

**UNIVERZITA KARLOVA V PRAZE
CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE**

**Fakulta humanitních studií
Faculty of Humanities**

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**HUMAN TRAFFICKING – A MODERN FORM OF SLAVERY?
CONNECTIONS BETWEEN HUMAN TRAFFICKING, FORCED LABOUR AND
IMMIGRATION CONTROLS**

**Bakalářská práce
Dissertation**

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Praha (Prague) 2009

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PODĚKOVÁNÍ

Děkuji vedoucí své práce Selmě Muhič-Dizdarevič za podporu a důvěru, kterou mi projevovala během psaní této práce.

Dále bych chtěla poděkovat Petru Skrandies, vedoucímu kurzu Migration, Mobilty and Exile na University of Greenwich, jehož hodiny mi byly inspirací a zdrojem mnoha užitečných informací. Mnoho díky patří také mému koordinátorovi Simonu Dye, který mi byl vždy nápomocný během mého pobytu v Londýně.

Velké poděkování patří všem mým přátelům, především těm se kterými jsem pracovala v londýnské restauraci, bez kterých bych tuto práci nikdy nenapsala.

Největší děkuji však patří mé matce Lauře, která mi byla obrovskou oporou, především v závěrečných fázích.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank my supervisor Selma Muhič-Dizdarevič for her support and trust while writing the dissertation.

I would like to thank Peter Skrandies, the leader of the Migration, Mobility and Exile course at the University of Greenwich, whose classes served as an inspiration for my research and as a source of many useful information. Many thanks also goes to my Erasmus Coordinator Simon Dye who was always helpful with anything I needed during my stay in London.

Big thanks go to all my friends, especially those at the restaurant where I worked, without whom I would never be able to undertake my field research.

The biggest thanks goes to my mother Laura who was a big support for me, especially in the final stages.

ABSTRAKT

Cílem této práce je prozkoumat problematiku obchodování s lidmi a její složitost ve vztahu k fenoménu nucené práce a imigrační politice států. Práce se zaměřuje hlavně na ekonomickou migraci, jež přispěla k rozvoji jak kapitalismu tak globalizace. Lidé se již po staletí stěhují za lepšími ekonomickými příležitostmi, avšak ti z rozvojových oblastí často narážejí na uzavřené hranice rozvinutého světa. Jsou tudíž v mnoha případech nuceni použít alternativní způsob překročení hranic, a to za použití sítě obchodníků s lidmi a pašeráků. Ti představují spojovací článek mezi nabídkou a poptávkou ekonomické migrace. Nelegální migranti uspokojují poptávku po levné pracovní síle a jejich zranitelné a nechráněné postavení ve společnosti z nich činí snadné cíle pro další vykořisťování formou nucených prací. Tato práce zkoumá hlavní typy nucené práce a praktik podobných otroctví. Identifikuje hlavní příčiny a faktory usnadňující obchodování s lidmi a také důvody pro stále více restriktivní imigrační kontroly, jejich účinnost je však v práci zpochybněna.

Klíčová slova: chudoba, ekonomická migrace, nucená migrace, obchodování s lidmi, pašování, nucená práce, moderní otroctví, imigrační kontroly, nelegální migrace, nepravdělná migrace, globalizace, lidská práva, push a pull faktory.

ABSTRACT

This work aims to explore the issues of human trafficking and the complexity of its relationship with forced labour and immigration policies. The main focus is on the economic migration that has contributed to the development of both capitalism and for globalisation. People all around the world have always been moving in search of better economic opportunities, however those from the developing regions often face closed borders of the developed world and are often forced to use alternative ways of entry through the network of traffickers and smugglers who act as a link between the supply and demand of economic migration. Illegal immigrants sustain the demand for cheap labour and their vulnerable and unprotected status in society makes them easy targets of further exploitation in the entrapment of forced labour. The main types of forced labour and bondage practises are explored. The root causes and facilitating factors of human trafficking are identified, together with the reasons for increasingly restrictive immigration controls, the effectiveness of which is contested.

Key Words: poverty; economic migration; forced migration; human trafficking; smuggling; forced labour; modern slavery; immigration controls; illegal migration; irregular migration; globalisation; human rights; push and pull factors.

“Like many things that should have been stamped out a long time ago, slavery, it seems, is alive and well.”

The Economist, March 9th 2005

“The trade in people is surely the most morally repugnant of all the illicit trades that flourish today. But it’s deeply entrenched and interwoven with the world’s ever more complex migration flows.”

Moises Naim in “Illicit” (2005, p. 89)

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----------|
| <u>INTRODUCTION</u> | <u>1</u> |
| <u>STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION</u> | <u>4</u> |
| <u>1. METHODOLOGY</u> | <u>6</u> |
| 1.1 Problem Statement, Rationale and Aims | 6 |
| 1.2 Theoretical Background | 7 |
| 1.2.1 The Key Theoretical Assumptions | 7 |
| 1.3 Research Questions..... | 8 |
| 1.4 Research Strategy..... | 9 |
| 1.4.1 Rationale for using empirical methods | 9 |
| 1.4.2 Methods of primary data collection..... | 10 |
| Participant observation..... | 10 |
| Informal in-depth interview..... | 11 |
| Selection of the sample and environment for investigation | 12 |
| 1.4.3 Preparing the research | 12 |
| 1.4.4 Detailed description and development of the field research methodology..... | 13 |
| <u>2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON MAJOR LABOUR MIGRATION FLOWS</u> | <u>16</u> |
| 2.1 Forced Migration: Settler Colonies and Slavery..... | 16 |
| 2.2 Partially Free Migration: Indentured Labour | 17 |
| 2.3 Voluntary Migration: After The WW2 and The End of Free Migration..... | 18 |
| 2.4 Mixed Migration: International Labour Migration in the 21st Century..... | 19 |

| | |
|---|------------------|
| <u>3. DEFINITIONS, STATISTICS AND THE VICTIMS</u> | <u>21</u> |
| 3.1 Human Trafficking and Smuggling | 21 |
| 3.1.1 Definitions..... | 21 |
| Human Trafficking..... | 21 |
| Smuggling..... | 22 |
| 3.1.3 Statistics and Victims | 23 |
| 3.2 Forced Labour and Modern Slavery | 26 |
| 3.2.1 Definitions..... | 26 |
| Forced Labour | 26 |
| Modern Slavery | 28 |
| <i>Types of Forced Labour</i> | <i>29</i> |
| <i>Examples of forced labour practices identified worldwide</i> | <i>30</i> |
| 3.2.2 Statistics and Victims | 31 |
| 3.3 Case study: Example of an illegal migrant worker in London | 34 |
| <u>4. HUMAN TRAFFICKING: A WAY TO MODERN SLAVERY.....</u> | <u>36</u> |
| <u>5. REASONS FOR HUMAN TRAFFICKING: ROOT CAUSES AND FACILITATING FACTORS.....</u> | <u>39</u> |
| 5.1 Root Causes | 39 |
| 5.1.1 Poverty..... | 40 |
| 5.1.2 Discrimination..... | 41 |
| 5.1.3 Lack of reliable Information | 42 |
| 5.1.4 Demand for cheap labour..... | 42 |
| 5.1.5 Demand for commercial sex..... | 43 |
| 5.2 Facilitating Factors | 43 |
| 5.2.1 Insufficient law enforcement and high profits..... | 43 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 5.2.2 Immigration Controls..... | 44 |
| <u>6. IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS.....</u> | <u>47</u> |
| 6.1 Reasons for Controlling Immigration | 48 |
| 6.1.1 The Oil crisis in 1973..... | 48 |
| 6.1.2 Public opinion and rise in xenophobia | 48 |
| 6.1.3 The role and the nature of the nation-state | 50 |
| 6.1.4 Drawbacks of immigration to rich countries | 51 |
| 6.1.5 Demand for irregular immigration | 52 |
| 6.1.6 Security concerns..... | 52 |
| 6.2 Effectiveness of Immigration Controls..... | 53 |
| 6.3 Immigration Controls and Human Rights..... | 54 |
| <u>CONCLUSION.....</u> | <u>57</u> |
| <u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u> | <u>61</u> |
| <u>SELECTED INTERNET SOURCES.....</u> | <u>65</u> |

