent professional burn-out in the field” (p.8).

As an American NGO in Russia, MiraMed faces some limitations, according to the MiraMed representative with whom I spoke. For example, MiraMed cannot be involved in activities that involve lobbying efforts similar to those that the Angel Coalition is involved in, nor any other activities that involve changing government policy (Interpersonal communication, June 17, 2009). For these reasons MiraMed, in addition to the organization’s non-trafficking related work, focuses on assistance for trafficked women and children.

The programs and projects conducted the Angel Coalition and the MiraMed Institute are just some examples of the work being done by civil society organizations combating human trafficking and providing assistance to trafficked persons in Russia. Other larger international organizations such as the International Organization for Migration are also involved the anti-trafficking movement in countries all over the world,

including Russia. Unfortunately, due to the strained relationship that currently exists between the Federal Government in Russia and NGOs (particularly foreign NGOs with offices in Russia), funding problems, in-fighting between NGOs as well as between NGOs and international organizations, and political issues, a limited proportion of the thousands of NGOs in the country are actually able to advocate on behalf of others.

According to Mendolson, “after making initial improvements in human rights and civil liberties following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia has begun to regress” (p.47).

As a result of lack of funding for anti-trafficking programs, which is increasingly becoming a problem due to Russia’s continued placement on the U.S. Department of State’s Tier 2 Watch List, the length of most projects is typically a year (UN/IOM, 2005). In addition, “there is little coordination between different projects, resulting in some overlap of activities as well as existence of serious gaps” (p.64). The main challenge facing anti-trafficking activities, according to the UN/IOM Report, is “that of combining isolated programs under a coherent and coordinated anti-trafficking policy” (p.64). A closer examination of anti-trafficking policies and programs in Russia supports this idea.

The International Organization for Migration

The Bureau of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Moscow provides assistance to victims of trafficking through its Reintegration Assistance Program Project “Prevention of Human Trafficking in the Russian Federation” (IOM, 2009). The Reintegration Assistance Program was developed to facilitate a trafficked individual’s return to his or her community of origin or another chosen destination and to a normal social life (IOM, 2009). Reintegration assistance includes a variety of services such as

social/psychological counseling and medical assistance, reintegration grants, vocational training, formal or informal education. All services are accepted on a voluntary basis; assisted persons are not obligated to take advantage of them. According to the IOM, all victims of trafficking referred to the Bureau in Moscow are eligible for assistance, even if they do not wish to take advantage of the Reintegration Assistance Program services.

According to the IOM, the main principles of reintegration assistance are:

1. Voluntary participation of victims of trafficking in assistance programs
2. Confidentiality and privacy
3. Elaboration of a reintegration plan based on the individual needs of the assessed victim
4. The needs of the victim are the primary factors defining any decisions or actions
5. Non-judgmental attitude of the caretakers
6. Non-discriminatory approach; assistance is provided regardless of the victim's age, gender, nationality, level of education, etc.

These principles are supported throughout the reintegration process with the assistance of partner NGOs. In coordination with the IOM, NGOs conduct assessments of reintegration options for each person in need of assistance and develop reintegration plans based on each individual's needs (IOM, 2009). An individual's reintegration plan is shaped by the personal needs/situational assessment and the recommendations of the Rehabilitation Center psychologist. The reintegration assistant/social worker develops the plan and sets realistic goals consistent with the individual's personal needs as well as the options available in their home region and the capacities of the IOM's Moscow Reintegration Assistance Program.

In addition, the IOM partners with NGOs to provide assistance to victims during reintegration. According to an IOM description of their reintegration assistance program (2009), NGOs monitor the individuals' reintegration processes. These NGOs provide the

IOM with a monitoring report on each assisted person's reintegration process for a period of time coordinated with the IOM's reintegration assistant/social worker.

