Trafficking of men – a trend less considered The case of Belarus and Ukraine

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Publisher: International Organization for Migration
17 route des Morillons
1211 Geneva 19
Switzerland
Tel: +41.22.717 91 11
Fax: +41.22.798 61 50
E-mail: hq@iom.int
Internet: http://www.iom.int

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IOM GLOBAL DATABASE THEMATIC RESEARCH SERIES:

Trafficking of men – a trend less considered The case of Belarus and Ukraine[1]

Rebecca Surtees
NEXUS Institute, Vienna[2]
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CONTENTS

LIST OF ACRONYMS

CTM	–	Counter Trafficking Module Database
EU	–	European Union
FYROM	–	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
ILO	–	International Labour Organization
IOM	–	International Organization for Migration
NGO	–	Non-governmental Organization
SEE	–	South-eastern Europe
UAE	–	United Arab Emirates
UK	–	United Kingdom
US	–	United States
VoT	–	Victim of Trafficking

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

To date, trafficking in males has been underconsidered in research despite noteworthy signals that it is a violation faced by many males, adult and minors. Often severely exploited male migrants are overlooked, with women and children recognized most commonly as victims of trafficking (VoT). This trend is in need of remedy and, increasingly, it is acknowledged that "trafficking in persons" must be understood and addressed as affecting women and men, adults and minors. In Belarus and Ukraine, male victims accounted for 28.3 per cent and 17.6 per cent of the IOM assisted caseload respectively between 2004 and 2006. Through the lens of trafficking in males (primarily adult men) from Belarus and Ukraine, this study considers male victim's pre-trafficking life (namely their personal, family and socio-economic background), trafficking experience (from recruitment, through transportation and during exploitation) and post trafficking experience and needs. We examine, on the one hand, what is known about this less considered profile of trafficked persons and, on the other hand, what can be done to meet their needs, both as a means of assistance and protection. The study draws on primary data collected about 685 trafficked males assisted by IOM and its partners, through IOM's Counter-Trafficking Module Database (CTM) in Geneva as well as qualitative information from interviews with and case files of assisted men. The research findings should not be read as representative of the full scope of trafficking in either country; they are instead representative of trafficked males who have been identified and received assistance and not male trafficking victims generally.

Personal, family and social environment

The majority of Belarusian and Ukrainian trafficked men assisted between 2004 and 2006 were adults, between 18 and 44 years. Approximately two thirds of Ukrainian males were married or living with a partner prior to trafficking, while about one third of Belarusian males were married and about half were single. Many (at least half) had dependent children and a number cited the need to support children as a key factor in their decision to migrate. Education levels of males from both Belarus and Ukraine were seemingly consistent with the general population – most had received technical or vocational training, following completion of either middle or high school, although some had also attained university or college education. Considered together, more than 60% of Belarusian and nearly 70% of Ukrainian males had some job training or university education. The vast majority from both countries had previous work experience prior to migrating. In spite of their education, technical training and past work experience, unemployment was a serious issue for many men trafficked from Belarus, the majority being unemployed at recruitment. By contrast, only a minority of Ukrainian males were unemployed at recruitment. This signals, on the one hand, the

possible links between unemployment and decisions to migrate and, on the other hand, that being employed was not a sufficient deterrent for migration offers. Decisions to migrate may equally have been linked to dissatisfaction with employment conditions as well as more personal and social factors.

Trafficking experience (recruitment, transportation and exploitation)

The vast majority of male victims were recruited with promises of work, generally through personal contacts but also advertisements – newspapers, television, billboards and the Internet. Recruitment generally mimicked legal migration – men often made what they thought were legally binding agreements with reliable companies, employment agencies and recruiters.

Transportation was generally overland – by train, bus or car – likely due to the proximity of and ease of land travel to many destination countries. Border crossings by Belarusian men were increasingly done through unofficial entry points, while Ukrainian men reported crossing borders at official entry points. Legal documents were most common amongst men trafficked from Belarus and Ukraine, consistent with information about female victims.

Belarusian and Ukrainian men were, by and large, trafficked for forced labour – in 99.1 per cent and 98.2 per cent of assisted cases respectively between 2004 and 2006. The most common form of forced labour was within the construction industry; other sectors included agriculture, factory work and fishing. In addition to trafficking for forced labour, however, there were a handful of males who suffered other forms of exploitation – adoption (in the form of selling a trafficking victims' child), low level criminal activities (including forced begging and delinquency) and sexual exploitation. Most Belarusian men were trafficked to Russia; Russia was also the primary (and increasingly the most common) destination country for Ukrainian men. Other destinations included South-eastern Europe (SEE), the European Union (EU), the United States (US), Turkey, Central Asia, North Asia and the Middle East.

Both Ukrainian and Belarusian men faced exploitative, often traumatic working and living conditions, which, in many circumstances, compromised their physical and mental well-being. Men worked six to seven days each week, regardless of destination country or form of work, and work days were commonly twelve hours or more. Most men reported severely substandard living conditions while trafficked – living in unheated rooms, cramped together with others in unhygienic situations and being provided with limited and poor quality food. A combination of abuse (or threats of abuse), non-payments, debts and restricted freedom of movement served to keep many men in trafficking situations.

Post-trafficking life (identification and assistance)

The ability to exit trafficking differed substantially. Some men were physically prevented from leaving, confined, under constant guard and exposed to violence or threats of violence. Others were physically able to leave, but prevented by factors such as forfeiture of their salary, potential retribution against their families, debt, their illegal status, being destitute and not knowing where to go for help. That being said, many victims were identified and referred for assistance. Referrals were through law enforcement, IOM missions, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) at home and abroad, via helplines, embassies/consulates, medical institutions and when trafficked persons or their relatives sought out assistance.

The noteworthy number of men exposed to trafficking necessitates assistance tailored to their specific needs and interests. Tailoring of services is required to the specific profile of male victim, not least according to their trafficking experience, whether they are a minor or adult and the family and social conditions to which they will return. Data from Belarusian and Ukrainian men indicates that primary needs range from the basic (i.e. accommodation, medical care, legal assistance, security) to more long term and complex support (i.e. psychological assistance, education and training, sustainable economic opportunities, reintegration support). Such assistance was not always available and accessible to men. Even where different forms of assistance were available (and much needed), men were not always inclined to seek it out or accept it. Some men may not see themselves as trafficked; others may feel that their agreement to go abroad makes them complicit with their trafficker. Further, the terminology of "trafficking victim" and the social construction of "victimhood" may be problematic for some men to accept and apply to their situation. As such, it is not only about what services and interventions are developed but also how these interventions are framed and offered to trafficked males.

The specific experiences of trafficked males of Belarusian and Ukrainian nationality highlight some general patterns not only in terms of how trafficking takes place from these countries but equally some of the needs and interests of this specific target group. Five main issues emerge when considering how to better address the issue of trafficking in males:

- *Consider the gender dimensions of trafficking*: There is a need to better understand and appreciate the gender dimensions of trafficking. Being a man (or a woman) may create conditions which incline one to migration and, by implication, potentially put one at risk of trafficking. Understanding both the environment and its intersection with risk, is vital in addressing trafficking from both a prevention and protection angle.

- *Design anti-trafficking interventions through a gendered lens*: Gender needs to be considered in terms of trafficking vulnerability, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, individuals' post-trafficking needs, including protection and assistance. As such, attention to (and a re-examination of) socially constructed assumptions about gender and gender roles must be embedded in the design and implementation of assistance programmes as well as anti-trafficking efforts more generally.
- *Conduct victim-centred research and evaluation on the subject trafficking in men and boys*: There is a dearth of information on trafficked men and boys, both in terms of their trafficking experiences and what can be done to address this less considered trend, in terms of prevention, protection and prosecution. Research on this particular aspect of trafficking is urgently needed, including that which is undertaken from the perspective of trafficked men and boys and considers their individual experiences, the assessment of their needs and how they value existing anti-trafficking interventions. Such research must be undertaken ethically and sensitively, according to strict research protocols.
- *Funding needed for all profiles of victims, including trafficked men and boys*: Where there are indications of trafficking in males, both donors and anti-trafficking organizations should be prepared to attend to the needs of this profile of victims, including allocating adequate funding for appropriate interventions. In some cases, programmes will be able to adapt their current activities to include male victims; in others this may require the development of male-specific programmes and interventions. Donor flexibility is essential in ensuring that the needs of trafficked males as well as females are considered and addressed.
- *Consider other aspects of identity which impact risk and intervention needs*: Gender is not the only issue impacting trafficking vulnerability and assistance needs. Vulnerability may also differ according to other identifiers, like age, education or class, and a diversity of experiences. Better understanding the social terrain upon which trafficking plays out (and anti-trafficking interventions, therefore, need to take place) is essential.

1. INTRODUCTION

Trafficking in human beings is most commonly associated with trafficking of women for sexual exploitation or of children for sexual exploitation, forced labour or begging and delinquency. Far less common is a consideration of trafficking in males, particularly adult men, and yet there are significant signals in many countries and regions that males are also exploited and violated in ways that constitute human trafficking.[4] While some attention has been paid to the issue in other regions, like South

East Asia, the issue of trafficking in males has been largely conspicuous in its absence from trafficking discussions in Europe and Eurasia. Through the lens of trafficking in males (primarily adult men) from Belarus and Ukraine, we will consider not only what we know about these less considered profiles of trafficked persons, forms of trafficking and assistance experiences but, equally, what can be done to meet their post-trafficking needs.

The prominent focus on the trafficking of women over men arguably has links to assumptions about gender and, in particular, a generalized notion of female vulnerability. That is, "whereas men (who migrate) are viewed as active, adventurous, brave and deserving of admiration, for the same behaviour women are pictured as passive, foolish and naïve deserving either rescue or punishment" (Wijers, 1998, cited in Doezema, 1999: 21-2). In discourse and practice about human trafficking, these assumptions about gender, migration and vulnerability seem to have been emphasized so that female migrants who are exploited are often conceptualized as trafficked, while male migrants are seen more commonly as irregular migrants when faced with the same violations and abuse (Surtees 2008a: 17). Importantly, this perspective not only unduly focuses on women but also leads to an omission of men from the trafficking discussion, and by implication, prevention and assistance paradigms. The issue of "trafficking in persons" must, therefore, be understood in its broadest sense and complexity so that the forces and factors that contribute to trafficking can be considered and redressed for all forms of exploitation and all profiles of victims (Surtees, 2005b: 33).

The United Nation's *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children*,[5] defines "trafficking in persons" as a set of acts and means carried out with the purpose of exploitation. That is,

> "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (United Nations, 2000a).[6]

Generally the cases considered in this paper are cases of trafficking for forced labour, although there were also other forms of exploitation experienced.[7] The paper will map the profiles and experiences of these male victims[8] as well as explore issues related to their identification and assistance needs.

The data in the report draws on primary data concerning 685 trafficked men (344 Belarusian and 341 Ukrainian) assisted by IOM or partner organizations between 2004 and 2006.[9] The information is both qualitative and quantitative in nature. Statistical data is drawn from IOM's global Counter-Trafficking Module Database (CTM) in Geneva, which involves the collection, processing and management of individual case data from IOM field missions based on their direct work with trafficked persons.[10] The CTM database constitutes the only global database on human trafficking and, by mobilizing the links between different field missions globally, allows for the consolidation of trafficking cases from around the world. It also allows for the standardization of victim-centred data collection, collects data in a secure manner according to strict protocols and reduces the risk of duplicate cases within and between countries. CTM database collects data about a range of victim-specific information including individual and social background, the recruitment and transportation process, trafficking exploitation and assistance provided. As such, the CTM database is a valuable source of quantitative and qualitative primary data about trafficking victims in many countries.

That being said, there are nevertheless limitations to the CTM database.[11] Some issues relate to the data itself. Perhaps most importantly, this information (like most data collected about trafficking) represents only identified and assisted cases, with an unknown number of victims unidentified and unassisted. As such, this data should not be read as the full scope of trafficking in a country. Further, assisted victims arguably represent a particular subgroup of trafficking victims, those who were willing and able to access assistance, and who, therefore, may be systematically different from other trafficking victims. As such, this data can be read only as representative of assisted trafficked males and not male trafficking victims generally (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2007; Brunovskis & Tyldum, 2005; Surtees 2005b). As well, some of the categories in the database – such as economic status and issues related to abuse – are subjective and, therefore, findings must be read in this light. In addition, some of the categories in the database are context specific. That is, categories such as education and living situation were defined by individual field missions according to the social and legal context in their country, which poses obstacles in terms of the comparability of data and findings from country to country. Finally, the CTM database documents assisted cases only and lacks control data against which it can measure its results, essential in identifying trends and patterns relative to the general population.

Other limitations are linked to how data is collected in practice, a not uncomplicated process in the area of anti-trafficking. The collection of full information about each case of trafficking is not always possible because of the sometimes limited time spent with each person; where sufficient trust has not been developed between the trafficked person and interviewer; or where trafficked persons have concerns about

sharing details of their cases, fears related both to retribution by traffickers and to distrust of authorities (Surtees, 2005b). Further, data collection differs from country to country – sometimes undertaken directly by IOM mission staff and sometimes by NGO partners – and, thus, is informed by individual subjectivities and different levels of training and capacity.

These limitations notwithstanding, the CTM database is a rich source of information which can shed light on the issue of trafficking in males from Ukraine and Belarus, presenting some of the first primary data on the subject. It is further complemented by qualitative information collected by IOM Counter-Trafficking (CT) staff in the field through interviews with assisted trafficking victims and by the author through correspondence with IOM field missions in Kiev and Minsk and past research with trafficked persons. The report also benefits from existing literature on trafficking, particularly trafficking for labour and male trafficking victims, although there is a general dearth of data on these aspects of human trafficking.[12]

2. TRAFFICKING IN MEN – CASES FROM BELARUS AND UKRAINE

While most identified and assisted trafficking victims are women, there has been an increased recognition in recent years of other forms of trafficking and profiles of victims. This has included male victims, certainly minors but also, increasingly, adult males. A closer consideration of the background and experiences of trafficked Ukrainian and Belarusian males (to a range of destinations and for different purposes) can be helpful in understanding how trafficking takes place from and within these countries and, in so doing, serve as a lens for appreciating the phenomenon more broadly. It can also shed light on specific experiences of males as compared to female victims and on the identification and assistance needs of male victims, which may be quite distinct from those of female victims or victims of sexual exploitation.

Trafficking from both Ukraine and Belarus has been prolific, with literally thousands of nationals having been exploited for forced labour, sexual exploitation and other forms of trafficking. As noted in the table below, these numbers are dramatic and reflect a far too common reality for Ukrainian and Belarusian women, men and children. Given that many victims are never identified or assisted, this numbers must be understood as only a fraction of those who face trafficking situations, further highlighting the importance of this issue in both countries.

TABLE 1: TOTAL NUMBER OF ASSISTED MALE AND FEMALE UKRAINIAN AND BELARUSIAN NATIONALS, 2004-2006[13]

	2004	2005	2006	Total
Assisted Belarusian trafficking victims	248	553	414	1,215
Assisted Ukrainian trafficking victims	395	703	841	1,939

While the majority of these victims were female, a not insignificant number were also male. That is, in Belarus, male victims accounted for 28.3 per cent of the assisted caseload between 2004 and 2006 and an increasing percentage of victims during this period – 11.3 per cent in 2004, 28.4 per cent in 2005 and 38.4 per cent in 2006. Similarly, male victims from Ukraine accounted for 17.6 per cent of the assisted caseload between 2004 and 2006, with the proportion of men remaining relatively constant over this period – 17.2 per cent in 2004, 16.1 per cent in 2005 and 19 per cent in 2006.

TABLE 2: TRAFFICKED PERSONS OF UKRAINIAN AND BELARUSIAN NATIONALITY, 2004-2006[14]

	2004		2005		2006		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Assisted Belarusian trafficking victims	28.0	220.0	157.0	396.0	159.0	255.0	344.0	871.0
Total in %	8.1	25.2	45.6	45.5	46.2	29.3	100.0	100.0
Assisted Ukrainian trafficking victims	68.0	327.0	113.0	590.0	160.0	681.0	341.0	1,598.0
Total in %	19.9	20.5	33.1	36.9	46.9	42.6	100.0	100.0

The numbers of male victims are likely to be underestimations given the general failure in many countries to adequately recognize male trafficking victims. In 2004, a number of (primarily male) victims of labour trafficking intercepted in Serbia were not identified as trafficked but rather were deported as illegal migrants (Surtees, 2005b). And in a recent study in SEE (Surtees 2007c), numerous instances were noted of trafficked men not being identified at different stages and by different actors during the trafficking process. One man trafficked for labour experienced a series of missed identification opportunities by different actors – by medical personnel (he was at one stage hospitalized for work-related injuries), border guards (when he tried to cross the border on his way home) and police and prison authorities (when he was arrested for illegal border crossing). In spite of relating his story to each of these actors, none took it seriously nor made any attempts to assist him. The only assistance he received was from private citizens who offered food and money as he travelled overland by foot to his home country (Surtees 2007c).[15]

Further, there continues to be reluctance amongst many men to be identified or to seek out assistance because of the stigma surrounding being a victim and/or a man unable to care for himself or his family. As one Moldovan man explained, "Many men are ashamed of appealing for help, because our society does not really accept or approve of men who appeal for assistance. They must manage on their own" (Surtees, 2007c, cf. Surtees 2008a). This may reasonably result in repressed numbers of male victims.

It is also noteworthy that recent efforts to identify "potential victims" or "at risk individuals" (those assumed to be in the trafficking process), does not apply equally to males and females. Increasingly in SEE, women and girls have been identified in transit and, when they show strong signals of being in the trafficking process,

are generally offered assistance within the anti-trafficking assistance framework. However, the identification of potential victims is highly gendered and males crossing borders under similar circumstances are seldom considered to be "potential victims", even when they are minors. Surtees (2007c) interviewed two male minors who were intercepted in SEE *en route* to the EU for work. While clearly at risk of trafficking and evidently from vulnerable socio-economic situations, these minors were deemed irregular migrants (rather than "potential victims") and returned home, contrasting sharply with how similar cases of women and girls are often handled.

While identification capacity is uneven (many victims continue to report cases where authorities did not know that men may also be trafficked), increased recognition and capacity on male trafficking has led to an increase in overall referrals and therefore an increase in the number of assisted cases. IOM mission staff in both Belarus and Ukraine noted that, while in the past, there was inadequate attention to issues of trafficking in men, more recently male trafficking is acknowledged as an issue by donors and anti-trafficking actors alike.

From 2004 to 2006, IOM missions and their partners in the field identified and assisted 344 Belarusian men and 341 Ukrainian men.[16] Most commonly, these men and boys were trafficked for forced labour but there were also instances of trafficking for sexual exploitation, for adoption (that is, the taking and selling of a trafficking victim's child), and low level criminal activities, like begging and petty crime. Belarusian men were primarily trafficked to Russia as well as countries in the EU, Turkey and further afield, like the United States. Ukrainian males were also primarily trafficked to Russia but other destinations included EU countries, SEE, the Middle East and countries in both Central and North Asia.

TABLE 3: ASSISTED MALE BELARUSIAN & UKRAINIAN VICTIMS BY YEAR, 2004-2006

	2004	2005	2006	Total
Number of male Belarusian victims	28	157	159	344
Number of male Ukrainian victims	68	113	160	341

In what follows, we will consider the profiles of males trafficked from Belarus and Ukraine as well as their specific recruitment and trafficking experiences to shed light on sites of vulnerability and risk. As importantly, we will consider interventions available to male trafficking victims as well as what may be needed to address their specific trafficking experience and post-trafficking needs.[17]

3. INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS AND VICTIM PROFILES

This section looks at the general background and profiles of male victims of Belarusian and Ukrainian nationality trafficked both abroad and within their home country. This information has relevance not only in terms of developing and appropriately targeting prevention messages and safe migration strategies but can also be important in terms of assistance and protection efforts.

3.1: Personal details, family situation and social environments

The vast majority of Belarusian and Ukrainian trafficked males assisted between 2004 and 2006 were adults at the time they were assisted; only 18 (2.6%) were younger than 18 years. Belarusian male trafficking victims were most commonly between 25 and 34 years of age and males between 18 and 44 years constituted 77 per cent of all assisted victims between 2004 and 2006. This pattern was consistent with the age of Ukrainian males, with 45.2 per cent of victims between the ages of 25 and 34 years and 87.7 per cent falling within the age category of 18 to 44 years.

TABLE 4: AGE OF BELARUSIAN AND UKRAINIAN MALE VICTIMS, 2004-2006

		2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian male VoTs	Under 14 years	0	0	2.0	1.3	0	0	2.0	0.6
	14-17 years	0	0	13.0	8.3	1.0	0.6	14.0	4.1
	18-24 years	8.0	28.6	37.0	23.6	30.0	18.9	75.0	21.8
	25-34 year	14.0	50.0	42.0	26.8	51.0	32.1	107.0	31.1
	35-44 years	2.0	7.1	34.0	21.7	47.0	29.6	83.0	24.1
	45-54 years	4.0	14.3	24.0	15.3	25.0	15.7	53.0	15.4
	55 years & above	0.0	0.0	5.0	3.2	5.0	3.1	10.0	2.9
	Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0
Ukrainian male VoTs	Under 14 years	0	0	1.0	0.9	0	0	1.0	0.3
	14-17 years	1.0	1.5	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.3
	18-24 years	7.0	10.3	19.0	16.8	25.0	15.6	51.0	15.0
	25-34 year	22.0	32.4	55.0	48.7	77.0	48.1	154.0	45.2
	35-44 years	25.0	36.8	27.0	23.9	42.0	26.3	94.0	27.6
	45-54 years	12.0	17.6	10.0	8.8	16.0	10.0	38.0	11.1
	55 years & above	1.0	1.5	1.0	0.9	0	0	2.0	0.6
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

That being said there were also trafficked males who were both older and younger. Minors accounted for only a small percentage of assisted males trafficked from Belarus (4.7 per cent), although this refers to the victim's age at assistance rather than trafficking and, as such, may represent an underestimation. Strikingly, in 2005, there were two very young minors – 10 years and 2 years respectively – as well as older minors who, in both 2005 and 2006, were between 14 and 17 years of age. Minors were also only marginally represented amongst Ukrainian males – one victim (0.9 per cent) under 14 years of age in 2005 and one victim (1.5 per cent) between 14 and 17 years in 2004. Older minors were commonly exploited for forced labour; younger minors were primarily exploited for low level criminal activity, namely begging/delinquency.[18] However, there were also two unusual instances, including a baby who was born to a trafficked woman and then sold for adoption and the young son of a trafficking victim being trafficked alongside his mother and held as "collateral" to ensure her acquiescence and prevent her escape.

Also striking is the not insignificant number of Belarusian males over the age of 45 years (18. 3 per cent) and, in some cases, as old as 66 years. Indeed, ten men (2.9 per cent) were over 55 years at assistance. Fewer victims from Ukraine were over 45 years of age, accounting for only 11.7 per cent of cases between 2004 and 2006. Only two Ukrainian victims (0.6 per cent) were over 55 years of age.

Concerning marital status, it can be noted that a greater number of Ukrainian males were married or in a common law relationship[19] prior to trafficking (approximately two thirds) when compared to Belarusian males (respectively, about one third). In turn, Belarusian males more commonly stated their marital status as single[20] (approximately 40 percent). In both instances, a small number of males stated that they were divorced, widowed or separated.[21]

TABLE 5: MARITAL STATUS OF BELARUSIAN AND UKRAINIAN MALE VICTIMS[22]

		2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian male VoTs	Married	12.0	42.9	49.0	31.2	51.0	32.1	112.0	32.6
	Single	14.0	50.0	71.0	45.2	54.0	34.0	139.0	40.4
	Divorced	2.0	7.1	26.0	16.6	37.0	23.3	65.0	18.9
	Separated	0	0	1.0	0.6	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Common-law relationship	0	0	6.0	3.8	15.0	9.4	21.0	6.1
	Widowed	0	0	1.0	0.6	2.0	1.3	3.0	0.9
	No response[23]	0	0	3.0	1.9	0	0	3.0	0.9
	Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0

Ukrainian male VoTs	Married	52.0	76.5	65.0	57.5	63.0	39.4	180.0	52.8
	Single	11.0	16.2	35.0	31.0	43.0	26.9	89.0	26.1
	Separated	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Divorced	2.0	2.9	3.0	2.7	14.0	8.8	19.0	5.6
	Common-law relationship	3.0	4.4	8.0	7.1	39.0	24.4	50.0	14.7
	Widowed	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
	No response	0	0	2.0	1.8	0	0	2.0	0.6
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

Any possible relationship between marital status and trafficking risk is unclear. Married men may feel the need to migrate to support their family, although this may also be a motivation for unmarried men with dependent siblings or parents. Single men (like single women) may feel more able to migrate – the time before marriage being a time for adventure and different opportunities. However, equally, they may be less likely to accept risky migration offers where they do not have the same level of economic pressure or responsibility. How marital status factors into trafficking vulnerability for men, therefore, requires attention to other variables and likely fluctuates according to a wide range of life situations.

