

The Causes and
Consequences of
Re-trafficking:
Evidence from the IOM
Human Trafficking Database



IOM International Organization for Migration

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IOM Human Trafficking Database Thematic Research Series

The Causes and Consequences of Re-trafficking: Evidence from the IOM Human Trafficking Database^{a,b}

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Report prepared for the International Organization for Migration

2010



IOM International Organization for Migration

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- ^a This publication was made possible by the support provided by the United States Department of State, under the terms of Grant No. S-LMAQM-08-GR-001. The opinions expressed herein are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Department of State.
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Inputs on the sections relating to the IOM Human Trafficking Database and issues facing countries of destination, including temporary residency options, were drafted by Sarah Craggs, Research and Project Officer, IOM. Sarah Craggs and Anvar Serdjitdinov (Project Officer, IOM) were also involved in updating and editing the report.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was funded by the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (G/TIP) of the United States Department of State as a component of its support for the IOM Human Trafficking Database. The study is part of a thematic series funded by G/TIP and implemented by IOM's Counter-trafficking Division in Geneva together with the NEXUS Institute and other partner agencies.^d Many thanks to IOM staff, past and present, including: Sarah Craggs, Richard Danziger, Frank Laczko, Ayima Okeeva, Elca Stigter, Krieng Triumphavong, Faryal Shah and Anvar Serodjtinov for their help, advice and input. Also, thanks to IOM staff in counter-trafficking missions worldwide who provided valuable information for this study. In particular, thanks to Iliana Derilova, Meltem Ersoy, Aleksandra Galonga, Bojana Jovanovic, Victoria Klimova, Valbona Lenja, Stela Rotaru, Victoria Shilegova, Petrit Sopjani, Irina Titarenko and Ivona Zakoska.

^d Drawing upon data in the IOM database, the thematic research series specifically addresses contemporary issues in the area of human trafficking. In 2008, IOM and the NEXUS Institute published the report *Trafficking of Men – A Trend Less Considered: The Case of Belarus and Ukraine (MRS 36)*. Subsequent reports will be published in cooperation with the NEXUS Institute and will be available via www.iom.int and www.nexusinstitute.net. Key themes include methodological issues in trafficking research and data collection, as well as trafficking for forced labour.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

IOM	International Organization for Migration
NGO	Non-governmental organization
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
SEE	South-Eastern Europe
VoT	Victim of Trafficking

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Although there is a consensus agreement among international organizations, governments and academics regarding the seriousness and significance of re-trafficking as a problem, there has been very little research conducted into its incidence, cause or consequence. The majority of information on and discussion about re-trafficking is anecdotal, and research findings, where they exist, are few in number. Where re-trafficking is discussed in literature, it is often in relation to concerns over the links between re-trafficking and deportations and/or reintegration projects (Sen et al., 2003; Zimmerman, 2003; Surtees, 2005), although much empirical research regarding the exact nature of such relationships remains elusive. It is apparent from studies which have analysed rates of re-trafficking that the secondary trafficking of previously trafficked persons is a substantive issue – one that is not adequately reflected to date in the growing body of research on human trafficking. This research paper aims to address the gap through an exploratory analysis of known re-trafficking cases in the Human Trafficking Database of the International Organization for Migration (IOM).

Key research findings

By exploring the 79 known re-trafficking cases in the IOM Human Trafficking Database over a 10-year period (from 1999 to 2009), this research has found that the groups who appear to be most vulnerable to re-trafficking are women, children and young adults. Those who have been trafficked under the age of 18 are often vulnerable to re-trafficking in adult life.

Trafficked persons¹ are highly vulnerable to re-trafficking immediately after having exited a trafficking situation and en route to assistance. Victims of trafficking (VoTs) are frequently re-trafficked within two years or less of having exited a trafficking situation. Where re-trafficking occurs, it is not uncommon for it to be to a different destination or for a different purpose of exploitation on each occasion. The IOM database data also reveals a cross-over between international and internal trafficking, with trafficked persons appearing to be potentially more vulnerable to internal trafficking on return to their countries of origin from an international trafficking situation.

A wide range of factors has been found to contribute to the re-trafficking of persons. Some of these factors have been drawn from the direct experiences of trafficked persons documented in the database; others have been relayed by IOM mission staff who, in their work assisting VoTs, have observed a number of interconnected factors in the re-trafficking of persons. It is difficult to separate the causes of re-trafficking from the wider causal factors of trafficking, in which a well-documented and broad range



of socio-economic factors intersect and interact. However, some of the causal factors of re-trafficking indicated here do relate specifically to trafficked persons' previous experiences of trafficking or to their experiences with assistance organizations.

Individual characteristics and profiles of trafficking victims

This research has found that some groups of trafficked persons assisted by IOM may be more vulnerable to re-trafficking than others. For example, VoTs who return home may be more vulnerable to re-trafficking where there are economic and social difficulties in the country of origin. According to IOM workers surveyed for this paper,² this is especially the case: where formerly trafficked persons are members of ethnic minority groups and, as a result, are subject to discrimination in the country of origin; where there are significant gender inequalities in the country of origin; where VoTs originate from countries where conflicts are ongoing or recent; or where trafficked persons are also refugees or displaced persons.

Additionally, when trafficked persons are of a young age (in this study, a large proportion of re-trafficking cases involved young people from 15 to 25 years old) they appear to be more vulnerable to re-trafficking, especially if there is a lack of family support or difficulties at home that remain unresolved upon their return from a trafficking situation.

When surveyed, IOM missions also indicated that trafficked persons who have drug and/or alcohol dependency problems are likely to be at risk of re-trafficking. In addition, mission staff also stated that, when VoTs have psychological or psychosocial difficulties due to their trafficking experiences, this may affect their ability to reintegrate into their former lives after having been trafficked, and thus render these individuals vulnerable to re-trafficking (see also IOM, 2009).

Exiting trafficking situations

This research study has found that VoTs may be vulnerable to re-trafficking while exiting a trafficking situation where the authorities – specifically, law-enforcement officials – are involved in the trafficking of persons, as this physically prevents long-term exit from trafficking situations. Information analysed in the context of this research study revealed that in a minority of cases, law-enforcement agencies appeared to be instrumental in the re-trafficking of persons. Similarly, trafficked persons who believed they had escaped from trafficking situations due to the intervention of police officers occasionally found themselves re-trafficked into circumstances similar to those before their “escape”. Owing to these past experiences, trafficked persons often perceived law-enforcement agencies and/or other agencies (including governmental organizations or NGOs) to be involved in trafficking processes. As a result, they on occasion refused the legitimate assistance offered.

Post-exit

After exiting a trafficking situation, trafficked persons may be vulnerable to re-trafficking if they remain working in a region and/or in an industry where their trafficker(s) can easily locate them. Furthermore, trafficked persons who have been forcibly returned to their countries of origin without being first referred to IOM or some other organization that can undertake a risk assessment and help facilitate their safe return may be highly vulnerable to re-trafficking, particularly en route to their countries of origin. The forced return of trafficked persons also indicates a failure to correctly identify trafficking status in the destination country. This may, in turn, result in missed opportunities to access assistance, including temporary residency options, in the destination country. In such cases, the prevalence of re-trafficking may be a result of a lack of clear procedures in the destination country, coupled with a failure to ensure that the assistance process, including return to country of origin, is conducted with due regard for the rights and safety of the trafficked person (see also OSCE-ODIHR, 2009a, 2009b).

Return to country of origin

No trafficked person included in this study stated that they had been granted either temporary or permanent residency in the country of destination; thus, all individuals returned home post-exit from trafficking. A number of factors may contribute to re-trafficking when a trafficked person returns to his/her country of origin. Trafficked persons may, for example, return to continuing economic difficulties and be unable to secure long-term employment. This could be due to a lack of adequate employment opportunities in the country of origin or it may be an indication that the VoT needs access to further training and/or education to benefit from existing employment opportunities.

In addition, factors directly attributed to the previous trafficking experience have been found to contribute to re-trafficking upon return to the country of origin. These include situations where debts are owed to family members and/or local community members due to costs incurred in the first migration or trafficking experience. Return to the country of origin furthermore fails to provide absolute protection from those involved in the individual's exploitation. The IOM case files reveal that, in some cases, trafficked persons were still subject to continuing control by their traffickers(s) after exit. This includes situations where the trafficker(s) continue to threaten VoTs or their family members; where the trafficker(s) believe financial "debts" are owed by the trafficked persons; or where the family and/or local community members are involved in trafficking and the trafficked persons are subsequently returned to those families and/or communities. In a number of cases, trafficked persons were indeed directly threatened and felt compelled to return to their trafficker(s) as a result.

Trafficked persons may also experience family and/or community rejection due to their trafficking experiences. This is especially the case where sexual exploitation has been the purpose of trafficking. While return to one's country of origin should remain a valid option for a trafficked person, the issues related to return also call for more attention to be afforded to residence options in the destination country.

Assistance and/or reintegration programmes

Where trafficked persons do access assistance and reintegration programmes, these programmes may not always be sufficiently funded and resourced to address the full range of economic, cultural, social or psychosocial difficulties in the country of origin. In other instances, the circumstances may be beyond the reach of traditional direct assistance programmes for trafficked persons. For instance, assistance programmes and/or reintegration programmes are often unable to address inherent national situations such as a serious lack of employment opportunities in the trafficked person's country of origin.

In some of the cases studied for this paper, it was also found that the assistance programmes offered to VoTs had since terminated due to a lack of funding options, while the trafficked persons relayed a lack of additional means to live independently in their countries of origin. Securing funding for longer-term support is therefore needed.

IOM workers have also indicated that trafficked persons are vulnerable to re-trafficking where assistance and/or reintegration support has been declined upon return to their countries of origin. Given that all cases included in this study eventually accepted some form of IOM assistance, no further information was available in this regard.

Migrating a second time

Finally, when formerly trafficked persons attempt to re-migrate from their countries of origin, they may be vulnerable to re-trafficking. This is often due to the fact that there are few safe and legal avenues for migration, leaving migrants with little option but to seek out the help of irregular networks. To re-migrate is not only a basic human right; in the case of trafficking, it is also usually connected with a combination of the factors described above. For example, upon return, a VoT may not be able to secure gainful employment in his/her country of origin and so the VoT will re-migrate in search of better employment opportunities. This decision may, in addition, be underpinned by debts owed to others, including to trafficker(s), and/or difficulties in the family or community.

The report concludes by offering a number of recommendations to prevent the re-trafficking of individuals.

I. INTRODUCTION

It has been almost 10 years since Kelly (2002) identified re-trafficking as a research area requiring further investigation. However, since then, while a number of researchers have reiterated Kelly's sentiment, very few have acted to fill the gap. There are next to no reliable figures on the phenomenon of re-trafficking (Lutsenko et al., 2005: 65), and there is relatively little empirical research which focuses specifically on re-trafficking. An exception is Surtees' work (2005), which found that incidents of re-trafficking in South-Eastern Europe (SEE) were widespread. Surtees noted that the rates of re-trafficking varied by geographical area and trafficking type, with rates ranging anywhere from 3 per cent to 34 per cent in 2003 and 2004. The study found that the highest rate of re-trafficking occurred in Albania in 2001, with 43 per cent of VoTs re-trafficked into forced labour, including "begging" and "delinquency" (Surtees, 2005). Nevertheless, there has been no opportunity for a follow-up study.

Oft-quoted statistics on the re-trafficking of persons tend to originate from NGOs that work directly with trafficked persons. For instance, the Vatra Hearth Shelter in Albania is frequently quoted in literature (Lesko, 2005). The US Department of State's report on human rights practices in Albania in 2005 states that "re-trafficking [is] a significant problem, with 131 out of 228 victims sheltered at the Vatra Hearth Shelter during the year reporting that they had been trafficked at least twice previously and that 7 of the victims were under continuous threats from perpetrators" (US Department of State, 2006: 7). Later, in 2006, the Vatra Hearth Shelter reported a 45 per cent rate of re-trafficking of women among 123 VoTs referred to the shelter in 2006.³ Another shelter in Albania, Different and Equal, reported that 11.4 per cent of VoTs had been trafficked twice before being referred to the shelter, and 9.1 per cent had been trafficked on more than one occasion.

In the United Kingdom, the Poppy Project, a service assisting women who have been trafficked into sexual exploitation in the United Kingdom, has found a re-trafficking rate of 21 per cent among the trafficked women it has assisted. This figure relates to 22 of the 107 women supported by the Poppy Project from March 2003 to August 2007 who had indicated to support workers that they experienced trafficking on more than one occasion (Stephen-Smith, 2008). Updated figures were not available at the time of writing.

Elsewhere, estimates on the rates of re-trafficking are quoted as high as 50 per cent (Bailliet, 2006; Nemcova, 2004). In India, one study found rates of re-trafficking to be 25.8 per cent among women trafficked for sexual exploitation; of this figure, 8.4 per cent had been trafficked on three or more occasions (Sen and Nair, 2004).