INTRODUCTION

Traditional slavery, result of forced migration into the colonised New World, was abolished in 1834, but forced labour continued in other forms up till 1970s when colonies got their independence and indentured workers were freed. At the same time pressure from international human rights organisations called for protecting individuals basic freedoms and as a result workers became protected by international law. With open borders after the Second World War there were enough jobs available for international workers who were keen to come to Europe to improve their economic standard. However, since the 1970s Europe has gradually started to close its borders and free migration has been at its end since then. This means that those migrants who cannot enter legally using their visa and who are still willing to cross the borders have to find alternative, often illegal and dangerous ways of entering, which in many cases brings them to forced labour often referred to as modern slavery.

Today, slavery is illegal in all countries of the world and practices similar to slavery are not justifiable in modern liberal societies. However, that does not mean they do not happen. The sad reality is that millions of migrant workers are still trapped in forms of labour exploitation similar to slavery that marked a birth of global capitalism two hundred years ago. The most common way normal people learn about the suffering of the victims is through media, usually only after a human tragedy occurs as was in the case of 58 Chinese persons who were found dead in a truck in Dover while being trafficked to the United Kingdom in 2000 or when the 19 Chinese cockle-pickers, recruited illegally, died in the Morecambe Bay in Northwest England. Millions of others are suffering in silence.

Human trafficking and forced labour has become an increasingly alarming issue in the migration industry over the past decades because of its salience, complexity and international extent. It is a multi-level process that has become a global issue that affects every country in the world, both developed and developing, rich and poor. The term modern slaves is used to refer to 27 million victims who are being bought, sold,

imprisoned, tortured and exploited all around the world at any given time. It has become the third most profitable business after trade with drugs and weapons. One of the main driving forces for human trafficking is the poverty in the developing world and the demand for cheap labour in the developed world on the one hand and the effort to control national frontiers whether in the name of security or to prevent economic migrants entering as refugees, which actually increases the profitability of the trade with human beings.

There have been considerable efforts to abolish slave trade since the beginning of 19th century and it is often believed that slavery-like practices are buried deep in history. However, current trends on the world labour market force us to reconsider whether slavery has really ended. Many of us believe that if slavery exists, it is present only in developing countries, in domestic sector or sex industry. In reality, however, the number of people trapped in forced labour and slavery-like conditions has been increasing together with the business of human trafficking that brings even more people into forced labour of all types. Forced labourers, or to be more precise, their products can be found all around us despite the efforts of international law to combat it. For example our clothes may be stitched by a worker in Bangladesh working for long hours seven days a week with wage less than ten pounds a month. There are people who are forced to work under threat of violence in developing countries but many people are enslaved in the developed world by doing the 3-D jobs (dirty, dangerous and difficult) after being trafficked or smuggled into the country.

Immigration policies are rarely successful in managing the number of immigrants because of the social, environmental and economic forces that continue to fuel movement of people. Immigration controls impose hardship on many innocent individuals, such as genuine refugees who cannot enter legally and this increases their chance of getting into hands of human traders. In this respect certain forms of immigration controls breach fundamental human rights and therefore, one may suggest, it is the immigration controls not free movement of people that need to be justified.

Combating human trafficking is difficult and requires well coordinated efforts and wide international cooperation.

As the title of this dissertation suggests, the connections between human trafficking, forced labour and immigration controls will be analysed. This might seem like a rather ambitious project for an undergraduate dissertation, however, I have been interested in this field for several years since 2004 when I came across the issues of globalisation and migration within the subject of Human Geography at my secondary school. Two years ago I translated a substantial part of Robin Cohen's book *Migration and its Enemies* which had a profound impact on my thinking and determined my research interests. Analysing human trafficking and forced labour within the context of immigration policies provides us, in my view, with a better understanding of the world's economy and helps to clarify the phenomena related to modern forms of slavery.

Slavery is illegal today and all the related practices of abduction, deceit, coercion, violence and abuse are criminalised across the world. It is, therefore, even more shocking that slavery still exists and is thriving under the capitalist condition despite all the efforts and tools we have at our disposal for its eradication. The findings of international organisations such as the ILO, UN, IOM, Oxfam and other NGOs show that the problem has come too far and there are strong voices to bring a change to the current situation. Human trafficking has become the third most profitable business at a global level, and while there is a consensus that this problem needs to be addressed, there is lack of knowledge of the broader dimensions of the problem as well as insufficient research evidence that could inspire effective policy initiatives. This work aims to contribute to exploring this complex and contentious field through presenting a theoretical framework complemented by empirical research that was carried out during my stay in London in 2008 - 2009, in a multicultural environment with high level of international workers, which enabled closer observation at the low skilled end of the labour market.

STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

The aim of this dissertation is to explore the extent and severity of the human trafficking business and other related forms of modern forced labour and to show that even in modern liberal societies, practices that breach fundamental human rights occur with little incentives from governments to fight it. In my view, this happens because the developed world assumes that it has the right to control its borders if it benefits its economy and politics. In order to demonstrate the complexity of the phenomenon of human trafficking the connections between human trafficking, forced labour and immigration controls will be analysed giving examples from different parts of the world. The dissertation is divided into the following parts:

The first part explains the rationale for this dissertation, discusses the methodology and formulates the principal theoretical assumptions and main objectives of the thesis.

The second part gives a historical overview of main migrant labour flows in order to show the strength of economic incentives for migration and to show that it significantly contributed to the world economic growth. This chapter is important in order to understand the difference between voluntary and forced economic migration.

The third part deals with definitions and terminology, and presents basic information and statistics on human trafficking, smuggling and types of forced labour. It shows how human trafficking is interconnected with forced labour.

The fourth part focuses on the process of human trafficking and the recruitment process, and demonstrates how it brings victims into forced labour. It explains why human trafficking is often regarded as a modern form of slavery. Although this is the shortest part of my dissertation it summarizes the connection between human trafficking and forced labour.

The fifth part focuses on root causes and facilitating factors of human trafficking. It demonstrates how the economic incentives of migration, lack of information, gender discrimination and the demand for cheap labour in combination with government policies, and irregular migration are interrelated with the issue of trafficking and forced labour.