Many men – both from Belarus and Ukraine – had dependent children, which may be at least a partial explanation for their decision to migrate for work. Almost equal numbers of Belarusian male victims had children as those who did not – 53 per cent and 47 per cent respectively between 2004 and 2006. Amongst Ukrainian males, fathers accounted for 65.7 per cent of assisted men between 2004 and 2006. That being said, there were annual fluctuations which are worth noting, with 80 per cent of Ukrainians males assisted in 2004 being fathers, a percentage which decreased to 58.3 per cent in 2005 and 65.6 per cent in 2006. In both the Belarusian and Ukrainian context, most victims with children did not have large families – most had only one of two children and three or more children were more the exception than the rule.

TABLE 6: NUMBER OF CHILDREN FOR BELARUSIAN AND UKRAINIAN TRAFFICKED MEN

		2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian male VoTs	0 children	12.0	42.9	77.0	49.0	71.0	44.7	160.0	47.0
	1 child	12.0	42.9	36.0	22.9	58.0	36.5	106.0	30.8
	2 children	3.0	10.7	35.0	22.3	27.0	17.0	65.0	18.9
	3 children	1.0	3.6	4.0	2.5	1.0	0.6	6.0	1.7
	4 children	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.6	2.0	0.6
	No response	0	0	4.0	2.5	1.0	0.6	5.0	1.5
	Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0

Ukrainian male VoTs	0 children	14.0	20.6	44.0	38.9	55.0	34.4	113.0	33.1
	1 child	19.0	27.9	31.0	27.4	52.0	32.5	102.0	29.9
	2 children	26.0	38.2	30.0	26.5	42.0	26.3	98.0	28.7
	3 children	9.0	13.2	5.0	4.4	10.0	6.3	24.0	7.0
	4 children	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	No response	0	0	3.0	2.7	1.0	0.6	4.0	1.2
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

The extent to which having dependent children impacts decisions about migration merits some consideration. A number of trafficked men cited the need to support children – both in terms of basic needs and more material aspirations – as a key factor in the decision to migrate. However, equally important was the possibility that men without children are more able and willing to migrate. While it is commonly assumed that having children (with the attendant economic obligations and aspirations) may trigger migration, it may also mean parents remain at home because they do not wish or are not able to be separated from dependent children. The links between family status and trafficking risk are neither direct, nor inevitable.

For the most part, male trafficking victims were not single fathers (most were either married or in a common-law relationships), which stands in contrast to many female victims.[24] In 2005, only a handful of Belarusian fathers were either single or divorced; all others were married or in common-law relationships. However, in 2006, two of 54 single males were fathers and 31 of the 37 divorced men had children. Amongst Ukrainian men, in 2004, there were only two cases of divorced men with children and no unmarried men with children. This changed only slightly in 2005 when two of 45 single men had a child and all three divorced men had children; and in 2006 when one single man and one widower each had on child. For men, then, single parenthood may not be a significant trigger for trafficking.

Whether these few, single men had custody of their children is not clear from the database but seems unlikely given a general preference in many countries for children residing with their mothers. In many situations, it is likely that fathers left children in the care of their mothers while abroad, even in cases where the parents were unmarried or divorced, although this information is not documented in CTM database. Given that so many men were living in extended family situations, children may also have resided with other relatives or grandparents. Where this was the case, this may have provided sufficient (emotional and financial) support and stability for the children in the absence of the father, although it is important not to underestimate the social and emotional impact of a migrant (and, therefore, absent) parent on children.

In addition to dependent children, men may have other family members – parents, siblings, elderly relatives – whose dependence may have played a role in the decision to migrate for work. This data is not currently documented in the IOM CTM database but interview information flags the value in further exploring this variable.[25] For example, one Ukrainian man trafficked to Russia explained that he accepted work abroad because of financial difficulties. His small private business in Ukraine was not sufficiently profitable to support his wife, daughter and elderly parents. Given this dynamic, efforts are needed to provide economic support and opportunities as a means of trafficking prevention and reintegration, efforts which ideally should target the socio-economic needs of families as a whole, rather than only trafficked or at-risk individuals.

Also salient in terms of both understanding trafficking risk and also tailoring re-integration support is an understanding of the victim's family and social background, including trafficked males' living arrangement at recruitment. Most Belarusians were living with their family[26] when recruited, accounting for 78.6 per cent in 2004, 76.4 per cent in 2005 and 73.6 per cent in 2006. This was true of married and single males and referred both to nuclear family settings as well as more extended family arrangements.[27] Males living with relatives tended to be single, divorced or in common-law relationships. A less common living arrangement was living alone and tended only to occur when the individual was single or divorced. Extended family living arrangements are quite common in Belarus due to economic issues as well as social norms. While in larger towns and cities there are more possibilities for a family to earn money and live independently, in rural areas people tend to live in extended family settings.[28] As such, the living patterns noted amongst male victims were generally consistent with those of the population at large.

TABLE 7: LIVING SITUATION OF TRAFFICKED MEN AT RECRUITMENT, 2004- 2006

		2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian VoTs	Family	22.0	78.6	120.0	76.4	117.0	73.6	259.0	75.3
	Friends	0	0	20.0	1.3	0	0	2.0	0.6
	Relatives	5.0	17.9	14.0	8.9	29.0	18.2	48.0	14.0
	Alone	1.0	3.6	18.0	11.5	13.0	8.2	32.0	9.3
	Other	0	0	3.0	1.9	0	0	3.0	0.9
	No response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0
	Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0

Ukrainian VoTs	Family	64.0	94.1	92.0	81.4	118.0	73.8	274.0	80.4
	Friends	2.0	2.9	0	0	1.0	0.6	3.0	0.9
	Relatives	0	0	1.0	0.9	8.0	50.0	9.0	2.6
	Alone	1.0	1.5	7.0	6.2	13.0	8.1	21.0	6.2
	Other	1.0	1.5	11.0	9.7	19.0	11.9	31.0	9.1
	No response	0	0	2.0	1.8	1.0	0.6	3.0	0.9
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

Similar observations may be made of Ukrainian men who primarily lived in family settings – some nuclear and some extended family environments. IOM staff in Ukraine observed that extended families are more common than nuclear families, due at least in part to the limited options for living independently. There are, however, regional variations, with more persons living in extended families in rural areas than in urban centres. In large part, such living arrangements are dictated by economics.[29] That being said, a number of victims were also living with their spouses, particularly in 2005 and 2006. Age was not a delimitating factor in living arrangements – both older and younger men lived in family settings and with relatives – and living appears to be closely linked with economic realities, including the often prohibitive cost of independent living and high rents. That many men were unemployed at recruitment lends weight to this argument. This living configuration may also be linked to the social environment in which extended family arrangements are normative.

The above information, however, refers to the victim's living at recruitment and trafficked men may have had a myriad of living arrangements during their childhood and adult years, including, for example, living with friends while studying, in institutions as children, with former spouses and so on. This is especially likely to be the case given that the majority of assisted victims are adults, yielding little information about earlier living arrangements, which may have had an impact on their trafficking vulnerability.

3.2: Educational and occupational background

Most males trafficked from Belarus had received some type of technical or vocational training, following completion of either middle or high school. This category accounted for 57.1 per cent in 2004, 59.2 per cent in 2005 and 66 per cent in 2006. This is slightly higher than the educational levels of Belarusian female victims; 45.5 per cent of those assisted in 2004 who had technical or vocational training, 41.1 per cent in 2005 and 45.9 per cent in 2006.

A number of men had also attended high school – 14.3 per cent in 2004, 14.6 per cent in 2005 and 5.7 per cent in 2006. This is only slightly below the percentage of

female trafficking victims with high school education – 13.2 per cent in 2004, 20 per cent in 2005 and 9 per cent women in 2006.[30] In addition, a number of men (10.5%) had attained some university or college education, although the proportion declined over time from 21.4 per cent in 2004 to 14.6 per cent in 2005 and 4.4 per cent in 2006.[31] One Belarusian man trafficked to Moscow for construction was a well-educated engineer who had responded to a newspaper advertisement to work for a private company in Russia. Others included professionals, like teachers.[32]

TABLE 8: EDUCATION OF BELARUSIAN MALE VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING[33]

Education level	2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
None	0	0	1.0	0	0	0	1.0	0.3
Primary school	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Middle/elementary school	2.0	7.1	14.0	8.9	36.0	22.6	52.0	15.1
High school	4.0	14.3	23.0	14.6	9.0	5.7	36.0	10.5
Trade/technical/ vocational training	16.0	57.1	93.0	59.2	105.0	66.0	215.2	62.5
College/university	6.0	21.4	23.0	14.6	7.0	4.4	36.0	10.5
No response	0	0	3.0	1.9	2.0	1.3	5.0	1.5
Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0

Most Ukrainian males had also received some type of technical or vocational training – 48.5 per cent in 2004, 40.7 per cent in 2005 and 60 per cent in 2006. An additional 25 per cent had attended college or university – 25 per cent in 2004, 27.4 per cent in 2005 and 23.1 per cent in 2006. One man, for example, was a teacher as was his wife. However, even with both of their incomes they were not able to earn sufficient income to meet their family's needs.

TABLE 9: EDUCATION OF UKRAINIAN MALE VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING[34]

Education level	**2004**	**in %**	**2005**	**in %**	**2006**	**in %**	**Total**	**Total in %**
None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Primary school	2.0	2.9	1.0	0.9	0	0	3.0	0.9
Middle/elementary school	3.0	4.4	6.0	5.3	4.0	2.5	13.0	3.8
High school	13.0	19.1	25.0	22.1	23.0	14.4	61.0	17.9
Trade/technical/ vocational training	33.0	48.5	46.0	40.7	96.0	60.0	175.0	51.3
College/university	17.0	25.0	31.0	27.4	37.0	23.1	85.0	24.9
No response	0	0	4.0	3.5	0	0	4.0	1.2
Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

The educational background of trafficked men from Ukraine differs from that of their female counterparts. Only about 30 per cent of female trafficking victims had attended technical or vocational training – 28.4 per cent in 2004, 29.7 per cent in 2005 and 31 per cent in 2006. However, more Ukrainian women than men had attended high school – 35.8 per cent women compared to 19.1 per cent of males in 2004; 28 per cent of women compared with 22.1 per cent of men in 2005 and 39.4 per cent of women as compared to 14.4 per cent of men in 2006. In terms of university education, Ukrainian female victims had attended university in about 10-20 per cent of instances (11.9 per cent in 2004, 19.7 per cent in 2005 and 10.3 per cent in 2006) compared with the approximately 25 per cent of Ukrainian male victims.[35] To some degree this reflects the general and gendered orientation of some educational and employment situations, where men are more likely to focus on technical areas, while women may stay longer in the more general education system. Of importance for anti-trafficking efforts is how education informs the intention to migrate and also victims' needs and interests at the stage of assistance and reintegration. Of note both amongst male and female victims from Belarus and Ukraine are the very few persons with only primary school education. This stands in contrast to some countries in, for example the SEE region, where low education levels were not uncommon amongst both trafficked males and females (Surtees, 2005b). Education, therefore, is apparently not a sufficient deterrent or protective factor against trafficking in the two countries.

It is not clear how educational levels, whether high or low, may have played a role in decisions to migrate. Where unemployment is high and wages low and where less educated individuals are competing against persons with higher education for employment, migration may be one of a very limited range of options. Equally relevant may be that persons of higher education are dissatisfied with economic and professional opportunities at home and, thus, seek work abroad. It is also unclear how (and what type of) education may (or may not) equip migrants with the skills and capacity to avoid trafficking and/or negotiate and escape from their exploitation.

Of particular note were the significant number of trafficked males with trade, technical or vocational training, 62.5 per cent of Belarusians and 51 per cent of Ukrainian males. Technical training may be pursued directly upon graduation of middle school, while others complete high school prior to technical training. The technical skills of Belarusian men were myriad and ranged from construction and building work (including carpentry, joiner, plastering, painting, bricklaying), to technical skills, (like auto-mechanic, metalwork, electrician and welder). Other skills and backgrounds included different forms of technology (agricultural, electrical, chemical, sanitation), engineer, cooking/baking and military training. This was relatively consistent with the technical training of Ukrainian males whose skills also centred around construction, engineering, welding, military training, cooking/baking, carpentry, plasterer/painter

and different types of technology (electrical, medical, mechanical technology). Of interest is that in 2006 a number of trafficked men – 18 in total – were trained as professional sailors and seamen. Other less common forms of training included nursing, musician, dentist, hairdresser and tailor.

In addition to technical training, most respondents had previous work experience prior to migrating. Only a handful of Belarusian victims – 0 per cent in 2004, 19.7 per cent in 2005 and 15.7 per cent in 2006 – had no work experience at recruitment. Similarly, very few Ukrainian victims had no work experience at recruitment – 5.9 per cent in 2004, 5.3 per cent in 2005 and 1.9 per cent in 2006 – consistent with the age of the victims.

TABLE 10: WORK EXPERIENCE & OCCUPATION AT RECRUITMENT, 2004-2006

	Work experience & occupation at recruitment	2004	In %	2005	In %	2006	In %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian male VoTs	Self employed/ family work	1.0	3.6	1.0	0.6	2.0	1.3	4.0	1.2
	Private/public employee	12.0	42.9	84.0	53.5	118.0	74.2	214.0	62.2
	Other*								
	Agricultural worker	1.0	3.6	1.0	0.6	0	0	2.0	0.6
	Builder, repairer & decorator	1.0	3.6	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Carpenter/fitter	0	0	2.0	1.3	0	0	2.0	0.6
	Construction	6.0	21.4	4.0	2.5	1.0	0.6	11.0	3.2
	Driver	0	0	3.0	1.9	1.0	0.6	4.0	1.2
	Football player	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.6	2.0	0.6
	Industry worker	2.0	7.1	18.0	11.5	1.0	0.6	21.0	6.1
	Janitor	0	0	1.0	0.6	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Loader	2.0	7.1	0	0	0	0	2.0	0.6
	Mechanic	2.0	7.1	1.0	0.6	0	0	3.0	0.9
	Military service	1.0	3.6	1.0	0.6	0	0	2.0	0.6
	No response	0	0	7.0	4.5	9.0	5.7	16.0	4.7
	No work experience	0	0	31.0	19.7	25.0	15.7	56.0	16.3
	Other	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.6	2.0	0.6
	Welding	0	0	1.0	0.6	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0

Ukrainian male VoTs	Self-employed/ family work	0	0	5.0	4.4	2.0	1.3	7.0	2.1
	Private/public employee	28.0	41.2	55.0	48.7	106.0	66.3	189.0	55.4
	Other*								
	Agricultural worker	10.0	14.7	17.0	15.0	16.0	10.0	43.0	12.6
	Builder, repairer & decorator	5.0	7.4	1.0	0.9	0	0	6.0	1.8
	Construction	1.0	1.5	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Industry worker	17.0	25.0	24.0	21.2	29.0	18.1	70.0	20.5
	Military service	3.0	4.4	1.0	0.9	0	0	4.0	1.2
	No response	0	0	4.0	3.5	1.0	0.6	5.0	1.5
	No work experience	4.0	5.9	6.0	5.3	3.0	1.9	13.0	3.8
	Nurse	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
	Sailor/marine	0	0	0	0	2.0	1.3	2.0	0.6
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

**The following categories are included through the option Other and are freely encoded into the system through an open-ended question.*

Work experience of Ukrainian and Belarusian male victims was disparate, although much related to construction and associated work, like welding, painting, plastering and carpentry. Further, in both countries, industrial work was a not insignificant type of employment for many men at recruitment.[36]

In spite of their education and technical training and past work experience, unemployment was a serious issue for many men trafficked from Belarus. The majority were unemployed at recruitment – 53.5 per cent in 2005, increasingly to 88.1 per cent in 2006. Data from 2004 is insufficient to draw conclusions. By contrast, amongst Ukrainian males, a minority were unemployed at recruitment – 14.7 per cent in 2004, 29.2 per cent in 2005 and 31.3 per cent in 2006.

TABLE 11: EMPLOYMENT AND ACTIVITIES AT RECRUITMENT, 2004-2006

		2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian male VoTs	Student	0	0	26.0	23.0	2.0	1.30	28.0	8.2
	Employed	6.0	8.8	42.0	37.2	12.0	7.50	60.0	17.6
	Unemployed	4.0	5.9	84.0	74.3	140.0	87.50	228.0	66.9
	Other	0	0	5.0	4.4	2.0	1.30	7.0	2.1
	No response	18.0	26.5	0	0	3.0	1.90	21.0	6.2
	Total	28.0	41.2	157.0	138.9	159.0	99.40	344.0	100.0

Ukrainian male VoTs	Student	1.0	1.5	3.0	2.7	3.0	1.9	7.0	2.1
	Employed	25.0	36.8	74.0	65.5	98.0	61.3	197.0	57.8
	Unemployed	10.0	14.7	33.0	29.2	50.0	31.3	93.0	27.3
	Other	0	0	1.0	0.9	0	0	1.0	0.3
	No response	32.0	47.1	2.0	1.8	9.0	5.6	43.0	12.6
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

This signals, on the one hand, the possible links between unemployment and decisions to migrate. On the other hand, the many unemployed persons who do not migrate suggests that the link should not be read as inevitable. That is, being employed was not a sufficient deterrent for migration offers, as evidenced by those who were employed and yet decided to migrate for work. Between 2004 and 2006, 57.8 per cent of Ukrainian males were employed (2.1 per were students and data was not available in 12. 6 per cent of cases); only 27.3 per cent in these three years faced unemployment. That so many men had education, training, work experience and an occupation when trafficked arguably signals the lack of economic opportunity in their home community or country. Therefore, in part, the decision to migrate may have been linked to dissatisfaction with their current employment – unsatisfactory salary or work conditions, being underemployed (not working full-time or on a regular contract), not working in their field of expertise, etc. One Ukrainian man trafficked to Russia worked in agriculture on his own farm but was able to earn very little. He and his wife felt the need to earn some money to help with the upbringing of their dependent children and pay back their debts. As he had already planted the vegetables for the season, he accepted work abroad, with the intention of returning home for the harvest with earnings to boost the family economy. As one Ukrainian man explained, "There isn't much work in our village. We could find work in the nearby village or we could go for seasonal work in [another region in Ukraine]. But we could only do it in summer. That is why in winter men from the village go anywhere". Similarly, a Ukrainian man trafficked to the Czech Republic explained how, as a professional welder, he was able in the past to earn money on different construction projects in his home community. However, it had become increasingly difficult to find work and salaries had decreased, leading him to look for professional opportunities abroad (IOM case files).

This is consistent with findings from Russia where migrants, many from Ukraine and Belarus, generally had relatively high education levels, were employed at recruitment and were of a reasonable social status but nevertheless suffered low salaries and a lack of adequate employment opportunities at home (Tyuryukanova, 2005: xvii). Indeed, it may be that persons with educational and occupational qualifications and aspirations are more likely to migrate and, in the process, may fall prey to traffickers who exploit the labour migration process. This also raises questions about what type of reintegration assistance is needed. Where the trigger for migration (both internal

and international) is the overall lack of economic opportunity or sufficiently remunerated employment, reintegration efforts must think beyond targeted educational reinsertion and/or vocational training and might instead focus on community and economic development models, which can address this more systemic issue. Such efforts could equally serve as trafficking (and re-trafficking) prevention and reintegration assistance.

3.3: Social and economic environments

Economics is another potential contributor in decisions to migrate. Most trafficked men reported poor economic status – 77.6 per cent of Belarusian men and 87.7 per cent of Ukrainian men – and very few Ukrainian or Belarusian men – 2.1 per cent and 1.2 per cent respectively – originated from affluent families. This meshes with the general assumption that poverty and economic need is a central contributor to trafficking. Nevertheless, poverty was not always the only or even the most critical push factor. That is, whereas most victims were not affluent, in the case of Ukraine equally few victims reported being very poor. Where migration requires investment (i.e. payment for transportation, documents, recruiter fees), the very poor are less likely to be able to afford to migrate. They may also have less economic ambition or expectation than, for example, those from average or affluent (or from formerly average or affluent) economic circumstances. That being said, economics is not an unimportant variable and poorer victims may incur debts to migrate, which may serve to keep them in the trafficking situation.

Also worth noting is the number of victims who came from what they themselves described as "standard" or "average" economic environments – 9.6 per cent in Belarus and 5.9 per cent in Ukraine. Representation from this economic stratum is worth noting. In Romania, it has been observed that former industrial workers who previously enjoyed a reasonable standard of living (which decreased in the 1990s with the collapse of communism) were likely to migrate out of a desire to attain their former standard of living.[37] Further, Alexandru and Lazaroiu (2003) found that many of the women and girls deemed at risk of trafficking were not objectively poor (most had the same income level as those not "at risk") but rather perceived themselves to be poor. Similarly, one study in northern Russia found that it is not financial difficulty itself but rather the subjective evaluation of relative disadvantage which is a significant factor in lifestyle choices and decisions (Nygard et al., 2003: 44). Equally relevant may be expectations about attaining higher education and professional training based on previous socio-economic status. One Ukrainian man trafficked to the Czech Republic explained how part of his reason for migration was because his daughter wanted to enter the university after graduating from vocational school (IOM case files).[38]

TABLE 12: PERCEPTION OF ECONOMIC STATUS AT RECRUITMENT AMONGST MALE VOTS

	Economic status	2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian VoTs	Well off	0	0	3.0	1.9	1.0	0.6	4.0	1.2
	Standard	4.0	14.3	26.0	16.6	3.0	1.9	33.0	9.6
	Poor	10.0	35.7	109.0	69.4	148.0	93.1	267.0	77.6
	Very poor	13.0	46.4	12.0	7.6	6.0	3.8	31.0	9.0
	No response	1.0	3.6	7.0	4.5	1.0	0.6	9.0	2.6
	Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0
Ukrainian VoTs	Well off	0	0	0	0	7.0	4.4	7.0	2.1
	Standard	5.0	7.4	7.0	6.2	8.0	5.0	20.0	5.9
	Poor	62.0	91.2	103.0	91.2	134.0	83.8	299.0	87.7
	Very poor	0	0	1.0	0.9	8.0	5.0	9.0	2.6
	No response	1.0	1.5	2.0	1.8	3.0	1.9	6.0	1.8
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

Material aspiration, beyond that of basic needs, may be another contributor. The perception of western countries as a place where a person can earn "easy money" plays a role in this respect. In one opinion poll in Belarus one reason to migrate was because of the wish to be "well-off" and have "a beautiful lifestyle" (IOM, 2004: 34, 39). Similarly, of four Ukrainian men trafficked to Montenegro in 2004, two accepted work abroad to earn money to build a new house. While both were employed at recruitment and reported an average economic status, they accepted the offer out of the desire for better salaries which would allow them to achieve their material needs and aspirations (Surtees, 2005b: 402). One Ukrainian man accepted work in the Czech Republic because he wanted to buy a flat to enable him to, as he put it, "organize his private life" – to live independently from his parents and get married. He felt that working abroad would allow him to earn a portion of the money needed for his plan (IOM case files). Further, many migrants perceived the standard of living to be higher in Russia (the most common destination for Belarusian and Ukrainian men), flagging issues of relative wealth and deprivation rather than poverty in real terms (Tyuryukanova, 2005: 39).

In addition, motivations for migration may be more personalized and triggered by the desire for new opportunities and an interest in living abroad. One study of women at risk of trafficking in Romania found that the desire for adventure was an important trigger for migration and that vulnerability to trafficking was, at times, also shaped by a propensity to break rules, take risks, be independent and seek adventure away from home (Alexandru and Lazaroiu, 2003: 5). This may also be relevant amongst a

similar profile of men and perhaps men generally. The normative nature of migration from many countries, including Belarus and Ukraine, arguably serves to reinforce these behaviours.[39]

However, there may be other motivations for men to migrate beyond the generalized need for work, a better salary or economic aspirations. As with women trafficked from Europe and Eurasia, an economic crisis in the family may serve as a trigger for persons who might otherwise not be open to migration offers (cf. Brunovskis & Tyldum, 2004; Surtees, 2005b). Of four Ukrainian men trafficked to Montenegro in 2004, one accepted work abroad only because he needed to pay for his wife's medical expenses (Surtees, 2005b: 402). Similarly, one Ukrainian man trafficked to Russia related a similar rationale for his migration:

> "I was working for a few years as a loader at the market but at the end of the summer my mother told me she had a cancer and needed to have an operation. This operation was expensive and I was not able to earn enough money for it at my work. So I began to search for a better paid job as my mother had no one else to help her. I heard them say the salary in Moscow was very good and I was ready to go to work in Russia or in the north. I was calling all of the advertisements in the newspapers, but I couldn't find anything appropriate. Then I read an ad about construction work in Moscow. They needed general workers. So I called them, they asked me many questions and then we arranged a meeting. Everything they told me and promised was good for me. And as the operation was needed at a short notice, I agreed" (IOM case file).

Family and social problems – ranging from more subtle family and social tensions to more serious abuse and violence – may also be a factor, although in most cases, men did not speak openly about these issues. Whether this is because of the sensitivities surrounding such topics or the overall lack of such problems is unclear. An argument might be made that persons with poor family or social relations may be more inclined to accept work elsewhere. However, there have equally been cases where persons migrate precisely because of strong family relations and the desire to support their family. Families may also pressure male relatives (whether sons, husbands, brothers, fathers or uncles) to work; others may feel pressured by social norms to contribute to the family/household. Family expectations about individuals (as children, sibling, wives/husbands) contributing to the household economy is a strong motivating factor in migration and, by implication, trafficking (Surtees, 2003a, 2003b).