As with all statistics and estimates on trafficking, comparisons between the existing data sets are fraught with methodological difficulties due to a wider lack of consensus on the definitions of trafficking – and therefore also re-trafficking – between researchers and service providers (Kelly and Regan, 2000; Kelly, 2005a). Nevertheless, whatever the substantive figures on re-trafficking, it is evident from literature that re-trafficking is a significant problem that warrants further investigation.

Digging deeper, one can note that a wide range of causal factors are indicated in literature. Surtees (2005) links incidents of re-trafficking with the success rates of reintegration projects and the continued threat posed by traffickers to previously trafficked persons upon return to their countries of origin. Limanowska (2002) has argued that there is little consensus on what the reintegration of VoTs into their home communities actually entails or ought to entail. The author has further questioned the return of trafficked persons to their countries of origin as the best option in terms of safety and prevention of further trafficking harm. Davies (2007) has also linked re-trafficking to the forced return of trafficked persons to countries of origin, arguing that such returns force VoTs back into the same situations which led to their trafficking in the first instance. The author links re-trafficking with the economically driven desire to migrate and a dearth of safe migration options.

Elsewhere, Kelly (2005b) has argued that outstanding debts to family members or members of the local community may trap VoTs into re-trafficking situations. The author has also discussed the difficulties of reintegration into home communities due to the trauma suffered by the VoTs during the trafficking process (Kelly, 2005a; see also Zimmerman, 2003). The stigma of trafficking is also frequently considered to be a contributing factor in the re-trafficking of persons, especially where women have been trafficked for sexual purposes (Davis, 2006; Poudel, 2007; Richardson et al., 2009). Here, the cultural and socio-economic inequalities relating to gender are believed to heighten women's vulnerability to re-trafficking.

Thus, the general consensus in literature is that re-trafficking is a significant problem which needs to be investigated further. At the same time, while governments – and hence those tasked with action – show a certain interest in the issue of re-trafficking, often little concrete action is taken to address potential flaws in a return process that is prone to re-trafficking (OSCE-ODIHR, 2009a). This paper aims to highlight the issue of re-trafficking in an attempt to fill this research and policy gap.

1.1 Definitions of re-trafficking

The term “re-trafficking” is a problematic one, and wider debate within research on trafficking is needed to reach a common understanding of the term and to assist accurate comparison between data sets, along with facilitating improved case management. It is difficult to determine at which stage a person can be understood to have experienced re-trafficking. In literature, the term is commonly used to describe a situation where a person has returned to his/her country of origin and is then trafficked from there for a second time. However, this understanding is problematic, as it fails to include VoTs who do not return to their countries of origin prior to being trafficked a second time.

The data in this paper relies on the following working definition of re-trafficking:

Re-trafficking shall mean a situation in which a person has been trafficked on one occasion as set forth in the definition provided in the United Nations Palermo Protocol;⁴ has then exited that trafficking situation by any means; and has then later re-entered another trafficking situation, again as stated in the United Nations definition.

- Exit (for the IOM-assisted caseload) is by escape with or without the help of others, or the interception of the authorities or other organizations.⁵
- Exit may or may not involve return to the place/country of origin or a place/country of resettlement.
- Exit (for the IOM-assisted caseload) may be for any duration of time.⁶
- The second experience of trafficking may involve circumstances similar to or entirely different from those in the previous experience. The trafficking may be for the same or a different purpose, with the same or different trafficker(s) and to the same or different geographical region.

In total, 79 cases from the IOM Human Trafficking Database were analysed for this paper. All 79 cases fall within the above definition.

The definition has been drawn from a broad analysis of the way the term re-trafficking is used in literature and through a survey of IOM missions’ application of the term to re-trafficking cases with which they have been involved. Field workers in 14 IOM missions were asked how they would define the term “re-trafficking”, and the broader consensus from these missions is represented in this definition. The above notwithstanding, the definition could benefit from increased discussion among anti-trafficking professionals.

The limitations of the proposed definition lie ultimately with the difficulties inherent in defining when someone can be considered to have successfully exited a trafficking

situation. A broad definition of exit is proposed in this research paper: exit from trafficking is considered to have taken place where any significant escape from a trafficking situation has taken place. This includes situations where trafficked persons have escaped trafficking situations temporarily due to the intervention of law-enforcement agencies or NGOs in an official capacity, but have not achieved longer-term exit from trafficking situations. These cases are included because it is believed that these encounters, under different circumstances, may have, or ought to have, led to the identification of the individual as a trafficked person and thus to the offer of appropriate assistance. Subsequently, in such cases, there is a potential for longer-term exit from the realities of trafficking situations. Yet, in practice, encounters with law-enforcement agents or NGOs often do not involve appropriate referrals for assistance; therefore, they do not necessarily lead to longer-term or sustainable exit from trafficking. This is due to a number of factors, which will be explored in depth throughout this paper.

2. EVIDENCE OF RE-TRAFFICKING IN THE IOM HUMAN TRAFFICKING DATABASE

This paper is based on evidence found in the International Organization for Migration (IOM) Counter-trafficking Module, hereinafter referred to as the IOM Human Trafficking Database.⁷ This tool is a global database which contains primary data on trafficking cases assisted by IOM field missions.⁸ The database contains data on actual trafficking cases assisted by IOM, including the individual and social background of VoTs, recruitment and transportation processes, trafficking exploitation and assistance received. Serving as a link between field missions, the database not only allows standardized data collection, but also reduces the risk of double-counting cases by linking up origin and destination countries. The database also facilitates the cross-border transfer of data in a secure manner (Stigter, 2006: 9). Importantly, the database also collects comparable information on re-trafficking. The database is today installed at 72 IOM missions globally, although usage of the tool varies from mission to mission. As of the end of December 2009, the system contained data on nearly 14,000 registered IOM beneficiaries in more than 85 source countries and more than 100 destination countries. While the data was not analysed for this report, in December 2010 this figure had risen to nearly 16,000 registered IOM beneficiaries.

2.1 Methodological approach

A detailed search of the database uncovered a sub-sample of 80 cases of re-trafficking over a 10-year period (from 1999 to 2009).⁹ All cases but one have been included for analysis in this paper, equating to 79 cases in total. The one case that has not been included relates to a re-trafficked male. As all other cases included in the IOM data set concern re-trafficked females, it was concluded that this paper would not be able to adequately address the gendered dimensions of re-trafficking, because data was available for only one case involving a male.¹⁰ It is however predicted that the number of VoTs who have been assisted by IOM and who have experienced re-trafficking – including both males and females – is higher than this figure suggests. Not all IOM missions collect consistent data on re-trafficking; that is, not all trafficked persons are specifically interviewed on prior trafficking experiences unless such experiences have been self-disclosed by the trafficked person (IOM, 2007). The interviews conducted by IOM missions with VoTs tend to principally concentrate on their current trafficking experience and any assistance deemed necessary to alleviate its consequences. Moreover, those working in IOM field missions often consider the extent of re-trafficking to be greater than the numbers presented in this research, although the estimates provided vary from region to region.

The 79 re-trafficking cases have been identified in the IOM database in one of two ways. Forty of the 79 cases have been identified as cases involving re-trafficking where an IOM mission has assisted the same VoT on at least two separate occasions. These cases allowed for comparisons between each occasion of trafficking, as data had been recorded for the same trafficked person at each time of assistance.¹¹ The remaining and separate 39 cases have been identified through a word search of the available interview data for any disclosure of prior trafficking experiences where the VoT had not been already assisted twice by IOM (see Appendix D for details of the search terms used). In addition, in two of these cases, VoTs recall having been trafficked on three separate occasions. For the cases identified through the word search strategy, data was available only for assistance interviews following the trafficked person's second experience of trafficking. Therefore, data concerning re-trafficking in these cases was reliant on the disclosure, recollection and recording of prior trafficking experiences when IOM missions were interviewing VoTs.

Both quantitative and qualitative data are recorded in the database. IOM staff ask a series of questions – listed in the IOM screening form and the IOM assistance form – to help determine trafficking status in the first instance, and then to determine the assistance needs of those identified as having been trafficked. Qualitative interview transcripts are also frequently recorded. The latter usually recount in greater detail the individual experiences of trafficked persons. The extent and quality of qualitative interview transcripts recorded vary within and between missions (see also Surtees and Craggs, 2010). Qualitative interview notes were available for 76 of the 79 cases analysed. Of these, 50 had information relevant to this paper. Of note, all of the 39 cases identified through the word search contained some narrative information. The quality and extent of these 50 interview transcripts varied; some were very detailed while others were sparse on detail, but all offered some information on re-trafficking of persons.

In addition, all IOM counter-trafficking focal points, spread throughout IOM missions worldwide, were surveyed according to a standard set of questions that focused on their impressions of re-trafficking in their area (see Appendix A). Fourteen missions responded to the survey, including IOM missions in Europe, Asia, the former Soviet Union, Africa and Latin America. This more general survey was then coupled with a specific survey of IOM missions in SEE (given the geographical focus of this research) that asked more specific questions about case management and data quality issues concerning the 79 cases included in this research (see Appendices B and C).

2.2 Limitations of the findings

As previously suggested, it is unlikely that the 79 cases analysed for this paper reflect the extent and breadth of re-trafficking experiences in the IOM database. This is for

reasons relating to the methods used in the research, the limitations of the database, and potential difficulties regarding the disclosure and recording of previous trafficking experiences when VoTs had been assisted by IOM. Therefore, this paper does not propose to reflect or represent the quantitative extent of re-trafficking experiences in the IOM database or elsewhere. Instead, it is an exploratory research focusing on the causes and consequences of re-trafficking. The paper explores only the 79 known re-trafficking cases in the IOM database for one specific region, and it analyses only data collected by IOM field missions and their partners where screening and assistance interviews had been conducted. As a word of caution, it is also important to note that trafficked persons may have accessed other service provision organizations aside from IOM in relation to their trafficking experiences. As this paper focuses only on IOM cases, such experiences are not included in this study.

Owing to the time limits of the research and the extensive size of the IOM database, it was also not possible or appropriate to read through the entire depersonalized qualitative interview data to locate each instance where trafficked persons have disclosed information relating to earlier trafficking experiences. Instead, a word search was conducted of all available screening and interview data using select terms that may indicate previous trafficking experiences (see Appendix D). It is considered likely that re-trafficking experiences may have been recorded but not located through this strategy. This means that the extent and breadth of re-trafficking recorded in the IOM database may be far greater than that presented in this paper.

As previously indicated, not all IOM field missions collect consistent information specifically on re-trafficking. There are, however, a group of questions in the standard IOM assistance questionnaire relating to “prior trafficking experiences”. These questions enquire as to whether the individual had been a VoT before the trafficking occasion for which they are seeking assistance, and they seek to obtain some basic information on the previous trafficking experience such as location and type of exploitation. Unfortunately, the recording of responses to these questions is inconsistent between and within missions, and different missions have often interpreted variables in different ways due to the lack of an accepted definition of “re-trafficking”. After consultation with IOM field missions, some concerns arose as to the reliability of the responses to these questions encoded in the database. Thus, data relating to the questions was only used where the available qualitative interview notes confirmed that the individual had been trafficked on more than one occasion.

Where trafficked persons had not been assisted by IOM missions twice, the research is reliant on the self-disclosure of prior trafficking experiences by trafficked persons during their assistance interviews with IOM case managers. Surtees (2005: 184) has suggested in earlier research that VoTs may not be forthcoming about previous trafficking experiences as they may believe that this will jeopardize their right to

assistance. In addition, research is reliant on field workers recording information about prior trafficking experiences when interviewing VoTs. As stated earlier, the purpose of the screening and assistance interviews is not to gather information relating to re-trafficking, but to assess whether someone is a VoT and to determine assistance needs in relation to that person's present trafficking circumstances. It may therefore also be the case that trafficked persons had disclosed information relating to prior trafficking experiences, but this information was not recorded in the database by field workers. The non-recording of information could also be in relation to ethical or security issues.

The wider limitations of the database as a research tool relate to: resource issues; barriers to regional and local specificities, including language issues; the appropriateness of the tool for all forms of trafficking and all groups of VoTs (e.g. men, minors and the elderly); the number of question and answer responses (deemed too many); inconsistent or incomplete data sets; data analysis and reporting limitations; and training needs (see Surtees and Craggs, 2010). For example, in the context of this study, it was found that some of the interview data, especially data regarding the sequence of events in trafficked persons' accounts, was difficult to interpret where the person who recorded the information was not fluent in English.

The geographical origin and location of the re-trafficking cases presented also represents the most consistent recording of information in the database. For instance, the prominence of southern and South-Eastern Europe in the research reflects the more consistent recording of data by IOM missions in these areas over a longer period of time, as well as the extent of re-trafficking in these areas.¹² The SEE region has also received a significant amount of funding for anti-trafficking efforts when compared to other regions, which may also bias the findings.