The sixth part analyzes the reasons for restricting and controlling migration and briefly discusses whether these are effective in managing immigration and illegal migrants within the country. It also points to the fact that immigration controls often breach human rights.

The conclusion summarizes the key findings and suggests that further analysis and research in this area is required.

1. METHODOLOGY

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT, RATIONALE AND AIMS

The movement of individuals across borders as well as within a country's boundaries in search of new work opportunities has always been part of human tradition over the centuries and has played an essential role in the development of capitalism as we know it today, and is often referred to as economic migration. Economic migrant workers who move internationally across borders are either high skilled engineers or doctors whose rights are protected by law and who enjoy a reasonable standard of living in the receiving country or low skilled workers whose rights are often undermined because of their irregular status, have no choices and are often subjects of exploitation by their employers. In this investigation the focus is on the latter group of immigrant workers and how immigration policies influence their opportunities and decision making. Economic migration is often defined in opposition to forced migration, however in the case of this latter group the boundaries between these two can be very vague as they often overlap.

The reason why the topic of human trafficking and forced labour is analysed in connection with immigration controls is to understand the wider context of the human trafficking industry. In order to understand human trafficking it is important to investigate its root causes, facilitating factors and a variety of factors that may play a role.

The main aim of this dissertation is to explore, identify and analyse connections between trafficking in human beings, forced labour and current immigration policies of developed countries, and thus to contribute to the discourse of migrant labour industry within the context of the modern capitalist world.

In order to undertake a comprehensive analysis of these connections, the following objectives were set out:

- to explain the economic aspects of migration, i.e. why people migrate in search of work
- to demonstrate how the process of human trafficking works and how people end up in forced labour
- to show what are the modern forms of forced labour
- to identify the root causes and facilitating factors of human trafficking
- to show whether immigration controls are an effective means of managing immigration

1.2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The theoretical framework related to the topic of forced labour and migration should provide a background for exploring the interconnectedness of major factors influencing human trafficking and modern forms of slavery. Conceptual analysis (definition of key terms and concepts) should determine what aspects should be covered in the data collection as well as during interpretation and formulation of conclusions.

1.2.1 THE KEY THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

The distribution of wealth in the world is very unequal and the wealth-share estimates reveal that the richest 2% of population own more than half of all global wealth (Davies et al, 2008, p. 7). According to the neoclassical economy theory migration is a way how to escape poverty. Therefore one of the principal assumptions is that economic migration is a way of overcoming inequality in the world (Barša and Baršová, 2005). This implies that poor people will migrate in search for work in order to improve their

economic situation until the eventual reduction of migration pressure as wages converge and the balance between demand and supply of labour is achieved.

The relatively closed nature of political borders can be contrasted with the increasingly free movement of goods, capital, and technology across borders as result of modernisation and globalisation. This creates a substantial contrast between the global mobility of the rich and the restricted mobility of the great majority of the poor (Bauman, 1998).

Robin Cohen suggest that 'if capitalism is compatible with slavery, it is likely to be compatible with other forms of coerced or involuntary labour', which is another important assumption (Cohen, 2006, p. 17).

The detailed analysis of concepts related to the issue of human trafficking and forced labour can be found in chapter 3. The main theories and concepts related to migration and immigration controls are analyzed in chapter 6.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of this investigation is to answer following questions:

1. Why it is difficult to identify forced labour practices?
2. Why is human trafficking referred to as a modern form of slavery?
3. What are the root causes and facilitating factors of human trafficking?
4. How do increasingly restrictive immigration policies contribute to the process of human trafficking?
5. What are the connections between irregular migration and forced labour?
6. Why does the developed world restrict immigration?
7. In what ways do immigration controls breach the human rights?

8. To what extent is the legislation sufficient and effective in identifying the victims and the criminals?

In order to address these questions the main investigative method, i.e. the review of literature, will be complemented by a field research with a limited scope as outlined in the following chapter.

1.4 RESEARCH STRATEGY

The following methods were used:

- 1) Comparative analysis of existing theoretical frameworks and a review of secondary documents such as academic literature, scholarly articles, policy papers, NGO reports and legal norms.
- 2) Field Research based on primary data collection using participant observation and informal interviews.

The research strategy is based on a comprehensive review of academic literature reflecting the main research objectives and research questions, complemented with findings from the primary data collection see chapter 3.3.

1.4.1 RATIONALE FOR USING EMPIRICAL METHODS

With regard to the sensitivity and complexity of the research topic and also due to the constant social change in this area I decided to illustrate the main findings from the literature review by some concrete observations based on a field research using qualitative methods of primary data collection. The main reason behind this approach is that I have not find enough empirical research data related to the topic of my dissertation. Using qualitative data methodology allowed me to describe individual emotions and experience of my informants and to understand the more hidden aspects of their situation. I have endeavoured to create a complex picture of the research

problem through carrying out the research in natural conditions (Creswell in Hendl, 2005).

1.4.2 METHODS OF PRIMARY DATA COLLECTION

The following information about my informants was collected:

- what were the reasons for leaving their country of origin and going abroad
- what means of transport they used, what procedures they followed (visa, document falsification, how much they paid)
- what was the length of stay abroad
- what was the main way of earning their living, how many jobs they worked in
- in case they arrived legally, what were the reasons for getting an illegal status
- whether they were in contact with their home country, how often, what forms, and with whom
- whether they envisaged a permanent stay abroad, or not and why

Participant observation

One of the principal investigative tools to be used is participant observation. In a role of participant I should have the opportunity to watch behaviour of informants in a natural way, and thus I could consider the findings authentic for that given moment. Participant observation enables to describe what is happening, who is participating at the event, when and where are things happening, how are they appearing and why (Hendl, 2005, p. 193). As Hendl describes the “observer does not just passively register data, he does not stand outside of the investigated area, instead he is taking part in a social situation, in which the research subject behaves. He is in personal relationship with the observed individuals and collects data while participating the development of life situation“ (Hendl, 2005). “The observer is a part of a social organism, social environment that she is investigating“ (Jeřábek, 1992, p. 70).

Informal in-depth interview

As a participant observer frequent and repeated contacts with the informants should be possible. The method of informal interview can therefore be used. This is a useful tool for investigation that aims not only to describe, but also to explain the investigated subject in a deeper and wider context. Each interview will be initiated with one or two opening questions which should serve as a way of establishing the contact, creating pleasant atmosphere, evoking feelings of trust and friendship. Within an informal interview no questions are prepared in advance, and therefore the investigator relies on the spontaneous generation of questions throughout the natural interaction during the participant observation. It is desired that the investigator has the plan of the interview in his/ her mind, but when choosing concrete topics and their scope the control should be in the hands of the informants (Vaněk, 2004). One of the advantages of an informal interview is that it helps to facilitate the respondent's openness. On some occasions the informant might not even realise that she is part of an interview. The interviews can be recorded only with the informants' approval. Some of them might however start spontaneously at a party or in a restaurant or at other social events. In that case recording may not be available. According to the quality and nature of the collected data the interviews should be rewritten as soon as possible as a commented transcript or as a summarising protocol, which would mean rewriting of only selected passages and themes. If the recording is not possible or the informant does not agree with the recording, notes should be taken while interviewing, which may be time demanding and may hinder the communication. Non-verbal expressions of the informants will be noted down.