Between March 2006 and March 2009, the IOM Reintegration Assistance Program assisted 332 persons, according to the IOM (*Victims*, 2009). Victim referrals for assistance to IOM Moscow were from a variety of agencies. According to an IOM statistical profile (2009), 40.7% of referrals came from IOM Missions; 26.8% came from law enforcement; 18.7% came from NGOs; 5.1% came from a hotline; 3.9% from joint operations of the IOM/NGOs and law enforcement; 3.3% came from embassies of foreign countries; 0.6% came from Moscow authorities; 0.3% came from the United Nations High Commission on Human Rights; 0.3% came from journalists; and 0.3% came from the Russian Orthodox Church. Countries of origin of the 332 victims assisted by the IOM between March 2006 and March 2009 were Russia (126); Uzbekistan (97); Moldova (35); Ukraine (26); Nigeria (13); Kyrgyzstan (10); Tajikistan (9); Belarus (7); Azerbaijan (1); Armenia (1); Vietnam (1); Georgia (1); Kazakhstan (1); and Ghana (1).

Of the 126 Russian nationals among the 332 victims of trafficking assisted by the IOM between March 2006 and March 2009, 40 were found in Turkey; 14 in Greece; 6 in Greece; 5 in Armenia; 5 in Spain; 3 in Georgia; 2 in Cyprus; 2 in Azerbaijan; 2 in Belarus; 2 in the United Arab Emirates; 2 in Kyrgyzstan; and 1 each in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Israel, Kosovo, Ukraine, Guatemala, and Switzerland (IOM, *Victims*, 2009).

Of the 332 victims of human trafficking assisted by the IOM between 2006 and 2009, 11 received family support and accommodation grants; 16 received grants for vocational training; 9 received clothing and shoes; and 2 received grants for equipment for private businesses (IOM, *Victims*, 2009). It is not specified in the data why so few

individuals chose not to take advantage of financial and provisional assistance nor does it specify whether or not those who accepted such assistance were Russian nationals.

According to the IOM, all non-Russian national victims of trafficking were referred and monitored by the IOM missions in their countries of residence.

Out of the 126 Russian national victims of trafficking, 11% were referred to and are monitored by NGOs in their home regions and 7% were referred to the NGO shelters. Out of the 332 assisted cases 35% of victims are monitored directly and regularly by IOM staff (IOM, *Victims*, 2009). Sixteen percent of individuals assisted were monitored for up to three months; 11% up to six months; and 8% were monitored up to one year.

In addition to working with local NGOs who run shelters to which trafficked persons are referred, until 2010, the IOM ran two shelters specifically for victims of trafficking in Moscow and Vladivostok (Interpersonal communication with IOM staff, June 14, 2009). In 2010, the Vladivostok shelter was closed to the United States' decision to revoke funding based on Russia's continued placement on the U.S. Department of State TIP Report's Tier 2 Watch List.

The International Organization for Migration has put forth a great effort in the anti-trafficking movement and its efforts in conjunction with NGOs are incredibly valuable. However, the relatively low number of victims assisted between 2006 and 2009 do not appear to reflect those efforts. Since the Russian government does not monitor human trafficking in the country – and therefore cannot produce statistical information as to the approximate scope of human trafficking there – there are no estimates as to the number of people trafficking into, out of, and through Russia each year. However, if approximately 2.5 million people are trafficked worldwide each year and human

trafficking in Russia is as serious as international and domestic organizations claim it to be it would seem that the number of victims actually assisted by the IOM in Russia between 2006 and 2009 is a lot less than the number of victims who need assistance. This raises the question as to why more victims of trafficking are not being identified and assisted.

Evaluation of Anti-Trafficking Efforts in Russia

The effectiveness of anti-trafficking efforts must be evaluated according to the extent they address the root causes of trafficking in addition to the extent to which they protect rescued victims of trafficking. Both pull factors including organized crime, government corruption, and legislative issues as well as push factors such as lack of effective state welfare measure are root causes of human trafficking that can be most effectively addressed by the federal government. Although there are areas in which both NGOs and international organizations need to improve, they are limited due to funding and legal issues. The federal government must be a leader in the anti-trafficking movement.