Regarding gender, it can be noted that all but one of the re-trafficking cases uncovered in the IOM database involved females. Owing to this biased representation, a decision was taken to not include the information relating to the one re-trafficked male in the main analysis. The original intention was not to address only the re-trafficking of females; however, as a consequence of the final all-female sample, the voice of re-trafficked males is less apparent in the report findings. Indeed, up until very recently, national and international policy, practice, research and, consequently, donor funding predominantly focused on trafficking for the sexual exploitation of women and girls; it is only recently that needed attention has been afforded to trafficking for other forms of exploitation and also to the trafficking of men and boys. Surtees (2008) calls for increased attention to the trafficking of males. This should equally include increased understanding of the re-trafficking of males.

In addition, it can be noted that no trafficked person included in this study relayed to IOM their having been granted either temporary or permanent residency in the

country of destination; thus, all individuals returned home post-exit from trafficking. In this regard, the findings of this study should be read in relation to the experiences of trafficked persons who return home to their countries of origin. The experiences of such individuals may or may not be the same as those of trafficked persons granted residency rights in the country of destination. More research is needed to cross-tabulate the experiences of these two groups in relation to re-trafficking.

These limitations are reflected in the constitution of the IOM-assisted cases included in this study and thus in the research findings presented in this paper (for further discussion on the database methodology, please also see Surtees, 2008; Surtees and Craggs, 2010).

3. CHARACTERISTICS OF VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING

This section provides an overview of the main characteristics of the re-trafficking victims identified and assisted by IOM and its partners. Specific focus is given to minors who, through this research, were identified as a particularly vulnerable group to re-trafficking.

3.1 Gender

All 79 of the identified re-trafficking cases included in this study involved females. This may indicate a possible vulnerability of women to being re-trafficked, but also represents, in part, the higher number of females assisted by IOM and thus the higher number of female cases recorded in the database overall. According to the overall statistics on gender in the database, women have traditionally been more likely to be identified as trafficked persons and are also more likely than men to be identified as VoTs on a second occasion.¹³ In a separate report that draws on data in the IOM database, Surtees (2008) also cautions that males may be more reluctant than females to seek assistance.

There are 40 trafficking cases where IOM missions have twice assisted trafficked persons on two separate occasions. All of these have been confirmed by the involved IOM missions as re-trafficking cases. Further, all 40 cases involved females, and 10 of these cases involved trafficked persons under the age of 18 at the time of assistance (see also sections 3.2 and 3.3). This indicates the particular vulnerability of females, specifically girls and young female adults, after exiting trafficking situations and suggests that these groups are subsequently vulnerable to further trafficking. This finding was also confirmed by staff in the IOM missions surveyed for this report.

3.2 Age

The majority of the 79 re-trafficking cases involved minors or young adults under the age of 25. Most of the trafficked persons were aged 25 and under when first assisted by IOM missions (n=66 or 84%). A minority of cases involved VoTs assisted by IOM when they were over the age of 25 (n=13 or 16%). Some of these cases involved trafficked persons who were over the age of 30 (n=4 or 5%) at the time of assistance, with the oldest VoT being 39 years old.¹⁴

The ages of the VoTs in the 40 cases assisted twice by IOM ranged from 15 to 37 years at the first time of assistance and from 17 to 39 years at the second time of assistance. The average age at the first time of assistance was 20 years and 21 years at the second

time of assistance. As the majority of the re-trafficking cases identified were 25 years and under at either or both times of assistance, this indicates that younger VoTs are at risk of re-trafficking. At the same time, such a finding could also indicate that minors and young people are more likely to be identified and assisted and/or more likely to seek and accept assistance. Further research in this regard is needed.

Of note, information on the actual age of the individual at the time of trafficking is not available for the data set included in this study, although one can postulate that a trafficked person is likely to be younger at the time of trafficking than at the time of receiving assistance from IOM, given the duration of exploitation and the VoT's young adult age at the time of identification.¹⁵

3.2.1 Child trafficking

Fourteen of the 79 cases involved minors (under the age of 18) either at the first instance of trafficking (n=14 or 18%), at the second instance of trafficking (n=7 or 9%), or at both times (n=7 or 9%). The youngest of the VoTs was 15 years old when first assisted by IOM, although no very young children were involved. All of the child trafficking cases at one time involved trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation on both occasions or on either occasion (see Table 1).

Table 1: Child re-trafficking cases by age

Age in years	First time of trafficking/assistance	Second time of trafficking/assistance
15	1	0
16	4	1
17	5	6
Exact age not known, but probably under 18 years due to disclosure of previous trafficking experience when under the age of 18	4	0
Total No. of child trafficking cases	14	7
18+	0	7

Source: IOM Human Trafficking Database.

Four additional cases were identified through the interview data word search and whereby the trafficked person disclosed a previous trafficking experience. As these four cases involved individuals under the age of 18 at the time of assistance, it is fair

to assume that they were also under the age of 18 when they were first trafficked due to their disclosing of information in relation to a previous trafficking experience only at the point of being assisted on their second trafficking experience.

Among the 40 cases twice assisted by IOM, of which there were 10 involving minors, three involved VoTs under the age of 18 when first trafficked and remained under the age of 18 when trafficked on a second occasion. Therefore, 7 (4+3) of the 79 cases overall involved minors at both times of trafficking. The other seven cases involved VoTs who were trafficked initially as minors (i.e. under the age of 18) and then later again as young adults. It is however likely that the link between trafficking in childhood and trafficking in adulthood is somewhat higher in the 79 cases analysed for this research. For example, a number of VoTs were aged 18 or 19 when they were assisted by IOM, and it was frequently apparent, either in their interviews with IOM mission staff or through records of previous IOM assistance, that at this stage they had already had two or more previous trafficking experiences. Unfortunately, as stated above, no data is available in the IOM database concerning the time and date of trafficking; therefore, the precise ages of these trafficked persons cannot be pinpointed. It is nevertheless fair to assume that the trafficked persons in many of these cases may have been under the age of 18 when they were previously trafficked.

The above-mentioned findings reveal the potential vulnerability of minors to re-trafficking. Furthermore, those who had experienced trafficking when they were children or young adults are subsequently and consequently more vulnerable to being re-trafficked as adults.

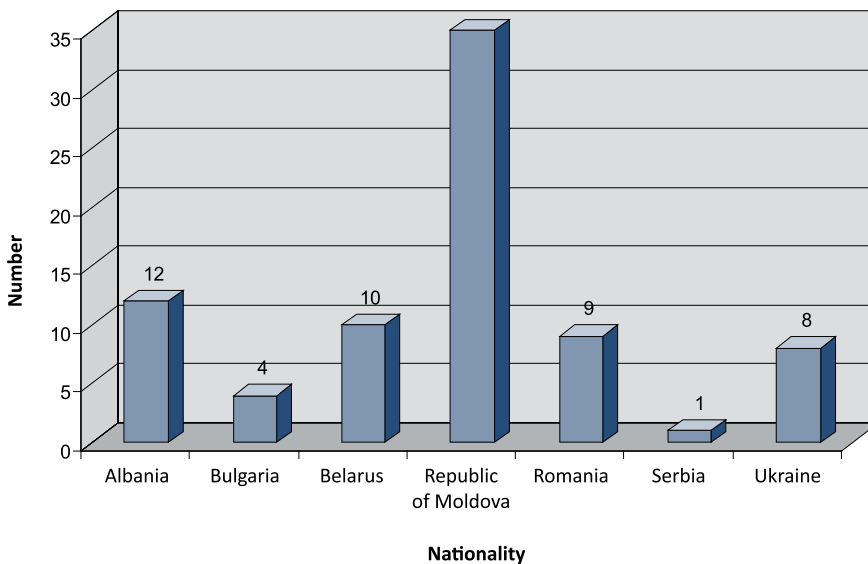
3.3 Nationality of re-trafficked persons

A majority of the 35 re-trafficked cases analysed for this paper involved women originating from the Republic of Moldova, who were trafficked at both occasions or on one known occasion for sexual exploitation. The remaining cases all involve women from southern and South-Eastern Europe, with women from Romania, Albania and Ukraine accounting for the next most represented nationalities (see Figure 1).¹⁶

In addition, the majority of the women were trafficked interregionally; that is, from, within, through and to southern or South-Eastern Europe on both occasions or on one occasion of trafficking. Subsequently, IOM missions in southern or South-Eastern Europe assisted the majority of trafficked persons included in this report (see also section 5.1). The assisting IOM missions most represented in this research are those in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Moldova and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. There is one exception, however, and this concerns a woman who was trafficked from Romania to Italy and later assisted by IOM mission staff in Rome.

Again, while this finding does indicate the vulnerability of these groups to re-trafficking, it should not be viewed in isolation. For example, it also partially reflects: the geographical implementation history of the IOM database, with the data collection effort commencing in the SEE region in 2000; the more consistent recording of data in missions in southern and South-Eastern Europe where these women have been trafficked to, through and then later assisted; anti-trafficking efforts in general and a more consistent history of donor funding for direct assistance in the region as compared to other regions; and cultural factors surrounding the disclosure of trafficking experiences (see also Surtees and Craggs, 2010).

Figure 1: Country of origin of re-trafficked persons (n=79)



Source: IOM Human Trafficking Database.

3.4 Economic status

Over half of the re-trafficked persons interviewed by IOM described their economic status as poor or very poor, while a minority described their family’s economic status as standard.¹⁷

This finding is based on individual perception of the terms “well off”; “standard”, “poor” and “very poor”,¹⁸ and so relies on a subjective interpretation of standards of poverty and wealth by trafficked persons. However, a VoT’s perception of his/her economic status, no matter how socially derived, is significant, as the perception of economic status is inevitably based on lived experiences as well as social constructions

and understanding of wealth and poverty. Furthermore, an individual's perception of his/her own economic status will ultimately shape one's perception of autonomy with regard to the economic decisions he/she makes or are able to make. This is particularly pertinent when considering decisions which involve migration and work (see also Surtees, 2008). As Surtees (2007 and 2008) also notes, the perception of one's individual economic status may also be important when considering decisions to access assistance. Thus, caution should be exercised when comparing the overall representative nature of assisted cases as compared to other caseloads of re-trafficked persons (i.e. those who decline assistance, those who fail to be identified) (Surtees and Craggs, 2010).

3.5 Education and employment¹⁹

The majority of the re-trafficked persons featured in this report said that their formal education ended after they finished the equivalent of primary or elementary school. This applies to over half of the VoTs interviewed for assistance. However, others did go on to further education (such as high school), and a minority attended higher education in either universities or trade and technical-based colleges. The latter included training in tailoring, textile technology and cookery.²⁰

Surtees (2005) has commented that trafficked persons often find it difficult to reintegrate into their home communities due to poor education levels. This further indicates that reintegration programmes are not addressing this situation (see also Limanowska, 2002). There is undoubtedly an argument that those who have more limited formal education may be in need of further skills training in order to find adequate employment and avoid potentially risky migration practices. However, as a number of those who have been trafficked on more than one occasion have already attended both higher and further education (such as technical training and university level) in their countries of origin, lack of skills and training is more likely to be one of a number of factors which lead to trafficking and re-trafficking. These include, for instance, a significant lack of appropriate employment opportunities in countries of origin and a lack of regular (and safe) migration routes to take advantage of potentially more lucrative employment opportunities abroad (Limanowska, 2002; Davies, 2007).

Approximately half of the 79 cases involved VoTs who had been employed prior to their initial trafficking experience. The roughly equal split may be partially due to the fact that many were of a young age prior to trafficking and were perhaps not of an age where full-time employment was the norm. This finding, however, does indicate a significant level of unemployment among the group prior to trafficking. Most of those who had been employed had been employed in their countries of origin, while two beneficiaries had worked outside of their countries of origin before being trafficked. The types of employment VoTs undertook in their countries of origin before being

initially trafficked are varied,²¹ but include work in family businesses, agricultural work, industrial work and prostitution/sex work. Despite having been previously employed, and sometimes educated to university level or equivalent in their countries of origin, many of these trafficked persons still perceived their economic status to be poor or very poor. This perhaps indicates that for some VoTs, in some circumstances, education and employment have not counteracted levels of poverty in their countries of origin.