It is important that all the individual interviewed transcripts include the information about the respondent and about the interview. This includes place, age, profession, length of stay in the United Kingdom, length of the interview and a commentary on anything that might have affected the interview, for example who or what could disturb it.

The topic of human trafficking is a very sensitive one, and therefore it is important not to disturb or harm the environment. Therefore, before the actual interview it is necessary

to inform the informants about the research project, and eventually get the informants' approval for processing their information and ensure their anonymity, and that their personal information will not be in any way connected with the sensitive data that could lead to their identification.

Selection of the sample and environment for investigation

One of the ways how to find informants is through NGOs, for example by contacting the Asylum Aid, who are helping victims of trafficking and people who are vulnerable and easy to exploit. These organisations can serve as the “gatekeepers“ who will introduce the investigator to their environment and possibly to the first informants. While selecting the sample the most effective method is that of a snowball, which means that the informants already interviewed will refer to other potential respondents. If it is not possible to meet anyone who would have direct experience of forced labour or human trafficking, interviews can still be carried out with the gatekeepers. The representativeness of individuals in a sample is not required in qualitative research. What is demanded is to get as much information as possible about the research questions. The aim is to work with those individuals who can tell the most about the research problem.

When choosing the environment for the interviews the decision will be left on the informants and on the circumstances of the given moment. It would be helpful if some of the interviews take place at the informants' homes, where they will be relaxed and also it will say more information about them. The length of the interview will depend on the will of respondents and on the investigator's preparation.

1.4.3 PREPARING THE RESEARCH

Ideally, before the investigation a research proposal should be completed giving an outline of what investigative tools will be used. In my case, however, the data collection methods changed throughout the time. This is common in qualitative research, where the methodology and also conceptual assumptions change and are created

simultaneously throughout the investigation. This is often the only way how to respond to external changes.

Due to the limited number of informants who would talk about their situation I was not able to collect enough data that would be sufficient in order to construct a comprehensive research proposal based primarily on my field research and to draw my own conclusions. The experience of being employed with people with irregular status however, allowed me to be in a position of a participant observer. I also had the opportunity to talk with my co-workers about their situation and I managed to gather some important information despite the very intimate character of the topic. My observations and experiences thus provide an interesting picture to illustrate the conclusions arising from the documentation review.

1.4.4 DETAILED DESCRIPTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIELD RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The investigation was carried out in London during my study programme at the University of Greenwich which lasted 9 months. Originally I planned to write a dissertation on the topic of national identity of Czech students in the United Kingdom. For this purpose I prepared a detailed methodology before my departure to London. When in London, the dynamic social environment and especially my experiences made me reconsider my dissertation topic. After many discussions with my programme leader and tutor of the Migration, Mobility and Exile course, I finally decided to deal with another, in my view, more important topic of human trafficking, forced labour and migration.

For the purpose of my investigation I decided to stay in the United Kingdom four months longer. My plan was to find 2-3 individuals who would have had either personal experience or who would have from known someone with direct experience of some kind of forced labour in the United Kingdom. These informants would be suitable for informal interviews in order to find out more about their lives, for example how did they end up in forced labour, the reasons why they are still working there, why they cannot leave, and in case of happy ends how did they manage to escape and how they cope in

their newly restored lives. The establishment of the first contact was to be done by contacting NGOs such as Asylum Aid or other organisation helping people with similar experience.

After initial investigations I realized that to get in touch with a direct victim of forced labour would be very difficult. This was because of limited time, lack of credibility as a researcher, and because of the very sensitive nature of the topic. For several weeks it seemed that I would not be able to find any informants to conduct interviews with but towards the end of my stay I got an offer, with two other friends of mine, to work at a bar in a restaurant in Central London, which in the end enabled me to meet people with irregular status in the United Kingdom who could provide me with at least some information. At the beginning I did not think of this job in connection to forced labour, however, after I quit I realised that a person does not have to be locked and coerced to work in order to find herself in a position very close to one of many forms of forced labour. Thus in a way, I became an informant to myself and a participant observer of my own condition. Although I have not managed to collect enough hard data that could be presentable in a scientific format, I benefited immensely in understanding the absolute lack of awareness not only among general public but also among the victims themselves of the seriousness of their conditions. Their employment relations were often based on very friendly informal relationships, a sort of camaraderie, with their boss and manager, who actually abused and exploited their illegal employees through not paying them in time, forcing them to work long overtimes and overnight, sleep at the work place, etc. My position thus enabled me to understand the plight of those people more than they admitted. The complexity of their emotions often puzzled me (they were actually grateful and happy to be in the United Kingdom despite their dire conditions). Another interesting aspect that is very difficult to present as a research result is the phenomenon of deliberate ignorance of the injustices that victims have to face with. Even I became ignorant myself. My co-worker from Romania was sexually harassed by our boss and when she refused the 'offer' she was immediately dismissed from her job. I became so angry that I wanted to go to police and denounce the illegal employer. But I realized that I would harm my other co-workers who did not have the luck to be EU

nationals, i.e. to have a legal right to work in the United Kingdom, so I preferred to quit the job.

Some observations and interview findings are presented below in a case study in chapter 3.3. These can well serve as a sufficient illustration of the researched topic, complementing the main method of secondary documents review.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON MAJOR LABOUR

MIGRATION FLOWS

Migration has been part of human history from the earliest times and all societies we know today are result of migration. It has been always an inevitable part of the modern world economy and 'migrants have historically been a force for dynamism and change' (Jordan and Duvell, 2002, p. 243). Despite this contribution to mankind, migration is usually perceived as a negative phenomenon in modern world as it brings millions of people into hardship, especially those living in relative poverty for who migration is often the only way how to improve their economic situation.

In the following section an overview of the main labour migration flows since the 15th century till today will be presented in order to show the connections between the unstoppable process of migration and the emerging labour markets. It also points at the current dichotomy of the developed world, where the contradicting pressures from lobby groups who speak in favour of migrants and those demanding more restriction, result in "a great show of immigration controls" (Cohen, 2006, p. 3). This is done with the aim to highlight similar characteristics of labour systems of the past and present, and to see what are the results of our efforts to make a better, liberal and equal world for all.

2.1 FORCED MIGRATION: SETTLER COLONIES AND SLAVERY

While it was voluntary migration that lies behind the creation of settler colonies¹ in the New World after the discovery of America in 1492, it was forced migration that brought millions of people to come and work under slavery in those regions. Colonisation followed by development of trade with rest of the world that occurred in the late 15th and early 16th century is time where "there came into existence what we may call a

¹ Settler colonies - territories controlled by a colonial power to which their own (and other) citizens are encouraged to migrate and settle permanently

European world economy” or the ”modern world system [...] It was different and new” (Wallerstein, 1974, p. 15). This first wave of globalisation caused millions of indigenous inhabitants to lose their homes, land and lives. The population in Mexico fell from 11 million in 1519 to about 1.5 million in about 1650. Similar falls are recorded for Brazil and Peru (Wallerstein, 1974, p. 88, 89). The expansion of Europe’s colonies involved large movement of colonisers, merchants, contract labourers and slaves across oceans and continents. Vast numbers of slaves from the labour reserve in Western Africa were transported as the indigenous peoples population declined under the impact of European diseases, from food shortages, or as a result of being worked to death. Between the years 1500 and 1870, approximately 10 to 20 million slaves were brought from Africa to the New World to work on plantations for the production of cash crops (Inikori and Engermann, 1992, p. 5-6). The main reason was to expand power and drive for profit. Slaves were exchanged for a range of products such as metals, household wares, weapons, textiles or spirits. Slavery accounts for the biggest forced migration movements in history.