According to the United Nations/International Organization Working Group on Trafficking in Human Beings Report on Human Trafficking in the Russian Federation (2005),

Russian legislation on combating human trafficking is currently limited to a normative criminal law, which does not provide sufficient security guarantees for human trafficking victims. Furthermore, no legal grounds exist regarding legislation of migrants located in Russia, who have become victims to human trafficking.

This reflects the weaknesses of Russian anti-trafficking legislation, which is considered a push factor contributing to human trafficking.

Organized crime and government corruption are pull factors and areas in which the Russian Federal Government need to take further actions. According the United States Department of Justice (Finkenauer and Voronin, 2001), “Russian criminals make extensive use of the state governmental apparatus to protect and promote their illegal activities” (p.13). The U.S. Department of Justice states that most businesses – legal, quasi-legal, and illegal - in Russia must operate under the protection of police or security officials employed “outside their official capacities.” In other cases, officials operate as “silent partners” in the criminal enterprises they protect. In addition, criminals who have been able to attain public office or “buy” public officials are able to influence Russia’s domestic and foreign policy to promote the interests of organized crime. The ability of criminal elements to influence government and law enforcement through infiltration and bribery demonstrate the inadequacy of efforts the Russian government has made in order to eradicate government corruption and limit the influence of organized crime on government policy.

Limited access to economic opportunities is a key another factor in human trafficking (IOM, 2009). Government efforts to address the economic push factor that contributes to human trafficking in Russia also appear to be inadequate. There appears to be an extreme need for social welfare programs similar to those that existed during the Soviet era to provide safety nets for individuals who find themselves in severe economic distress. Absence of economic resources, long-term unemployment, and gender discrimination continue to put specific groups at risk for trafficking including migrants,

orphans or children without parental supervision, victims of violence, the disabled, and the elderly.

In-Country Perspectives

It appears to be the opinion of non-government participants in anti-trafficking efforts in Russia that the federal government must work harder to develop stronger relationships with NGOs in the country. A legal specialist for the Angel Coalition stated in 2009 that the organization desires a stronger relationship with and better cooperation from the government, (Angel Coalition interpersonal communication, July 13, 2009). The specialist stated that, at the federal level, government officials tend to be very closed off and tend to act like they already know everything about the trafficking situation in Russia, making it difficult to have a real dialogue about the problem. In addition, the makeup of the federal government is always changing so new people are often being appointed to various departments, creating a consistency issue.

The main issues the Angel Coalition continues to have with law enforcement in Moscow and other large urban centers is in the area of investigation of suspected human trafficking situations. My Angel Coalition contact stated that police often won't act without speaking with a victim because they do not want to take the time to do so. After receiving reports of a possible human trafficking case, police may claim they need special permission to go to a location where victims are reported to be imprisoned, which is not true according to my contact (Angel Coalition interpersonal communication, July 14, 2009). The Angel Coalition employee stated that whether or not law enforcement respond appropriately to a call regarding a possible human trafficking situation often depends on

the officer who takes the call. The employee stated that there are good officers but that they often leave, which results in the possibility that they may be replaced by people who prefer not to investigate possible situations of human trafficking upon receiving calls to do so.

A positive improvement regarding government cooperation, according to the Angel Coalition employee, is that the Angel Coalition and its members are increasingly finding local law enforcement agents in smaller towns and cities to be more cooperative with non-governmental organization anti-trafficking efforts. However, relations between NGOs and the government remain strained in Moscow and other large cities including St. Petersburg (Angel Coalition interpersonal communication, July 14, 2009). The Angel Coalition employee remains positive that relationships between NGOs and the government will continue to improve in smaller cities and more rural areas.