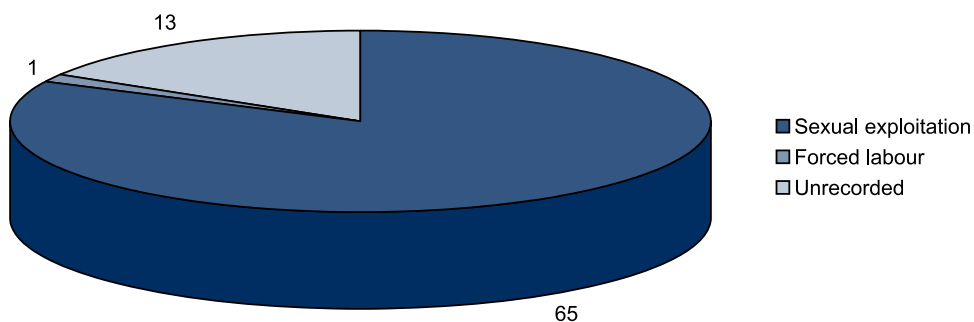
4. TRAFFICKING AND RE-TRAFFICKING EXPERIENCES

The following section aims to outline the specific experiences and challenges faced by re-trafficking victims based on data in the IOM Human Trafficking Database.

4.1 Trafficking purpose

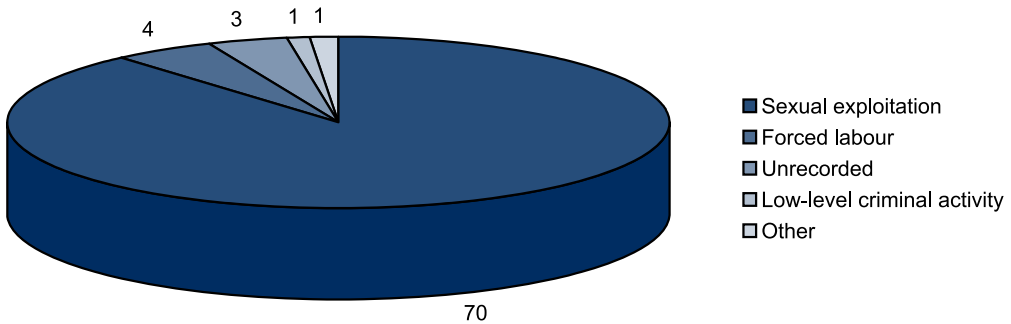
The majority of the re-trafficking cases involved trafficking for sexual purposes at one or both times of trafficking (see Figures 2 and 3).²² Again, this finding should be viewed in light of the fact that anti-trafficking efforts and donor funding, until recently, have focused primarily on women trafficked for sexual exploitation (see also Surtees and Craggs, 2010). However, there were a minority of cases where forced labour or low-level criminality was also involved.

Figure 2: Type of exploitation at the first time of assistance (n=79)



Source: IOM Human Trafficking Database.

Figure 3: Type of exploitation at the second time of assistance (n=79)



Source: IOM Human Trafficking Database.

As mentioned, most of the victims of re-trafficking were trafficked for the same purposes on each occasion; that is, for sexual exploitation. However, the small minority who were trafficked for different purposes on each occasion indicates a cross-over between the purposes of exploitation during the primary and secondary trafficking experiences. These included, for example, one individual who was trafficked for sexual exploitation at the first time of trafficking and for low-level criminality purposes at the second time of trafficking, and another three VoTs who were trafficked for sexual exploitation on one occasion and for forced labour on a separate occasion. While it is difficult to make broad generalizations from these four cases, it is apparent that secondary trafficking experiences are not always similar in purpose to primary trafficking experiences, and the potential cross-over between trafficking types requires further investigation and research.

4.2 Trafficking destination

The majority of the 79 cases involved people trafficked from, through and/or to countries in SEE at both times or either time of trafficking. The majority were trafficked to Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, UNSC resolution 1244-administered Kosovo (hereinafter referred to as Kosovo/UNSC 1244), Montenegro, or the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. A number were also trafficked to Turkey.

There are also other trafficking destinations, albeit in the minority, represented at either and/or both times of trafficking. These include Belgium, Cyprus, France, Greece, Italy, Spain and the United Arab Emirates. For a comparison of trafficking destinations between the first and second experiences of trafficking, please see Table 2. The data in Table 2 is drawn only from the sub-sample of 40 cases where data was collected by IOM at both times of trafficking.

Table 2: Destination countries (twice-assisted cases only; n=40)

Destination country	First trafficking				Second trafficking		
	Total	Internal	International	Unknown	Total	Internal	International
Albania	3	2	1	0	9	7	2
Belgium	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	10	0	10	0	9	0	9
Bulgaria	3	3	0	0	3	3	0
France	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Greece	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Italy	4	0	4	0	1	1	0
Kosovo/UNSC 1244	1	0	1	0	3	1	2
Republic of Moldova	1	1	0	0	2	1	1
Romania	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Russian Federation	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Serbia	5	0	5	0	3	1	2
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	9	0	9	0	6	1	5
Turkey	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Unknown	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
Total	40	6	33	1	40	15	25

Source: IOM Human Trafficking Database.

To provide an overview of these 40 cases twice assisted by IOM, it can be noted that the majority of the cases are international trafficking cases. In total, international trafficking relates to 58 separate incidents of trafficking; internal trafficking relates to 21 separate incidents of trafficking; and data for one case is unknown.²³ Internal trafficking thus appears to be more common at the second time of trafficking rather than the first.

In particular, at the first time of trafficking, 33 of the 40 cases were international and 6 were internal (there was no data available for one case). At the second time of trafficking, 25 of the 40 cases were international and 15 were internal. Of the 40 cases, 22 involved international trafficking on both occasions; 3 cases involved

internal trafficking on both occasions; 11 cases were international at the first time of trafficking and internal at the second time of trafficking; and 3 cases were internal at the first time of trafficking and international at the second time of trafficking. This may indicate a link between international and internal trafficking, with those trafficked internationally being more vulnerable to internal trafficking upon return to their countries of origin and vice versa. As will be discussed later, this has implications on return and reintegration options. The highest numbers of internal trafficking cases were in Albania and Bulgaria.

4.3 Interception by the authorities

Information in the IOM database reveals that the police and/or immigration authorities at some stage intercepted a large proportion of the trafficked persons featured in this study. Indeed, a high number of the 79 cases were referred to IOM or a similar organization by a law-enforcement authority (see Table 3). Many of the cases in the IOM database overall were in fact referred to IOM by law-enforcement agencies (25% of all cases as of the end of December 2010). This indicates that a large proportion of successful exits from trafficking situations involve law-enforcement agencies. However, in their screening and assistance interviews with IOM, trafficked persons frequently described other prior experiences of encountering law-enforcement agencies in which no such referral took place. Experiences of encountering law-enforcement groups varied between and within VoT interviews.

Table 3: Referring agencies (twice-assisted cases only; n=40)

Referring agency	First time of assistance (data for 40 cases)	Second time of assistance (data for 79 cases)
Referred by NGO	0	14
Referred by international organization	2	1
Referred by law-enforcement agency	27	38
Referred by embassy	1	2
Referred by IOM mission	1	3
Other	2	4
Not recorded	7	17
Total cases	40	79

Source: IOM Human Trafficking Database.

Trafficked persons often discussed a distrust of the law-enforcement authorities in their interviews with IOM. Often this was due to past negative encounters with law-enforcement groups where VoTs perceived and/or believed that law-enforcement officials were involved in the trafficking process. One woman described how she was

afraid to approach the police in the country to which she was re-trafficked due to her previous experience with the police when she was initially trafficked. When this woman was first trafficked to the Russian Federation, she escaped her exploiter and then approached the police for help. In this encounter, she said that the policemen “just laughed at her” and sent her back to her trafficker(s) (IOM case file). This experience contributed to her distrust of the law-enforcement authorities she later encountered in the country to which she was trafficked on a second occasion. Another example involved a woman who was detained by the police on two separate occasions and whose whereabouts were disclosed by the police to her trafficker(s) on both occasions. The trafficker subsequently came to the police station to take the woman back to her place of exploitation. A “client” later assisted this woman in exiting the trafficking situation. The inability to speak out to law-enforcement officials may also be linked to threats used by traffickers to control their victims, specifically the threat of detention and deportation or the threat to announce trafficked persons’ previous experiences with law-enforcement officials in their countries of origin (Jobe, 2008).

The apparent complicity of law-enforcement authorities in these women’s accounts not only prevents their long-term exit from the trafficking situation but also arguably constitutes a form of re-trafficking. Where law-enforcement officials are involved in an official capacity, as they are in these women’s cases, VoTs should be referred to assistance organizations. The intervention of law-enforcement authorities in these accounts indicates an exit from the trafficking situation, albeit on occasion a very brief exit. According to the IOM case files, longer-term exit is prevented by the apparent collusion of the authorities with trafficker(s). One trafficked person in her interview with IOM specifically requested for the local police not to be involved in her assistance, as she believed that the local police had a hand in her trafficking. This woman recalled escaping and seeking assistance from the police on at least two separate occasions, but she was subsequently sent back to her trafficker(s) on each instance (IOM case file). Another woman recounted how law-enforcement officials intercepted her, took her to the police station and stamped her passport to indicate that she was to be deported. However, instead of deporting her, these law-enforcement officials handed her back to her trafficker(s) (IOM case file).

Many VoTs thus do not reach assistance, despite having arguably escaped their trafficking situation. It is instead not uncommon for VoTs to find themselves back in the same circumstances from which they believed they had escaped. This also indicates a failure on the part of the authorities to identify individuals as genuine VoTs with legitimate assistance needs (see La Strada, 2004; Limanowska, 2002). Identifying VoTs is known to be a challenge for law-enforcement agencies, and the issues outlined above are likely to further contribute to such difficulties. Indeed, while the establishment of national referral mechanisms in many countries has improved this situation, recent research has shown that the correct identification of trafficking status – including

by law-enforcement and immigration officials – still remains a grave issue and many trafficked persons are consequently denied the protection and assistance they need (see Craggs and Martens, 2010).

Furthermore, such negative experiences with the authorities are significant as they may limit the ability of trafficked persons to seek assistance or to trust the assistance offered by relevant groups. Conversely, this also limits the ability of anti-trafficking actors tasked to assist those who are in need of assistance. This distrust often extends to VoT service providers such as IOM: a number of trafficked persons initially refused assistance from IOM as they did not trust the Organization’s intentions and instead perceived IOM to be part of law enforcement rather than a separate independent organization (see also section 5). Moreover, many of the IOM missions surveyed for this study identified VoTs who decline assistance as a group vulnerable to re-trafficking. This highlights the need for research on the vulnerabilities to re-trafficking of trafficked persons who decline assistance (for a general discussion on why VoTs decline assistance, please see Brunovskis and Surtees, 2007). Craggs and Martens (2010: 102) also argue that:

“To ensure that the human rights of trafficked persons are fully respected, efforts to investigate and prosecute traffickers need to be duly balanced against protecting the victim’s human rights and interests. The enactment of the reflection period and the right to residence are a means by which to reinforce this human rights framework”.

With that said, many of the same VoTs who previously had negative experiences with law-enforcement officers were again referred to IOM for assistance by law-enforcement officers on their second trafficking experience. Their experiences with such officials tended to vary between countries and between the individual officers encountered. Trafficked persons usually encounter law-enforcement officers in some capacity during their trafficking experiences. Sometimes these encounters are positive, and, at other times, negative. In order to facilitate the longer-term exit of VoTs from trafficking situations, both the collusion of the authorities, specifically law-enforcement officers, with traffickers, and the distrust of law-enforcement officers by trafficked persons need to be in some way addressed and/or challenged.

4.4 Experiences of deportation

In some of the cases studied for this paper, trafficked persons appear to have been deported as “illegal migrants” rather than assisted as VoTs in the country of exploitation. For example, nine of the cases analysed for this paper involved people who reported

that they were deported by immigration agencies without the support necessary to make the return to their countries of origin safe and risk-free; regrettably, a number of these people were later re-trafficked. The deportation of trafficked persons by the country of destination without referral to an appropriate organization that may be able to assist with safe return or undertake a risk assessment is a frequent occurrence in the IOM interview transcripts. This finding was further confirmed by recent research on the issue of temporary residency options for trafficked persons. Craggs and Martens (2010) noted that it remains a common occurrence for VoTs to be wrongly detained and deported without being screened for trafficking status.

This failure to correctly identify VoTs duly renders the individual vulnerable to re-trafficking at the point of return and on the journey home as a deportation order does not allow for an adequate assessment of the potential risks posed to the trafficked persons upon return to their countries of origin. The forced return of trafficked persons also indicates a failure to correctly identify trafficking status in the destination country. This may, in turn, result in missed opportunities to access assistance, including temporary residency options, in the destination country. In such cases, the prevalence of re-trafficking may be a result of a lack of clear procedures in the destination country, coupled with a failure to ensure that the assistance process, including return to country of origin, is conducted with due regard for the rights and safety of the trafficked person (see also OSCE-ODIHR, 2009a, 2009b).

There are inherent challenges to identifying trafficked persons and a number of cases may not have been correctly identified by law-enforcement agencies. This may be especially the case in countries where trafficking is not clearly defined in national legislation and/or where the law is not enforced. Furthermore, recent research has also found many of the “competent authorities” in the field of human trafficking to have large discretionary powers concerning the identification of VoT status. In addition, the report found that, in some countries, service providers and lawyers have only limited access to the detention centres where trafficked persons are known to be incorrectly detained (Craggs and Martens, 2010).