Social factors can also play a role. The case of one Uzbek national exploited for forced labour illustrates how the social environment, including issues of discrimination, played a role in his migration choices. An Uzbek citizen of Russian ethnicity, he

described not only his poor economy as a trigger but also how his ethnicity coupled with emergent nationalism in Uzbekistan reinforced his economic problems (i.e. preferential hiring for Uzbeks, nepotism in hiring) and also created a sense of social unease (Tyuryukanova, 2005: 39). Other social tensions might exist due to ethnic tensions, religious differences, family links, etc. Further exploration is needed of which aspects of the broader social environment might promote or prevent trafficking vulnerability.

Finally it should be emphasized that these motivations are generally not isolated but rather mutually reinforcing and co-terminous. It is often a combination of factors and contributors which lead to decisions about migration, which may, in many cases, result in trafficking.

4. RECRUITMENT EXPERIENCE

Traffickers employed various methods of recruitment, which have changed and developed over time. This section will explore how recruitment of males took place from Belarus and Ukraine, including information about recruiters and the means and process of recruitment.

4.1: Means of recruitment

The vast majority of male victims were recruited with promises of work, 99.4 per cent of Ukrainian males and 95.3 per cent of Belarusian males assisted between 2004 and 2006. In Belarus, when one takes into account the twelve instances of internship offers, promises of work or work related opportunities accounted for 98.8 per cent of cases.

TABLE 13: RECRUITMENT OFFER AMONGST BELARUSIAN MALES

	Recruitment offer	2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian male VoTs	Offer of employment	27.0	96.4	144.0	91.7	157.0	98.7	328.0	95.3
	Study opportunity	0	0	0	0	2.0	1.3	2.0	0.6
	Internship	0	0	12.0	7.6	0	0	12.0	3.5
	Other	1.0	3.6	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.3
	No response	0	0	1.0	0.6	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0
Ukrainian male VoTs	Offer of employment	68.0	100.0	111.0	98.2	160.0	100.0	339.0	99.4
	Study opportunity	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Internship	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Other	0	0	1.0	0.9	0	0	1.0	0.3
	No response	0	0	1.0	0.9	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

The types of jobs promised to Belarusian men were quite diverse. In 2005, the majority of men were promised work in construction, while others were offered work as security guard/cleaner, roofer, welder, electrician, cattle-herder, industrial worker,

driver, bricklayer, fitter and carpenter, agricultural worker, railway worker, cook and loader. In 2006, construction also featured prominently as well as carpentry, sanitation engineer, railway construction, electrician, loader, welder, watchman, cleaner, bricklayer, driver, concretor, oil extractor, industrial worker and lumberjack. Amongst Ukrainian males, work in construction was also the most prominent job offered, while other work included electrician, decorator, industrial worker, welder, mechanic, joiner, agriculture, painter, timber works, cook, caregiver, labourer, cleaner, sailor and driver. Of interest is the number of Ukrainian males assisted in 2005 and 2006 – 33 in total – who were recruited with promises of work as sailors or seamen in the fishing industry.

From both Ukraine and Belarus, much of the recruitment of men was done through personal contacts – 61.6 per cent in Belarus and 55.4 per cent in Ukraine.

TABLE 14: RECRUITMENT AMONGST BELARUSIAN AND UKRAINIAN MALES, 2004-2006

	Recruitment method	2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian male VoTs	Personal contact	20.0	71.4	76.0	48.4	116.0	73.0	212.0	61.6
	Newspaper advertisement	6.0	21.4	30.0	19.1	30.0	18.9	66.0	19.2
	Television advertisement	1.0	3.6	20.0	12.7	10.0	6.3	31.0	9.0
	Internet advertisement	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Advertisement on the street (Billboard)	0	0	2.0	1.3	1.0	0.6	3.0	0.9
	Advertisement (unspecific)	0	0	2.0	1.3	0	0	2.0	0.6
	Employment agency	0	0	3.0	1.9	1.0	0.6	4.0	1.2
	Youth exchange centre	0	0	13.0	8.3	0	0	13.0	3.8
	Sold/trafficked by family member	0	0	1.0	0.6	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Kidnapping/ abduction	0	0	4.0	2.5	1.0	0.6	5.0	1.5
	Other	1.0	3.6	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.3
	No response	0	0	6.0	3.8	0	0	6.0	1.7
	Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0

Ukrainian male VoTs	Personal contact	25.0	36.8	70.0	61.9	94.0	58.8	189.0	55.4
	Newspaper advertisement	42.0	61.8	41.0	36.3	55.0	34.4	138.0	40.5
	Television advertisement	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Internet advertisement	1.0	1.5	0	0	1.0	0.6	2.0	0.6
	Advertisement on the street (Billboards)	0	0	1.0	0.9	9.0	5.6	10.0	2.9
	Advertisement (unspecific)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Employment agency	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
	Youth exchange centre	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Sold/trafficked by family member	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Kidnapping/abduction	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Other	0	0	1.0	0.9	0	0	1.0	0.3
	No response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

Recruitment through personal contacts involved recruiters seeking out migrants door-to-door in villages or migrants themselves seeking out these options. In Belarus, many people were told about the opportunities by friends or acquaintances, although the most "typical" means of recruitment involved a foreman recruiting a group of workers, generally through word of mouth, and transporting them to the destination country and worksite. The recruiter often then disappeared and the workers were left in the exploitative work situation, with no recourse.[40] Most commonly in Ukraine, recruiters spread the word about work possibilities in another country (through villages, through friends, relatives and acquaintances) and proposed their services in facilitating this migration – help in employment placement, transportation, documents execution, etc. Recruiters then met potential migrants personally and provided them with details of work opportunities. One Ukrainian man and his work colleagues decided to work in construction in Russia on the recommendation of a man who had worked in construction in the Moscow area with a salary of 700USD a month and who promised to help them to get employed with the same employer. In other cases, recruitment involved meeting a stranger who befriended the individual man and, after a short period, offered some work. This stranger might also have been introduced to the person via a friend, colleague or acquaintance. One Ukrainian man trafficked to the Czech Republic explained how the recruiter was often central in migration for work:

> "People who were working together with me were recruited by a middleman. Enterprises in Czech make contracts only with middlemen and never directly with workers. And all the middlemen take half of the salary. Before the

> departure I paid [the recruiter] 300USD. It was all I had earned. He promised to get a work visa for a year for me. So I came home without any money and began to wait for a work visa. I had to wait for five months. During that time [the recruiter] came to [my town] two times. He called me, we met and I paid more for the visa. We always met in his friend's flats. And every time it was a new address. On the whole I paid him 400USD more. The visa was for less than a year, although it had been promised for a year" (IOM case file).

Sometimes men were recruited in groups, like one Ukrainian man who worked for many years in a team of builders at home and was offered work in Russia, along with his colleagues. An old friend of one of the workers offered to help find them work in Russia with a good salary and satisfactory working and living conditions.[41]

In addition, advertisements – through newspapers, television, billboards and the Internet – constituted a not insignificant amount of recruitment. Most common were forms of recruitment which relied on everyday media, like television and newspapers. Newspaper advertisements were most common, accounting for 19.2 per cent of cases in Belarus and a noteworthy 40.5 per cent of cases amongst Ukrainian males assisted between 2004 and 2006. Television advertisements were also relatively prominent in Belarus, constituting nine per cent of cases between 2004 and 2006, but were not a means of recruitment for Ukrainian males. Far less common was recruitment through the Internet – in fact, only two Ukrainian males were recruited this way, one in 2004 and one in 2006, accounting for 0.6 per cent of victims assisted since 2004.

Employment agencies did not feature prominently in the recruitment of male victims, accounting for only four cases in Belarus. In these cases, the individuals contacted the employment agency. More commonly, however, victims received information about a work opportunity through personal contacts and then were referred to an agency for the arrangements. Certainly this was the case in Ukraine where many men's migration was arranged by agencies, although their initial introduction to work offers was through individuals. One group of men trafficked to Russia as seamen and sailors were recruited through a private company but had generally been referred there through personal contacts. The company promised work on a Japanese ship and the men signed what they understood to be legal contracts and, unofficially, paid the company one month's salary as a recruitment fee. In Russia, the men were told that the contracts they had signed were not legal and that the pay would be lower than promised (IOM case files). Ukrainian men trafficked to Montenegro in 2004 were also trafficked through the seemingly legal channels afforded by a tourist agency. All four men paid EUR 300 to go to Montenegro for construction work and were promised a monthly salary of EUR 500. Upon arrival, the men were forced to labour at a local construction company (Surtees, 2005b: 402).

The recruitment process in a number of cases mimicked legal migration in ways which seemed to assuage men's concerns. Although agreements with recruiters and agencies varied significantly, many men trafficked from both Belarus and Ukraine made what they thought were legally binding agreements with reliable companies, employment agencies and recruiters. In many cases, contracts were signed prior to departure or immediately upon arrival. One Ukrainian man trafficked to Poland described responding to a newspaper advertisement for factory work in Poland and being formally interviewed by two representatives of the agency in an office premises (IOM case files). In Belarus, some recruiters acted under the cover of legal commercial structures arranging foreign tours for Belarusians.[42] Some men made inquiries prior to accepting work offers to assess the reliability of the option and yet still faced problems:

> "I was usually searching for work through newspaper advertisements. Once I was offered to go to Russia with a group of other workers. I had doubts and they offered me to meet. A woman and a man said they had been working for a long time sending work brigades. I made a small research and learned that some people who had been sent by them to work were contented. I went with a group, two women and three men (IOM case file)".

Similarly, the twelve internship offers for the hotel industry in Turkey involved signing an (apparently) legal contract with an agency and paying money in advance to the agency. However, upon arrival, the men's passports were taken away and they were obliged to work long hours, live in poor conditions and repay a debt to the agency. The use of formalized procedures, which mimic legitimate recruitment and employment practices, may serve to camouflage the intended exploitation and trafficking and, thus, decrease suspicion (Surtees 2008b). That being said, a number of female respondents polled by IOM Minsk said that they needed information on the procedure of concluding foreign labour agreements and on how to avoid becoming a victim of trafficking (IOM 2004: 39), flagging that the façade of legal recruitment may be under increasing scrutiny by prospective migrants.

In only a handful of Belarusian cases were victims forcibly sold by a family member or kidnapped. One case of sale by a family member was reported in 2005, accounting for 6.4 per cent of that year's caseload and 0.3 per cent of Belarusian male victims assisted between 2004 and 2006. In five instances, (four in 2005 and one in 2006) victims were kidnapped, a form of "recruitment" which accounted for 1.5 per cent of male cases between 2004 and 2006. Two such cases involved minors – one was a boy who was taken from his trafficked mother and sold for an illegal adoption; the other was 18 years at assistance and trafficked for forced labour to Russia. The remaining three cases were adult men forcibly taken for forced labour to Russia. No such cases were reported amongst trafficked Ukrainian males.[43]

Among Belarusian men, Russia was the most common country where work was promised – 82.1 per cent in 2004, 78.3 per cent in 2005 and 95.6 per cent in 2006 – with other destinations fluctuating annually. For example, in 2005 men were offered work in Turkey (7.6 per cent of the caseload that year and the second most common destination), but no men were promised work there in either 2004 or 2006. Similarly, whereas seven men (4.5 per cent) were trafficked within Belarus and 8 men (5.1 per cent) trafficked to the Czech Republic in 2005, 2006 saw only one (0.6 per cent) and two victims (1.2 per cent) respectively offered work in these destinations.

TABLE 15: PROPOSED DESTINATION COUNTRY/COUNTRY WHERE PROMISED WORK, 2004-2006*

	Proposed country of work	2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian Male VoTs	Belarus	0	0	7.0	4.5	1.0	0.6	8.0	2.3
	Czech republic	0	0	8.0	5.1	2.0	1.3	10.0	2.9
	Greece	1.0	3.6	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Israel	0	0	1.0	0.6	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Lithuania	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
	Poland	2.0	7.1	2.0	1.3	1.0	0.6	5.0	1.5
	Portugal	2.0	7.1	0	0	1.0	0.6	3.0	0.9
	Russia	23.0	82.1	123.0	78.3	152.0	95.6	298.0	86.6
	Sweden	0	0	1.0	0.6	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Turkey	0	0	12.0	7.6	0	0	12.0	3.5
	United States	0	0	2.0	1.3	1.0	0.6	3.0	0.9
	No response	0	0	1.0	0.6	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0
Ukrainian male VoTs	Czech republic	18.0	26.5	11.0	9.7	15.0	9.4	44.0	12.9
	Germany	1.0	1.5	0	0	6.0	3.8	7.0	2.1
	Greece	0	0	1.0	0.9	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Israel	1.0	1.5	1.0	0.9	0	0	2.0	0.6
	Italy	0	0	3.0	2.7	0	0	3.0	0.9
	Japan	0	0	1.0	0.9	14.0	8.8	15.0	4.4
	Kazakhstan	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
	Kyrgyzstan	0	0	1.0	0.9	0	0	1.0	0.3
	FYROM	0	0	25.0	22.1	1.0	0.6	26.0	7.6
	Poland	4.0	5.9	14.0	12.4	21.0	13.1	39.0	11.4
	Portugal	0	0	5.0	4.4	8.0	5.0	13.0	3.8

Ukrainian male VoTs	Romania	0	0	0	0	3.0	1.9	3.0	0.9
	Russia	15.0	22.1	45.0	39.8	84.0	52.5	144.0	42.2
	Serbia and Montenegro	24.0	35.3	3.0	2.7	0	0	27.0	7.9
	Slovakia	0	0	1.0	0.9	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Slovenia	3.0	4.4	0	0.	1.0	0.6	4.0	1.2
	South Korea	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
	Spain	0	0	0	0	2.0	1.3	2.0	0.6
	Turkey	1.0	1.5	0	0	1.0	0.6	2.0	0.6
	United Arab Emirates	0	0	2.0	1.8	0	0	2.0	0.6
	Ukraine	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
	United Kingdom	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
	No response	1.0	1.5	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

** Selected from a drop-down list including all countries/ territories. Only those answer options with data have been included.*

Ukrainian men were also offered work primarily in Russia, accounting for 22.1 per cent in 2004, 39.8 per cent in 2005 and 52.5 per cent in 2006. Many Belarussians and Ukrainians migrated to neighbouring Russia, which, until the very recent past, was not a separate country and where they know the language and are familiar with cultural and social norms, suggesting that such migration may feel "safe" for many men. Only 17 per cent of foreign migrants surveyed for one study in Russia had no Russian language knowledge (Tyuryukanova, 2005: 37). This familiarity may create a false sense of security which impacts decisions taken in the migration process.

For the most part, both Belarusian and Ukrainian men were trafficked to the destination country where they had been promised work. Exceptions were few but, amongst Ukrainian victims, included one case of trafficking to Russia instead of Japan and one case to United Arab Emirates (UAE) when work had been promised in Greece. In 2006, exceptions included trafficking to Poland instead of Germany and to Russia instead of Japan (14), Turkey (1) or within Ukraine (1). In some cases, because of the proximity of border, it may have been the intention of the traffickers to take the men further but this proved unfeasible.

4.2: About the recruiters

Information about individual recruiters is helpful in understanding recruitment patterns – who is involved, their relationship to victims, their personal details, etc.

– which is valuable in developing prevention efforts and in conveying messages about what constitute potentially risky migration situations. Law enforcement may be particularly interested in information about recruiters (and traffickers) in their prevention and detection efforts. That being said, this information has limitations. Highly traumatized victims are not always able or willing to divulge full details and are likely to have only partial information about the trafficking operation (Kelly, 2002). Further, victims may not always have precise or accurate information about the recruiter, even when that person is known to them. They may not, for example, know the recruiter's legal citizenship, whether that person has multiple citizenships, the recruiter's country of origin, etc. Victim's information about the recruiter will generally only be that which they have been permitted to know. Camouflaging their real identity may be a strategy used by recruiters to evade law enforcement identification. Therefore, the extent to which traffickers/recruiters reveal personal information to victims varies considerably (Surtees, 2007a, cf. 2008b).[44]

Most Ukrainian and Belarusian victims reported that their recruitment and migration offers, whether for work, study or other purposes, involved men. Indeed, male recruiters were involved in 84.9 per cent of all Belarusian cases and 54.8 per cent of Ukrainian cases assisted between 2004 and 2006.

TABLE 16: SEX OF RECRUITER FOR BELARUSIAN AND UKRAINIAN MALES, 2004-2006

	Sex of recruiter	2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian male VoTs	Male	15.0	53.6	130.0	82.8	147.0	92.5	292.0	84.9
	Female	5.0	17.9	23.0	14.6	10.0	6.3	38.0	11.0
	Male and female	0	0	1.0	0.6	0	0	1.0	0.3
	No response	8.0	28.6	3.0	1.9	2.0	1.3	13.0	3.8
	Total*	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0*	100.0
Ukrainian male VoTs	Male	31.0	45.6	64.0	56.6	92.0	57.5	187.0	54.8
	Female	4.0	5.9	4.0	3.5	10.0	6.3	18.0	5.3
	Male and female	3.0	4.4	30.0	26.5	58.0	36.3	91.0	26.7
	No response	30.0	44.1	15.0	13.3	0	0	45.0	13.2
	Total*	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0*	100.0

** Not all trafficked men were recruited by an individual. However, in all cases, an individual was involved at some stage of the recruitment process. The sex indicated above refers to these persons.*

Women were recruiters in 11 per cent of instances in Belarus and 5.3 per cent of cases in Ukraine between 2004 and 2006. In 2004, all female recruiters of Belaru-

sian men were Russian, with recruitment to Russia. In 2005, female recruiters were either Belarusian (14), Polish (1), Russian (7) or unknown (1), while male recruiters originated from Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Israel, Turkey. In 2006, female recruiters were from Belarus, Moldova and Lithuania; male recruiters were primarily from Belarus (83), to a lesser degree Russia (37) and, in a handful of cases, from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Korea and Ukraine. In terms of Ukrainian men, between 2004 and 2006 all female recruiters were Ukrainian, trafficking men to Montenegro, Turkey, Portugal, Russia, Israel, Romania, Czech Republic and Lebanon. Male recruiters sent Ukrainian victims to Russia, Italy, Kazakstan, Moldova, Poland, Czech Republic and Montenegro and within Ukraine.

In Ukraine, the cooperation of male and female recruiters was noted in 26.7 per cent of cases assisted between 2004 and 2006. This trend was particularly pronounced in 2005 and 2006, with 26.5 per cent and 36.3 per cent of victims respectively recruited in this way. Male/female recruitment teams were Ukrainian nationals who promised work within Ukraine, Russia, Japan, FYROM, Poland, Turkey and Portugal. This was far less common amongst Belarusian male victims, with only one such case noted in 2005. This trend – of male/female pairs – has also been noted in SEE where the woman typically recruits the victim, while the man deals with transportation.[45] Women contemplating migration seemed to be more inclined to trust another woman rather than a single man, particularly in light of information campaigns which have focused on male traffickers (Surtees 2008b). In Ukraine and Belarus, it is unclear whether recruitment through male/female pairs plays upon a greater inclination to trust women over men. It appears that male/female recruitment is less about distinct gender roles and rather involves both parties as agents who offer work according to specific terms. A number of men reported being interviewed by a female/male pair when they responded to a job advertisement or contacted a recruitment agency.

Recruiters of Belarusian men originated from a wide range of countries, including an increasing number from Belarus – 7.1 per cent in 2004, 59.2 per cent in 2005 and 56 per cent in 2006. Russians were also commonly represented amongst recruiters – 25 per cent in 2004, 21 per cent in 2005 and 23.3 per cent in 2006 – perhaps not surprisingly given the large number of victims trafficked to Russia. For the most part, trafficked men were sent to the recruiter's country of origin, although there were also exceptions. In 2004, Polish recruiters trafficked victims to Portugal, albeit generally via Poland as well as to Poland; Russian recruiters sent victims both to Russia and also other countries, like Greece, and Turkish recruiters sent victims to Russia. In 2005, Belarusian recruiters trafficked victims to the Czech Republic, Russia, Turkey, Poland, Sweden, the US and also within Belarus, while Russian recruiters trafficked men to Russia as well as the Czech Republic and within Belarus. Turkish recruiters in 2005 sent men exclusively to Turkey. 2006 saw the emergence of new nationalities amongst recruiters – Lithuanian, Moldovan and South Korean. Men trafficked to

Russia were sent there not only by Russian recruiters but also by persons originating from South Korea, Armenia, Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine and Azerbaijan. Belarusian recruiters trafficked men primarily to Russia, although also to the Czech Republic and United States; Lithuanian recruiters were involved in cases of trafficking in men only to Lithuania.

TABLE 17: NATIONALITY OF RECRUITER OF BELARUSIAN & UKRAINIAN MALES, 2004-2006*

		2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total*	Total in %
Belarusian male VoTs	Armenia	0	0	1.0	0.6	3.0	1.9	4.0	1.2
	Azerbaijan	0	0	3.0	1.9	1.0	0.6	4.0	1.2
	Belarus	2.0	7.1	93.0	59.2	89.0	56.0	184.0	53.5
	Czech Republic	0	0	1.0	0.6	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Israel	0	0	1.0	0.6	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Lithuania	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
	Moldova	0	0	0	0	5.0	3.1	5.0	1.5
	Poland	3.0	10.7	1.0	0.6	0	0	4.0	1.2
	Russia	7.0	25.0	33.0	21.0	37.0	23.3	77.0	22.4
	South Korea	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
	Turkey	2.0	7.1	8.0	5.1	0	0	10.0	2.9
	Ukraine	0	0	2.0	1.3	2.0	1.3	4.0	1.2
	United States	0	0	1.0	0.6	0	0	1.0	0.3
	No response	14.0	50.0	13.0	8.3	20.0	12.6	47.0	13.7
	Total**	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0
Ukrainian male VoTs	Czech Republic	0	0	3.0	2.7	0	0	3.0	0.9
	Italy	0	0	1.0	0.9	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Kazakhstan	0	0	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.6	2.0	0.6
	Moldova	0	0	1.0	0.9	2.0	1.3	3.0	0.9
	Poland	0	0	4.0	3.5	0	0	4.0	1.2
	Russia	5.0	7.4	9.0	8.0	12.0	7.5	26.0	7.6
	Ukraine	60.0	88.2	90.0	79.6	132.0	82.5	283.0	83.0
	No response	3.0	4.4	4.0	3.5	12.0	7.5	19.0	5.6
	Total*	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

** Selected from a drop-down list including all countries/ territories. Only those answer options with data have been included.*

*** Not all trafficked men were recruited by an individual. However, in all cases, an individual was involved at some stage of the recruitment process. The nationality indicated above refers to these persons.*

Most recruitment of Ukrainian men was by Ukrainian nationals, in 88.2 per cent of cases in 2004, 79.6 per cent in 2005 and 82.5 per cent in 2006. In 2004, Ukrainian recruiters trafficked men to a range of different countries, including the Czech Republic, Montenegro, Israel, Poland, Serbia, Russia, Slovenia and Turkey, while, in 2005, Ukrainian recruiters sent victims to an equally diverse set of countries, including Israel, Turkey, Portugal and Russia. Of note is that in 2005, male/female recruiting pairs were all from Ukraine. In 2006, in addition to Ukrainian recruiters, Russian, Moldovan and Kazak recruiters accounted for 7.5 per cent, 1.3 per cent and 0.6 per cent respectively.

Information about Belarusian victims' relationship to their recruiter is largely incomplete. What information does exist, however, suggests that generally victims did not know their recruiter. Between 2004 and 2006, strangers accounted for 65.7 per cent of recruiters. Typically, individuals met strangers through a friend or an employment agency who offered work options abroad as well as facilitated the process (i.e. processing documents and preparing transportation). These strangers generally originated from different countries, including Poland, Turkey, Russia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Moldova and were both females and male.

Less common but not unknown was recruitment through persons known to and trusted by the victim. The importance of trust in terms of facilitating recruitment should not be underestimated and traffickers have typically mobilized trust in efforts to recruit and exploit both men and women. Recruitment through friends was not uncommon, accounting for 12.5 per cent of cases between 2004 and 2006, generally male and primarily from Belarus but also from Russia and Israel. Family, relatives, neighbours, acquaintances and work colleagues were also involved as recruiters in a handful of cases. One Belarusian man recruited for construction work in Portugal explained that he trusted the recruiter, a Polish man, because he had worked for him in the past in Poland and had been paid as promised (IOM case files).