The organization and its member organizations appear to be relentless in their struggle against human trafficking. The cooperative relationship they share with The MiraMed Institute is a good example of how the Angel Coalition and its member NGOs work together to create and implement effective programs to increase the identification of victims while providing them with assistive services once they have been rescued from their trafficking situations.

MiraMed, in particular, is a valuable ally in the fight against human trafficking in Russia. A United States Embassy's legal advisor in Moscow who worked on human trafficking issues in Russia acknowledged that MiraMed, particularly the organization's founding director, has been an invaluable resource in the anti-trafficking movement in Russia (Interpersonal communication, June 16, 2009). The legal advisor felt that

MiraMed's trafficking victims/ assistance projects and programs have been instrumental in helping rescued individuals. Indeed, the organization's founding director is extremely committed to aiding trafficking victims in Russia and the CIS and continues to work tirelessly with the Angel Coalition and its other member NGOs, the International Organization for Migration, and organizations throughout the Middle East and Europe to fight human trafficking and provide trafficking victim assistance.

Finally, the specialist discussed the need for the federal government to provide funding to Russian NGOs for shelters, trafficking victims assistance programs, and anti-trafficking projects. She claims that, so far, lobbying efforts have been unsuccessful.

Statements by a legal advisor employed by the U.S. Embassy in Moscow in 2009 support the idea that the federal government has inadequately dealt with the problem of human trafficking in Russia. He stated that the failure of the government to pass the 2003 Draft Law proposing the creation of an anti-trafficking commission was a "blow to the anti-trafficking movement" in Russia (U.S. Embassy interpersonal communication June 16, 2009). He feels that the government does not want to spend the money that would be required to enforce the provisions of the legislation. He also claimed that human trafficking is not a high priority in Russia – that the government considers other issues to be more important, such as domestic violence. According to the legal advisor, federal leadership and direction in the area of human trafficking is "the missing link."

Both non-governmental and international organizations appear to be putting forth effective efforts despite the financial and legal limitations they face in Russia. Public awareness programs, law enforcement and educator trainings, shelters, rehabilitation and reintegration projects attempt to address the needs of victims of human trafficking as well

as to prevent re-victimization. Efforts appear to be hindered somewhat, however, by tension between NGOs and international organizations due to issues such competition over of funding for projects and programs. One NGO Director commented that international organizations like the International Organization for Migration and the International Labor Organization act like vacuums that suck up most of the available money which they then waste on items like presentation materials and unnecessary travel rather than using it to directly benefit trafficking victims (Interpersonal communication, June 14, 2009). According to the Director, this leaves the smaller, less funded NGOs to do “the dirty work” with fewer resources.

When asked about anti-trafficking efforts of NGOs in Russia, an IOM Moscow employee said that “smaller NGOs need to step up to become more active and involved” (IOM interpersonal communication, June 14, 2009). He stated that there are a lot of NGOs running shelters but that they do not provide assistance. He claimed that, for these NGOs to be more effective participants in the anti-trafficking movement, they need to provide services for victims of trafficking in shelters “so that everything is in one place.” The IOM employee also claimed that NGOs need to do more to raise money for anti-trafficking efforts. Ultimately, he felt that a comprehensive anti-trafficking model is needed that can be used by NGOs and international organizations to develop best practices that can be passed on to the government and other institutions.

In its 2005 Report on Human Trafficking in the Russian Federation, the UN/IOM addresses the limitations of NGO efforts, which echo the sentiment of the IOM employee at the Moscow office who feels NGOs need to expand their efforts in the fight against human trafficking. It is stated in the report that, in addition to psychological assistance

and hotline counseling, “legal counseling, job placement services or rehabilitation support” should be included as services made available to victims of traffickers by NGOs (p.92).