Where trafficked persons were wrongly deported by immigration authorities, the IOM data reveals that many were subsequently identified by their trafficker(s) for a second time and re-trafficked into the same trafficking situation. Often, these VoTs described being arrested and deported by the law-enforcement authorities in the country of exploitation. They then recounted being found again by their trafficker(s) either in their countries of destination and/or back in their countries of origin, and subsequently returning to the same trafficking situation from which they had just exited. This finding links with other observations in the wider literature on trafficking. Hughes and Denisova (2001) argue that the use of personalized bus tickets when people are deported and/or returned to their countries of origin renders VoTs vulnerable to being located by their trafficker(s) during their return.

Recounting an experience of deportation, one woman describes experiencing a police raid at the bar in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in which she was being forced to work. She was deported by the police at the border, located by her trafficker(s) at the border, and forced to return to the same trafficking situation from which she had exited. The police again targeted the bar in which she was being forced to work; fortunately, on this second interception by the authorities, she was referred to IOM for assistance (IOM case file). Although no information was available on why it was only on this second intervention by the police that the woman was able to access assistance, the case does again reveal an example of missed identification of trafficking status. Another woman recalled being deported from her country of destination and not having a place to stay in her country of origin. She did not feel that she could contact her only living relative (her brother) as she did not feel that she could tell him about what had happened to her and feared his rejection. Instead, this woman contacted some people she knew with the aim of seeking assistance to migrate, but she was subsequently caught up in another trafficking situation (IOM case file).

It is apparent from these VoT testimonies that the experience of returning home, when the journey is taken alone, can be a dangerous one. Trafficked persons are subsequently vulnerable to re-trafficking at many stages of their journey. This is particularly the case where a trafficked person is not correctly identified as a VoT by law-enforcement agencies and is instead deported as an “illegal entrant”. This situation is also heightened where law-enforcement agencies are seen to be colluding with the human traffickers. The deportation of VoTs creates extra vulnerability for them upon their return where assistance to recover and reintegrate is not forthcoming. This is especially the case where the VoT is lacking in family or community support. Together, these factors again contribute to re-trafficking situations. In this regard, and in order to prevent the wrongful detention and expulsion of trafficking victims, while at the same time affording trafficked persons the rights they need, it is important that countries of destination also consider the enactment of temporary and/or permanent residency options as part of the broader assistance framework for trafficked persons (Craggs and Martens, 2010).

4.5 Returning home

Information from the IOM database reveals that trafficked persons, on return to their countries of origin, are often met by similar economic and social situations which made them vulnerable to trafficking in the first instance. For example, assistance programmes and/or reintegration programmes are often unable to address inherent national situations such as a serious lack of employment opportunities in the trafficked person’s country of origin. In addition, trafficked persons may encounter family or community rejection upon return, continued threats or danger from their trafficker(s), or economic hardships due to their trafficking experiences.

The (depersonalized) IOM case files analysed for this study also reveal how trafficked persons experience lack of support at home from their families and/or their home communities upon their return from trafficking situations. Sometimes the lack of support was evident before their trafficking experience, but frequently and additionally, it is indicated by VoTs that the lack of support was a direct result of their trafficking experience.

Some of the cases included for analysis in this study involved trafficked persons who returned to the same difficult family situation that contributed to their desire to leave their family environment in the first instance. For example, one young trafficked minor was initially housed by a children's NGO upon her return to her country of origin but was later returned to her family, where she had been subjected to abuse before her first trafficking experience. As a result, she again tried to escape her difficult family situation by migrating abroad irregularly and was subsequently trafficked for sexual exploitation for a second time. As such, children and young people may be even more vulnerable to trafficking and re-trafficking where family support systems have broken down, in addition to the fact that their young age and dependency on family support is a factor of vulnerability in itself.

Furthermore, in a number of cases, family members, close family friends or members of the local community had been directly involved in the original trafficking experience, and trafficked persons had returned to areas where they remained at risk from these individuals.

In other cases, returnees believed that their families could have reacted violently to their return due to their experiences of having been trafficked. A number of writers have documented the effect of stigma on women's ability to reintegrate into their former communities and families after such an experience (Poudel, 2007; Davis, 2006; Limanowska, 2002; Anti-Slavery International, 2003). Others have recognized the link that this may have with re-trafficking, whereby the stigma heightens the vulnerability to further trafficking experiences upon a VoT's return (Davis, 2006). Therefore, the family unit is often not a place where persons trafficked for sexual exploitation can freely gain support after their experiences. This risk factor is heightened by the fact that some of the IOM cases included in this study involved people of a young age, who considered family support important. In addition, it can be noted that in many of these contexts the social welfare systems face huge challenges and many may not be sufficiently resourced and mobilized to handle such cases. Rejection by the family and the larger community thus takes on greater economic and social significance (Limanowska, 2002).

In a number of cases, direct threats have been made by the trafficker(s) against the trafficked person or his/her family members. Threats may include threats of violence,

often including threats to traffic family members, especially younger siblings. These threats have sometimes compelled a VoT to return to his/her trafficking situation. In one case, a woman trafficked for sexual exploitation was allowed by her trafficker to return home upon the death of a family member. During the seven months that she remained home, her trafficker(s) contacted her constantly over the telephone and threats were made against her life. Owing to the danger she believed she was in, she returned to the trafficking situation and to her trafficker(s) (IOM case file). In another case, a VoT was deported back to her country of origin, and her trafficker(s) later threatened to traffic her younger sister in her place if she did not agree to pay off her debt. She consequently felt compelled to return to the trafficking situation from which she had earlier escaped (IOM case file). The power of the trafficker(s) when VoTs return to their countries of origin – where often the original recruiters are known to the trafficked persons or to his/ her family members – is a significant factor in a re-trafficking situation. This is especially the case where financial “debts” are still considered to be “owed” to trafficker(s).

Frequently, economic difficulties upon return to the country of origin remain as pertinent or are even more difficult than when the trafficked person originally left his/ her country of origin. A high number of the 40 VoTs twice assisted by IOM considered themselves to be in similar or worse economic circumstances after their return to their countries of origin and after having been assisted, compared to their situations before their first trafficking experience (n=16; comparable data was available only for 19 cases). The majority of this group were unemployed upon return, while a minority had taken up irregular forms of employment. Economic difficulties on return are inherently gendered and livelihood options on return to the country of origin after trafficking are often limited for women who have experienced stigma due their trafficking experiences (Richardson et al., 2009; Davis, 2006).

The above comments notwithstanding, it is important to recall that, while return to one’s country of origin should remain a valid option for trafficked persons, the issues related to return also call for more attention to be afforded to alternatives to return.

4.6 Migrating a second time

The trafficked persons in IOM-assisted cases included in this study often indicated that they were well informed of the potential risks of migrating abroad due to their previous trafficking experiences. However, they stated a lingering need to work abroad, often due to difficult financial circumstances at home. In such circumstances, trafficked persons had stated that they were willing to take the risks involved. For example, one woman, as a victim of her circumstances, was forced to again approach the same people who had initially “sold” her to her traffickers (IOM case file). Another re-contacted her original trafficker(s) abroad (IOM case file) (see also Davies, 2007).

In addition, one formerly trafficked person, on return to her country of origin, reported that her family's economic situation was becoming increasingly difficult. Hence, although this woman was aware of the risks due to her past trafficking experiences, she decided to again leave to work in prostitution in Turkey. She voluntarily travelled back and forth between Turkey and her country of origin on a further two occasions while working in the sex industry. On the last occasion, she was re-trafficked for sexual exploitation upon her arrival in Turkey (IOM case file). The vulnerability to subsequent trafficking often can be seen to be directly linked with continuing economic difficulties and the need to migrate to find work. This is perhaps even more pertinent in times of economic crisis.

Another woman, who had been trafficked to the Russian Federation previously, described her trafficking experience as "hell". However, despite this experience, she needed to find a job abroad to fund her higher education; otherwise, she could not continue with her studies. She did not trust the job advertised in the local newspaper due to the fact that it was through an advert in a local newspaper that she had earlier been trafficked to the Russian Federation. Instead, she trusted a family acquaintance to assist her in migrating abroad, yet she was again trafficked into prostitution (IOM case file). As demonstrated in the above cases – and through the IOM data set in general – many VoTs have some formal education, often up to secondary or technical level, and have aspiring migratory plans. This highlights the need for reintegration packages to be adequately tailored and based on the individual's gained expertise.

Furthermore, trafficked persons have often accumulated additional debts as a result of their initial migration experiences. Such debts are often "owed" to traffickers, to family members, or to other members of their home communities. In these instances, the trafficked persons in IOM-assisted cases included in this study relayed a belief of having no other option but to migrate again using irregular migration routes (see also Kelly, 2005b). These trafficked persons are often well informed of the potential dangers of trafficking – having already been trafficked on a previous occasion – but are still willing to take such risks, often due to dire financial circumstances. This indicates that past experiences of trafficking, together with an awareness of the dangers and risks involved, are often superseded by economic push factors in the decision to migrate. This demonstrates the need for safe and legal migration channels to prevent a repeat of exploitation through trafficking.

5. ASSISTANCE AND REINTEGRATION

This section aims to draw some lessons learnt and to highlight some good practices from previous interventions at the first and second (or third) time of trafficking. The findings are primarily based on an analysis of the 40 cases involving trafficked persons assisted by IOM missions who were later re-trafficked, and who were then assisted by IOM on a second occasion. Where relevant, key findings indicated through a narrative word search of the remaining 39 cases have also been included to further narrate key points. In addition, the respective IOM missions involved in the provision of assistance to all 79 cases included in this study were also contacted for further information regarding these specific cases and were surveyed about the type of assistance provided (see Appendix C). It is important to note that the arrangement each IOM mission has with local service providers is different from context to context. Consequently, this section evaluates the assistance provided by IOM missions only. It is further worth noting that IOM missions were at varying stages of implementing their assistance programmes when the respective trafficked persons were assisted. Hence, the provision of assistance may have varied from case to case. Also, reintegration programmes vary from region to region and are linked with effective programme development and funding possibilities (IOM, 2007: 80). In addition, some IOM missions may have been operating in countries with national referral mechanisms or equivalent structures already in place, including national action plans against trafficking. The impact of such systems will inevitably vary across countries and it is again not the intention of this report to assess such efforts.

5.1 IOM missions assisting re-trafficked victims

All of the missions that assisted the re-trafficking cases included in this study on either occasion or both occasions of trafficking are located in eastern, southern or South-Eastern Europe. Of the 40 cases assisted twice by IOM, 25 cases were assisted by the same IOM mission on both occasions and 14 VoTs were assisted by different missions on each occasion (see Table 4).²⁴ All of those trafficked to countries outside SEE (including those trafficked to Belgium, Italy and Greece) were assisted by IOM missions in their countries of origin and no case was provided temporary or permanent residence in the country of destination. As a consequence, this section is concerned only with reintegration and not integration.

Table 4: Assisting missions (twice-assisted cases only; n=40)

Mission assisting	First time trafficked	Second time trafficked
Albania	10	11
Bosnia and Herzegovina	9	9
Bulgaria	3	5
Kosovo/UNSC 1244	4	2
Republic of Moldova	3	4
Serbia and Montenegro ²⁵	1	3
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	9	5
Turkey	0	1
Unknown	1	0
Total	40	40

Source: IOM Human Trafficking Database.

The average period of time between the first and second time of assistance by IOM was 20 months. The shortest period of time between each instance of assistance was less than one month and the longest was five years and three months.²⁶ It is apparent from these figures that trafficked persons are vulnerable to re-trafficking relatively soon after exiting a trafficking situation.

At the first time of assistance, 21 of the cases were assisted by IOM missions in the countries to which they were trafficked; 16 were assisted by IOM missions in their countries of origin (this includes six internal trafficking cases). One beneficiary was assisted in a country other than that to/from which she was trafficked. This was due to the trafficked person concerned being en route to her country of origin at the time of assistance.²⁷

5.2 The reintegration process

The IOM case managers surveyed for this paper understood the phase of reintegration to have taken place when a trafficked person was said to be economically and socially capable and independent. In addition, this paper finds that reintegration can be understood to have taken place when a formerly trafficked person is no longer vulnerable to re-trafficking.

The following definition of the reintegration process is taken from *The IOM Handbook on Direct Assistance for Victims of Trafficking* (2007: 81):

The aim of the reintegration process is to provide for a victim's safe, dignified and sustainable reinsertion into society and a normalized life. Accordingly, the reintegration assistance to victims of trafficking can include a full range of services, from shelter assistance or other accommodation, medical and psychological care, social and legal counselling to reintegration grants, school reinsertion, and vocational training.