2.2 PARTIALLY FREE MIGRATION: INDENTURED LABOUR

After the abolition of slavery in 1834 other forms of forced labour evolved such as indentured or bonded labour or temporary slaves. It is estimated that approximately 12 to 37 million workers from India and China replaced African slaves from 1834 to 1941 (Potts in Castles, 2003, p. 55), who were used by the colonial powers as indentured labour in the Caribbean and in Africa, again ”to remedy the lack of cheap labour or available labour in the places of destination” (Hayter, 2004, p. 9). Lord John Russell called it ”a new system of slavery” (Russell cited in Cohen, 2006, p. 19). In theory the indentured workers voluntarily signed a contract with their employers or labour agencies. In practice, however, they had the same choices as slaves from Africa and their contract did not protect their political or human rights. They were free only in so far as they could not be sold, bought or owned (Cohen, 2006). The contracts were signed for minimum ten years duration and after they expired migrants were meant to return to their home country. Indentured labour occurred during the colonial times up to the First

World War until the time they were no longer necessary for economic purposes. According to Kloosterboer "the most important motives [for forced labour] have always been of an economico-commercial nature" (Kloosterboer, 1960, p. 215). The ethical consideration and pressure from international law did play its role but this influence was only secondary. With the gradual dilution of colonies and emergence of independent countries forced labour became low in volume for several decades, also due to the political instability in the world that had led to the First and Second World Wars.

2.3 VOLUNTARY MIGRATION: AFTER THE WW2 AND THE END OF FREE MIGRATION

Another major migration began after the Second World War. It was a reverse and voluntary flow from South to the North, from developing to developed countries. Similarly as in the times of colonising the New World, after the Second World War there was a demand for workers because of the lack of labour in the post-war Europe and the need for industrial expansion. At first workers were hired from less prosperous European peripheries, most of them displaced by war. Gradually they were supplemented by migrants from the third world, mainly Africa and Asia. Between 1950s to mid 1970s governments in Europe, especially Germany, invited temporary immigrant contract workers. It is estimated that around 35 million people came from the Third world, including 6 million illegal immigrants who came to settle in the industrialised world between 1960 and 1990. These migrant workers "provided an indispensable element in the labour force that helped iron out the stops and goes in European economies and filled a vital gap in the 'secondary labour market', which the national workforce was not prepared to fill at the price being offered" (Cohen, 2006, p. 47).

Migration to all Western European countries ended by the mid 1970s when immigration restrictions were introduced. It was the downturn of European Economies "which accompanied (but was not caused by) the oil price rise of 1973/4, the export of capital to newly industrialised countries and the availability of unemployed local labour" that called for no further import of labour (Cohen, 2006, p. 48). In the case of the United

Kingdom, migration virtually stopped in the 1960s since when the government has restricted immigration of non-British nationals from the Commonwealth. This was done regardless labour demands and there was nobody to mention that immigration can be beneficial to UK society. The Immigration Act from 1971 ended the flow of economic migration and limited family migration to the UK (Home Affairs Committee, 2006).

Simultaneously with restricting migration there has been increase in illegal migration to industrial countries since 1973 and since the 1980s asylum seekers from the Middle East, Turkey, Asia, East Europe and the New Commonwealth have been the main source of immigrants in the Western Europe. These groups became a focus for aggressive campaigns from the extreme right and European governments have been reluctant to host refugees and they rather present them as disguised 'economic migrants' who are searching for work rather than 'genuine refugees' who need protection (Cohen, 2006, p. 88).

2.4 MIXED MIGRATION: INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

MIGRATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Over the centuries migration has led to fundamental economic, social and political transformation. For example, "it's the USA's very adaptability – itself product of its diverse immigrant stock – that lies at the core of its strength and staying power (Moses, 2006, p. 11). The incentive to migrate is an inevitable part of humanity and the same driving forces for migration persist over centuries. Today, millions are seeking work, new home or just a safe place to live beyond the borders of their home country. For poor people from less developed countries, emigration is a way to escape social and economic difficulties and to integrate into the world of market and modernisation. They move in search for work to newly industrialised countries in the South or to highly developed countries in the North. Migration has been greatly facilitated by globalisation, improved transport and proliferation of print and electronic media over the last decades.

At present the developed world relies on foreign workers to satisfy its current demand for jobs. The demand is not only for high skilled but to a large extent for low skilled labour, too, since the global economy driven by capitalism relies on cheap labour in order to cut the production costs. According to the UN Population Division, Europe might need approximately 13 million immigrants per year between 2000 and 2050 in order to replace Europe's ageing population and lack of skilled and less-skilled workers in productive age and to cope with financing the pensions (Home Affairs Committee, 2006). Therefore, based on historical facts and contemporary estimates, there are apparent benefits of immigration into the developed world.

Yet, richer countries attempt to restrict immigration, by selecting who can enter and they do this especially by imposing immigration controls. These include "visa requirements, penalties for airlines which bring inadequately documented passengers, identity checks, workplace inspections, techniques for the detection of falsified documents and more severe penalties for those caught infringing regulations" (Castles and Miller, 2003, p. 118). Increased and stricter immigration controls, however, do not stop migrants from entering; it forces them to use alternative, often illegal and dangerous ways to enter. This in effect increases demand for services of traffickers, which eventually brings many migrants into forced labour and modern slavery. In this process, driven by economic profit, human beings are turned into commodities with no rights. While during the times of slavery, migrants were transported forcibly to the New World, today, many migrants who wish to escape their country do so willingly but eventually find themselves victims of coercive and deceptive practices of those who provided them with work abroad. They are thus ending in a position not very different from that of the slaves two hundreds years ago.

3. DEFINITIONS, STATISTICS AND THE VICTIMS

This chapter will focus on terminology with the aim to explain the difference between human trafficking and smuggling, to identify types of forced labour and other modern forms of slavery, and to show that the definitions are often blurred and overlap. It provides information on victims and key statistical data presented in charts and tables. It also demonstrates to what extent human trafficking is interconnected with forced labour.

3.1 HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND SMUGGLING

3.1.1 DEFINITIONS

Human trafficking is facilitated by forced migration (for definition see chapter 3.2). Trafficking for labour exploitation can be found in multiple economic sectors, including agriculture, construction, hospitality and domestic service. It is important to distinguish between human smuggling and human trafficking as these two terms are often misunderstood and confused in the public discourse.

Formal definitions of trafficking and smuggling are given in two international treaties, Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons and Protocol Against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea or Air, both supplementing the UN Convention against Transnational Organised Crime adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2000.

Human Trafficking

“‘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. The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation ... shall be irrelevant where any of the ... [fore-mentioned] means ... have been used.