Policy Recommendations

According to the UN/IOM Report on Human Trafficking in the Russian Federation (2005), “the government’s anti-trafficking efforts to date have largely been aimed at developing and adopting legislation that criminalize human trafficking, as well as reviewing and clarifying law enforcement practices concerning human trafficking related offenses” (p.92). This is evidenced by the adoption of Articles 172.1 and 172.2 in the criminal code as well as by efforts “fine tune” article 172.1 to create a more clear definition of human trafficking. As the UN/IOM Report states, the government has made progress on legislative and law enforcement anti-trafficking development, but more needs to be done in order to eliminate corruption within government and law enforcement so that anti-trafficking law is actually enforced and human traffickers are prosecuted appropriately. According to the U.S. Embassy legal advisor, corrupt law enforcement officers and government officials take bribes to “look the other way” allowing trafficking in persons to continue (U.S. Embassy interpersonal communication, June 16, 2009).

In the 2009 Trafficking in Persons Report, the United States Department of State makes a number of recommendations for Russia in order to improve its efforts to combat trafficking. Recommendations include steps to

develop and implement a comprehensive national strategy that addresses all forms of trafficking and provides comprehensive victim assistance throughout Russia; provide funding from federal, regional, and/or municipal budgets to implement this national

strategy; allocate funding to anti-trafficking NGOs that provide victim assistance and rehabilitative care; increase the number of victims identified and assisted; designate trafficking-specific responsibilities to relevant government ministries on the national and regional levels; establish an official federal coordinating body with the authority to implement the national strategy... (p.247).

The recommendations presented by the U.S. Department of State in the 2009 TIP Report correspond with recommendations set forth by the UN/IOM in a 2005 Report that the government implement “extensive human trafficking victim protection schemes and systems, covering the whole process from victim identifications through to reintegration and support once they left their refuge” (p.92). In addition, State Department recommendations calling for the allocation of fund for NGO anti-trafficking programs reflect that for which NGO employees continue to advocate. Finally, it seems that the passage of the 2003 draft legislation calling for a commission to combat human trafficking would meet the recommendation by the U.S. Department of State to “designate trafficking-specific responsibilities to relevant government ministries on the national and regional levels; establish an official federal coordinating body with the authority to implement the national strategy...” (U.S. Department of State, 2009, p.247).

CONCLUSION

As a result of the field research I conducted, I learned that a lack of stability, continuity, and sustainability in the development of anti-trafficking activities between NGOs, international organizations such as the International Organization for Migration, and the Federal Government is the main concern in Russia. Analysis of the human trafficking situation in Russia, anti-trafficking efforts of the government, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations, and policy recommendations of the United Nations/International Organization for Migration, and the United States Department of State, illustrate serious deficiencies in anti-trafficking policy and practice on the part of the Russian government. Government anti-trafficking efforts must address the root causes of human trafficking as well as victim protection including victim identification, reintegration, and continued support following their return home or upon settlement in another destination of choice.

First, the Federal Government must establish a broad anti-trafficking framework by passing comprehensive human trafficking legislation like the United States' Trafficking Victims' Protection Act to ensure that human trafficking cases are not only prosecuted but are prosecuted as human trafficking crimes rather than other crimes such as kidnapping or pandering, which carry lighter sentences than human trafficking crimes. Such legislation will lead to the incorporation of a

mainstreaming principle where the dangers of human trafficking and slave labor are considered in the development of almost any normative act (e.g. law, regulations, or guidelines) regarding economic, social, or other spheres; and implement actions to address human trafficking or slave labor within these documents when necessary (UN/IOM, 2005, p.109)

Second, a commission similar to the U.S. Department of State's Office to Monitor and Combat Human Trafficking must be created to provide strategies and tools to combat human trafficking as well as to assist in the coordination of anti-trafficking efforts both in Russia and worldwide. Such a commission will also enable the government to begin generating statistics on human trafficking in Russia, which will help develop more effective anti-trafficking programs. In order for the Russian government to develop and implement more effective anti-trafficking policy it is imperative that it begin recording data and statistics of human trafficking cases. Without this kind of data it makes it even more difficult to effectively combat trafficking by addressing its root cause and meeting the needs of victims of trafficking as well as those who are at risk for being trafficked.