Reintegration and assistance to VoTs by IOM missions may therefore encompass a broad range of activities and depends on: (a) the needs and circumstances of the trafficked person; and (b) the services available in the area. Assistance employed in the cases analysed for this section include the following (see also IOM, 2007):

Assisted voluntary return: Where a trafficked person voluntarily expresses a desire to return to his/her country of origin, IOM can facilitate the safe and secure return of the individual by providing a risk assessment, travel documents, travel tickets, medical and/or other escorts, along with pre-departure, transit and reintegration support.

Accommodation: Trafficked persons may be accommodated in an IOM shelter or elsewhere, if more appropriate.

Medical assistance: VoTs may receive medical care, counselling and psychological care.

Education and vocational training: This will depend on the beneficiary's past education and training and preference, but can include re-training, skills development, microcredit grants and so on.

Financial assistance: Financial assistance may be received to help support the successful reintegration of the trafficked person. The amount will vary from country to country and will depend on the cost of living in each country.

Legal assistance: This may be for criminal or civil proceedings and where the victim is subject to proceedings or where he/she seeks redress. Legal assistance may also refer to legal advice.

Job placement/apprenticeship: The VoT may be assisted to find employment in his/her country of origin.

Monitoring: This involves case follow-up after assistance. This may be via a visit or a telephone call, and additional support can be provided if needed.

The above offers a brief explanation of the types of assistance received by the trafficked persons referred to in this paper. Other kinds of assistance are outlined in *The IOM Handbook on Direct Assistance for Victims of Trafficking* which are not taken up by the cases explored here. This includes interventions where VoTs are assisted to manage microenterprise projects. It should be noted that this intervention may not be seen as appropriate for all beneficiaries (IOM, 2007: 98) and that reintegration programmes vary from region to region and are linked with the stage of programme development in each country and to funding possibilities (IOM, 2007: 80).

5.3 Assistance provided by IOM missions

IOM missions provided various types of assistance and access to reintegration programmes to the trafficked women after their first experience of trafficking. Expanding on the general forms of assistance that are highlighted in section 5.2, it can be noted that these included, in varying combinations: assistance to return safely to the country of origin, housing and shelter, vocational training, educational training, financial assistance and medical assistance.²⁸ Out of the 40 twice-assisted cases analysed for this paper, 13 were missing data regarding the type of assistance provided by IOM (see Table 5). Interviews with IOM mission staff were therefore undertaken to gain further information on all cases, including those with missing data. The following sections consider the assistance given to trafficked persons after their first experience of trafficking. These cases are discussed in order to evaluate why interventions were not as successful as hoped and to develop lessons learned from these experiences.

Table 5: Type of assistance received by VoTs at the first time of assistance (twice-assisted cases only; n=40)

Type of assistance	No. of VoTs
Assisted voluntary return	20
Accommodation	20 (of which 17 in an IOM shelter)
Medical care	20
Education and/or vocational training	9
Financial assistance	14
Legal assistance	6
Job placement/referral or apprenticeship	2
Refused assistance from IOM	3
Data unavailable	2

Source: IOM Human Trafficking Database.

As mentioned, it is important to note that the cases explored in this paper cover the various stages of implementation of IOM assistance programmes, and not all forms of assistance (as previously described) may have been available to the trafficked persons via the assisting mission at the time of assistance. This is due to the development of assistance programmes in different countries at different times and with differing available resources. At the same time, trafficked persons may have opted to decline certain forms of assistance, while prioritizing other forms of help.

5.3.1 Assisted voluntary return

A number of the beneficiaries were assisted in returning to their countries of origin by IOM missions in the countries to which they were trafficked (n=20). IOM first conducts a risk assessment to ensure that assistance involved the safe return of the trafficked persons to their countries of origin.²⁹ The duration of time between initial assistance by an IOM mission and the voluntary return varied from 3 to 90 days.

In addition, some of these individuals received assistance from the IOM mission upon return to their countries of origin. The information in the IOM database is unclear as to the frequency of case follow-up in the country of origin by an IOM mission. However, *The IOM Handbook on Direct Assistance for Victims of Trafficking* does recommend that:

After their return, regular contact should be maintained with victims for both security and monitoring purposes to ensure their effective reintegration Monitoring of the reintegration process is indispensable to be able to provide verifiable indicators related to the success of the reintegration programme. Monitoring reports should be completed for each victim assisted on a monthly basis during the first three months of the reintegration-monitoring process. This should be followed by at least two additional three-month reports during the remaining reintegration-monitoring period. In addition to the continuing review of the victim's reintegration progress, the monitoring procedure should also seek to verify whether the victim or his or her family has been threatened and/or harassed. The monitoring of victims for a period exceeding one year should be avoided (with the exception of minors), as this could add to the stigmatization and be counter-productive to the normalization of the situation and the effective reintegration process. For minors, UNICEF recommends monitoring until the age of majority (IOM, 2007: 103–104).

In some instances, a partnering organization may also be engaged to provide reintegration assistance on return; thus, IOM's role in monitoring is reduced (IOM, 2007).

A number of trafficked persons who returned to their countries of origin were provided with a small amount of subsistence allowance to cover their basic and immediate needs. The amount was USD 50 per day, on average. In the cases studied for this paper, this subsistence allowance was provided for a maximum of three days. While this is no doubt welcomed by the returning VoT, it is unlikely that such a small sum of money will address the economic disadvantages faced upon return to the country of origin (see also section 4.5, “Returning home”).

In addition, a 2009 “expert meeting on human rights protection in the return of trafficked persons to countries of origin” called for caution in the return of trafficked persons where the decision is not entirely voluntary. In this regard, it is important that both countries of destination and anti-trafficking donors are not adversely influenced by the option of return over other assistance and residency options in the country of destination (OSCE-ODIHR, 2009a, 2009b). In addition, IOM states that “return to the country or community of origin is not always the best solution or the desired solution for the victim....Organizations may also wish to advocate on behalf of the victim for a longer stay in the country of destination...” (IOM, 2007: 55). This should also include access to the labour market and the provision of all forms of assistance needed by the trafficked person (Craggs and Martens, 2010).

Trafficked persons may also return to their countries of origin as “self-returnees”, without being formally identified in the destination country or without having enrolled in an official return and reintegration programme. Lisborg (2009) notes that these VoTs are often unaware of existing assistance programmes, and instead have to independently “cope” with such difficulties after return. The author calls for better efforts to inform “self-returned” VoTs of the assistance options available to them, by targeting “hotspot return areas” as a means to reach out to trafficked persons who are still facing reintegration challenges. This would include reconsideration of conventional identification strategies and more proactive outreach mechanisms (Lisborg, 2009).

5.3.2 Accommodation

The time spent by trafficked persons in an IOM shelter ranged from two to three days to three months. In general, the females were often housed in IOM shelters for short periods of time before returning to their countries of origin under an IOM voluntary assistance programme. When back home in their countries of origin, trafficked persons sometimes received funding to cover their rent for a short period of time, and suitable housing was often found by IOM mission staff. The longest period of support was for three months.

5.3.3 Education and vocational training

Educational courses were either through a scholarship programme or were directly provided by IOM, often within IOM shelters, and these were all for one month in duration. Vocational courses were also generally provided by IOM missions, although some were instead provided by partner NGOs and financed by IOM. The vocational courses provided included cookery courses, secretarial courses and IT courses, dairy production courses, and professional cleaning courses. The IOM missions surveyed for this study also indicated other types of educational and vocational training courses as being available to trafficked persons. These included training in accounting, business, waitressing, construction, secretarial skills, and beautician and hairdressing courses. Language courses are also available.

After assistance, none of the beneficiaries stated having been able to secure regular employment (n=9), although a small minority were employed in irregular forms of work (n=2). As the majority remained unemployed, the employment situation of many of the trafficked persons at the end of the reintegration assistance was therefore similar to their situation immediately prior to first recruitment by their traffickers. In addition, many of the women indicated that they still considered themselves to be economically poor at the end of the monitoring process. While such a finding demands more attention, it reveals the need to consistently monitor and evaluate the efficacy of reintegration options.

5.3.4 Financial and legal assistance

Financial assistance was provided to some of the women, usually in the form of a one-month reinstallation grant. In addition, some cases were able to access the services of a lawyer, typically for a duration of one day. As previously mentioned, some beneficiaries also received funding to cover the cost of their monthly housing rent.

5.3.5 Medical care

With regard to access to medical care, information was available in the database for 20 out of the 40 cases. In some cases, this included the undertaking of a psychological assessment together with counselling. In the majority of cases, this involved a one-off health check and treatment for sexually transmitted diseases. The typical duration of medical care was up to one month. Many IOM missions also work in conjunction with national health systems.

5.3.6 Monitoring of the reintegration process

Where IOM missions have monitored the reintegration of beneficiaries into their home communities, monitoring continued anywhere from one month to three years (see also section 5.3.1, “Assisted voluntary return”). The one case that was monitored for three

years can be seen to be an exception, as the majority of the cases were monitored for less than one year. IOM missions frequently considered the reintegration process to have been successful during the lifetime of the monitoring process. Only one case was recorded as having been unsuccessful from the perspective of IOM and the reason for this was recorded as being “due to a better opportunity coming up”.

5.3.7 When trafficked persons decline assistance

Some of the trafficked persons, when they first encountered IOM missions, either refused assistance, went missing from IOM centres during the provision of assistance, or cut off contact with IOM. The IOM database reveals that, in four cases included in this study, the trafficked person directly refused assistance from IOM missions. Three of these individuals refused any assistance from IOM altogether, and one refused follow-up monitoring by IOM staff. In addition, IOM mission staff were unable to maintain contact with a further five beneficiaries, all of whom cut off contact with IOM during the period of assistance. Of note, all five were later assisted by IOM on a second occasion after they have been re-trafficked.

Trafficked persons of course have the freedom to choose whether to access assistance. However, in scenarios where trafficked persons decline assistance, disappear, or cut off contact with IOM missions, it is difficult for the IOM staff involved to provide adequate assistance, if at all. While the precise context of each of these scenarios is unclear, some of the VoT testimonies indicate negative past experiences with the authorities; hence, some VoTs were distrustful of any help that was subsequently offered. For further discussion on why VoTs decline assistance, see also Brunovskis and Surtees (2007).

5.4 The involvement of other agencies and the local government

The IOM missions surveyed for this study also indicated the frequent involvement of local NGOs or other inter-governmental organizations in the region in conjunction with the provision of project-based assistance alongside IOM. It is therefore not uncommon for a trafficked person to receive assistance from agencies in addition to IOM. This has also included the provision of humanitarian assistance from the Red Cross. It is beyond the scope of this study to look at non-IOM-provided assistance. Thus, no information is available regarding the possible assistance provided by other service providers for the 40 re-trafficking cases herein analysed. However, further attention is needed concerning the impact of multi-agency service provision.

Nevertheless, while IOM case managers indicated that they often work closely with other NGO partners, there was a consensus among the IOM missions surveyed that there is a distinct lack of government or State involvement in providing assistance

to returning VoTs. Recent research has also found this to be the case in countries of destination (Craggs and Martens, 2010). There is a documented lack of local or nationally provided services for trafficked persons on return to their countries of origin in SEE. Surtees (2005: 19) has earlier observed that “the vast majority of assistance provided in SEE is shelter-based, short-term services provided by NGOs or international organizations, and funded foreign donors with little or no following involvement on the part of government health, education or social welfare services”.

Further, many of the IOM missions surveyed for this report indicated that they would welcome the development of local government initiatives in assisting VoTs. For example, in some countries, it can be noted that medical assistance for returnee VoTs, including psychosocial counselling, is unavailable under the national framework. Even where assistance from the local government is available, IOM mission staff also indicated that it is often not sufficient to meet demand.

A 2009 OSCE-ODIHR meeting also cautioned that the focus on residence entitlements and assistance for trafficking victims in countries of destination should not outweigh sustainable options in countries of origin. Residence entitlements may be short-lived and inconsistently applied, leaving many trafficked persons compelled to return home independently and without support, or subject to removal procedures (OSCE-ODIHR, 2009a; see also Craggs and Martens, 2010).

5.5 Summary of challenges faced by service providers

The IOM case files analysed for this study revealed that many VoTs face an array of economic, social and cultural difficulties on return to their countries of origin (see also section 4.5, “Returning home”). The short-term assistance provided by IOM missions was found to be sufficient to allow for the safe return of VoTs to their countries of origin and to address their immediate legal, financial and medical needs. Yet it is perhaps questionable as to whether reintegration programmes receive sufficient funding to allow for the provision of tailored support to address the many economic and social difficulties faced by trafficked persons upon their return to their countries of origin. Many of the IOM missions surveyed for this study further indicated that the re-trafficking of persons may only be challenged by extending existing reintegration and monitoring processes over a more sustained and longer duration of time. Indeed, in relation to the prevention of the re-trafficking of persons, it is probable that assistance needs to be longer in duration in order to be sustainable.