The recruitment, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered 'trafficking in persons', even if it does not involve ... [any of the above listed means]. 'Child' shall mean any person under eighteen years of age (Art. 3).“ (UNODC, 2004, p. 42-43).

Smuggling

On the other hand, smuggling, defined in the UN Protocol against Smuggling in Migrants as:

“The procurement, in order to obtain ... a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a state” (UNODC, 2004, p. 54-55),

involves voluntary consent of the person who is being moved across borders.

Human trafficking lacks voluntary aspect as submission under a threat is very different from free and informed choice. The profit in trafficking is made from the sale of trafficked person's labour or sexual services (Castles and Miller, 2003). Also, the relationship of the migrant with smuggler is assumed to end when they reach destination, whereas trafficking involves continuing relationship based on coercion. Trafficking can take place within or across borders, but smuggling happens only across borders.

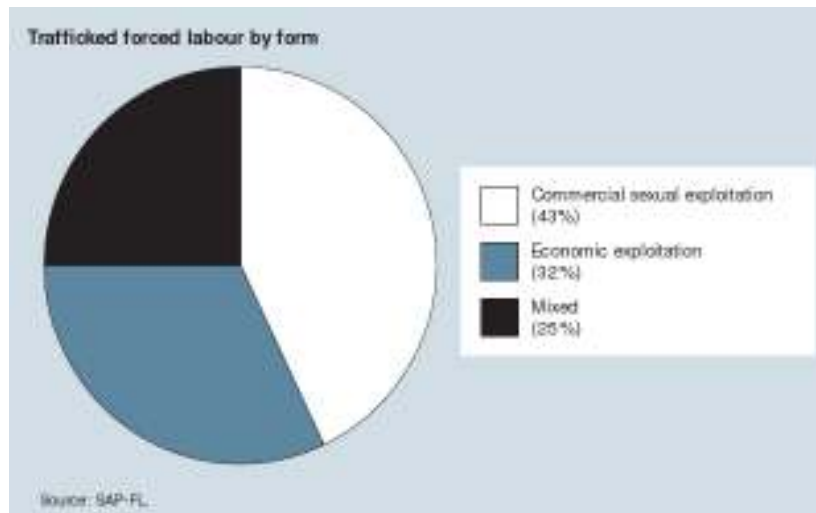
Clients of smugglers include not only economic migrants in search for work but also genuine legitimate refugees, who are unable to make their claims because immigration controls restrict their entry (Gibney in Castles, 2003). Those who are smuggled into Britain are often asylum seekers as they have no legal way of coming here. Only a minority of asylum seekers succeed in their claim; those who fail and are not deported or detained are often forced into destitution and slavery. Paradoxically, asylum seekers are more successful when claiming from inside the country than at the borders (Hayter, 2004).

The above presented definitions are useful from a legal perspective and they are necessary in order to understand the root causes of both smuggling and trafficking. However trafficking, exploitation and smuggling are often interrelated. Some migrants using smuggling services may depart voluntarily, but end up being exploited. In such cases, smugglers become traffickers. Thus as International Labour Organisation notes "forced labour can sometimes be an indirect outcome of the smuggling process, rather than a direct result of abusive or deceptive recruitment in the origin country" (ILO, 2005, p. 47).

3.1.3 STATISTICS AND VICTIMS

Victims of human trafficking are traditionally thought to be trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation. However, in recent decades trafficking for economic purposes other than sexual exploitation has been steadily increasing. Trafficking and exploitation of men, women and children in modern world has become a global issue, with up to approximately 2.5 million people being trafficked at any point in time (ILO, 2005, p. 46). As we can see from the Chart no. 1 below about 40% are trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation, about one third for other forms of forced economic exploitation and a quarter for a mixture of the above or for undetermined reasons. In the industrialized countries trafficking accounts for three quarters of all forced labour.

Chart 1 (ILO, 2005)



According to the US Department of State estimates there are 600,000 to 800,000 men, women, and children trafficked across international borders each year, from which approximately 70% are women and 50% are children (US Department of State, 2006). The UN under-secretary general held that 200 million people worldwide are involved in some manner (Castles and Miller, 2003, p.116). He also said that “this is the fastest growing criminal market ... because of the number of people who are involved, the scale of profits ... and because of its multifold nature” (Crossette in Castles and Miller, 2003, p.116). It is however very difficult to determine how many people are affected by smuggling and trafficking, but both are widely spread practices. The majority of these victims are forced into the commercial sex trade. For example, Thai and Japanese gangsters cooperate to attract women into prostitution in Japan by telling them that they will work as waitresses; similarly women in war zones are forced into sex slavery by military forces or are sold to international gangs (Castles and Miller, 2003). Non-sexual forced labour is made up of 44 per cent men and boys, and 56 per cent women and girls. Women are over-represented among domestic workers and those who are trafficked for labour in the care sector. In addition UNICEF (2005) estimates trafficking in children up to 1.2 million.

"The study on returned migrants in four eastern and south-eastern European countries found that, out of a sample of 300 forced labour victims, 23 per cent had been trafficked into coerced sex work, 21 per cent into construction and 13 per cent into agriculture. The remaining victims (43 per cent) had experienced coercion in sectors including domestic service and care work, small manufacturing, restaurants and catering, and food processing, among others" (ILO, 2005, p.48).

Estimates of the number of people who have been trafficked are unreliable and differ greatly as there is little incentive to keep the track of records and more importantly there are no clear definitions. Also, the forms in which human trafficking takes place are complex. It is important to mention that the statistics mentioned above do not include millions of victims around the world who are trafficked within their own countries (US Department of State, 2006).

Human trafficking is the third most profitable and widespread organised crime, after trade with weapons and drugs and it is also the least punished one. It generates profits not only for those who provide cross border transport but also for the employers who exploit workers in destination. According to the US Ministry of Justice the annual profit from trafficking was around 8 – 10 milliards dollars in 2005. According to International Labour Organisation the annual profits reach up to 32 milliards (ILO, 2005, p. 55), see Table no. 1 on the next page.

Table 1 (ILO, 2005)

Estimated average annual profits generated by trafficked forced labourers

| | Profits per forced labourer in commercial sexual exploitation (US\$) | Profits per forced labourer in other economic exploitation (US\$) | Total profits (million US\$) |
|--------------------------|--|---|------------------------------|
| Industrialized countries | 67200 | 30 154 | 15 513 |
| Transition countries | 23500 | 2353 | 3422 |
| Asia | 10000 | 412 | 9704 |
| Latin America | 18200 | 3570 | 1348 |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | 10000 | 360 | 159 |
| Middle East | 45000 | 2340 | 1508 |
| World | | | 31 654 |

Source: SAP-FL

3.2 FORCED LABOUR AND MODERN SLAVERY

3.2.1 DEFINITIONS

Forced Labour

Over the centuries, the nature and definitions of forced labour have changed significantly. In the modern world, forced labour represents a "severe violation of human rights and restriction of human freedom" (ILO, 2005, p. 5). The International Labour Organisation Forced Labour Convention 1930 (No. 29) and the European Court of Human Rights define forced labour as:

"All work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily" (ibid.).