TABLE 18: RELATIONSHIP TO THE RECRUITER AMONGST BELARUSIAN & UKRAINIAN MALES

		2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian male VoTs	Relative	1.0	4.5	3.0	2.0	1.0	2.9	2.0	2.5
	Friend	5.0	22.7	29.0	19.7	9.0	25.7	43.0	21.1
	Mother's pimp	0	0	1.0	0.7	0	0	1.0	0.5
	Stranger	6.0	27.3	106.0	72.1	22.0	62.9	134.0	65.5
	Business contact/work colleague	0	0	3.0	2.0	1.0	2.9	4.0	2.0
	Acquaintance	5.0	22.7	3.0	2.0	0	0	8.0	4.0
	Neighbour	0	0	2.0	1.4	0	0	2.0	1.0
	No response	11.0	50.0	10.0	6.8	126.0	360.0	147.0	71.6
	Total*	22.0	100.0	147.0	100.0	35.0	100.0	204.0	100.0
Ukrainian male VoTs	Relative	0	0	1.0	0.9	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Friend	2.0	2.9	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.3	6.0	1.8
	Mother's pimp	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Stranger	31.0	45.6	73.0	64.6	83.0	51.9	187.0	54.8
	Business contact/ Work colleague	27.0	39.7	26.0	23.0	67.0	41.9	120.0	35.2
	Acquaintance	6.0	8.8	11.0	9.7	7.0	4.4	24.0	7.0
	Neighbour	1.0	1.5	0	0	1.0	0.6	2.0	0.6
	No response	1.0	1.5	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Total**	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

** In many situations, recruitment did not occur through personal contacts but rather through advertisement or other such means. This table refers only to recruitment through personal contacts and as such totals 204 rather than 344.*

*** In the case of IOM Kiev, data about recruitment is entered differently, which accounts for the completion of information in all assisted cases. When someone was recruited through an advertisement – "stranger" was entered. "Business contact" was entered for a representative of a firm or agency.*

Most Ukrainian males assisted between 2004 and 2006 were also recruited by strangers – 54.8 per cent (or 187 of 341 victims). Typically in Ukraine, male victims were approached by strangers in employment centres, bars, cafes or discos who offered work abroad. In other cases, strangers were introduced to the victim by a friend or acquaintance. A number of victims were also recruited by "business contacts", which, in the Ukraine, refers to the involvement of an agency (employment, marriage or modelling/dancing) in the recruitment process. This category accounted for 35.2 per cent of cases assisted between 2004 and 2006.

It was not uncommon for men to be required to pay money in advance to their recruiter and, in some cases, this involved incurring debt, although information on this subject is incomplete. In 2005, 16 of the 98 Belarusian men for whom there was information (16.3 per cent) reported paying some money to the recruiter in advance; 84.7 per cent did not. In 2006, 14 of 155 (or 9 per cent) paid money in advance, all of them travelling to Russia; 141 (or 91 per cent) did not. Available information about Ukrainian men suggests that most did pay money in advance – 85.7 per cent in 2004, 42.9 per cent in 2005 and 58.4 per cent in 2006. These men were trafficked to the EU (Czech Republic, Poland, Germany, Spain, Italy, and Portugal), SEE (Serbia and Montenegro, Romania, FYROM), Israel, Russia and South Korea. Countries where no payment was made in advance included Russia, UAE, Czech Republic, Italy, Israel, Turkey, the United Kingdom (UK), Lebanon, Moldova, Poland, Kyrgyzstan and Slovenia. One Ukrainian man promised a salary of 300USD was obliged to pay the recruiter 100USD. When he and his friend were only able to collect 120USD between then, the recruiter agreed that they pay their remaining debt upon return (IOM case files).

In addition, debt was incurred when recruiters paid for the victim's travel costs which occurred in 45.1 percent of Belarusian cases in 2005. An almost equal number – 52 per cent – paid their own travel costs (which may or may not have involved formally or informally borrowing money), while families paid for travel in two per cent of cases. In 2006, most victims paid their own travel costs (83 of 157 or 52.9 per cent), while in five cases (3.2 per cent) costs were paid by family, 63 (or 40.1 per cent) by the recruiter and six (or 3.8 per cent) had costs paid by unspecified others. Those whose costs were paid by themselves or their families were trafficked to Russia, Poland, Czech Republic, the United States and within Belarus; those whose costs were paid by a recruiter were trafficked to Russia, Israel, Sweden, Czech Republic, Lithuania and Poland. As such, the issue of payment seems to fluctuate according to individual recruiters and agencies as well as countries of destination. For the Ukrainians who incurred travel costs before departure in 2004, these were often paid by the recruiter (57.8 per cent), although also by victims themselves (40 per cent) or their families (2.2 per cent). By contrast, in 2005, victims (65 per cent) or their families (25 per cent, all to Russia) paid their own travel costs, with only 10 per cent of costs paid by the recruiters. Similarly, in 2006, victim's families paid travel costs in 65.8 per cent of cases; the remaining 34.2 per cent being paid by recruiters. Victims' whose recruiter paid travel costs were sent to Serbia, Russia, Czech Republic, Montenegro, UAE, Israel, Turkey, Kazakhstan, Lebanon, Poland, Portugal and Slovenia.

Incurring debt to a recruiter but also to other persons, whether family, friend or institutions, can have implications at later stages of the migration/trafficking experience. Debt is an important means of control and may prevent persons from leaving a

trafficking situation until they are able to earn enough money to repay this debt. Debt to persons at home, whether family, community members or lending institutions, may pose problems during the reintegration process.

5. TRANSPORTATION AND TRANSIT EXPERIENCE

This section considers the transportation and transit experiences of men trafficked from Belarus and Ukraine. Efforts to intercept trafficking operations (and, in so doing, prevent and end the exploitation of trafficked persons) require detailed information about trafficking movements.

5.1: Means of transportation

While information about transportation is limited (particularly from Ukraine), that which does exist indicates that the vast majority of transportation was land travel – by train, bus or car. This likely due to the proximity and ease of land travel to many destination countries. Belarusians travelling by train were destined for the Czech Republic, Russia, Lithuania and Sweden; by bus to Russia, the Czech Republic, Poland and by car to Russia. Similarly, Ukrainian victims travelled most commonly by train to Poland and Russia, by bus to Russia, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Germany, the Czech Republic and FYROM and by car to Russia, Kazakhstan, the Czech Republic and Slovenia. Of interest is that some males trafficked to Russia, both Belarusian and Ukrainian, travelled by air. Less surprising is that persons trafficked to far away destinations, like South Korea, Israel and the United States, were also transported by plane.

TABLE 19: MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION AMONGST BELARUSIAN & UKRAINIAN VICTIMS, 2004-2006

	Means of transportation	2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian VoTs	Boat	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.6	2.0	0.6
	Train	0	0	30.0	19.1	44.0	27.7	74.0	21.5
	Plane	0	0	5.0	3.2	3.0	1.9	8.0	2.3
	Bus	0	0	50.0	31.8	34.0	21.4	84.0	24.4
	Car	0	0	13.0	8.3	75.0	47.2	88.0	25.6
	No response	28.0	100.0	58.0	36.9	2.0	1.3	88.0	25.6
	Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0
Ukrainian VoTs	Boat	0	0	0	0	2.0	1.3	2.0	0.6
	Train	0	0	0	0	56.0	35.0	56.0	16.4
	Plane	0	0	0	0	8.0	5.0	8.0	2.3
	Bus	0	0	1.0	0.9	50.0	31.3	51.0	15.0
	Car	0	0	0	0	6.0	3.8	6.0	1.8
	No response	68.0	100.0	112.0	99.0	38.0	23.8	218.0	63.9
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

Many men – both from Belarus and Ukraine – were recruited and transported in groups. Some were escorted during the transportation phase by their recruiter or a person tasked with transportation and crossing borders:

> "There were about 40 men in the bus, young and older men. At the Russian customs all our passports were taken and the driver settled everything with the customs officers himself, he gave them bribes. We arrived late at night and were taken to different places of construction after having been divided into small groups (IOM case file)".

As commonly, men travelled independently on public transportation to the destination country where they were met by another actor in the trafficking chain.

5.2: Border crossings and use of documents

Border crossings for many assisted Belarusian males were increasingly done through unofficial entry points, accounting for 28.6 per cent in 2004, 54.1 per cent in 2005 and 95 per cent in 2006. Between Belarus and Russia (the primary destination country), there are no official check points and, thus, no passport control. Belarusian men easily enter Russia by car or microbus without passing an official check point and, when traveling by train or by air, identification is provided to the booking agent when purchasing a ticket. However, a stay of more than three days in Russia requires that Belarusian citizens register with the local migration services, which is not generally done.[46] Undocumented border entry and subsequent lack of registration amplify vulnerability in the destination country, as victims may be reluctant to approach the police for assistance due to their status as irregular migrants. They may also feel complicit in the trafficking process due to this illegality and, as such, fear reprisals, arrest, deportation or abuse from authorities, fears reinforced by traffickers who often tell victims stories of maltreatment by authorities (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2007; Surtees, 2007c).

By contrast, Ukrainian men reported crossing borders at official entry points – 85.3 per cent in 2004, 55.8 per cent in 2005 and 96.3 per cent in 2006. Unaware of the exploitation that awaited them in the destination country, victims often readily accepted coaching from traffickers on how to answer questions at border crossings and while en route. Victims may be instructed to declare tourism as the purpose of travel, thereby legally exiting their home country and legally entering the transit or destination country. This camouflages the trafficking process and is effective not only in averting suspicion of law enforcement authorities but also of victims who, until their exploitation at the destination, may not recognize that they are being trafficked.

It supports the trafficker's deception of victims by lending an impression of legality and normalcy (Surtees, 2008).

TABLE 20: CROSSING AT OFFICIAL ENTRY POINT AMONGST BELARUSIAN AND UKRAINIAN VICTIMS, 2004-2006

		2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian VoTs	Entry at official entry point	12.0	42.9	20.0	12.7	6.0	3.8	38.0	11.0
	Entry at unofficial entry point	8.0	28.6	85.0	54.1	151.0	95.0	244.0	70.9
	No response	8.0	28.6	52.0	33.1	2.0	1.3	62.0	18.0
	Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0
Ukrainian VoTs	Entry at official entry point	58.0	85.3	63.0	55.8	154.0	96.3	275.0	80.6
	Entry at unofficial entry point	0	0	0	0	4.0	2.5	4.0	1.2
	No response	10.0	14.7	50.0	44.2	2.0	1.3	62.0	18.2
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

Legal documents were most common amongst men trafficked from Belarus and Ukraine, although there is incomplete data on this subject. This is consistent with information about female victims, many of whom also used legal documents.[47] These findings are also consistent with research in other countries, like the UK, where the majority of trafficked persons entered the country legally (using regular migration routes and work visas) but who were controlled through their lack of legal work status, debt bondage, the removal of documents and their lack of knowledge about their rights and legal status (Anti-Slavery, 2006b). The use of legal documents highlights the need to further refine identification methods for victims travelling by legal means (Surtees, 2008), particularly in the case of men who are often not perceived to be trafficking victims and, thus, may be overlooked in the identification process.

TABLE 21: USE OF LEGAL DOCUMENTS AMONGST BELARUSIAN & UKRAINIAN MALE VICTIMS

		2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian VoTs	Use of legal documents	18.0	64.3	99.0	63.1	64.0	40.3	181.0	52.6
	Use of false/forged documents	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.6	2.0	0.6
	No response	10.0	35.7	57.0	36.3	94.0	59.1	161.0	46.8
	Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0
Ukrainian VoTs	Use of legal documents	16.0	23.5	31.0	27.4	43.0	26.9	90.0	26.4
	Use of false/forged documents	0	0	1.0	0.9	0	0	1.0	0.3
	No response	52.0	76.5	81.0	71.7	117.0	73.1	250.0	73.3
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

That being said, the use of legal documents and official border crossings does not mean that men's status in the various destination countries was legal (their stay may have exceeded that which was allowable or they did not have legal work permits). Victims were also generally not permitted to retain their documents while abroad, with many traffickers confiscating documents upon arrival as one means of control. Thus, even when victims escaped, they were without the means to independently cross borders and return home (Surtees, 2008).

While data is incomplete, available information suggests that most male victims (95.5 per cent of Belarusians and 98.9 per cent of Ukrainians of the sub-sample) were trafficked immediately to their destination and did not spend time in transit. The few that did (eight from Belarus and one from Ukraine), were in transit to Russia and the United States and generally did not work during this time. The one exception was a Belarusian man trafficked to Russia who did work for a time in transit.

6. EXPLOITATION EXPERIENCE

This section explores some general patterns in terms of male trafficking from Ukraine and Belarus as well as some of the more "unique" and diverse aspects of these experiences.

6.1: Forms of exploitation

Belarusian men were, by and large, trafficked for forced labour, in 99.1 per cent of assisted cases between 2004 and 2006. In addition to trafficking for forced labour, however, there were a handful of Belarusian males who suffered other forms of exploitation.

TABLE 22: FORMS OF EXPLOITATION AMONGST BELARUSIAN MALE VICTIMS, 2004-2006[48]

Form of exploitation	2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Adoption	0	0	1.0	0.6	0	0	1.0	0.3
Forced labour	28.0	100.0	155.0	98.7	158.0	99.4	341.0	99.1
Low level criminal activities	0	0	1.0	0.6	0	0	1.0	0.3
Sexual exploitation	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0

One case in 2005 involved what can be termed trafficking for adoption.[49] In this instance, the boy's mother was trafficked to Poland where she was forced into prostitution. When her pimp learned that she was pregnant, he arranged with a doctor to sell the child for 25,000USD. The baby – a boy – was immediately taken from his mother after birth and she was forced to sign documents relinquishing her parental rights. She was returned to prostitution but eventually managed to escape and applied to the local police and social services in Poland for assistance in finding her child. After legal proceedings in the Polish court system the boy was returned to the mother (IOM case file).

In another instance, the individual – a boy of ten years – was trafficked for begging and petty theft to Russia. The minor was trafficked by his mother and her boyfriend, who exploited the boy and forced him to beg on the street and subways (IOM case file). This form of trafficking in male minors was not uncommon in many countries.

The Temporary Centre for Minors in Moscow estimated in 2001 that at least 500 Moldovan minors had been kidnapped and forced to beg on the streets of Moscow (O'Brian et al., 2004: 39, cf. Tyuryukanova, 2006). Further, victims trafficked for begging and various forms of delinquency accounted for 4.1% of all victims assisted in SEE in 2003 and 6.4% in 2004. Where dual forms of exploitation involving begging or delinquency were considered, the percentage increased to 5.8% and 8.9% respectively (Surtees, 2006; cf. Surtees, 2005b).

Another instance involved trafficking for sexual exploitation. The young man – aged 19 at assistance – was recruited with the offer of work in Russia. He was taken by his traffickers to a large city in northern Russia where he was kept in a private cottage on the outskirts of the city. He was informed that he had been sold to them and was to provide sexual services. He tried to resist but was chained and raped. He stayed in the cottage for two months after which time other victims were brought to the cottage and he was released. He was given a ticket home and threatened with death if he reported his experience (IOM case file). This case is particularly noteworthy given how seldom men exploited in this way are identified and assisted.[50]

Most Ukrainian male victims were trafficked for forced labour, accounting for 98.2 per cent of victims assisted between 2004 and 2006.

TABLE 23: FORMS OF EXPLOITATION AMONGST UKRAINIAN MALE VICTIMS, 2004-2006

Form of exploitation	2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Forced labour	67.0	98.5	112.0	99.1	156.0	97.5	335.0	98.2
Forced labour and sexual exploitation	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
Low level criminal activities	1.0	1.5	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.3
Other	0	0	1.0	0.9	3.0	1.9	4.0	1.2
Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

However, other forms of exploitation were also found amongst Ukrainians. One case involved a combination of sexual and labour exploitation. The man – 23 years at the time of assistance – was recruited at a disco and promised work in Slovenia as a dancer. In Slovenia he worked as a dancer in a nightclub but, in addition, was forced to provide sexual services to clients. He was obliged to drink alcohol (as a means of control and to ensure submission) and received no payment. A number of Ukrainian women were exploited in the same location and in the same way (IOM case file).

Another case – of "low level criminal activities" – involved a 34 year old man exploited in the Czech Republic, forced to take part in criminal activities which included dismantling cars, with spare parts sold by the traffickers (IOM case file).

The four cases of "other" differed in profile. One was an unusual case involving a boy whose mother was trafficked to Israel for prostitution for several years. He accompanied her during this trafficking experience and was held as guarantee that she would escape. The boy was nine years old at the time of assistance. The three other cases involved men who were identified (and in some cases arrested by authorities) before the exploitation began but where there were strong signals that trafficking/exploitation was intended (IOM case files).

Amongst both Belarusian and Ukrainian men, the most common form of forced labour was within the construction industry, generally in Russia. Construction work accounted for 85.7 per cent of Belarusian men trafficked for labour in 2004, 57.4 per cent in 2005 and 50 per cent in 2006. Amongst Ukrainian males, construction-related work accounted for 82.1 per cent in 2004, 73.2 per cent in 2005 and 50.3 per cent in 2006. In addition, a number of victims were trafficked for what might be described as construction-related work, such as welding, plasterer, roofing and bricklaying.

TABLE 24: FORMS OF FORCED LABOUR WHILE TRAFFICKED AMONGST BELARUSIAN VICTIMS*

	2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Agriculture	0	0	3.0	1.9	9.0	5.7	12.0	3.5
Agriculture & domestic work	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bricklayer	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
Catering	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Catering & sexual exploitation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Construction/building	24.0	85.7	89.0	57.4	79.0	50.0	192.0	56.3
Construction, decorating &/or welding	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Construction & agriculture	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cook/baking	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
Domestic servitude	0	0	4.0	2.6	2.0	1.3	6.0	1.8
Driver	0	0	2.0	1.3	2.0	1.3	4.0	1.2
Electrical engineer/ electrician	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.6	2.0	0.6

Labourer	0	0	1.0	0.6	0	0	1.0	0.3
Land improver	0	0	1.0	0.6	0	0	1.0	0.3
Oil extraction	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
Plasterer	0	0	2.0	1.3	0	0	2.0	0.6
Railway worker	0	0	3.0	1.9	0	0	3.0	0.9
Roofer	0	0	2.0	1.3	0	0	2.0	0.6
Sailor or seaman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sanitary engineer	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
Security & cleaning	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.6	2.0	0.6
Shipbuilding	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sweatshop/factory work	1.0	3.6	43.0	27.7	55.0	34.8	99.0	29.0
Timber industry	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
Welding	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.6	2.0	0.6
Other	2.0	7.1	0	0	0	0	2.0	0.6
No response	1.0	3.6	2.0	1.3	3.0	1.9	6.0	1.8
Total**	28.0	100.0	155.0	100.0	158.0	100.0	341.0*	100.0

**The following categories are included through the option Other and are freely encoded into the system through an open-ended question.*
***The total number refers only to those victims who were trafficked for forced labour (341) rather than the total number of assisted Belarusian victims (344).*

While only a small percentage of Belarusian cases in 2004, sweatshop/factory work accounted for 27.7 per cent of cases in 2005 and 34.8 per cent in 2006. Generally this involved working in a factory or basement workshop in very poor conditions and without breaks and/or food.[51] Amongst Ukrainian males, sweatshop/factory work was not uncommon – 11.9 per cent in 2004, 15.2 per cent in 2005 and 17.2 per cent in 2006.

Agricultural work was noted in 2005 and 2006, although it accounted for only 5.5 per cent of cases assisted in these two years and 4.5 per cent between 2004 and 2006. Other forms of labour were myriad and diverse, ranging from technical skills, like electrician and sanitary engineer, to more general activities, such as cooking, cleaning and security. In addition to construction, industries, like railways and timber works, were not uncommon.

TABLE 25: FORMS OF FORCED LABOUR WHILE TRAFFICKED AMONGST UKRAINIAN VICTIMS*

	2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Agriculture	0	0	6.0	5.4	9.0	5.7	15.0	4.5
Agriculture & domestic work	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
Bricklayer								
Catering	0	0	4.0	3.6	3.0	1.9	7.0	2.1
Catering & sexual exploitation	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
Construction	54.0	80.6	75.0	67.0	79.0	50.3	208.0	62.3
Construction, decorating &/or welding	1.0	1.5	7.0	6.3	0	0	8.0	2.4
Construction & agriculture	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
Cook/baking	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
Domestic servitude	1.0	1.5	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.3
Driver	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Electrical engineer/ electrician	1.0	1.5	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.3
Labourer	1.0	1.5	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.3
Land improver	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oil extraction	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Plasterer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Railway worker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Roofer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sailor or seaman	0	0	1.0	0.9	32.0	20.4	33.0	9.9
Sanitary engineer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Security & cleaning	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shipbuilding	0	0	1.0	0.9	0	0	1.0	0.3
Sweatshop labour/ factory work	8.0	11.9	17.0	15.2	27.0	17.2	52.0	15.6
Timber industry	0	0	0	0	3.0	1.9	3.0	0.9
Welding	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	1.0	1.5	1.0	0.9	0	0	1.0	0.3
No response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total*	67.0	100.0	112.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	334.0*	100.0

**The following categories are included through the option Other and are freely encoded into the system through an open-ended question.*
***The total number refers only to those Ukrainian victims who were trafficked for forced labour (334) rather than the total number of assisted Ukrainian victims (341).*

Of note were the 33 Ukrainian males who were trafficked in 2005 and 2006 as sailors and seamen – 20.4 per cent of victims assisted in 2006 and 0.9 per cent in 2005. In this case, the men were exploited on two ships in the Russian sea by a Russian company. Their migration was organized by a Ukrainian recruitment company, which promised work on a Japanese ship. The proposed salary was between 1,200-1,600USD, depending on qualifications, and the men signed what they believed were legal contracts in addition to paying one months salary as a recruitment fee. In Russia, they were informed by the partner company that the contracts from Ukraine were not legal and that they would also be paid less than promised. The company took the men's documents on the pretext of registering them for work but never returned them. The men were transported to the ship (which was Russian, not Japanese) where they were put to work fishing illegally for crab (not the work promised).[52] Rooms on the ship were filled with water to knee level, the men worked long hours every day (allowed to sleep no more than three hours a night and not every night), food was poor and insufficient, they lacked fresh drinking water (they were sometimes forced to drink salt water or water from icebergs), access to the toilet was limited and they were forced to work when ill. Abuse was exacted against those who complained and few received any payment. They were held in these conditions for a period of between six to ten months, freed only when the Russian border guard service detained the ship (IOM case file).

6.2: Destination countries

The majority of Belarusian male trafficking victims – 87.2 per cent between 2004 and 2006 – were trafficked to Russia for labour,[53] with a slight increase over time, 96.9 per cent in 2006 as compared with 78.3 per cent in 2005 and 82.1 per cent in 2004. From Ukraine, Russia was also the primary (and increasingly the most common) destination country for male trafficking victims, although to a lesser extent than amongst Belarusian men – 23.5 per cent in 2004, 40.7 per cent in 2005 and 62.5 per cent in 2006. To some degree, this may be linked to an increase in anti-trafficking efforts in some countries, like Belarus, Czech Republic and Turkey, which may serve as a deterrent. However, this pattern may equally be linked to the inadequacy of anti-trafficking efforts in Russia, making it an attractive destination for traffickers. Other contributors may be the proximity of the countries, porous borders and relatively liberal visa regimes.

TABLE 26: ACTUAL DESTINATION COUNTRY AMONGST MALE TRAFFICKING VICTIMS, 2004-2006*

		2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Destination countries for Belarusian men	Belarus	0	0	8.0	5.1	0	0	8.0	2.3
	Czech Republic	0	0	7.0	4.5	2.0	1.3	9.0	2.6
	Greece	1.0	3.6	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Israel	0	0	1.0	0.6	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Lithuania	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
	Poland	2.0	7.1	3.0	1.9	1.0	0.6	6.0	1.7
	Portugal	2.0	7.1	0	0	0	0	2.0	0.6
	Russia	23.0	82.1	123.0	78.3	154.0	96.9	300.0	87.2
	Sweden	0	0	1.0	0.6	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Turkey	0	0	12.0	7.6	0	0	12.0	3.5
	United States	0	0	2.0	1.3	1.0	0.6	3.0	0.9
	Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0

Destination countries for Ukrainian men	Czech Republic	18.0	26.5	12.0	10.6	15.0	9.4	45.0	13.2
	Germany	1.0	1.5	0	0	4.0	2.5	5.0	1.5
	Israel	1.0	1.5	1.0	0.9	0	0	2.0	0.6
	Italy	0	0	3.0	2.7	0	0	3.0	0.9
	Kazakhstan	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
	Kyrgyzstan	0	0	1.0	0.9	0	0	1.0	0.3
	FYROM	0	0	25.0	22.1	1.0	0.6	26.0	7.6
	Moldova	0	0	0	0	2.0	1.3	2.0	0.6
	Poland	4.0	5.9	13.0	11.5	23.0	14.4	40.0	11.7
	Portugal	0	0	5.0	4.4	8.0	5.0	13.0	3.8
	Romania	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
	Russia	16.0	23.5	46.0	40.7	100.0	62.5	162.0	47.5
	Serbia and Montenegro	24.0	35.3	3.0	2.7	0	0	27.0	7.9
	Spain	0	0	0	0	2.0	1.3	2.0	0.6
	Slovakia	0	0	1.0	0.9	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Slovenia	3.0	4.4	0	0	1.0	0.6	4.0	1.2
	South Korea	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3

Destination countries for Ukrainian men	Turkey	1.0	1.5	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.3
	United Arab Emirates	0	0	3.0	2.7	0	0	3.0	0.9
	United Kingdom	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

** Selected from a drop-down list including all countries/ territories. Only those answer options with data have been included.*

EU countries were also not uncommon destinations. Belarusian victims were trafficked to the Czech Republic, Greece, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal and Sweden, accounting for 17.8 per cent of cases in 2004, 7 per cent in 2005 and 2.5 per cent in 2006. Trafficking to EU countries accounted for a not insignificant percentage of Ukrainian male victims, 115 victims (or 33.8 per cent) between 2004 and 2006. This can be explained largely by the demand for (legal and illegal) migrant work, which is high in many sectors in Western Europe. This includes the agricultural and industrial sectors in the UK, France, Spain, Switzerland, Italy and the Netherlands (Kelly, 2002; cf. ILO, 2003b & 2003a; Scanlan, 2002: 17). In Italy, the black labour market involves large numbers of migrant workers, including children, working without any rights, regulation or social security. In 2000 to 2001, the Ministry of Welfare controlled 25,000 firms that employed 12,000 migrant workers, 40 per cent of whom had irregular job conditions and contracts and 25 per cent of whom were without regular residence permits (European Network Against Child Trafficking (ENACT) and Save the Children (STC), 2004: 49). The most prominent destination for Ukrainian men amongst EU countries was Czech Republic (13.2 per cent of victims assisted between 2004 and 2006), most likely because of geographic proximity, and Poland (11.7 per cent of victims assisted between 2004 and 2006), which shares a border with Ukraine.