Similarly, Lutsenko et al. (2005) have argued (by using the Ukrainian context as an example) that, while international NGOs provide short-term assistance such as medical, psychological and legal support to trafficked persons upon return, and thereby fulfil a much-needed function for short-term rehabilitation and reintegration, longer-term

initiatives still need to be developed nationally and locally. In particular they argue that longer-term initiatives are needed for sustainable recovery from any health or psychological problems associated with trafficking experiences (see also Zimmerman, 2003); and for adequate legal assistance and legal redress (Lutsenko et al., 2005; see also Limanowska, 2002; Surtees, 2005).

In addition, this study finds that there is a lack of local government initiatives to assist VoTs when they are back home in their countries of origin, while recent research also draws a similar conclusion in relation to countries of destination (Craggs and Martens, 2010). Furthermore, IOM mission staff have indicated that previous assistance provided and/or monitoring of reintegration undertaken was frequently constrained by insufficient levels of international and local funding. Lack of funding thus stood as a barrier to the process being carried out effectively and for a sufficient duration of time.

In turn, assistance and reintegration programmes may not always be sufficient to challenge the economic and social inequalities which formerly trafficked persons face upon return to their countries of origin. This is partially due to the duration of assistance and monitoring programmes coupled with funding limitations. However, it may also be due to the lack of adequate employment or educational opportunities in trafficked persons' countries of origin (see section 4.5, "Returning home", and section 4.6, "Migrating a second time").

This research has also found that, on some occasions, a trafficked person may perceive the assistance received after a first trafficking experience to be insufficient to prevent re-trafficking. For example, one individual who was assisted by IOM after her first experience of trafficking recalled being assisted to find employment in her country of origin, but she was unsuccessful in her efforts. She enrolled in a computer course partly funded by IOM, but was unable to complete the course as she could not pay the remaining portion of the fees. She later made the decision to migrate again. Owing to the lack of safe and regular migration routes, she contacted smugglers to assist her, and she was later re-trafficked for sexual exploitation purposes (IOM case file).

Addressing the wider economic and social problems faced by trafficked persons in countries of origin may, in some cases, be beyond the remit of what an anti-trafficking reintegration or monitoring programme can deliver. Meaningful – and thus successful – reintegration support to trafficked persons may therefore be compromised where reintegration programmes are challenged by funding shortages or are implemented over a shorter duration of time. IOM missions surveyed for this study also frequently supported this finding. Many IOM case managers believe that reintegration and monitoring programmes must be implemented for a longer duration of time if they are to be effective and if they are to specifically prevent re-trafficking. Many respondents also suggested that the monitoring process should be ongoing; that is, until trafficked

persons are considered to be fully reintegrated back into their surroundings. In addition, it was proposed that case monitoring should be terminated only when it is believed that a beneficiary is economically and socially capable and independent, unless otherwise requested by the beneficiary.³⁰

Ultimately, this would require substantial funds to enable missions to provide longer-term and sustainable assistance.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper is exploratory in nature and further investigation of the issues raised is needed. However, the study does offer a snapshot of re-trafficking. It is clear that re-trafficking is a significant problem that warrants further examination and action. It is important that, in the future, consistent data is collected on the re-trafficking of persons. In addition, anti-trafficking interventions should be better evaluated for their effectiveness. The findings of this paper further indicate that additional research into the subject is needed.

This paper has found that the re-trafficking of persons occurs within a complex array of interacting economic, social, cultural and psychosocial factors. Some of these factors are directly related to and/or are a result of prior trafficking experiences, while other factors are related to the wider socio-economic circumstances in countries of origin, which necessitate and drive forms of irregular migration or risky employment practices. While reintegration programmes can assist trafficked persons to a greater or lesser degree upon return, this paper finds that they often cannot challenge the wider socio-economic circumstances within which the trafficking and re-trafficking of persons takes place.

This study has further shown that the consequences of trafficking can be complex and far-reaching. Physically exiting a trafficking situation does not always equate to escaping the ramifications of having been exploited. The initial trafficking experience may in itself contribute to a situation of re-trafficking. Indeed, the control mechanisms involved in trafficking do not necessarily end at exit and/or escape from a trafficking situation, as trafficker(s) may still exert control over VoTs through threats and/or “debts” owed. Moreover, when trafficked persons return to the same socio-economic situation that contributed to their trafficking in the first instance, they are potentially vulnerable to further trafficking harm.

Through an analysis of the IOM data on trafficked persons, this paper has thus found a broad range of causal factors of re-trafficking, factors which frequently intersect in complex ways. Indeed, several factors combined usually contributed to re-trafficking in the cases herein discussed. In some of the cases analysed for this paper, re-trafficking occurred where interventions had taken place; subsequently, there are lessons to be learnt. Re-trafficking has consequences for organizations if the assistance they provide does not prevent subsequent re-trafficking. As discussed, existing assistance and reintegration programmes may not always sufficiently address the complex problems VoTs face upon return. Interventions need to address not only the immediate needs

of the trafficked persons in the short term, but also, fundamentally, the broader socio-economic contexts in which trafficking and re-trafficking take place. This includes the development of safe and regular migration routes for those who, due to economic push factors, need to migrate in order to secure employment. It should also include the development of local economies and infrastructure to prevent trafficking, through the creation of local employment opportunities for communities that may be vulnerable to trafficking and/or re-trafficking.

Sometimes, re-trafficking may occur because a trafficked person is not able to access the necessary help and assistance in the country of destination, or before he/she is able to get such help. Where VoTs are deported or return home without the needed support, this may hinder their long-term exit from trafficking situations. According to the narratives of the trafficked persons featured in this study, this may also be due to the collusion of law-enforcement agencies with trafficker(s). At the same time, return to the country of origin is only one option and countries of destination equally need to provide sustainable support options, including the right to temporary or permanent residency and the right to work (Craggs and Martens, 2010).

It is clear from the testimonies of VoTs (as given to IOM at the point of assistance) that re-trafficking has links with the duration and appropriateness of reintegration and to the efficacy of monitoring programmes upon a trafficked individual's return to his/her country of origin. It is indeed difficult to see how short-term support alone can adequately address the many economic difficulties faced on return. In addition, short-term support – however welcome and necessary upon exit from trafficking situations – often can neither facilitate the longer-term reintegration of VoTs back into their home communities, nor fully address ever-present global and local economic inequalities, including inequalities relating to gender.

The ramifications of a trafficking experience are far-reaching, and the effects of having been trafficked often continue after exit and/or upon return to the country of origin. Together, such factors frequently render VoTs more vulnerable to subsequent trafficking. This is especially the case where debts are owed to trafficker(s) or others; where there is difficulty reintegrating back into the community due to the stigma of having been trafficked; where the trafficker(s) still threaten the individual or their family; or where countries of destination have failed to protect those exploited on their territory (see also Craggs and Martens, 2010).

Reintegration is frequently unsustainable where there is poverty, a severe shortage of viable employment and education opportunities, or where it is considered necessary – despite knowledge of and/or experiences of the risks of trafficking – for people to migrate through insecure and unsafe channels. Where the return of a VoT to his/her country of origin is involved, the circumstances that rendered the individual vulnerable

to trafficking harm in the first instance may remain. The solution(s) therefore inevitably lie in addressing those circumstances. It is subsequently necessary to concentrate anti-trafficking strategies on finding sustainable ways to challenge wider global and local, gender and ethnic, inequalities, which underpin trafficking situations. At the same time, it is important to ensure safe, legal and humane migration practices. When individuals need protection, assistance should be extended in duration, breadth and remit. This includes improved (re)integration assistance options in both the country of origin and the country of destination. There equally needs to be due attention afforded to the monitoring and evaluation of individual cases and collective anti-trafficking interventions. Only in these ways can the trafficking and re-trafficking of persons be effectively and coherently challenged.

Recommendations

Providing longer-term assistance locally and nationally

Longer-term assistance is needed. While the immediate needs of trafficked persons are often met, longer-term monitoring and assistance is still needed. This, of course, requires more funds to enable longer-term reintegration and follow-up on the broad range of assistance needs faced by trafficked persons, including legal, financial, employment and health needs.

Presently, the majority of assistance is provided locally but funded by international bodies. Support in the long term is perhaps better provided in the local community by a range of service providers due to the complex and diverse needs of trafficked persons. More adequate national and local infrastructures are needed both in countries of origin and countries of destination. The result would be more sustainable in the longer term, although international assistance organizations could remain in a position to help develop local services. Additional funding is therefore required to develop anti-trafficking intervention; stronger, more effective reintegration programmes are needed to prevent re-trafficking.

Taking into account previous trafficking experiences when assisting VoTs

Assistance organizations should take into account whether an individual has been trafficked on more than one occasion and should develop assistance programmes accordingly. Where previous interventions have been unsuccessful, assistance programmes should develop and learn from this – both across programmes and in relation to specific cases. In addition, more consistent monitoring systems are needed to track where and when re-trafficking has occurred to develop future learning on preventative measures.

Developing case-specific assistance with due attention to children/young people

This study has found that, in the IOM-assisted cases, children and young people are highly vulnerable to trafficking in the first instance and to re-trafficking upon return. This is especially the case where children and young people are returned to domestic situations where there is inadequate support, or to situations which contributed to their trafficking in the first instance. The specific needs of children/young people should be incorporated into assistance and reintegration programmes and, where available, local and national services should be developed to meet the needs of these groups. Regarding return, child VoTs should be returned to their countries of origin only if this represents the most suitable, sustainable and durable solution after a thorough assessment of the best interests of each child (IOM, 2007).

Facilitating safe and legal migration channels

A number of returned trafficked persons included in this study were re-trafficked while re-migrating from their countries of origin. Some VoTs stated that they were informed of the potential risks and dangers, but had to migrate irregularly due to economic pressures in their countries of origin. Better awareness of the rights and needs of returnee VoTs to re-migrate is needed, and advice and/or assistance should be provided where necessary. This might include assistance to find legitimate employment opportunities abroad and/or assistance to safely migrate through safe and regular channels.

Developing local economies

One of the prominent push factors in the re-trafficking of VoTs was the lack of employment opportunities at home. Therefore, anti-trafficking agencies should include in their anti-trafficking programmes a strategy to build partnerships with local agencies to work together in developing local economies and businesses. This would positively impact anti-trafficking measures by creating local employment opportunities for communities that may be vulnerable to trafficking and/or re-trafficking.

Tougher penalties for State officials who collude with traffickers

In order to facilitate the longer-term exit of trafficked persons from trafficking situations, both the collusion of State officials with traffickers, specifically law-enforcement officers, and the distrust of law-enforcement officers by trafficked persons need to be addressed in some way. Where VoTs have alleged that law-enforcement agencies and/or border police may have been involved in their (re)trafficking, these situations need to be investigated. Furthermore, penalties for collusion with trafficker(s) need to be more stringent and should be applied more vigorously.

Safe, voluntary return of trafficked persons

This study found that, where trafficked persons have been forcibly deported without referral to a relevant agency to assist in their safe return, they have often been re-trafficked en route to their countries of origin. If re-trafficking is to be addressed, it is essential that VoTs are correctly identified and referred to the appropriate assistance organizations. This may, for example, require border agencies to develop more robust identification processes, monitor practices that impact the identification of VoTs and/or develop training and awareness programmes for their staff.

Further, in some destination countries, it can be inherently difficult to access potential VoTs in detention prior to their removal. In this context, service providers and lawyers need improved access to detention centres to ensure the provision of legal counselling and to enable the screening of detainees. This would lead to the possible identification and protection of VoTs (Craggs and Martens, 2010).

Where trafficked persons are voluntarily returned, this needs to be coupled with an appropriate risk assessment. This includes situations where there are gender or ethnic inequalities in the country of origin; where trafficked persons originate from countries where conflicts are ongoing or recent; where trafficked persons are refugees or displaced persons; where there is demand for and/or tolerance of trafficking in the country of origin; where there is a risk of reprisals by the trafficking network against the VoT and his/her family; where there is limited capacity and willingness by the government authorities to provide protection from possible intimidation and violence; where there is a risk that the VoT will be arrested, detained or prosecuted for trafficking-related offences; and where there are limited assistance and opportunities for long-term employment.

A recent OSCE-ODIHR meeting also recommended that VoTs concerned with possible risks prior to their return to their countries of origin should be supported through a “go-and-see” programme (OSCE-ODIHR, 2009a). There is, however, a clear need to monitor returns and to also develop criteria to monitor reintegration.

The right to remain in the destination country

At the same time, return is just one option. Where VoTs cannot or do not wish to return home, IOM calls for the availability of a reflection period in the country of destination which is clearly defined in law and guarantees protection against deportation as a legal right (see IOM, 2007; Craggs and Martens, 2010).