This definition implies that forced labour involves an act of threat and lack of consent which can take various forms listed in the Table no. 2 below.

Table 2 (ILO, 2005)

| Identifying forced labour in practice | |
|--|---|
| <p><i>Lack of consent to (involuntary nature of) work</i> (the "route into" forced labour)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Birth/descent into "slave" or bonded status ● Physical abduction or kidnapping ● Sale of person into the ownership of another ● Physical confinement in the work location – in prison or in private detention ● Psychological compulsion, i.e. an order to work, backed up by a credible threat of a penalty for non-compliance ● Induced indebtedness (by falsification of accounts, inflated prices, reduced value of goods or services produced, excessive interest charges, etc.) ● Deception or false promises about types and terms of work ● Withholding and non-payment of wages ● Retention of identity documents or other valuable personal possessions | <p><i>Menace of a penalty</i> (the means of keeping someone in forced labour)</p> <p>Actual presence or credible threat of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Physical violence against worker or family or close associates ● Sexual violence ● (Threat of) supernatural retaliation ● Imprisonment or other physical confinement ● Financial penalties ● Denunciation to authorities (police, immigration, etc.) and deportation ● Dismissal from current employment ● Exclusion from future employment ● Exclusion from community and social life ● Removal of rights or privileges ● Deprivation of food, shelter or other necessities ● Shift to even worse working conditions ● Loss of social status |

Many victims of forced labour never give their consent and are forced by violence. Many victims, however, enter forced labour situations voluntarily at the beginning because they have been deceived, only to discover later that they cannot leave because of legal, physical or psychological coercion and that have to continue working against their will. Initial consent may be considered irrelevant when deception or fraud has been used to obtain it. The International Labour Organisation report has found that in the present era of globalisation, the older forms of coercion and compulsion are transmuting themselves into newer ones. Forced labour is not a result of physical coercion, rather more "subtle patterns of coercion used to push down wages and make people work in poor or unsafe condition" (ILO, 2005, p. 48).

A person with low wage, who works in bad conditions, or is compelled to continue in his existing position by his own economic compulsions, is not in a force labour situation. In addition forced labour is not determined by the type of activity performed nor by its

legality or illegality under the law. Forced labour situation is determined by the relationship between the worker and the 'employer', where the person has no free choice to leave this relationship. For example, a woman forced into prostitution is in a forced labour because "of the involuntary nature of the work and the menace under which she is working, irrespective of the legality or illegality of that particular activity" and similarly "a child or adult beggar under coercion will be considered as being in forced labour" (ILO, 2005, p. 11).

Modern Slavery

In those cases where the International Labour Organisation (ILO) speaks about forced labour and/or slavery-like practices, the term modern slavery is often used by many scholars because of its very definition in the first international instrument on the subject in 1926:

"The status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised (Article 1(1))" (ILO, 2005, p.5).

Besides the forced nature of work the relationship between the master and the slave is further defined by following characteristics:

"Slavery is a situation which is rather permanent than fixed and temporary, often based on descent" (ILO, 2005).

Practices such as debt bondage which enslaves indigenous families for years would fall under this category.

Modern slavery is a physical, psychological and financial entrapment sustained through threats of violence or actual violence. Although slavery is outlawed and there are no human beings legally owned by another human being or group of people, today, men, women and children continue to be bought and sold, starved, imprisoned, beaten, sexually violated, physically abused and made to work 18 hours a day, 7 days per week for little or no pay. In this dissertation, modern slavery will be understood as an extreme form of forced labour that implies "the total control of one person by another for the

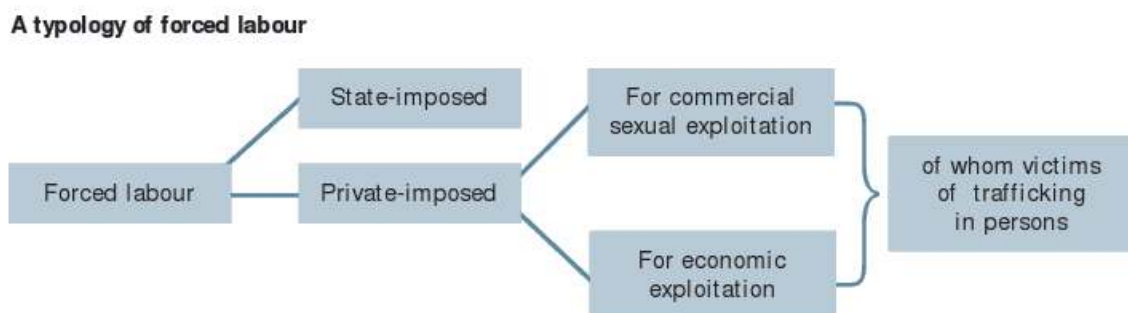
purpose of economic exploitation” (Bales, 1999, p. 6). The terms forced labour and modern slavery will be used interchangeably.

Types of Forced Labour

Today, forced labour is present in some form on all continents, in almost all countries, and in every kind of economy. Although there are still persisting ‘traditional’ forms of forced labour such as “deeply entrenched bonded labour systems in parts of South Asia, debt bondage affecting mainly indigenous peoples in parts of Latin America, and the residual slavery-related practices most evident today in West Africa” (ILO, 2005, p. 1), new forms of forced labour situations are also emerging. These are characterised by “restrictions on freedom of movement, removal of identity documents, and threats of denouncing to immigration authorities” (ILO, 2005, p. 9). Forced labour takes place at the margins of economy, in sectors with high degree of informal labour relations (ILO, 2005).

The International Labour Organisation distinguishes between different types of modern forced labour as illustrated in the Chart no. 3 below:

Table 3 (ILO, 2005)



1) Imposed by the state for either economic or political purposes - forced labour exacted by the military, compulsory participation in public works, and forced prison labour.

2) Private-imposed for:

a) commercial sexual exploitation - includes women and men who have involuntarily entered prostitution or other forms of commercial sexual activities, or who have entered prostitution voluntarily but who cannot leave. It also includes all children who are forced into commercial sexual activities.

b) for economic exploitation - comprises all forced labour imposed by private agents other than for commercial sexual exploitation. It includes bonded labour, forced domestic work, or exploitation in the agriculture, construction, garment and textile, catering, restaurant and entertainment industries; coercive practices and abuses can also affect migrant workers in mainstream economic sectors, including food processing, health care, contract cleaning, cheap takeaways, expensive restaurants, mushroom picking, private homes, and all-night stores (ILO, 2005).

As we can see from the diagram, victims can end up in forced labour as a result of human trafficking. Forced labour as a result of forced migration is more common in some industries than others. Usually, trafficked labour is used in sectors where "it is easier to maintain highly exploitative working conditions that are gross violations of human rights and labour standards, especially in locations and conditions that are difficult to monitor" (UNESCO, 2006, p. 42).

Examples of forced labour practices identified worldwide

In a study on human trafficking for sexual and labour exploitation in Germany, "an African asylum seeker, one of 19 irregular migrant workers who were recruited through a chain of subcontractors on a work site in 2003, ... , never received the agreed wages. After persistently demanding his wages the African worker was beaten and seriously injured. He filed a claim with the police but later withdrew his testimony through fear of deportation. In this case public pressure on the main contractor led to the eventual payment of wages for the migrants concerned, but the same contractor later deprived a

further group of irregular migrants of fair wages. ... The contracting company was in the process of obtaining its legal registration, a loophole that has frequently been used to engage in unfair labour practices” (ILO, 2005, p. 48).