Countries in SEE (FYROM, Moldova, Romania and Serbia and Montenegro) featured amongst destinations for Ukrainian men (16.4 per cent of cases between 2004 and 2006), but not for Belarusian men. Countries in the Middle East – UAE for Ukrainian men and Israel for Belarusians – were noted in only a handful of cases. 2005 saw twelve men – 7.6 per cent of victims assisted that year – trafficked to Turkey and a handful of Ukrainian men were trafficked to Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan) and North Asia (South Korea). The United States was also a destination for two Belarusian victims in 2005 (1.3 per cent of cases) and one victim in 2006 (0.6 per cent of cases) who accepted summer work opportunities in Alaska. They worked in construction where their wages were not paid and they were forced to work excessive hours, exposed to poor living conditions and kept isolated in the forest. Their passports were taken by the recruiter upon their arrival (allegedly to register for social security) but never returned. They managed to escape, stealing a car to flee the site (IOM case

file). Internal trafficking was noted in a handful of cases amongst Belarusian victims – 5.1 per cent in 2005, although no cases in 2004 and 2006. No internal cases of trafficking were noted amongst Ukrainian men.

Individuals' experiences of forced labour differed and were, at times, linked to the destination country. Some of the more exploitative cases of forced labour took place in Russia, although as this was the main country of destination this may also reflect the greater prevalence of this destination in the caseload. In general, Russia has a large number of migrant workers – estimated at between 3.5 and 5 million, with as many as half a million in Moscow alone (ILO, 2003a: 11; Tyuryukanova, 2005: xvii) – many of whom work in the construction sector. Generally work and payment conditions are poor, with low salaries, low health and safety standards, few legal work contracts and no compensation in case of accidents (ILO, 2003a: 11). In one survey of the Russian labour market, 38 per cent of migrants were found to perform involuntary work and services, 21 per cent suffered psychological coercion and 20 per cent were denied freedom of movement (Tyuryukanova, 2005: xviii; cf. Kelly, 2005).[54]

Consistent patterns of mistreatment were noted also in the EU (both new and old member states). Men trafficked to Czech Republic faced very poor conditions and exploitative situations, findings corroborated by a recent study which found that exploitation of migrant workers was common, including low or unpaid wages, debt bondage, poor living conditions and being forced to pay a portion of wages to client or mafia. In addition, conditions involved very long work hours, high rates of accidents and generally arduous and dangerous work (Cernik et al., 2005: 35-6). Similarly, Portugal was a destination for both Belarusian and Ukrainian men where conditions were consistently poor. One Ukrainian man described living in a hut, without adequate food and sanitation and having to work under difficult circumstances. Working days were much longer than what was promised and, having been provided only with a tourist visa, migrants' status in the country was irregular. Supervisors threatened and abused workers when they stopped working even for a moment (IOM case file). Other problems include irregular payment of wages, retention and confiscation of identity documents, false promises about work conditions, prolonged working hours without pay, arbitrary dismissal, non-compliance with health and safety regulations and physical assault and threats (Pereira & Vasconcelos, 2006). In Italy, recent anti-trafficking operations, like Operation Terra Promessa, have yielded information about the trafficking of large numbers of foreign workers. Recruited with promises of good working conditions (often through newspaper ads in the country of origin), men were forced to pay money to the recruiter, work long hours, kept in labour camps with armed guards and subjected to violence and fines for even the smallest 'violations' (Battaglia, 2006; cf. Bozonnet, 2006).

In SEE, work conditions were also generally quite poor. For example, in August 2004, four Ukrainian men, trafficked for forced labour to Montenegro were recruited with promises of work in a construction firm but faced exploitative living and working conditions, including the lack of work contracts, strenuous conditions, substandard meals and accommodation and only minimal payment for their work (Surtees, 2005b: 402).

6.3: Working and living conditions while trafficked

Both Ukrainian and Belarusian men trafficked abroad faced deeply exploitative, often traumatic working and living conditions, which, in many circumstances, compromised their physical and mental well-being. Because most men were trafficked to Russia, many of the observations are particularly salient for the Russian context, although they are also an issue in other destinations.

Victims originating from both Belarus and Ukraine worked six to seven days each week, regardless of destination country or form of work.

TABLE 27: DAYS WORKED PER WEEK WHILE TRAFFICKED, BELARUSIAN & UKRAINIAN VOTS

	Days worked	2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian VoTs	6 days	1.0	3.6	17.0	10.8	25.0	15.7	43.0	12.5
	7 days	17.0	60.7	130.0	82.8	129.0	81.1	276.0	80.2
	No response	10.0	35.7	10.0	6.4	5.0	3.1	25.0	7.3
	Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0
Ukrainian VoTs	6 days	3.0	4.4	5.0	4.4	2.0	1.3	10.0	2.9
	7 days	58.0	85.3	105.0	92.9	152.0	95.0	315.0	92.4
	No response	7.0	10.3	3.0	2.7	6.0	3.8	16.0	4.7
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

In addition, male victims worked long hours, almost always exceeding eight hours, and, more commonly, twelve hours or more. Amongst Belarusian victims, working between 11 and 14 hours was most common – 64.5 per cent of those assisted between 2004 and 2006. In addition, in a number of very striking instances, men (2.9 per cent) were forced to work between 17 and 20 hours each day. Amongst Ukrainian VoTs,

79.5 per cent worked for periods of between eleven and 18 hours each day. In addition, 11.4 per cent worked for more than 19 hours a day. This is consistent with conditions faced by migrant workers exploited elsewhere, for example, for agricultural labour in Italy. Explained one man: "At 4 am the gangmasters took us off to an artichoke field where we worked for six hours, then on to a tomato field for another ten hours, without any breaks" (Bozonnet, 2006).

TABLE 28: HOURS WORKED PER DAY, BELARUSIAN AND UKRAINIAN MEN, 2004 TO 2006

		2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian VoTs	8 hours	0	0	1.0	0.6	5.0	3.1	6.0	1.7
	9-10 hours	2.0	7.1	14.0	8.9	15.0	9.4	31.0	9.0
	11-12 hours	1.0	3.6	72.0	45.9	90.0	56.6	163.0	47.4
	13-14 hours	6.0	21.4	34.0	21.7	19.0	11.9	59.0	17.2
	15-16 hours	1.0	3.6	10.0	6.4	20.0	12.6	31.0	9.0
	17-18 hours	0	0	3.0	1.9	1.0	0.6	4.0	1.2
	19-20 hours	0	0	5.0	3.2	1.0	0.6	6.0	1.7
	+20 hours	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	No response	18.0	64.3	18.0	11.5	8.0	5.0	44.0	12.8
	Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0
Ukrainian VoTs	8 hours	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	9-10 hours	1.0	1.5	4.0	3.5	2.0	1.3	7.0	2.1
	11-12 hours	26.0	38.2	18.0	15.9	11.0	6.9	55.0	16.1
	13-14 hours	16.0	23.5	27.0	23.9	31.0	19.4	74.0	21.7
	15-16 hours	5.0	7.4	16.0	14.2	43.0	26.9	64.0	18.8
	17-18 hours	12.0	17.6	36.0	31.9	30.0	18.8	78.0	22.9
	19-20 hours	0	0	5.0	4.4	5.0	3.1	10.0	2.9
	+20 hours	0	0	0	0	29.0	18.1	29.0	8.5
	No response	8.0	11.8	7.0	6.2	9.0	5.6	24.0	7.0
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

Overall, hard working conditions, poor living conditions and regular abuse resulted in the deterioration of many men's health. The conditions of work – which tended to be poor and with little attention to health and safety standards – had an effect. In Russia, where the majority of men were exploited, it is generally acknowledged that conditions are hard, with long hours, risky and demanding work and without days off (Tyuryukanova, 2005: 59). One worker explained how workers suffered health

problems as a result of the work, "I was continuously coughing because of the dust and [the supervisors] laughed at me and teased me. Everyone had problems with the back and joints. In the beginning we had an ointment which saved us. Then we asked them to bring us some other ointment, but they refused". Similarly, a Ukrainian man trafficked to the Czech Republic for work in the forest suffered health problems:

> "I began to have a sensation in the stomach as if it was burning. At first I didn't pay attention to it. I went to the employer to ask to go to the doctor as we had medical insurance. But instead, he sent me to dig trenches for electric wires… I was getting worse and worse. I couldn't eat anything, my stomach was burning… When I was back home doctors discovered a duodenal ulcer and a hernia (IOM case files)".

Many trafficked men reported workplace accidents and injuries. One Ukrainian man trafficked to Poland for work in a leather production factory explained how, in addition to physically arduous work, workers regularly lost consciousness and had headaches because of the chemical used in the tanning of leather. Another Ukrainian man trafficked to Russia described a serious accident at his worksite:

> "Earlier we told our bosses that one of the parts of the machine needed to be changed. They promised to fix it but nothing was done. The bosses didn't pay attention to that. Finally, a tragedy happened. We were sawing an oak tree. It was pulled out and thrown away. Two workers stood nearby and survived only by a miracle – one broke his legs, the other his ribs. Nobody provided a specialized medical treatment. They brought some medicines, painkillers and we made plasters ourselves (IOM case file)".

In another instance, it seems that the workplace injury suffered was less about poor safety and rather a punishment for the workers' demands to be paid: "We started demanding money. Then they started to calm us down, each one in a different way. A pile of bricks fell on me from above although there were no reasons for that. Others had other situations. We realized that we couldn't survive, so we continued to work. Because of the falling bricks, I hurt my hands and legs" (IOM case file).

Most men reported severely substandard living conditions while trafficked, cramped together (sometimes with 20 and 30 others) in unhygienic situations. In a number of cases, trafficked men described living in "ice-covered rooms", lacking even the most basic heating and where the water would freeze in the pipes. Such observations were not specific to any one country but were experienced broadly. A group of men trafficked to Turkey described living in small, unhygienic conditions with five to ten people per room. A Ukrainian man trafficked to the UAE explained his conditions:

"The place where we worked turned out to be an area surrounded by barbed wires and supervised by guards with arms. It was forbidden to leave the area. We lived in wagons, ten men in each, though they were designed for four men". A Ukrainian man trafficked to the Czech Republic had a similar experience, "Conditions of living were horrible. There were too many people in the huts. There was no heating. Four men lived in very small rooms, there was much noise, shouting and fighting of drunk men… The conditions of work were horrible too. It was cold and there were no warm clothes". Another man, from Ukraine, described the barracks where he lived as "war conditions": nine men living in a room of ten square meters with only mattresses on the floor and no indoor hygiene facilities (IOM case files). Similarly, Medecins sans Frontiers (MSF) in Italy, which runs a mobile health clinic for migrants workers, reports disease resulting from living in derelict buildings, with no running water or electricity and in adequate sanitation. Further, one third of workers examined by MSF doctors had suffered ill-treatment (Bozonnet, 2006).

Many men also reported receiving limited or no food. Often they were fed only twice a day and, where food was provided, it was generally of substandard quality and unnutritious, which, in the long term, had a serious impact on their health and general well-being. Many reported stomach problems as a result of the food:

> "Once a month our boss gave us 50USD for food but it was only enough to buy bread, potatoes, margarine. Everyone was half hungry all the time (IOM case file)".

> "We were brought food once a week. It was a sack of bread, sausages, bottles of water and packs of tea. Because of this food we all had stomach problems and felt bad (IOM case files)".

The case of one Belarusian man trafficked for construction to Russia provides an illustration of not uncommon living and working conditions. The man was kept in a crowded room, where he had to sleep on a three-level bunk-bed. There was no space in the room to sit or to stretch out and no freedom of movement, as the construction site was heavily guarded. The man was fed only bouillon three times a day. No warm clothes were provided to the workers and medical care was denied. When workers complained about the conditions they were beaten. The man was freed only when relatives reported him missing and police located and freed him. He emerged very ill, suffering from malnutrition, poor physical health and nervous exhaustion (IOM case file).

Myriad cases of health problems resulting from work and living conditions were noted, including physical injuries (broken bones, torn muscles, intestinal problems)

and serious diseases and disorders (bronchial infections, pneumonia, ulcers, asthma, depression). This has important implications not only on men's current well-being but also in terms of what types of services are needed once exit trafficking. Not insignificant numbers of trafficked men were released (albeit often without any payment or the return of their documents) because of serious health conditions when these inhibited their work.

In many labour sectors, these abuses and violations go unaddressed because a lack staff and training, inadequate regulatory mechanisms and, in some countries, the presence of corruption. One Ukrainian man described how he and his sons were exploited on a site where the owner and his staff would not let them leave. When the man threatened to report him to the police, the exploiter laughed as he and his colleagues supervising the worksite were police officers. In another instance, a Ukrainian man explained how the police, upon learning that they were illegal workers, demanded money or they would be put in jail. The trafficked men had to borrow money to pay the police officers.[55] Men reported that labour inspectors were seldom, if ever, present on the site and contact with anyone outside of the worksite was generally prevented. That being said, some men reported being freed through the intervention of the police or after threatening to report their exploiters to the authorities.

Many victims were exploited with and alongside other victims. Most commonly, this was in small groups – of one to ten or eleven to 20 people – accounting for 62.5 per cent of Belarusian victims and 56.3 per cent of Ukrainian victims. Less common, but not unknown, were larger groups of men on worksites. One Ukrainian man trafficked into the forestry industry in Russia explained of his work site, "At first, we logged trees and then we dug a foundation pit. There were about 30 to 40 people working on that site. Their nationalities were Ukrainians, Tajiks and Moldovan. Their ages were from 20 to 40 years… Besides, there were also local workers" (IOM case file).

TABLE 29: OTHER VICTIMS IN SAME SITUATION AMONGST BELARUSIAN VICTIMS

	Number of victims in same situation	2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian VoTs	0	6.0	21.4	5.0	3.2	9.0	5.7	20.0	5.8
	1-10	9.0	32.1	52.0	33.1	84.0	52.8	145.0	42.2
	11-20	2.0	7.1	37.0	23.6	31.0	19.5	70.0	20.3
	21-30	2.0	7.1	9.0	5.7	10.0	6.3	21.0	6.1
	31-50	0	0	15.0	9.6	10.0	6.3	25.0	7.3
	51-75	0	0	15.0	9.6	2.0	1.3	17.0	4.9
	76-100	0	0	1.0	0.6	3.0	1.9	4.0	1.2
	101-200	0	0	8.0	5.1	4.0	2.5	12.0	3.5
	201-300	0	0	5.0	3.2	2.0	1.3	7.0	2.0
	301 and above	0	0	2.0	1.3	0	0	2.0	0.6
	No response	9.0	32.1	8.0	5.1	4.0	2.5	21.0	6.1
	Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0
Ukrainian VoTs	0	1.0	1.5	0	0.	0	0	1.0	0.3
	1-10	19.0	27.9	41.0	36.3	48.0	30.0	108.0	31.7
	11-20	18.0	26.5	24.0	21.2	42.0	26.3	84.0	24.6
	21-30	11.0	16.2	2.0	1.8	54.0	33.8	67.0	19.6
	31-50	4.0	5.9	33.0	29.2	9.0	5.6	46.0	13.5
	51-75	3.0	4.4	0	0	0	0	3.0	0.9
	76-100	2.0	2.9	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.6	4.0	1.2
	101-200	1.0	1.5	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.3
	201-300	2.0	2.9	0	0	0	0	2.0	0.6
	301 and above	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
	No response	7.0	10.3	12.0	10.6	5.0	3.1	24.0	7.0
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

Quite striking were the number of victims exploited together with large numbers of other persons. The presence of large groups of victims under strict control raises questions about the conditions that allow these worksites to go unmonitored. This information is important in terms of sharpening identification efforts for forced labour trafficking and less recognisable profiles of victims, like men.[56] Belarusian and Ukrainian male victims were seldom mixed with women victims, which was at least in part reflective of the work undertaken.

6.4: Experiences of abuse and means of control while trafficked

Means of controlling male trafficking victims were myriad and multiple. A combination of abuse (or threats of abuse), non-payments, debts and restricted freedom of movement served to keep many men in trafficking situations. Abuse was sustained in a noteworthy, but decreasing, number of cases amongst Belarusian men – 100 per cent of cases assisted in 2004, 89.2 per cent in 2005 and 81.8 per cent in 2006. Amongst Ukrainian men, abuse was more prolific, with only a handful (1.8 per cent of those assisted between 2004 and 2006) reporting no abuse while trafficked.

What is perhaps as illuminating is what precisely this abuse entailed. Most commonly, psychological abuse was used against Belarusian males – in 35.7 per cent of cases in 2004, 53.5 per cent in 2005 and 48.4 per cent in 2006. Ukrainian victims also suffered psychological abuse most commonly, and often in combination with physical and/or sexual abuse. Psychological abuse might include threats of violence against the individual or their family, humiliation, threat of non-payment or the threat of arrest (for illegal status and/or work in the country). Threats were also used, generally in combination with the denial of rights such as food or medical care, as a means of control and abuse. Traffickers might threaten men with violence, with non-payment, with reporting them to the authorities, etc. Also common was the combination of psychological abuse, threats and the denial of access to basic needs, like food and medical treatment. Psychological pressure creates a different form of control and dynamic in the trafficking process and can endure over time. More subtle coercion and abuse may mean that victims are less likely to recognize themselves as victims, although by definition and experience they are trafficked (Surtees, 2008a&b; cf. Brunovskis & Surtees 2007).

TABLE 30: ABUSE OF BELARUSIAN AND UKRAINIAN TRAFFICKED MEN, 2004-2006

	Type of abuse suffered	2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian Male VoTs	Physical abuse	8.0	28.6	47.0	29.9	38.0	23.9	93.0	27.0
	Psychological abuse	10.0	35.7	84.0	53.5	77.0	48.4	171.0	49.7
	Psychological, physical abuse and/or threats and humiliation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Physical, psychological & sexual abuse	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
	Psychological, physical abuse, threats & denied food, sleep and/or medical care	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Denial of medical care	0	0	0	0	2.0	1.3	2.0	0.6
	Lack of food	0	0	3.0	1.9	0	0	3.0	0.9
	Threats	4.0	14.3	5.0	3.2	9.0	5.7	18.0	5.2
	Other forms of abuse	3.0	10.7	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.6	5.0	1.5
	No abuse	0	0	17.0	10.8	29.0	18.2	46.0	13.4
	No response	3.0	10.7	0	0	2.0	1.3	5.0	1.5
	Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0
Ukrainian male VoTs	Physical abuse	12.0	17.6	5.0	4.4	4.0	2.5	21.0	6.2
	Psychological abuse	6.0	8.8	1.0	0.9	6.0	3.8	13.0	3.8
	Psychological, physical abuse and/or threats and humiliation	7.0	10.3	17.0	15.0	15.0	9.4	39.0	11.4
	Physical, psychological & sexual abuse	0	0	0	0	2.0	1.3	2.0	0.6
	Psychological, physical abuse, threats & denied food, sleep and/or medical care	0	0	39.0	34.5	65.0	40.6	104.0	30.5
	Denial of medical care	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Lack of food	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Threats	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Other forms of abuse	38.0	55.9	50.0	44.2	66.0	41.3	154.0	45.2
	No abuse	4.0	5.9	0	0	2.0	1.3	6.0	1.8
	No response	1.0	1.5	1.0	0.9	0	0	2.0	0.6
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

Not uncommonly, Belarusian men were exposed to physical abuse – 28.6 per cent in 2004, 29.9 per cent in 2005 and 23.9 per cent in 2006. Often when men complained about work conditions or lack of payment, they were threatened (with violence, non-payment and deportation) and/or abused. Attempts to escape often resulted in physical abuse. One Belarusian man trafficked internally for construction explained how when he attempted to escape he was beaten so badly that several bones were fractured. Another described being subjected to physical abuse and beatings on a regular basis as a means of control. Similarly, non-cooperation, like refusing to work, often led to violence. One Belarusian trafficked to Poland was badly beaten and threatened with death when he refused to work. In addition, his food was drugged to ensure his submission. Upon his return home, he was hospitalized in a psychiatric hospital, deeply traumatized by the physical and psychological abuse and drugging. Beatings might also be exacted for seemingly less egregious violations. One Ukrainian man trafficked to Russia was beaten for washing his work coveralls without permission (IOM case files).

Amongst Ukrainian men, there were 21 instances of physical abuse and an additional 129 instances where physical abuse was used alongside other forms of abuse, psychological and sexual. Ukrainian victims trafficked into the construction industry in Russia reported extensive and consistent abuse while trafficked:

> "We asked about the work conditions and the salary. They answered we had to stay silent because we had no rights there. We were not allowed to leave. If we disobeyed the orders we would get fines and be beaten. The cleverest were to be rolled into cement to make the foundations stronger. We worked nearly all day and night. The owners were continually putting us under pressure, threatened us, sometimes even beating us. They wanted to make us work even faster. At least one of the guards was always with a gun. We were guarded by three men and at night three big dogs were released. Once they beat me off my feet and then kicked me all over and also in the face and broke a tooth. My whole face was beaten and blue. I was continuously coughing because of the dust and they laughed at me and teased me" (IOM case file).

> "Guards regularly threatened us, beat us with rubber truncheons, inspected our personal belongings and had a list of all defects in our work. We were fined… Sometimes guards made a night carnival. They fired rockets, got us up, and forced us to do physical exercises, beat us. My friends said that guards took drugs" (IOM case file).

Some means of abuse and control were particularly aggressive. One Ukrainian man trafficked to Russia explained how, when he and a group of colleagues tried to leave

their working situation, tear gas was used against them. Their exploiters then poured acid on one's man's foot, telling workers that it was a warning to immediately start working or they would be killed and replaced by new migrant workers. In one case in Russia, supervisors allegedly set fire to the living barracks as punishment, resulting in the death of a number of workers.

> The men began to cry and shout that there was fire outside. They tried to run out through the kitchen but there had been fire there already. Men tried to open the doors but couldn't do it. They were closed from the outside. They couldn't get out through the window either as there were bars on it. They broke the glass in the window and cried out for help. The barracks was on fire from every side. But from the two other rooms men had time to escape and began to save the men who were trapped in that room. But by the time they broke the window, most of them fainted…. Firemen arrived but there was no fire to put out. The corpses of the five dead men were not allowed to be taken out. When the police arrived, they wrote in the report that the barrack got enflamed because of the electrical wires which didn't function well, although the senior fireman said and showed three places where the barrack was set on fire. They also saw on the steps a large oak log which didn't burn out and had served to keep the door closed. Men didn't know why they had been set fire to… The employer bought them tickets back home and clothes. They were given a kind of certificate that their passports had been burnt. The employer gave them money for the way back. He didn't pay them for their work or for the work of those who had died (IOM case file).

And, in three other cases in 2005, victims subjected to physical abuse suffered such extensive violence that they categorized their experience as attempted murder.

Other forms of abuse included poor conditions and denial of basic needs like food, accommodation and medical care, issues discussed above under living conditions. Denial of medical care was not uncommon. Where medical care was allowed, it was almost always at the expense of the trafficked man. One Ukrainian man injured by a fall on the construction site where he was working was forced to spend the little money he had earned on medicine and food toward his recovery (IOM case file).

In only one instance – a case of sex trafficking – was sexual abuse used against a Belarusian man. Amongst Ukrainian men sexual abuse was reported twice in 2006, exacted in combination with physical and psychological abuse

In some countries, like in SEE, traffickers have increasingly used incentives (small payments, improved conditions, less abuse) rather than abuse as a means of controlling

victims and keeping them in their trafficking situation. Treating victims less violently is a means to maximize profit and prevent victims from seeking assistance as well as a response to increased counter-trafficking efforts. When traffickers operate with greater impunity, fearing neither authorities nor consequences, conditions are often akin to slavery and abuse of victims was prolific (Surtees, 2008; cf. Surtees, 2005b). It is worth exploring how the use of abuse may or may not have changed for Belarusian and Ukrainian men over time and in different destination countries.

Abuse was perpetrated primarily by supervisors – in 80.9 per cent of cases Belarusian men and in 54.3 per cent of cases of Ukrainian men. One Ukrainian man trafficked to Russia had hot water poured over his leg by one of the guards at the work site. He was unable to seek treatment and the leg became seriously infected, rendering him unfit for work (IOM case file). In the very few cases of sexual exploitation, abuse was often perpetrated by the victims' client as well as their exploiters.