In addition, in order to improve current practices, it would be important for policymakers in destination countries to have information about the impact of return policies in light of the evidence of re-trafficking, so that they can look to improve support and residency options in the country of destination.

Providing communities with awareness and education programmes regarding trafficking situations and sexual violence

Where trafficked persons have experienced family and community rejection, this has often been linked to the stigma related to their trafficking experience, particularly where it involved sexual exploitation. Education and awareness programmes should be developed to raise awareness of human trafficking to combat such stigma.

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ENDNOTES

1. A number of interchangeable terms are used in this paper to denote those who have been trafficked, including trafficked person, victim of trafficking and beneficiary. The term “victim of trafficking” (VoT) reflects the use of the term by many NGOs. VoT is generally the term used in the human rights context to describe a person who has experienced human rights violations and who is in need of protection due to his or her trafficking experiences. Within academic and feminist debates, the use of the term “victim” is considered to be inherently problematic. The use of the term “victim” is not used in this paper to suggest that trafficked persons lack agency, but is used to be consistent with terminology used by IOM and the wider NGO community.
2. IOM staff who work directly with trafficked persons were surveyed for this paper; please see section 2, “Evidence of Re-trafficking in the IOM Human Trafficking Database”, for further information.
3. Updated information was not available at the time of publication.
4. According to the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (2000):
 - (a) “Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.
 - (b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used.
 - (c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered “trafficking in persons” even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article.
 - (d) “Child” shall mean any person under 18 years of age.
5. This is a closed list in relation to the IOM cases included in this study, but other re-trafficking scenarios may call for the notion of “exit” to be revisited.
6. This is based on the IOM cases included in this study, but other re-trafficking scenarios may stipulate more exact durations of time.

7. The database is referred to as the “CTM” (Counter-trafficking Module) internally as this is the formal technical name. For ease of understanding, in the context of this paper, we refer primarily to the IOM Human Trafficking Database.
8. This is IOM’s standardized counter-trafficking data-management tool, which was initiated in 2000 and has since been updated or adjusted. The objectives are: (1) case management of trafficked persons – by implementing and monitoring the IOM assistance, movement and reintegration process for trafficked persons through a centralized managed system; and (2) research and increased understanding of trafficking – by documenting the individual’s trafficking experience and, by implication, increasing the understanding of causes, processes, trends and consequences of trafficking.
9. The whole research process abided by the IOM Data Protection Principles. All IOM case files used in this study were depersonalized and void of any confidential information.
10. Nevertheless, some summary data on this case can be provided. The male involved was in his late thirties at the second time of trafficking. He was identified in 2009 after having been re-trafficked to the Russian Federation for forced labour in the construction industry where he was exploited for 12 hours a day, seven days a week. He mentions being recruited in his country and travelling with other migrants, some of whom were also trafficked with him. After exit from the trafficking situation, the male was provided with legal, financial, and humanitarian assistance. No information is available relating to his first trafficking experience.
11. Except in two cases where data was unavailable for the first time of assistance by IOM.
12. The IOM database was piloted in SEE and was then expanded to cover other geographical locations. This is one explanation for the dominance of SEE nationals and the dominance of trafficking to and within SEE countries in the data set.
13. To date, the majority of trafficked persons assisted by IOM have been women trafficked for sexual exploitation. Up until very recently, national and international policy, practice, research and, consequently, donor funding, has predominantly focused on trafficking for the sexual exploitation of women and girls. It is only recently that the needed attention has been afforded to trafficking for other forms of exploitation as well as the trafficking of men and boys (see also Surtees, 2008). As such, there is arguably a bias not only towards the sex breakdown of persons identified as having been trafficked (and in the database), but also the number of persons identified as having been trafficked for sexual exploitation compared to the number of trafficked persons identified after having been trafficked for other forms of exploitation. Identification biases in return have an impact on eligibility for direct assistance

programmes: organizations working on combating trafficking have previously received donor funds only to assist women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation. This has resulted in data biases which one must be aware of and must take into account (see Surtees and Craggs, 2010).

14. There is data missing in one case.
15. In 2008, IOM included a new field to capture information on the age of the trafficked person at entry, exit and assistance. However, such data was not available for any of the cases included in this study.
16. One woman's nationality was unrecorded and does not appear in the relevant chart.
17. This is based on the answers of 58 VoTs to questions about their economic status, as data was unavailable for 21 VoTs.
18. These are the definitions used in the IOM screening and assistance forms.
19. Exact percentages are not included in this section due to national and regional differences in how education systems are defined. Indeed, refined comparisons between the formal education levels of assisted cases are difficult as education systems differ from country to country; one trafficked person's experience of elementary education may differ in length and experience with another's. Information on the educational experiences of VoTs is drawn from questions asked by IOM mission staff on whether the beneficiaries had completed formal education to the level of primary or elementary school, middle school, high school, or university/technical college or equivalent.
20. This is based on 62 responses, as data was unavailable for 17 case histories.
21. The data for this variable is limited as the categories of employment are pre-defined by IOM from a range of limited options. The categories used may not reflect the full range of employment that has been undertaken by trafficked persons despite the fields having been revised in 2008.
22. The definitions of exploitation are taken from Surtees (2008) and jointly drafted with IOM. While the Palermo Protocol refers only to trafficking for sexual exploitation, forced labour or organ removal, this study refers to data collected through the IOM database relating to trafficking for: adoption, low-level criminal activity (primarily begging/delinquency), forced labour and sexual exploitation. Each of these forms of trafficking is defined below. These are IOM's working definitions, based on various publications and sources and are subject to ongoing discussion and revision:
 - **Sexual exploitation:** This includes a range of different forms including prostitution, pornography, exotic dancing or forced marriage (IOM, 2007).
 - **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's Forced Labour Convention (No. 29), 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, 2005: 38).
 - **Adoption:** Trafficking for adoption is not addressed by the Palermo Protocol and is not well developed conceptually in 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 movement “transfer” of children for adoption. 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.
23. Total case files analysed equal 80, whereby the sample caseload is 40 trafficking cases, with separate information relating to the first and second trafficking experience for all 40 cases.
 24. One case was missing data.
 25. The cases were assisted by IOM prior to independence.
 26. These lengths of time include the duration of the second trafficking experience and the time before which assistance is sought from/provided by IOM, as well as the time between each incident of trafficking. Data concerning the dates/years of trafficking was not recorded in the IOM database.
 27. Data was not available for two cases.
 28. IOM assesses the assistance and reintegration needs of each trafficked person on a case-by-case basis. For further information, please refer to *The IOM Handbook on Direct Assistance for Victims of Trafficking*: http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/published_docs/books/CT%20handbook.pdf
 29. For a discussion of the importance of this with regard to the victim’s experiences of return and the potential risks involved, see section 4.3, “Interception by the authorities”, and section 4.4, “Experiences of deportation”.
 30. The monitoring process is not compulsory and is undertaken by IOM only with the consent of the individual.

Appendix A: Mission survey

Dear (mission),

I am conducting some research on IOM's counter-trafficking database, which focuses on re-trafficking. I am interested in the causes and consequences of re-trafficking. If you have the time to answer the following brief questions on re-trafficking, it would be most appreciated. I am also interested in any of your opinions and/or experiences regarding re-trafficking cases which are not covered by the following questions.

How would you define re-trafficking? When do you consider someone to have been re-trafficked?

How frequently do you believe re-trafficking occurs in your area? Are you aware of many cases?

Which groups do you consider to be most at risk of being re-trafficked?

Which factors, in your opinion and/or experience, make it more likely that a person will be re-trafficked?

Which factors, in your opinion and/or experience, make it less likely that a person will be re-trafficked?

What, in your opinion and/or experience, are the causes of re-trafficking?

On the IOM assistance form there is a question "Has the victim ever been a victim of trafficking before?"

- When did your mission introduce this question?
- Has the question been asked consistently (i.e. in every interview with a victim) since its introduction? If not, can you estimate how often you ask this question in your assistance interviews?
- When asking the question did you experience any difficulties which may affect response rates?
- If you have recorded any responses to this question as "n.a.", what did you mean by this?

What action, in your opinion, should be taken to prevent re-trafficking?

Appendix B: Mission survey for missions in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Kosovo/UNSC 1244, the Republic of Moldova, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Turkey, Ukraine, Serbia and Montenegro

Dear (mission),

I am conducting some research on IOM's counter-trafficking database, which focuses on re-trafficking. I am interested in the causes and consequences of re-trafficking. If you have the time to answer the following brief questions on re-trafficking, it would be most appreciated. I am also interested in any of your opinions and/or experiences regarding re-trafficking cases which are not covered by the following questions.

How would you define re-trafficking? When do you consider someone to have been re-trafficked?

How frequently do you believe re-trafficking occurs in your area? Are you aware of many cases?

Which groups do you consider to be most at risk of being re-trafficked?

Which factors, in your opinion, make it more likely that a person will be re-trafficked?

Which factors, in your opinion, make it less likely that a person will be re-trafficked?

What, in your opinion, are the causes of re-trafficking?

On the IOM assistance form there is a question "Has the victim ever been a victim of trafficking before?"

- When did your mission introduce this question?
- Has the question been asked consistently (i.e. in every interview with a victim) since its introduction? If not, can you estimate how often you ask this question in your assistance interviews?
- When asking the question do you experience any difficulties which may affect response rates?
- If you have recorded any responses to this question as "n.a.", what did you mean by this?

What action, in your opinion, should be taken to prevent re-trafficking?

Questions regarding twice-assisted cases.

It appears from the database that your mission has been involved with victims of trafficking who have been assisted twice by IOM. Your mission has encountered re-trafficked and re-assisted VoTs either on their first and/or second time of assistance.

- Why do you think some VoTs are vulnerable to being trafficked on a second occasion within your area?
- Are there any factors which in your opinion make some VoTs more vulnerable than others to being re-trafficked?
- What kind of measures do you believe need to be taken to prevent re-trafficking within Central and South-Eastern Europe?
- What kind of reintegration programmes do you think are needed to prevent re-trafficking?

Appendix C: Mission survey for IOM missions in South-Eastern Europe assisting re-trafficking cases

Dear (mission),

I would like to ask some general questions about the assistance available for VoTs in your area.

With regard to the assistance provided by your mission:

Does your mission provide accommodation for VoTs? If so, what is the average length of stay for a VoT?

What types of vocational/educational/training courses are available to VoTs by and/or through your mission?

On average, what is the duration of the vocational/educational/training courses provided by your mission?

On average, how much financial assistance is available to VoTs assisted by your mission? And for what length of time is financial assistance generally provided?

What type of medical assistance is available to VoTs. Does this include any form of psychosocial counselling?

On average, what is the duration of any medical assistance provided to VoTs?

On average, how long does your mission monitor the reintegration of returnee trafficking victims?

What does the monitoring of VoTs involve?

How does your mission determine that a VoT has successfully reintegrated back into their community?

With regard to assistance available from partner/other organizations in your area:

Does your mission liaise with other organizations in the area to provide assistance to returnee VoTs?

Do local NGOs and/or local organizations in your area also provide assistance for returnee victims of trafficking?

If so:

Can you specify the type of organization?

What type of assistance is available?

How long is this assistance generally available to the VoT?

Do local government/social services provide any assistance to VoTs in your area?

If so:

What type of assistance is available?

How long is this assistance generally available to the VoT?

How can the available assistance to VoTs in your area be improved?

Appendix D: Search terms used to locate re-trafficking cases in the IOM database

re-trafficking; retrafficking; re-traffiking; retraffiking; re-trafficked; retrafficked; retrafficked; re-trafficked; re-traffic; retraffic; retraffik; re-traffik;

trafficked for a second time; for a second time; second time; trafficked additionally; trafficked again; again trafficked; on a second occasion; twice; additionally trafficked; in addition trafficked; trafficked additionally; traffickers again; first time of trafficking; second time of trafficking; additional trafficking; first time of being trafficked; second time of being trafficked; first trafficking experience; second trafficking experience; first time of trafficking; second time of trafficking; first trafficked; secondly trafficked; second trafficked; first traffickers; second traffickers; first trafficking; second trafficking; subsequent trafficking; subsequently trafficked;

returned home; re-assisted, assisted again; again assisted; assisted twice; twice assisted; assisted on a second occasion; assisted for a second time; found again; discovered again; previously trafficked; previous trafficking; earlier trafficked; earlier trafficked to; earlier trafficking; trafficked earlier; further trafficked; further trafficking; furthermore trafficked; repeat trafficking; repeat trafficked; repeatedly trafficked; trafficking once more; trafficked once more; recurrently trafficked; recurrent trafficking; once again trafficked; trafficked once again; also trafficked; also trafficking; afterwards trafficked; later on trafficked; prior trafficked; prior trafficking; latterly trafficked; more recent trafficking; more recently trafficked; next trafficked; next trafficking; trafficked before; trafficking before; trafficking last time; traffickers last time.



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