The development of government sponsored training programs for law enforcement can be implemented in conjunction with NGO training programs. Public awareness programs aimed at persons who are at-risk for being trafficked and programs addressing the demand side of human trafficking involving professionals in fields most involved in human trafficking can also be created with the assistance of a Russian equivalent to the U.S. Department of State's Office to Monitor and Combat Human Trafficking. The government will then be able to review previous general public awareness-raising programs and then use that analysis in the development of a basic strategy for raising awareness of human trafficking (UN/IOM, 2005).

Third, federal government financing of NGO anti-trafficking projects and programs is vital to the improvement of government-sponsored victim protection efforts. It is unlikely that the federal government can afford to take on the financial burden of establishing and operating shelters for human trafficking victims as well as for victim

reintegration and assistance programs. Therefore, in addition to funding its own programs, it would be more helpful if the government allocated a specific amount of funding each year for distribution among civil society organizations that focus on human trafficking. As the UN/IOM Report (2005) states, “financial issues particularly affect assistance responses for human trafficking victims, as the most demanding activities require substantial financial investment...” (p.93).

Finally, the federal government must make more concerted efforts to develop strong and stable relationships with anti-trafficking NGOs and international organizations. “Guarantees of consistent and sustainable anti-trafficking responses will only be possible when effective forms of cooperation between the state and NGOs are found...” (UN/IOM, 2005, p.93). According to an NGO director in 2009, the government up to this point has not put forth the kind of effort to develop strong relationships with NGOs of which it is capable.

Whether or not recommendations become policy in Russia depend on the amount of effort the federal government is willing to put forth in combating human trafficking both globally and in Russia. Russian lawmakers in the Duma must promote the adoption of a comprehensive federal human trafficking law; support the establishment of a head agency to coordinate among different agencies, including government and non-government institutions, and a permanent system for monitoring the human trafficking situation and evaluating the efficiency of existing anti-trafficking procedures; expand and continue the current practice of “annual national reports regarding Russia’s compliance with the UN Convention and the Protocol against human trafficking” (UN/IOM, 2005, p.109); and “promote the adoption of federal laws ratifying related international

documents” (p.109) such as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child Optional Protocol on Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography and the 1990 UN Convention on the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Family. The lawmakers must also promote and support the creation a federal budget to fund both government–sponsored anti-trafficking awareness programs and victims protection and rehabilitation programs, as well as to provide funding to NGO- and international organization-run anti-trafficking programs, shelters, and rehabilitation and reintegration programs for trafficking victims.

It is clear that the consistent failure of Russia to satisfactorily meet standards set forth by the U.S. Department of State’s Trafficking Victims Protection Act, which has kept the country on the TIP Report’s Tier 2 Watch List for the past six years is due to the government’s inability or unwillingness to make human trafficking a priority. Only effective government leadership through the provision of funding for programs, the development of strong relationships with other anti-trafficking actors, the addressing of the root causes of trafficking, and accurate recording of data and statistics will improve the human trafficking situation in Russia.

APPENDIX

Interview questions for NGOs and the International Organization for Migration

1. What types of services do you provide for clients?
2. What types of facilities do you run? How many are there? Where are they located? How are they staffed?
3. What is the average number of clients currently receiving services? Is this number increasing or decreasing?
4. How are your programs/projects funded?
5. With whom do you partner in order to develop and implement your programs/projects? How would you describe the relationships between your organization and the organizations and institutions with which you have created partnerships.
6. What are your program success rates?
7. What is lacking most in the anti-trafficking movement in Russia?
8. What are the biggest obstacles to success facing those involved in the anti-trafficking movement in Russia?
9. Who do you think is/are the most effective actor(s) in the anti-trafficking movement in Russia. Why? Is this good or bad?

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