TABLE 31: PERPETRATOR OF ABUSE AMONGST BELARUSIAN AND UKRAINIAN VICTIMS*

	Perpetrator of abuse	2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian VoTs	Clientele	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
	Supervisor**	21.0	33.3	125.0	110.6	126.0	79.7	271.0	80.9
	Trafficker**	5.0	7.9	11.0	9.7	0	0	16.0	4.8
	Other	2.0	3.2	3.0	2.7	0	0	5.0	1.5
	No response	0	0	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.6	2.0	0.6
	Total	28.0	44.4	140.0	123.9	128.0	81.0	296.0	88.4
Ukrainian VoTs	Clientele	1.0	1.6	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Supervisor**	54.0	85.7	61.0	54.0	67.0	42.4	182.0	54.3
	Trafficker**	0	0	4.0	3.5	0	0	4.0	1.2
	Other	8.0	12.7	47.0	41.6	91.0	57.6	146.0	43.6
	No response	0	0	1.0	0.9	0	0	1.0	0.3
	Total	63.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	158.0	100.0	335.0	100.0

** The total number refers only to those victims who had reported being abused (296 Belarusian and 335 Ukrainian), not to the numbers of assisted victims (344 Belarusian and 341 Ukrainian).*
*** The trafficker refers to the person who took part in the trafficking process including providing information on employment, assisting with transportation and documents, etc. The trafficker may also have bought and/or exploited the individual. The supervisor is the person who supervises the work/exploitation of the trafficked person and may include the work foreman, security, guards, etc.*

Men trafficked from Ukraine and Belarus had different experiences in terms of freedom of movement. In many cases – 47.5 of Belarusian victims and 71.8 per cent of Ukrainian victims assisted between 2004 and 2006 – movement was completely denied.

TABLE 32: FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AMONGST BELARUSIAN & UKRAINIAN VICTIMS

Level of freedom of movement		2004	in %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian VoT	Totally denied	13.0	19.1	60.0	53.1	89.0	55.6	162.0	47.5
	Accompanied	1.0	1.5	25.0	22.1	27.0	16.9	53.0	15.5
	No restrictions	1.0	1.5	61.0	54.0	39.0	24.4	101.0	29.6
	No response	13.0	19.1	11.0	9.7	4.0	2.5	28.0	8.2
	Total	28.0	41.2	157.0	138.9	159.0	99.4	344.0	100.9
Ukrainian VoTs	Totally denied	27.0	39.7	94.0	83.2	124.0	77.5	245.0	71.8
	Accompanied	28.0	41.2	11.0	9.7	29.0	18.1	68.0	19.9
	No restrictions	4.0	5.9	3.0	2.7	2.0	1.3	9.0	2.6
	No response	9.0	13.2	5.0	4.4	5.0	3.1	19.0	5.6
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

A number of men trafficked to Russia reported being constantly under guard and restricted from moving outside the worksite. One Ukrainian man exploited in the construction sector described being kept at an unknown location, surrounded by a high fence and with 24-hour guards and dogs let out at nights as an additional security measure. And more than one Belarusian man trafficked and exploited within Belarus reported being locked up with other workers and guarded by dogs as an additional security precaution. In some cases location of work and living were remote in order to prevent escape. One Belarusian man trafficked to the Czech Republic worked and lived in a remote forest, leaving no possibility for escape, a pattern also noted in other countries. Freedom of movement was also constrained by men's lack of document. In many cases, documents were taken by the employer under the pretext of registering them legally and obtaining work visas. The removal of documents is a strategy used in many destination countries to prevent escape and seeking out assistance (cf. Anti-Slavery International, 2006b).

However, it merits mention that a not insignificant percentage of Belarusian victims (29.6 per cent) also faced no restrictions on their movements while trafficked, although between 2005 and 2006 there was a decrease in these restriction-free conditions, from 54 per cent to 24.4 per cent. When persons are not legally registered in the country, this often serves as a sufficient means of control as documents are regularly checked by authorities and they can be deported as a result.[57]

Many trafficked men received little or no salary while trafficked. When victims were paid, it was generally below the promised salary. One Belarusian man, trafficked to Russia for work on the railway, was promised a salary of 900USD for three months of work but, in the end, received only 100USD. Another, also trafficked to Russia, worked five months as a builder and received only 0.47USD per day; his compatriot worked in construction for 10 hours each day, seven days a week, was prevented from leaving and, in the end, received only 23USD per month. Another man – a well-educated engineer – was exploited in Russia for construction work where he was exposed to extremely poor living and working conditions and received only 0.70USD a day (IOM case file).

Very often, victims received no salary whatsoever. In some cases, men learned that the salary was being paid directly to their recruiter; in other cases men were told that they would be paid when they got back home, payment which never materialized. In still other cases, employers/traffickers did not even maintain the pretext of payment. One Belarusian man, trafficked to Russia, had his passport taken away upon his arrival. He worked for several months but was paid only for the first month, salary which he was forced to return to the exploiter for accommodation and food. He received no further payment and, when he managed to escape, he was without both his documents and any money to return home (IOM case file). One man exploited for agricultural labour in Italy explained his situation; "I lost all hope of ever getting paid the day six of them laid into a big lad who was demanding his pay. After that they dragged him out of the camp, all covered in blood, and dumped him beside the track. They were shouting: 'You've got two hours to clear out, otherwise we'll kill you'" (Bozonnet, 2006).

Victims had few options when faced with non-payment of their salary, as explained by one Ukrainian man trafficked to the Czech Republic:

> "… when we came to get the money after the first month, the owner said he took the money for lodging, food and employment for our salaries and there was nothing left. We had an argument, he began to insult us and we went away with nothing. He also said that those who didn't want to work could leave, as there were other people to take our places. But where could we go? Our families were waiting for the money, and we had already borrowed some money to come there. So we worked for a month more. But again he said he had taken from the salaries money for medical assurance and to continue the visa. So there were only about 100USD left. I was happy to send even this money, as I left my wife and baby daughter at home… When the employer came to visit us, I asked him to pay me the salaries as I was going home [because I was sick]. But he only gave me money for the way home and said

he would pay me the rest when I came back to work after being treated at home. During my five months of work there I earned about 300USD" (IOM case file).

In some cases, when it became clear that they would not be paid, victims left or tried to leave. One Belarusian man trafficked to Russia and exploited as a driver in an industrial area realized soon after his arrival that he was unlikely to get paid. He managed to save small bits of money in order to escape. When the necessary sum was saved, the man fled and returned home by train. Escapes, however, are not uncomplicated and, in some cases, victims reported being prevented from leaving (many were under guard) and beaten for attempts to leave (IOM case file).

In addition to not receiving a salary, many victims were subjected to fines for what was deemed substandard work or 'misbehaviour'. This mechanism prevented men from receiving money owed to them and maintained their debt, obligating them to work for longer periods of time. Workers were regularly subjected to fines for missed days of work, alleged low productivity or substandard work:[58]

"They said some parts of the debt hadn't been worked off, so they reduced a part of the salary for it, the rest of it would be paid later. When we began to speak up, to protest, they began to get at the work we did, they said we did it badly, though we did it well, we had been doing it well all the time. Once they said we had to get ready and get packed. Then they brought us to a police office… We were kept in prison for more than a month. Then our master came to take us, he made us get on a bus again and took us to the airport. We were given our passports back and were told that the company had cancelled the contract with us for not respecting the discipline. We thought it was a joke. We asked him how we had broken the discipline and why we hadn't been paid. But they said we had been working badly and our salary didn't pay for they expenses. We still can't understand why we had been kept in prison and then sent home" (IOM case file).

"Some time after the beginning of work our master gathered us for a meeting and began to make claims about our work. For example, he fined me 150Euro because I demanded gloves" (IOM case file).

"Every one who was five minutes late for work had 40USD taken away from his salary. The same sum of money was taken away for the medical treatment" (IOM case file).

Receiving no payment led some men to seek out the assistance of the police. In some cases, police referred these men for assistance; in other cases, this did not happen.

One Belarusian man, who was without money or documents after several months of forced labour, went to the police. Instead of assisting him, the police deported him and he spent three months in prison for illegal migration/visa violations. In some cases, the exploiter/trafficker contacted the police themselves to deport workers in order that they would not have to pay them. One Belarusian man trafficked to Moscow for construction work explained how on his last day of work, when payment was to be made, he and the other workers were arrested by the immigration police (IOM case file).

Debt can play a significant role in a victim's choices and actions while exploited. Where victims have incurred debt in order to migrate, this can serve to keep them in their trafficking situation, hoping that over time they will be able to repay this debt. To return home without money and in debt (whether to family, recruiter/trafficker or moneylender) can have a catastrophic impact on the social and economic environment of the family or community to which the individual is returning. Where the victim is a man who, according to general social norms, is expected to support his family, a debt may involve too much social shame for him to bear. As one male victim in a recent study put it, "When men come home they are glad that they can bring home at least some money. Otherwise, how can they explain their absence?" (Surtees, 2007c).

The limited information available about debt suggests that it was not necessarily prolific. In 2005, 11 Belarusian victims (or 12.8 per cent) paid debt to the recruiter for different things, including recruitment and transportation, documents and passports, food and accommodation, etc. In 2006, 15 of 146 (or 10.3 per cent) paid debt for accommodation and transportation. All were trafficked to Russia. While there is incomplete information about individual debt obligations of Ukrainian men to recruiters, transporters or exploiters, in 2004, very few (five of 49 or 10.2 per cent) reported owing such debts, all of whom had been trafficked to Russia or the Czech Republic. In 2005, more men (trafficked to UAE, Czech Republic, Poland, Russia and Turkey) reported having incurred debt, 34 of the 62 persons for whom there is this information (or 54.8 per cent). In 2006 – 51.6 per cent of men (trafficked to the Czech Republic, Spain, UK, Russia, Lebanon, Moldova, FYROM, Poland, Portugal, Romania, South Korea and Slovenia)[59] reported having incurred a debt to their trafficker.[60] That being said, where men used family or life savings for migration, the economic impact can be equally problematic. Further, some victims reported being sold and having to pay back the amount that their employer had paid for them. One man assisted in 2004 was required to pay twice the amount of money he had been sold for, which meant four months of unpaid work to pay off the debt. In addition, debt was incurred for a range of trafficking/migration-related things, including documents and visas; transportation; food, clothing and accommodation at the destination; employment arrangements and recruiter fees. The case of one Ukrainian man illustrates the point:

> … When the time of the salary came [the worker] was invited to a room alone (as the others before) and said that he had earned only 300USD in a month of a very hard work. Moreover his salary was reduced 100USD for the food and 100USD for accommodation. So he left the room almost crying, but when he came back to the barrack the recruiter had already been waiting for him and said he had to pay him 100USD for the employment. But as it was the only money left, the recruiter took 50USD and said that he would have to pay back the rest in a month. After that the men understood that there was nothing good to expect from these employers. So they began to wait patiently for the possibility to run away (IOM case file).

Similarly, men trafficked to Italy reported paying a range of fees while exploited – for accommodation (5€ per night in a house with 60 other residents, 3€ per night in a tent), for food (generally only bread and pasta), candles (there was no electricity), transportation to the fields and missed days at work (20€ per day) (Bozonnet, 2006). The use of fines, imposed on victims for "substandard work" or "bad behaviour", also served as a means of control in that it augmented or maintained debt. Some victims also incurred debt for money they borrowed to pay off corrupt authorities who demanded bribes for not deporting illegal workers.

The need and/or desire to earn money for ones' family and/or return home as a successful migrant should not be underestimated as a deterrent to leaving a trafficking situation. One Ukrainian man trafficked to Russia described working twelve hours days and being subjected to regular abuse. Nevertheless, he endured these conditions for several months, not trying to escape, because he needed money to support his family. This is consistent with findings from one study (Surtees, 2007c) which found that some victims will remain in even the most arduous conditions for long periods of time in an effort to realize their original migration objectives. One male victim discussed how failure to find work and earn money for the family left many victims with feelings of shame, to the point that they would rather expose themselves to additional exploitation:

> "I also heard from the men I am working with now that, when they managed to escape the place of exploitation, they didn't go home. And not because they were not exhausted and needed a good rest but because they were ashamed of returning to their families without money. They felt that they were guilty for getting into such a situation… Some of the men didn't tell the truth to anyone. Men prefer to take another chance in a foreign country in order to return home with some money"(Surtees, 2007c).

Similarly, one migrant worker exploited for agriculture in Italy explained: “Some of the people missing may have been killed, but I reckon most are still alive and working somewhere else. They borrowed money from their families to come here. They can’t go straight home after such a failure. Maybe they died of shame” (Bozonnet, 2006). Another man expressed a similar problem, “Some new people had come, others had escaped. I also wanted to escape, but how could I do it without money and documents, how could I arrive home without bringing anything?” (IOM case file).

7. IDENTIFICATION AND ASSISTANCE

This section focuses on trafficked men's experiences of identification and assistance, including how their situation and needs as men may (or may not) differ from those of other trafficked persons and what might be done to most effectively meet these needs.

7.1: Identification and referral of trafficked men

Male victims exited their trafficking situation through different means, including with the assistance of private citizens and anti-trafficking practitioners. However, most men exited trafficking on their own – in 77.6 per cent of Belarusian cases and 46.9 per cent of Ukrainian cases. This was generally through escape, without the knowledge or consent of the trafficker.

Men's ability to exit trafficking differed substantially. Some men were physically prevented from leaving, confined, under constant guard and exposed to violence or threats of violence. In such cases, men often escaped under dramatic circumstances. In one instance, men described evading armed security and guard dogs and digging under the perimeter fence at night to escape the worksite. Others were physically able to leave their situation, but were prevented from leaving by factors such as forfeiture of their salary, retribution against their families, debt at home or to the trafficker, fear of being an illegal migrant, the threat of destitution and, in some cases, not knowing where to go for help. Often their exit from trafficking only occurred when it became clear that they would not receive any payment for their work.

Some victims were released by their traffickers/exploiters but given only enough money for transportation home. Others had to borrow money from family or relatives to pay for their return home, a serious problem where victims or their families have already incurred debt to facilitate the initial migration. Still other men continued to work in the destination country after their escape to earn money to return home. And other men were forced to make their way home without money or documents. One Belarusian man trafficked to Moscow was never paid for his work and was without documents. He did not know where to seek out assistance but managed to return home by hitchhiking (IOM case file). Another man trafficked to the former Soviet Union literally walked home, hundreds of miles, forced to beg for food along the way:

> "I didn't have my passport with me… I was afraid that I would be caught by the traffickers… I had neither documents nor money but they didn't want to

help me. I asked them what I could do to get my passport. They said I could go to [my embassy in the capital] and ask there for a new passport… I was exhausted. I didn't have any documents and money. I had nothing to eat. I had to go begging from village to village heading for [the capital]" (Surtees, 2007c).

Other men exited trafficking with the assistance and intervention of private citizens (like family or relatives) or authorities (like law enforcement or NGOs). In a particularly striking case, a group of Ukrainian sailors and seamen were held on a Russian ship for several months, forced to work in illegal fishing. They were freed through the intervention of Russian border police which intercepted the ship (IOM case file).

TABLE 33: EXIT FROM TRAFFICKING, BELARUSIAN AND UKRAINIAN VICTIMS, 2004-2006

		2004	In %	2005	in %	2006	in %	Total	Total in %
Belarusian VoTs	Family intervention	0	0	3.0	1.9	3.0	1.9	6.0	1.7
	NGO intervention	4.0	14.3	0	0	0	0	4.0	1.2
	Law enforcement	1.0	3.6	7.0	4.5	2.0	1.3	10.0	2.9
	Self	22.0	78.6	134.0	85.4	111.0	69.8	267.0	77.6
	Friend	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Other	1.0	3.6	9.0	5.7	41.0	25.8	51.0	14.8
	No response	0	0	4.0	2.5	2.0	1.3	6.0	1.7
	Total	28.0	100.0	157.0	100.0	159.0	100.0	344.0	100.0
Ukrainian VoTs	Family intervention	0	0	1.0	0.9	2.0	1.3	3.0	0.9
	NGO intervention	2.0	2.9	1.0	0.9	0	0	3.0	0.9
	Law enforcement	7.0	10.3	12.0	10.6	38.0	23.8	57.0	16.7
	Self	42.0	61.8	52.0	46.0	66.0	41.3	160.0	46.9
	Friend	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.6	1.0	0.3
	Other	16.0	23.5	45.0	39.8	52.0	32.5	113.0	33.1
	No response	1.0	1.5	2.0	1.8	1.0	0.6	4.0	1.2
	Total	68.0	100.0	113.0	100.0	160.0	100.0	341.0	100.0

Importantly, exiting trafficking does not automatically lead to safety and assistance. One recent study of trafficking (Surtees, 2007c) – which included many cases of exploitation in the former Soviet Union, SEE and the EU – noted the not uncommon failure of authorities to identify victims, even when told about their exploitation. One man explained how, when he was hospitalized, the attending doctor provided no assistance in escaping his situation:

> "You know, when I was exploited there [in the destination country], I once fainted and the owner took me to the hospital. There the doctor asked me why I didn't have any registration. I told him that my owner didn't let me leave the territory I worked. He seemed to have understood the situation I got into… I felt safe at that moment. I thought I would stay there for a long time and I would be able to go home… I was there for three days. On the third day the doctor told me that the treatment was over and the costs were covered by a charity organization. When I went out of the hospital, I saw my owner waiting for me. Then he took me back to the place I had worked before" (Surtees, 2007c).

Another man trafficked to the former Soviet Union was detained by law enforcement because of his lack of documents and, despite explaining his situation, was not identified as a victim of trafficking: "It was very difficult for me to spend these four months in the police station. Nobody believed me" (Surtees, 2007c).

In some situations, the failure to identify men as trafficking victims led to re-trafficking or continued exploitation. With no money, no information about assistance and no means of return home, men may have few options. One man exploited for labour was "assisted" to escape by a man who then exploited him as a labourer on his own rural farm, literally miles from any avenue of escape. The man was forced to work there for many months, unable to leave and received no payment (Surtees 2007c).

Another issue for many victims was that they did not know where to go for help when they independently exited trafficking and/or following their return home:

> "I knew nothing about the assistance available for trafficking victims. I didn't know who to address in the destination country in case I needed help. I thought I could go only to the police. There I didn't have enough courage to go to the police because the [traffickers] used to say that they bought the police. They threatened me with death in case I went to the police. I was afraid".
>
> No, I didn't know anything about any possible assistance anywhere (Surtees, 2007c).

Access to assistance seemed to be particularly "invisible" to victims when in destination countries. A number of victims called helplines in their home countries because they did not know where to seek support in the destination country, even where helplines existed. Part of the issue in some countries may be that assisting agencies have limited access and means of outreach to victims because of the specific legal or government framework of anti-trafficking. For example, in some countries, service providers are not afforded access to prisons and detentions centres to screen irregular migrants or unaccompanied minors as potential victims of trafficking. Inadequate intervention by labour inspectors, immigration authorities and police also means a missed entry point for identification and referrals (Surtees, 2007b, 2007c).

That being said, many victims were identified and referred for assistance. In Belarus, referrals were through law enforcement – for example, when the person was deported and border guards interviewed and identified him as trafficked. Referrals also took place through IOM missions or NGOs abroad or via helplines, when trafficked persons or their relatives called for assistance. In the case of a victim's self-referral, this generally took place through "word of mouth", with trafficked persons accessing assistance upon the recommendation of a trusted friend or former victim.[61] In Ukraine, trafficked persons often sought out the assistance of Ukrainian NGOs upon their return home or were referred to them by law enforcement.[62] Other referrals took place through embassies, consulates, medical institutions and international and national hot-lines.[63] In the case of Ukrainian sailors and seamen trafficked to Russia for fishing, one of the men's parents contacted the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) for help following their detainment by the Russian border police. The Ministry then played a role in their identification and subsequent referral to IOM and NGOs in their home communities.

7.2: Assistance to male trafficking victims

The not insignificant number of men exposed to trafficking necessitates assistance tailored to their specific needs and interests.[64] However, at present, assistance is not always designed in ways that respond to the needs of male trafficking victims. Indeed in many countries assistance has been developed with a specific focus on women, particularly those trafficked for sexual exploitation. For example, much assistance is residentially-based and current facilities do not generally lend themselves to mixed-sex accommodation. Further, the assumption that most trafficking is for sexual exploitation has meant that much medical attention has been focused on issues of sexual and reproductive health rather than the breadth of physical injury possible in cases of, for example, forced labour. As such, while there is a general package of

services available to trafficked persons, it may not always be sufficiently relevant for and accessible to trafficked males and/or victims of other forms of exploitation. More attention needs to be paid to identifying the specific assistance and protection needs of male trafficking victims, linked to the individual's trafficking experience. Given that the vast majority of men from Belarus and Ukraine were trafficked for forced labour, it is valuable to consider issues specific to this form of exploitation. At the same time, assistance must be flexible and responsive to males with different trafficking experiences (sexual exploitation, begging/delinquency, etc.) and how males experience exploitation and assistance in different national, social and cultural settings. And we must be open to the possibility that interventions which work in one country may not be appropriate for other countries; similarly, what makes sense in one area of a country may not be equally effective in another region of the country. Lack of appropriate assistance for males may not only translate into a failure to meet male needs but may even amplify their vulnerability to exploitation and even re-trafficking (Surtees, 2007c, 2007b, 2008a).

The standard package of assistance for trafficked persons generally includes accommodation (sometimes short term, sometimes longer term), medical care, psychological assistance, education and vocational training, economic opportunities, legal assistance, security and protection and reintegration support. Interviews with trafficked men indicate these services are relevant in their assistance and recovery process, although how these interventions are designed and implemented may differ substantially. Tailoring of services to male victims is needed, not least according to their trafficking experience, whether they are a minor or adult and the family and social conditions to which they will be returning.

Accommodation and housing assistance are generally needed by trafficked persons, in the short term as well as for longer periods of time. In some cases, there is a need for emergency accommodation in the destination (and also origin) country while victims are stabilized or legal proceedings are pursued (whether court cases or processing legal documents). However, this option was generally lacking for males in many countries, both minors and adults. For example, a 16-year-old male minor trafficked for begging within SEE was temporarily accommodated in the shelter for foreign (female) victims while his documents were secured but, because the shelter was not equipped to accommodate an unaccompanied male victim and no other services were identified, he was sent home unaccompanied by train after only a few days and in spite of the fact that his mother had been involved in his trafficking (Surtees, 2005b; cf. Surtees, 2006). Similarly, four Ukrainian men trafficked for forced labour in the construction industry in Montenegro agreed to testify against their trafficker and, as witnesses, required residential assistance (and security) for the duration of court proceedings. However, the only accommodation available was an NGO shelter,

which accommodated female victims of trafficking (Surtees 2005b: 402). Longer term housing options were also needed by some men. For one adult male, who returned home after several years of exploitation to find his apartment occupied, short and long term accommodation was his central assistance need. Unsuccessful in his petition to the courts to have his property returned and without family with whom he could live, he was left homeless. At the time of the interview (some years after his identification), he was still without a solution to this problem, living temporarily with friends or in shelters (Surtees, 2007c). That being said, in some countries men are provided with assistance with housing options, although this largely depends on the individual's needs and the funds available in the country of origin.[65]

Medical assistance was another primary area of need, particularly when men had been exploited for labour. Some health problems were linked to the conditions of work and many trafficked persons returned home with serious illnesses and health issues, as discussed above. Occupational health and safety also commonly impacted workers, with work related injuries commonly experienced and occupational accidents more likely amongst illegal migrants. Failure to provide workers with protective clothing was common place in many worksites, leaving them at risk of infection, poisoning and injury. The agricultural sector, for example, exposed migrants to pesticides and chemicals, which have been linked to high incidences of depression, headaches and neurological disorders. Further, industrial accidents tend to be higher amongst migrants workers because of poor safety measures (Carballo & Mboup, 2005: 8-9). Further, typical ways of coping with stressful situations like trafficking and post-trafficking (such as smoking and alcohol abuse) may also have a negative impact on the immediate and long term physical health of the trafficked person.

Trafficking is generally associated with trauma and other psychological issues, although most research and information on the links between the two are based on trafficking for sexual exploitation.[66] Little attention has been paid to the links between labour trafficking and trauma or how different profiles of victims (male vs. female, adult vs. minor) experience trafficking and trauma. However, interviews with men trafficked from both Belarus and Ukraine suggests that many manifested psychological scars as a result of trafficking. One Ukrainian man trafficked to Russia managed to escape after several months of severe exploitation and made his way home. Upon arrival he was deeply depressed and, according to assisting organizations, needed psychological and medical assistance. Similarly, a group of Ukrainian men trafficked to Russia faced similar trafficking-related traumas. In this case, the men were locked in their barracks which were set alight by their supervisors while they were sleeping, resulting in the death of five workers. An investigation by the fire inspector indicated that the fire was deliberately set and doors sealed to prevent escape. Those who survived returned home not only in need of medical assistance but also deeply

depressed by their own experience of attempted murder and by the death of their five colleagues. Many felt responsible for not being able to prevent their deaths. That they could not return homes with money for the families of the deceased amplified their depression (IOM case files). Being in an exploitative situation for long periods of time likely has an impact on the individual's feeling of control and self efficacy, essential to good mental health, and may also result in feelings of dependency and connection with the exploiter (Free the Slaves & Human Rights Centre, 2004: 37). In situations of captivity, the psychology of the perpetrator is shaped by the actions of the perpetrator and, in an effort to establish control, techniques of disempowerment and disconnection are used to instil terror and destroy the victim's sense of self (Herman, 1992). There is also the psychological impact of "migration" to consider – a process in which men often incur debt and high costs to travel/migrate, work in abusive and poor conditions, fear of expulsion when illegally in the country of work, having incurred debt and being separated from family and community (Carballo & Mboup, 2005: 4-5). More generally, economic hardship is a source of anxiety, psychological distress and impaired mental health, which can translate into high risk behaviours, like alcohol abuse and also have a direct effect on an individual's health (Nygard et al., 2003: 44).

However, not all men were psychologically traumatized by their experience (not all were exposed to such extreme levels of abuse and exploitation) and many seem to have experienced trafficking more as failed migration than trafficking exploitation. It is, therefore, worth considering what aspects of trafficking/exploitation, for men, may contribute to psychological problems and trauma. For example, what is the psychological impact of having been exploited for labour? Do men experience exploitation in different ways than women or is it more closely informed by individual and social contributors? To what extent does failed migration (and the inability to return home with money) play a role in trauma and psychological problems? Further, it merits mention that the provision of psychological assistance is complicated in many environments, particularly countries of the former Soviet Union. Many trafficked persons manifested a general antipathy toward psychological assistance an antipathy which seemed to be particularly acute amongst men. As one male victim explained, while medical assistance was important to provide: "… there shouldn't be mentioned psychological assistance because many men are afraid of these words" (Surtees, 2007c). This is arguably consistent with the general attitude to psychology/psychiatry in the former Soviet Union where psychologists are seen to play a controlling function in society and who designate people as sane or insane. Even where the value of this assistance was recognized, it was often not deemed socially acceptable to accept it and many people feared being classified as insane. For many, to visit a psychologist was tantamount to admitting to a mental disease. Many also feared that their decision to consult a psychologist would be part of their permanent record and have negative consequences, like influencing their ability to get a job (Nygard et al., 2003: 46-7).

For all trafficked persons, encouraging educational and/or economic prospects is of vital importance. According to IOM field staff working directly with trafficked men, one of the main problems faced by men upon return (and often also prior to trafficking) is economic – the lack of employment opportunities at home (including seasonal or irregular employment), low salaries when working, poor conditions of work when it is available, etc. As such, access to viable and sustainable economic opportunities is needed by trafficked men as well as trafficked persons more generally. This might translate into the need for educational or technical development – i.e. educational reinsertion, vocational training, literacy classes, small business training, etc. It might equally require assistance with job placement and access to income generation activities in the country of origin.[67] This requires careful attention not only to the profile of the trafficked men (their education, skills, work experience) but equally the economic environments into which they are to be reintegrated. Sustainable economic development – at both a macro and micro level – is needed, although how to specifically meet the needs of men requires further consideration. One key issue to be considered is the pressure felt by many men to provide for their families which may, in many circumstances, result in their decision to stay abroad and look for additional work or, following their repatriation, return abroad for work. Many of the Belarusian and Ukrainian men considered in this study took just such decisions, consistent with findings from other countries[68] and, for that matter, many trafficked women. One Ukrainian man trafficked to Russia for construction was abused, suffered serious injuries and received not payment. However, when he managed to escape, he did not return home immediately but rather went to Moscow to look for work to earn money for his family. He worked for three months, saving 160USD, after which he returned home (IOM case file). To return home without having attained some economic success may negatively impact the reintegration of many men (in their family and community) as well as have a deleterious effect on their self-esteem.

The legal issues faced by trafficked persons – both at home and abroad – are myriad and trafficked men are no exception. Many Belarusian and Ukrainian men returned home with no documents and had committed some migration and even criminal violation, albeit in the context of their trafficking. Significantly, while it is widely accepted that trafficked persons should not be held accountable for crimes committed as a result of their trafficking,[69] this was not always the case. One man explained how his attempt to return home without documents resulted in arrest and imprisonment.

> "Without passports… we crossed the customs area during night time, illegally. We got off the train in the vicinity of the border and we exited. We crossed through the woods. When we already set foot on the territory, we were apprehended by the border guards, who returned us back to the customs. They detained us there for three days. We told them the actual truth. They treated

> us well. They bought us food. They said that we had to wait for the arrival of a law enforcement officer… We had confidence in the major, who comprehended our situation… We were led to a police officer in the town where we once more told our story. The officer detached a team of the federal security bureau to the location where we were exploited. Regretfully, after they arrived at the mentioned location, they found no one there and also not our passports… They took us to a "detoxification centre". We were held there for two days. They fed us there. Afterwards they took us to an investigatory isolation ward. There we remained for three months… We had been punished… They said that, first of all, they had no proof that I was a victim, and secondly, I violated the law" (Surtees, 2007c).

Assistance may also be needed to address other legal issues which have arisen in the trafficked man's absence, whether dealing with property disputes, custody and divorce issues (where families have split up as a result of trafficking), accessing new identity and travel documents (to access state services) or addressing legal problems, like illegal migration.

Reintegration support includes many of the service outlined above but, in addition, may also involve other assistance and services designed to meet the specific obstacles to social inclusion. When family reunification takes place after trafficking, there is evidence to suggest that it can and often is very problematic. Partners have often become distant and may even have found new partners during the period of separation; others have idealized their family relations in ways which can not be realized in practice (Carballo & Mboup, 2005: 5). Where mothers/wives have lived alone and supported their family, the return of the male head of household may be both positive and disruptive, impacting their sense of control and autonomy and causing tension and discord. Children may not know or feel comfortable with the returning parent or may be angry with the parent for their absent. In addition, the problems faced by returning men – whether health problems, psychological issues, financial problems, etc. – may manifest as stress, anger or depression, which result in tensions and problems within the family. How men experience their return to family and how they fit back into the family merits some thought. For example, typically in Belarus and Ukraine, the man is seen as the head of household. However, migration generally requires that his wife (or female relative) assumes that role. Negotiating new roles and responsibilities upon return, therefore, will not be uncomplicated for either the man or his family. Programmes offering family counselling and mediation (including parenting skills, relationship counselling) can be helpful in reconciling families and mending relationships damaged by the trafficking separation. Further, as with trafficked persons generally, there is value in considering assistance to the family as a whole as family problems (social and economic) can lead to trafficking and re-traf-

ficking. Where family problems contributed, in some way, to past trafficking, this is particularly pressing.[70]

Social reintegration more generally may also be an issue for trafficked men, with members of the community arguably less than empathetic about their experiences of exploitation. One trafficked man explained how social pressure results in many men not seeking out assistance: "They would never request assistance from organizations because they will be mocked and laughed at by their relatives. A man must manage his problems by himself" (Surtees, 2007c). Such dynamics require a consideration of reintegration obstacles specific to trafficked males, including how these can be addressed in the design of reintegration support and assistance.

In many countries the issue of security is key in the provision of assistance and protection. And many men trafficked from Ukraine and Belarus had security concerns, having been threatened not to report their experience to the police or authorities. That so many had been exposed to violence and abuse while trafficked lent credence to these threats. It is plausible that not only has this stopped many men from going to the authorities but may have also prevented many others from seeking out and accepting assistance.[71] In the absence of individual and on-going risk assessments it is difficult to assess the extent to which security constitutes a risk to victims, whether male or female.[72] However, failure to consider safety and protection needs did have very real impact on some trafficked men. One SEE man trafficked to the EU for labour faced both violence and threats when he reported his case to authorities and gave a statement against his traffickers. He was rapidly returned home without any attention to potential security issues and has since been under threat by his traffickers, forced to live in different locations to hide from his exploiters:

> "This thing put me on the road for over two years now. I lived with rent for more than a year and then we moved to my wife's mother but then we had to leave because the traffickers found out where we were. So we moved again to a relative of my wife. We don't know how long we'll stay here. I think the only possibility that we have is to leave the country. My sister told me that those people threatened to run me over with the car if they found me" (Surtees, 2007c).[73]

The provision of temporary (and permanent) residence permits (TRPs) is one means by which some of the immediate security risks can be addressed.[74] Also important are mechanisms for witness/victim protection when cooperating with law enforcement not only during the trial but also beforehand and following the trial. That being said, one study in SEE found that many victims faced no threats or retribution and returned home safely, highlighting that risks are not the same for all trafficked persons. Overly

emphasizing safety issues may impede the recovery of victims, causing stress and anxiety in ways that may prevent them from returning home or to "normal life". There is a need to carefully balance the possible security risks with attention to the need to return to normalcy in daily life (Surtees, 2007c). Particular attention is needed to how men's security issues do (and do not) differ from women and relative to different trafficking experiences.

7.3: Perceptions and issues in the identification and assistance of trafficked men

Even where different forms of assistance were available (and much needed) – for example, medical care, counselling, legal assistance – men were not always inclined to seek it out or accept it. Men interviewed for one study of identification and assistance (Surtees, 2007c) explained this in different ways:

> First of all they find it very difficult psychologically… They don't tell all the details of what they have been through, though some of my colleagues told me absolutely horrible things. For example, many men were exploited physically until their health was almost ruined. But they don't say that and they don't even ask for medical assistance
>
> And many of them don't go to see their doctors [but are] still suffering from some chronic diseases, having problems with their spine, stomach, hernia.
>
> Only if there are some serious problems with health or the man has nowhere to stay. As far as I know, men don't like losing time visiting doctors or to be far from families. As I have told you, it is more difficult for them to accept assistance and when it is accepted, it should be immediately offered (until they change their mind) and in a short period of time.

In some cases, men may not see themselves either as trafficked or exploited. Far too commonly, exploitation is a normative aspect of migrant labour and many migrant workers may see their trafficking as bad luck rather than a serious human rights violation. This lack of awareness of their own exploitation has a direct and serious impact in terms of decisions about identification and assistance. In essence, one will not accept or seek out intervention when one does not recognize that one has been exploited. A study on why some trafficked persons decline assistance found that one main factor was that many women did not see themselves as trafficking victims. The association between trafficking and forced prostitution (often at the exclusion of other forms of exploitation) is one aspect of this conceptualization. In addition, some

victims of trafficking assume trafficking occurs only in extreme situations and, having seen that other experiences are worse than their own, do not associate their experience with trafficking. Others may feel that their own involvement with the trafficker (i.e. agreement to go abroad, complicity in illegal work or border crossing, etc.) means that they are not really victims. In still other situations, trafficked persons may feel that the situation they are in may be the best deal they can hope for, if the alternative is to be at home and have no earnings (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2007). As well, where exploitation is temporary, migrants may be sufficiently able to focus on the gains to be earned such that they may not see their situation as one of exploitation or marginalization (Tyuryukanova, 2005: 66, cf. Anti-Slavery International 2006a). This, too, influences the extent to which assistance is seen as needed or even appropriate.

Further, even where men recognized their experience as one of exploitation, the terminology of "trafficking victim" and the social construction that this entailed was often problematic for men and one which, for the most part, they rejected. Surtees (2007c) found many examples of this pattern amongst interviewed men:

> "How to say this? I don't think I am a victim. It is even ridiculous for me to think that I am a victim.
>
> I think that any man will not like this word attributed to him. It sounds more like a comic insult. People around him can mock him, especially if these men are young, without any life experience and who don't realize the possibility of men's exploitation.
>
> Assistance should be organized in such a way that nobody knows. The man himself should go to the place where this assistance is provided. The farther this place is from his home, the more sure you can be that nobody will learn about this. Only in case a man is seriously ill and can't move, then the assistance should be provided at home but no one will be jealous of him".

Brunovskis & Surtees (2007) also raise the issue of "victimhood" as a construction which is at odds with an individual's sense of self and, by implication, a potential inhibitor to accepting and accessing assistance. Similarly, a study of forced labour in Portugal found that many migrants did not see themselves as victim (Pereira & Vasconcelos, 2006). To self-represent as a "victim" may not mesh with a man's sense of self or the social ideal of manhood. In many communities this means being strong, self-sufficient and able to care not only for oneself but also for one's family, as noted in Surtees (2007c):

> Men think that they are stronger and they have to find a way out of a difficult situation by themselves without asking for help.

> Many men don't tell about what happened to them. They are ashamed of the fact that they were tricked and lied to... A man must manage his problems by himself.
>
> In general in our community men are not to complain about anything. A man should be strong, to overcome all of the difficulties with fortitude.

This is consistent with findings from one study in Russia which noted that, to the extent that it is possible to talk about a Russian mentality, it could be said that it is based on a strong admiration of strength, to be able to cope and endure. While it may be acceptable and even expected that women, children and the elderly manifest some weakness, adult men are expected to strong all of the time (Nygard et al., 2003: 56). Similar observations have been made about Ukrainian and Belarusian men and this ideal arguably has an impact on how men see themselves and, by implication, what they will accept in terms of assistance. The need to rely on assistance seemingly lowered the person in some people's estimation and, in some cases, seemed to be particularly an issue amongst men who, according to social norms, should be able to take care of themselves as well as their families, as discussed in Surtees (2007c):[75]

> "… at least where we live, people don't regard you well if you ask for assistance from state organizations… Usually, assistance is requested by drunkards or people that don't want to work to maintain themselves.
>
> Most people do not believe that it was really impossible to exit the slavery. … They think if such things happened to you, you are stupid. And stupid people do not stand high in people's esteem… So, you should scramble out of the situation yourself".
>
> … and blame too. I suppose that in my village people would blame me saying that "after such disgraceful behavior, he doesn't deserve to be helped".

As a result, it is not only about what services and interventions are developed but also how these interventions are made known to the target group. Advertizing services must consider what message will (and will not) be appropriate and accessible to a male audience. Given that the category of "victim" may not be well received by many men, it might be more successful to target men as "migrants" or "workers". As one victim put it, "if it is possible, even to avoid the word 'victim' because men don't like to be victims" (Surtees, 2007c). Male staff may also play a role in terms of willingness to accept assistance. Men may be (or may be perceived to be) better able to understand male concerns about exploitation and assistance and be better equipped to package

interventions in ways that appeal to this target group. Men may also be more willing to accept assistance from men as they may feel shame at their failed migration in front of women and/or may not feel that women are equipped to address their very personal and specific experiences.[76] Take, for example, the suggestion of one trafficked man in terms of how to reach out to men: "It should be the man's voice. I don't think men will trust an announcement read by a woman. This should be done only by a man, maybe even by a man who has such experience" (Surtees, 2007c). Further, other victims can play a role in promoting assistance. One Ukrainian man exploited in Russia learned about assistance from a man with whom he had been trafficked and who had already accepted and been satisfied with the assistance. That the information came from another man and a trusted someone was central in his decision to accept assistance (IOM case file).

More generally, issues of confidentiality were of importance to trafficked persons, including men, making it important that interventions take place in a confidential way and that outreach to trafficked men and boys (as well as victims generally) ensure their confidentiality:[77] In one study (Surtees, 2007c), former male victims explained how fears about confidentiality impacted which organizations men were willing to contact:

> I don't think that men will address a state organization because they think that this information will easily become public knowledge. The mayor of the village and the police officer will learn about this.
>
> And if they tell their families that they need some money for a treatment – the costs of a treatment are quite high in our country – then their secret can be disclosed.

Finally, but importantly, given the complicated terrain being navigated in the design of programmes and interventions for men, the need for engagement with and inputs from former and current male victims is vital. Surtees (2007c) found that engaging victims in a discussion of their experiences (positive and negative) as well as seeking their inputs in the design and implementation of programmes can ensure that interventions are victim-centred and grounded in the lived realities of the range of victims they are intended to support and assist.[78] Trafficked persons are the ones who can best identify and communicate their needs and systems of intervention and assistance which are designed, implemented and adjusted in a participatory manner are more effective, efficient and ultimately humanistic. It can also serve to potentially empower victims – putting their opinions on equal footing with those of the professionals – which can play an important role in the recovery process. In addition, engaging with victims

must be an on-going process, affording the possibility for victims to give feedback into programmes and interventions. In terms of men, this engagement is particularly vital as so much assistance has not taken into account the specific needs, interest and perceptions of trafficked men.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Discussed above are the specific experiences of trafficked men of Belarusian and Ukrainian nationality. While not representative of all trafficked men, these experiences highlight some general patterns not only in terms of how trafficking takes place from these countries but equally some of the needs and interests of this specific target group. And, as such, it serves as a step toward better understanding how men experience and react to trafficking for different forms of exploitation as well as relative to other profiles of victims. Five main themes emerge from these findings, meriting attention in moving forward in working with trafficked persons, both male and female.

Consider the gender dimensions of trafficking

Perhaps the most important finding of this study is the most obvious – that there is a need to better understand and appreciate the gender dimensions of trafficking. A common assumption is that women and children (rather than people in general) are acutely vulnerable to trafficking. That is, women are generally seen as trafficking victims in need of protection and services and men often overlooked as unlucky migrants after suffering many of the same abuses and violations. While there are likely situations and environments where this is the case, the situation in Belarus and Ukraine makes clear that this is not inevitable. Being a man (or a woman) in many environments may create conditions which make one particularly prone to migration and, by implication, potentially at risk of trafficking. Understanding personal factors, the general socio-economic environment and their intersection with risk, is vital in addressing trafficking from both a prevention and protection perspective. As importantly, the assistance needs of men will not be universal and it is important to understand how men experience exploitation and assistance in different national, social and cultural settings. Engaging with victims of both sexes is important toward uncovering how, from their experience, sex and gender impacted their risk of trafficking, their exploitation and their access to and experiences of identification and assistance.

Design anti-trafficking interventions through a gendered lens

Assumptions about sex and gender inform how anti-trafficking measures are undertaken, including in terms of what services and assistance are offered, assumptions which, arguably, have not always been firmly grounded in the lived realities of men and women. Gender needs to be considered in terms of trafficking vulnerability, on the

one hand, and, on the other hand, individual's post-trafficking needs, including protection and assistance. As such, it is important to pay attention to socially constructed assumptions about gender and gender roles in terms of how we design and implement anti-trafficking efforts. These social constructions will vary from situation to situation and, thus, this design must also attend to national, social and cultural differences. As importantly, men and women should be included in this design and adjustment process to ensure that their individual experiences and needs are adequately considered and that we attend to how they, as women and men, see, understand and make decisions about anti-trafficking interventions, including their willingness to engage with and participate in these interventions.

Conduct victim-centred research and evaluation on the subject trafficking in men and boys

Research should be the essential starting point for all anti-trafficking programmes, policy and interventions. Equally important, such programmes should be regularly monitored and evaluated to assess their impact, both positive and negative. In the case of trafficked men and boys, there is a dearth of information not only in terms of how this trafficking takes place and is experienced but also in terms of what can be done on a practical level to address this less considered trend, in terms of prevention, protection and prosecution. More research on this particular aspect of trafficking, then, is urgently needed. It is vital that such research and evaluations be undertaken from the perspective of trafficked men and boys themselves, including their individual experiences, their assessment of their needs and how they value the anti-trafficking interventions they have experienced. As importantly, all such research must be undertaken ethically and sensitively and according to strict protocols, which ensure the anonymity and confidentiality of respondents as well as garner their informed consent and voluntary participation.

Funding needed for all profiles of victims, including trafficked men and boys

Currently much anti-trafficking work and funding focuses specifically (and sometimes exclusively) on trafficking of women and children. Few programmes directly target trafficked men or boys and donors have not always made resources available for male victims. Where there are indications of trafficking in males, both donors and anti-trafficking organizations should be prepared to attend to the needs of this profile of victims, including allocating adequate funding for appropriate in-

terventions. Further, all anti-trafficking interventions should have within the scope of their work the possibility to adapt their activities in accordance with emerging trends and patterns, including cases of trafficked males. In some cases, programmes will be able to adapt their current activities to include male victims; in others this may require the development of male-specific programmes and interventions. Donor flexibility is essential in ensuring that the needs of trafficked males as well as females are considered and addressed.

Consider other aspects of identity which impact risk and intervention needs

Importantly, sex is not the only variable impacting risk, vulnerability and assistance needs. It is equally important to note how trafficking vulnerability may differ according not only to sex but also to other identifiers like age, ethnicity, education or class and a diversity of experiences. In each social, economic and political context, issues of identity play a vital role in shaping behaviours and actions. Better understanding the social terrain upon which trafficking plays out (and anti-trafficking interventions, therefore, need to take place) is essential in efforts to combat this serious violation. As importantly, it is arguably the case that these social and cultural conditions (those that generate the problem of trafficking) are simultaneously the key to their remedy. Recognition of the value of cultural understanding would represent a significant step forward given that cultural information and social dynamics are generally inadequately considered in anti-trafficking activities.

ENDNOTES

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2. NEXUS Institute to Combat Human Trafficking is a Vienna-based multi-disciplinary policy and research centre dedicated to conducting research and analysis to serve as the basis for better-informed and more effective counter-trafficking laws, policies and practices. NEXUS has produced a number of trafficking studies including on why trafficking victims decline assistance; child trafficking for labour and begging in South-Eastern Europe (SEE); victim's experiences of identification and assistance in SEE; victim assistance programmes in SEE; labour trafficking and anti-trafficking measures; traffickers profiles and behaviours; and child trafficking in Sierra Leone.
3. Drawing upon data held within the Counter-trafficking Module Database (CTM), the thematic research series will specifically address contemporary issues in the area of human trafficking. Subsequent reports will be published in 2008 and will be available via www.iom.int. Key themes include: re-trafficking; trafficking and issues of social exclusion; and traffickers and organized crime.
4. While adult men were the majority of males trafficked from Ukraine and Belarus, a small percentage (2.6 %) were minors at the time of assistance. As such, this paper deals primarily with trafficked men and, to a far lesser degree, trafficked male minors.
5. This Protocol is one of the three protocols which supplement the UN *Convention on Trans-national Organised Crime*, adopted by the UN General Assembly on November 15, 2000 (United Nations, 2000b).
6. Article 3(b) emphasizes that 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." Furthermore, article 3 (c) stresses that the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring, or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation, "shall be considered 'trafficking in persons' even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article".
7. While the Palermo Protocol refers only to trafficking for sexual exploitation, forced labour or organ removal, this study refers to data collected through the CTM relating to trafficking for: adoption; low level criminal activity (primarily begging/delinquency); forced labour; and sexual exploitation. Each of these forms of trafficking are defined below. These are IOM's working definitions, based on various publications and sources and are subject to on-going discussion and revision.

- **Sexual exploitation**: This includes a range of different forms including prostitution, pornography, exotic dancing or forced marriage (IOM, 2007, cf. Surtees 2005b: 35).
- **Forced labour**: This includes all work or service which is extracted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily (International Labour Organization (ILO) 1930).
- **Low level criminal activity**: This involves individuals being forced to engage in any number of petty or 'low level' criminal tasks such as begging, delinquency, petty crime, theft, robbery, pimping and drug dealing (Surtees, 2005b: 38; cf. Surtees, 2006).
- **Adoption**: Trafficking for adoption is not addressed within the Palermo Protocol and is not well developed conceptually in the literature or in national laws. Determining what might constitute trafficking for adoption requires a detailed, case-by-case assessment as well as a more generalized agreement about the meaning of exploitation when referring to the transfer of children for adoption (Surtees, 2005a). Adoption in the context of trafficking may include cases where a child is taken from the birth/biological mother or father without consent and permanently placed with a parent or parents other than the birth/biological mother or father. A case may also constitute trafficking when a child is sold for adoption by one or more parent. Trafficking for adoption may also take place in the context of other forms of trafficking; for example, where women trafficked for sexual exploitation fall pregnant and are forced to relinquish their parental rights. Adoption may also serve as a cover for exploitation for other purposes.

8. The term "victim" has generated much debate in the context of violence against women with many arguing that it implies powerlessness, rather than resilience. However, in the area of human rights and protection, the term "victim" is used to refer to someone experiencing injustice for which the perpetrator is responsible. It indicates that the person or persons experiencing human rights violations have the right to protection, assistance and reparation. Where the term "victim" is used in this report it is done to highlight the rights of the victim to protection as well as the responsibilities of government and civil society to afford this protection (Surtees, 2005b: 21). At the same time, this report also uses the term "trafficked person" because, as is discussed later in this paper as well as other studies, the term victim is not always or entirely palatable to trafficked persons and alternative terminology is worth exploring, in discussion with anti-trafficking professionals as well as trafficked persons themselves (see Brunovskis & Surtees 2007, Surtees 2008a).
9. The data presented in this paper refers to the years 2004, 2005 and 2006. Cases of trafficking in males were recorded by both IOM Kiev and IOM Minsk in years prior to 2004. However, due to technical difficulties and insufficient staffing, these datasets are incomplete and, therefore, are not included. Just prior to publication,

data for 2007 also became available. While it is outside the scope of this paper to analyse in detail the 2007 dataset, some general points are worth noting. In 2007, fewer males from Belarus were identified and assisted than the previous year – a decrease from 157 in 2005 and 159 in 2006 to 23. Consistent with previous years, most were adult men, between 18 and 44 years who were trafficked to Russia for forced labour. In 2007, 247 Ukrainian males were identified and assisted by IOM and its partners, a marked increase from 160 the previous year. Ukrainian males were predominantly aged between 18-44 years and were generally trafficked to Russia for forced labour, consistent with previous years. A number were also trafficked to Poland, Portugal, the Czech Republic, Germany and Italy. Austria featured as a new destination in 2007. In Ukraine, recent attention has been paid to increasing awareness of trafficking in men, through information campaigns, which may, in part, account for the increase in the number of men being identified and assisted. That trafficking of males for forced labour is now recognized as a crime in the Ukrainian criminal code may also be a contributor to the increased number of identification and referral of trafficked males by law enforcement. In addition, it is worth noting that it is common practice for Ukrainian males to be trafficked in groups and often trafficked men only come forward when they see the type of assistance received by other trafficked men and/or after a period of reflection. This can delay the period of time when men are identified and assisted and males assisted in 2007 were often trafficked prior to that year – in 2005, 2006 and even earlier. By contrast, it is unclear why there has been a decrease in the number of Belarusian men being identified and assisted, particularly given recent information campaigns and advertisements focused on forced labour which arguably should have resulted in an increase (not decrease) in the number of men being identified and assisted (Email correspondence with Irina Titarenko, Counter-Trafficking Focal point, IOM Kiev, 9th May 2008; Email correspondence with Victoria Klimova, Reintegration Assistant/Focal Point, IOM Minsk, 8th May 2008).

10. The CTM is IOM's standardized CT data-management tool, which was initiated in 1999 and has since been updated and adjusted. Currently, 30 IOM missions have installed CTM. The objectives of the CTM are 1) case management of trafficked persons – by implementing and monitoring the IOM assistance, movement and reintegration process for trafficked persons through a centrally managed system – and 2) research and increased understanding of trafficking – by documenting the individual's trafficking experience and, by implication, increasing the understanding of the causes, processes, trends and consequences of trafficking.
11. At the time of writing, the CTM was being revised by IOM to remove any regional biases in the questions asked, omit repetitive questions/categories and to add new questions/categories which were identified as important by field missions. Data collected for future reports will reflect these revised categorizations.
12. Studies which have considered male trafficking victims have included some recent

IOM studies (Cernik et al., 2005; Surtees, 2005b, 2006) as well as reports from other organizations (Anti-Slavery International, 2006a&b; Cyrus, 2005; Davis, 2003; ILO, 2003a&b; Kav La'Oved, 2003, 2004a&b; Pereira & Vasconcelos, 2006; Surtees, 2007b, 2007c, 2008a; Tyuryukanova, 2005 & 2006; UNIAP, 2007), although generally these documents focus more on trafficking for labour, which may include trafficked men. In addition, US Department of State, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (GTIP) has recently funded research on trafficking in men, which will shed light on this phenomenon in different countries globally.

13. The time period noted reflects the year that the victim was assisted rather than when he was trafficked, making it difficult to analyse trafficking trends and patterns by year and, thus, changes in how trafficking plays out. Ideally, data should be collected and analysed based on the year in which the victim was trafficked, an adjustment currently being made to the IOM CTM database.
14. In addition to male victims of Belarusian and Ukrainian nationality, males of other nationalities have also been assisted. For example, IOM Belarus assisted males from Russia (1), Lithuania (1), Turkmenistan (1) and Ukraine (1),the latter three of whom received a residence permit for stay in Belarus (Email correspondence with Victoria Klimova, Reintegration Assistant/Focal Point, IOM Minsk, June 27, 2007). IOM in Ukraine assisted males from Moldova, Russia, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Belarus and Georgia (Email correspondence with Kate Bezruchenko, Counter-trafficking Focal Point, IOM Ukraine, August 27, 2007).
15. Other men trafficked for labour explained how the police were not interested in their experience of exploitation:

    "I was stopped by the police at the bus station in [the destination country's capital] when I came to buy a ticket to [my country]… They were not interested in details [about our exploitation]. They were mostly interested in why we broke the registration law… They wanted us to pay the fine.

    Some of the policemen were laughing at us, saying that we were idiots, that only fools could end up in a situation of exploitation like that… Some policemen didn't understand that we were forced to work, that we were threatened with death… they didn't believe that our passports were taken by the exploiters… Many of the cops thought that we were robbers, that we were attempting to flee the country and that's why were concealing our true identities" (Surtees, 2007c).
16. While trafficked men were nationals of either Belarus or Ukraine, in a number of cases these were not their country of birth. Some originated from other areas of the former Soviet Union and, in a handful of cases, from countries further afield. In 2004, 2 of 28 Belarusian men originated from elsewhere – Kazakhstan and Russia, while, in 2005, 14 of the 157 men assisted that year were born abroad

– Germany (1), Kazakhstan (3), Russia (7), Turkmenistan (1), Ukraine (1) and Poland (1). In 2006, 20 of the assisted males had been born abroad – in Germany (1), Kazakhstan (1), Latvia (4), Russia (12) and Ukraine (2). While the majority of Ukrainian males were born in Ukraine, some were born in Russia (10), Turkmenistan (2), Kazakhstan (1), Moldova (1), Uzbekistan (1) and Germany (1). It is unclear to what extent, if any, having been born abroad impacted vulnerability to trafficking or was a factor in the decision to migrate.

17. This focus on victims, however, is not intended to "explain" the crime or unduly focus on the victim over the perpetrator. Studies bearing on the other side of the trafficking equation – the traffickers – are also needed and by taking a victim-centred approach, this is in no way intended to suggest that the problem of human trafficking can be solved simply by changing the behaviour of victims or that victims are in any way culpable in their exploitation. Rather, it reaffirms the urgency of strengthening law enforcement capacity and of the legal, social and economic reforms that lead potential traffickers to reconsider human trafficking as an economic strategy (Surtees, 2005b: 19; Surtees, 2008; cf. Brunovskis and, Tyldum 2005).
18. Email correspondence with Victoria Klimova, Reintegration Assistant/Focal Point, IOM Minsk, June 27, 2007; Email correspondence with Irina Titarenko and Katerina Bezruchenko, Counter-trafficking Focal Points, IOM Kiev, June 29, 2007; cf. Surtees, 2006, 2005b.
19. "Common-law relationship" refers to persons who are not legally married but who live in a situation akin to legal marriage. Different countries have different regulations as to what period of co-habitation renders a relationship "common-law". For the purpose of the database, this designation is based on the trafficked person's assessment of their marital status, including whether it constitutes a common-law relationship.
20. Single refers to persons who are not married nor have ever been married and are not living in a common-law relationship.
21. Separation refers to persons who are still married but are no longer living with their marriage partner.
22. The terms used in the CTM to capture information on marital status were first drafted to take into account the situation in SEE where the CTM was originally developed and implemented. At the time of writing, the CTM was being revised by IOM and, as part of this process, clearer and more globally appropriate definitions were being developed for use by CTM users. Future data collection will adhere to these new categorizations.
23. "No response" is used when the answer is "not known" to the individual, or the question is "not applicable" to the individual or the circumstances, or the question was "not answered" by the individual (IOM, 2007: 48).

24. Trafficked women from Belarus were single mothers in 18.6 per cent of cases in 2004, 24.5 per cent in 2005 and 31.8 per cent in 2006. In Ukraine, single mothers accounted for 23.5 per cent in 2004, 20.2 per cent in 2005 and 20.9 per cent in 2006.
25. In the new version of CTM database, more precise information will be collected about family structures and dependents at the time of trafficking to better capture these issues and their possible links with trafficking risk. Future data collection will adhere to these new categorizations.
26. 'Family' is defined as a unit composed of parent(s) and children. Taking into account the role of the individual within the family unit, an individual may also take on the identity of 'spouse' or 'sibling' within the family unit. Email correspondence with Irina Titarenko, Counter-trafficking Focal point, IOM Kiev, and Victoria Klimova, Reintegration Assistant/ Focal Point, IOM Minsk, June 29, 2007.
27. The term 'living with relatives' is used when an individual is living in an extended family arrangement; 'relatives' are defined as grandparents, great-grandparents aunts, uncles, and cousins. Email correspondence with Irina Titarenko, Counter-trafficking Focal point, IOM Kiev, and Victoria Klimova, Reintegration Assistant/ Focal Point, IOM Minsk, June 29, 2007.
28. Email correspondence with Victoria Klimova, Reintegration Assistant/Focal Point, IOM Minsk, June 27, 2007.
29. Email correspondence with Irina Titarenko and Katerina Bezruchenko, Counter-trafficking Focal Points, IOM Kiev, June 29, 2007.
30. In 2004, the average rate of secondary enrolment in Belarus was 87 per cent amongst males and 88 per cent amongst females (UN, 2007), higher than the secondary school enrolment noted amongst trafficked men in this study.
31. In 2004 the average rate of enrolment at a tertiary level in Belarus was 51% for males and 70% for females (UN, 2007), rates which exceed the level of tertiary enrolment amongst trafficked men considered in this study.
32. Amongst Belarusian trafficked women 15.9 per cent were university or college educated in 2004, 21.5 per cent in 2005 and 12.2 per cent in 2006.
33. The database in IOM Minsk records education according to the following categories: primary school (1-8 years); middle/elementary school (9 years of school), high school (10-12 years), technical/vocational training (completed after middle or high school) and university/college (graduate or current student).
34. The database in IOM Kiev records education according to the following categories: primary school (1-4 years), middle/elementary school (5-9 years), high school (10-11 years), technical/vocational training (2 years of professionally oriented programmes and colleges of 2 years) and college/university (higher education institutions, 4-6 years). The database records the level the person had attained when they were trafficked or when their studies were interrupted or ended. For

example if the person was in the ninth year of school when trafficked, this is entered as 'middle school'.

35. When compared with educational attainment of the general population, Ukrainian male VoTs considered in this study had lower secondary and tertiary enrolment rates. According to the UN Statistics Division, the average secondary enrolment rate in Ukraine in 2004 was 84 per cent amongst males and 83 per cent amongst females. Tertiary enrolments rates were 71 per cent amongst females and 60 per sent amongst for males (UN, 2007).
36. Precise data from this field of the database is limited by the lack of precision of the different categories. For example, in the case of a man who manages his own farm, it is possible that the response could be either self-employed/family work or agriculture. Similarly, someone working for a state or private industry could be entered under public/private employee as well as industry worker. This lack of precision impacts the analysis and use of these findings. This is being addressed in current revisions to the CTM database.
37. Interview with Sebastian Lazaroui, Director, Centre for Urban and Regional Sociology (CURS), Bucharest, Romania, January 28, 2005.
38. The above points notwithstanding, information about economic status should be read with the caveat that this is based on self-stated economic situation rather than an objective measurement of wealth and is very much about the individual's perception of their economic status. Beyond the subjectivity of this category, some victims may feel reluctant to report an affluent or standard economic status in case that this would mean that they are not entitled to assistance. Also of relevance is how social perceptions may (or may not) inform how victims frame their socio-economic situations. That is, where men are expected to be the breadwinners, it may be more shameful for men to admit poverty than for women. That being said, this field can be revealing in that it indicates how individuals experience their economic situation. Perceptions of economic status may be particularly relevant for persons who have enjoyed a high standard of living in the past but because of economic crisis – experienced both in Ukraine and Belarus – no longer have the same opportunities or incomes.
39. Migration abroad from Belarus began in the mid 1990s. In 1994, 1,314 persons migrated abroad for work; in 2001 the number of labour migrants had increased almost three times and amounted to 4,138 persons every year (IOM, 2004: 33).
40. Email correspondence with Victoria Klimova, Reintegration Assistant/Focal Point, IOM Minsk, July 16, 2007.
41. Email correspondence with Irina Titarenko, Counter-trafficking Focal Points, IOM Kiev, July 13, 2007.
42. According to one study, in 2004 there were 58 economic entities in Belarus which held licenses to seek foreign employment in 25 countries and 679 legal entities which carry out tourism activities (IOM 2004: 47-48).

43. While unusual such cases were also reported in a study of forced labour in Russia. Explained one male victim of his abduction:

    "I was going home, a foreign car approached, they put a sack over my head, drew me into the car and then injected me with something… I only came to when we were somewhere in the East… When we arrived they kept me in a pit for three days. They took away my passport. They set dogs on me, I was beaten for a couple of days and fed with slops. Then on the fourth day I was forced to work – to build something, mainly hard work, lugging bricks (Tyuryukanova 2005: 83-4)".

44. As such, information about traffickers should, wherever possible, also include alternative data collection methodologies, such as interviews with traffickers or analysis of trafficking court cases (Surtees, 2008b).
45. In SEE, approximately seven percent of Romanian victims in 2003 and 2004 were recruited in this way, while, in Bulgaria, 33.3 percent of victims in 2003 and 26.5 percent in 2004 were recruited by male/female pairs. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, a decreasing percentage of foreign victims were recruited by male/female pairs, accounting for 12.5 percent in 2003 and 2.6 percent in 2004, while, Moldovan victims reported no such cases (Surtees, 2005b).
46. Email correspondence with Victoria Klimova, Reintegration Assistant/Focal Point, IOM Minsk, August 29, 2007.
47. Of the Ukrainian female victims assisted by one organization, 87 percent entered countries with legal tourist visas and identity documents (Winrock, 2004: 3). Similarly, the majority of Ukrainian trafficked women assisted by IOM Kiev since 2004 (95.3 per cent or 570 of the 598 for whom there is data) used legal documents. And 486 of the 491 (98.9 per cent) of assisted Belarusian women who provided information on this subject had travelled with legal documents (IOM CTM database).
48. Please refer to endnote 7 for IOM's working definitions for each of the forms of trafficking.
49. Trafficking for adoption is a complicated issue due, at least in part to the lack of clarity in the Palermo Protocol in terms of determining what might constitute trafficking. Because the opaque nature of many country's adoption systems provide ample space for the exploitation of birth families, children and potential adoptive parents, determining what might constitute trafficking for adoption requires a detailed, case-by-case assessment as well as a more generalized agreement about the meaning of exploitation when referring to the movement of children for adoption (Surtees, 2005a).
50. Very few cases of trafficking in men for sexual exploitation have been documented in the Europe and Eurasia region. The Regional Clearing Point programme, which documented cases of assisted trafficking victims in SEE from 2000 to 2004, noted no male victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation in the assisted caseload.

However, one case was reported in Moldova in 2003 when two Moldovan males reported to the police that they had been lured with promises of construction work in FYROM and, in addition, been forced to provide sexual services at night. More recently, a study in SEE, which interviewed 12 trafficked men, documented one case of sexual exploitation of a SEE male minor (Surtees, 2007c). And a risk assessment conducted by IOM Macedonia signalled male vulnerability to sex trafficking, with six per cent of the male homosexuals surveyed having used the services of a male foreigner trafficked for sexual exploitation and 16 per cent with knowledge of someone who had used the services of a foreign, male victim of sex trafficking (Handziska and Schinina, 2004: 3, 13). For other information on the subject, please see Tipurita, 2004; Alexandrescu et al., 2003; Andreani and Raviv, 2004; Catana et al., 2003:11; Limanowska, 2003: 116-7; Schauer, 2003; UNICEF and STC, 2004: 4; IOM, 2001: 35; ILO-IPEC, 2004: 9.

51. Email correspondence with Victoria Klimova, Reintegration Assistant/Focal Point, IOM Minsk, July 16, 2007.
52. Trafficking for labour in the fishing industry has also been noted in other regions, for example in Cambodia (see UNIAP 2007) and Indonesia (Davis 2003).
53. This is consistent with labour migration/trafficking from Central Asia where Russia (and also South Korea) were primary destinations (Kelly, 2005: 52).
54. According to the International Labour Office, while the treatment of Belarusian and Ukrainian migrant workers is poor, it is often better than the treatment of Central Asian migrants from countries such as Uzbekistan and Tajikistan (ILO 2003a: 11). Further, many of the jobs in heavy industry in the Murmansk region of Russia (where Russians also work) are associated with high health risks through fumes, physical injuries, gases, accidents and other factors. Indeed in general there has been a deterioration of working conditions everywhere in Russia in recent years. In the industrial section, regular workplace accidents occur and workers are exposed to gas, noise and fumes that result in injuries, illness and permanent handicaps. Many high risk jobs have twelve hour work-shifts and many men did not use protective equipment (Nygard et al., 2003: 14, 48-49).
55. Other men described being extorted by authorities while returning home:

    "I bought a ticket on the railway station and waited for the train. Two militiamen approached me to check my passport. I had no registration and they said I had to go with them to the police department, but they proposed that I give them money to let me go. One of militiamen pulled out from my hands all I had, approximately 10 dollars and they went away" (IOM case file).

    "We took a minibus and reached Moscow and bought tickets for Venice for the same day. We paid the police at the railway station so that they didn't arrest us as illegal immigrants. When one buys a train ticket, the cashier looks at the passport and informs the police. As soon as one leaves the cashier's desk, the police brigade approaches. If one doesn't pay them, you go to

prison. The police, in your presence, destroy your passport and you have no documents. We paid, took a train and came home" (IOM case file).

Similarly, a study of forced labour in Russia documented widespread corruption amongst law enforcement and authorities – including receiving bribes from employers, deporting workers upon the request of employers and without investigating the cases, employing illegal migrants for their own work in the administration or private homes, etc. (Tyuryukanova, 2005: 62-3; Tyuryukanova, 2006: 59).

56. Identification of labour trafficking can take place through the intervention of relevant personnel like labour and worksite inspectors, immigration officers and different branches of law enforcement, although this requires targeted training about the specific nature and relevant signals of trafficking for forced labour (Surtees, 2007b).
57. Email correspondence with Victoria Klimova, Reintegration Assistant/Focal Point, IOM Minsk, August 28, 2007.
58. This is consistent with forced labour situations in countries like Italy where a recent operation uncovered widespread abuses of migrant workers including subjecting them to fines for missed days at work and other "violations" (Bozonnet, 2006; cf. Cernik et al., 2005: 36).
59. There was not a clear pattern of destinations where victims incurred debt to their traffickers. The use of debt may differ, therefore, as much according to the individual recruiter/trafficker as the country of destination.
60. This is consistent with findings from a study of forced labour in Russia where approximately 12 per cent of migrant workers reported having debt that they needed to pay off, which could total more than a month's wages. As one Russian official explained:

    "Whilst working on immigration documents I received a lot of complaints regarding migrants who after arriving at their place of work were told that they owed the trafficker money. As a result they have to pay off debt, have their documents withheld and are detained in confined accommodation which they can only leave for work… Sometimes employers deduct the fines they suffer for legal infringements from worker's wages or add them to their debts" (Tyuryukanova, 2005: 79).

    A recent study of trafficking for forced labour in the UK noted the extensive use of debt bondage, whereby migrants work to pay off a debt or loan and are not paid for the work carried out. The employer, for example, provides food or accommodation at inflated prices so that workers cannot escape debt (Anti-Slavery, 2006b).
61. Email correspondence with Victoria Klimova, Reintegration Assistant/Focal Point, IOM Minsk, June 27, 2007.

62. In Ukraine, there is a special unit within the counter-trafficking department which tasked specifically with trafficking for labour exploitation. And an increasing percentage of law enforcement agencies have identified and referred victims to IOM or NGOs (Email correspondence with Irina Titarenko, Counter-trafficking Focal Point, IOM Kiev, August 27, 2007).
63. Email correspondence with Irina Titarenko and Katerina Bezruchenko, Counter-trafficking Focal Points, IOM Kiev, June 29, 2007.
64. Trafficking in males has been documented in other countries. For example, in SEE, male victims accounted for a noteworthy minority of assisted victims in 2003 and 2004. Male victims were assisted in Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia and Kosovo, Serbia having been trafficked for labour, begging, delinquency and adoption. In Albania, 70 per cent of victims trafficked for labour, begging or delinquency in 2003 and 2004 were male (albeit minors), and 47.8 per cent of foreign victims of labour trafficking in Serbia in 2004 were male (Surtees, 2005b: 13). Furthermore, CTM data from 2005 and 2006 reveal a marked increase in the total number of adult males assisted by IOM globally, having been trafficked for forced labour and sexual exploitation. IOM assisted 241 adult males in 2004, 279 in 2005 and 361 in 2006.
65. Email correspondence with Irina Titarenko, Counter-trafficking Focal Point, IOM Kiev, August 27, 2007.
66. See Zimmerman, 2003; Watts & Zimmerman, 2006.
67. Email correspondence with Victoria Klimova, Reintegration Assistant/Focal Point, IOM Minsk, July 16, 2007.
68. It is interesting to note that in one study of work conditions in northern Russia, male respondents were more inclined to accept any high risk work while women were arguably more at ease with being unemployed and so had a higher threshold in terms of conditions. Unemployed men felt embarrassment about not being able to provide for their families, that work was a key part of the male identity and to not work was stigmatising (Nygard et al., 2003: 48-49).
69. For example, article 26 of the *Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings* states that each party, in accordance with the basic principles of its legal system, provide for the possibility of no imposing penalties on victims for their involvement in unlawful activities to the extent that they have been compelled to do so (Council of Europe 2005). Cf. United Nations *Recommended principles and guidelines on human rights and human trafficking* (UN 2002).
70. Reintegration is often not only dependent on the victim; problems in the family or community can impede the recovery and reintegration process. Therefore, options to provide support for victim's families or additional support when a family is in crisis could serve not only to galvanize recovery successes but prevent failed reintegration and, in some cases, re-trafficking (Surtees, 2007c).

71. Fear and lack of trust was one of the reasons that female trafficking victims declined assistance. This involved being suspicious of some forms of assistance as well as anti-trafficking actors; negative experiences of assistance and fear of the trafficker, including the risk of retribution (Brunovskis and Surtees, 2007).
72. Risk assessments should be undertaken on on-going basis and in response to the victim's evolving situation as risks fluctuate according to situation, times, location and involvement in criminal proceedings. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. A study of identification and assistance found that in many countries (within SEE, the EU, the Middles East and the former Soviet Union) security was not always or evenly considered and individual safety assessments were not regularly or systematically undertaken (Surtees, 2007c).
73. There have been cases involving retribution and safety issues for trafficked persons. In one case in SEE the trafficked woman agreed to testify but then faced serious problems as a result. Explained the social worker:

    > The woman testified and she called one night because someone came to blackmail her parents and said that they would kill a member of the family if she testified. We called the police and she was brave and was ready to discuss options for the safety of her family. The decision was that she agreed with the police that they would provide a guard and accelerate the process at the court. But even with the guards the neighbours were threatened and her mother one day was contacted by the traffickers and the police from the village, who were in charge of her security, had to take the mother and hide her in the attic (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2007; cf. Surtees, 2007).

74. TRP options are available in seven countries in SEE and the EU legislation *Council Directive 2004/81/EC on the Residence Permit* requires EU countries to provide residence option to trafficked persons. There is no TRP option in Ukraine. In Belarus, there is the option of TRP for trafficked persons who are actively assisting the investigation of a crime entailing trafficking in human beings under Decree No 352 of August 8, 2005 on the *Prevention of the Consequences of Trafficking in Human Beings*. The decree allows for a permit to be given, by the bodies of internal affairs, generally for a period of no more than one year, to allow for the individual's participation in the legal proceedings, social protection and rehabilitation. However, in practice, there are no details as to how this is to be implemented (Email correspondence with Victoria Klimova, Reintegration Assistant/Focal Point, IOM Minsk, August 28, 2007).
75. This is not dissimilar to what has been noted in the Russian north where there is little understanding of people who are unable to cope with hardship. The general view is that life is tough for everyone and people must cope. Those who cannot cope are seen to have a character flaw. People are expected to manage on their own and none had considered seeing a psychologist (Nygard et al., 2003: 46).

76. In Ukraine, in many of the NGOs specialized in assisting male trafficking victims there are male professionals (Email correspondence with Irina Titarenko, Counter-trafficking Focal Point, IOM Kiev, July 13, 2007).
77. According to one study of healthcare in northern Russia, fears about the confidential provision of services – particularly services such as psychological assistance – were a legacy of the former Soviet era when there was little regulation on the exchange of information between government departments (Nygard et al., 2003: 47).
78. Other recent studies which engage directly with victims in a discussion of their needs and interests have also shed light on some interesting and important aspects of assistance and intervention. See Bjerkan, 2005; ECPAT, 2004; Brunovskis & Surtees, 2007; Surtees, 2007c; Watts & Zimmerman, 2006.

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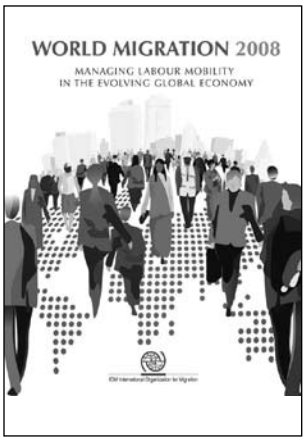

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To date, trafficking in males has been underconsidered in research despite noteworthy signals that it is a violation faced by many males, adult and minors. Often severely exploited male migrants are overlooked as victims of trafficking (VoT). The noteworthy number of men exposed to trafficking necessitates assistance tailored to their specific needs and interests. Tailoring of services is required to the specific profile of male victim, not least according to their trafficking experience, whether they are a minor or adult and the family and social conditions to which they will return.

Through the lens of trafficking in males (primarily adult men) from Belarus and Ukraine, this study considers male victim's pre-trafficking life (namely their personal, family and socio-economic background), trafficking experience (from recruitment, through transportation and during exploitation) and post trafficking experience (including assistance and protection needs). We examine, on the one hand, what is known about this less considered profile of trafficked persons and, on the other hand, what can be done to meet their needs, both as a means of assistance and protection. The study draws on primary data collected about 685 trafficked males assisted by IOM and its partners, through IOM's Counter-Trafficking Module Database (CTM) in Geneva as well as qualitative information from interviews with and case files of assisted men.

The specific experiences of trafficked males of Belarusian and Ukrainian nationality highlight some general patterns in terms of how trafficking takes place from these countries and, equally, some of the needs and interests of this specific target group. Attention to the gender dimensions of trafficking must be increasingly considered in research and anti-trafficking interventions.

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