Another International Labour Organisation (ILO) study in the Russian Federation identified cases of most severe exploitation, where the migrant workers were prevented from leaving or changing their employment. This might have included “work without remuneration, as a form of debt repayment; unpaid overtime; some restrictions on freedom of movement; or denial of medical treatment” (Plant, 2005). It concludes that migrant worker consider some form of coercion as normal experience. They migrate voluntarily only to find out later that the 'cycle of deception' entraps them in destination. In the Moscow region, almost one fifth of all informants claimed to be on conditions of debt bondage. This is the result of document confiscation, unpaid wages, conditions of debt bondage, threat of punishment if they leave their jobs (ibid.).

An interesting case was identified in Somalia where parents sent their children (up to 250 children a month) to Western Europe through smugglers/traffickers in the hope that they will also be eventually provided with asylum. These children may join their relatives and live a decent life, but they may also be abandoned to prostitution and domestic slavery (IRIN, 2003).

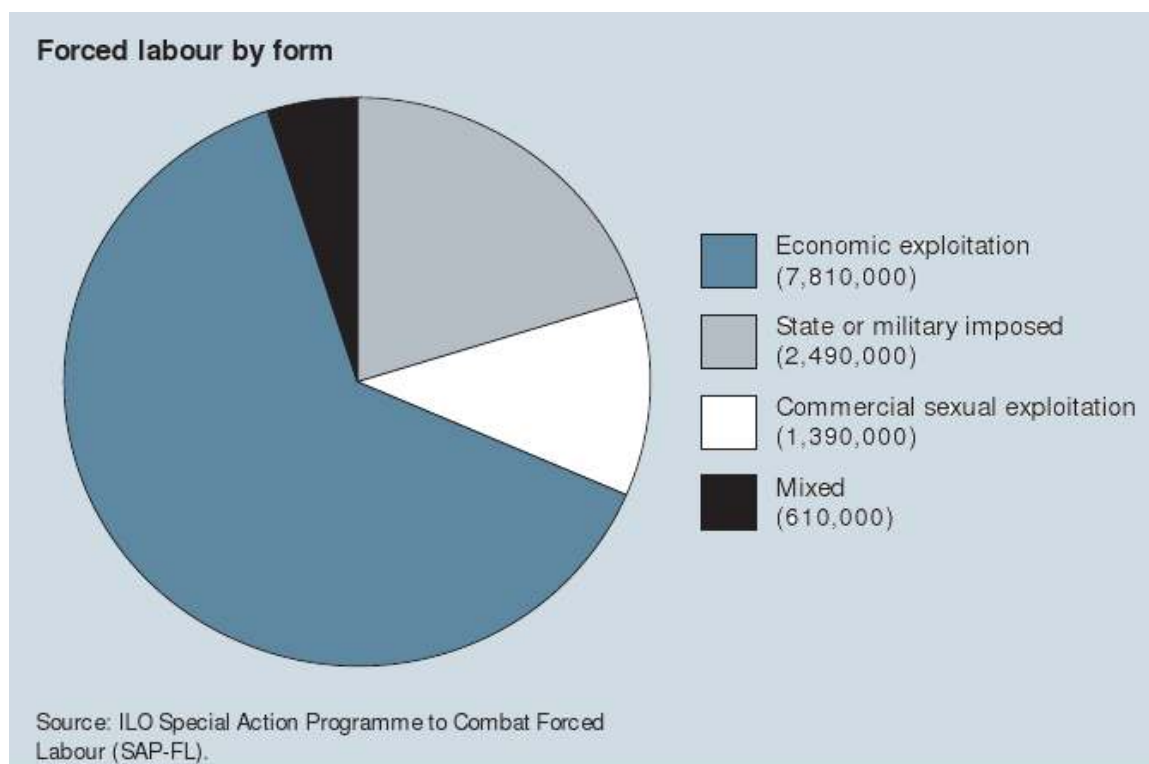
Another example from Europe has been the rising influx of trafficked eastern European prostitutes into London under the promise they will get jobs as waitresses or au-pairs, or perhaps as lap dancers and nightclub hostesses. In the end however, many of them are forced “to sell unprotected sex for as little as £30 a time, they are raped, beaten and threatened into slavery, made to have sex with up to 40 men a day, with pimps and traffickers taking virtually every penny they earn” (Guardian, 2005).

3.2.2 STATISTICS AND VICTIMS

As it is impossible to identify all victims of various forms of forced labour and slavery-like practices because of the overlapping and blurred definitions, it is very difficult to reach

consensus on exact numbers. Kevin Bales estimates that there are up to 27 million enslaved people in the world today of which 15 to 20 million are in bonded labour, i.e. working for nothing in order to pay off a debt (Bales, 1999, p. 8). The International Labour Organisation (ILO) estimates there are 12.3 million people in forced labour, bonded labour, forced child labour, and sexual servitude at any given time and one fifth of them is a result of human trafficking. Of this total, the ILO believes that 1.2 million children have been trafficked internationally (ILO, 2005, p. 10). The number of victims in different types of forced labour can be seen in the Chart no. 2 below, with the highest proportion of workers exploited for economic purposes (reaching almost 8 million).

Chart 2 (ILO, 2005)



It is generally accepted, even by governments, that this is likely to be an underestimate. Conservative estimates for the number of people enslaved in Britain range from 5 000 to 25 000. As 'illegal' immigrants are more likely to be enslaved and as many estimates put the number of illegal immigrants at half a million, it is possible that the number of

enslaved people is as high as that. Regardless of what the exact total number of modern slaves is, it is alarming that there are more people bounded to forced labour than there were two hundred years ago.

As we can see from the Table no. 4 the majority of victims of forced labour are found in Asia (9.5 million), but the numbers are over a million in Latin America and – significantly – at least 360 000 in the industrialized countries of Europe, North America, Australasia and Japan. When it comes to sexual exploitation, 98% of the victims are women and girls; for other forms of economic exploitation 56% are women and girls, and 44% are men and boys. Looking at all forms of forced labour worldwide, between 40 - 50% of exploited persons are children under the age of 18. (ILO, 2005).

Table 4 (ILO, 2005)

| Regional distribution of forced labour | | Regional distribution of trafficked forced labourers | |
|--|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| | Number of people in forced labour | | Number of people in forced labour as a result of trafficking |
| Asia and Pacific | 9 490 000 | Asia and Pacific | 1 360 000 |
| Latin America and Caribbean | 1 320 000 | Industrialized countries | 270 000 |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | 660 000 | Latin America and Caribbean | 250 000 |
| Industrialized countries | 360 000 | Middle East and North Africa | 230 000 |
| Middle East and North Africa | 260 000 | Transition countries | 200 000 |
| Transition countries | 210 000 | Sub-Saharan Africa | 130 000 |
| World | 12 300 000 | World | 2 490 000 |

Source: ILO Special Action Programme to Combat Forced Labour (SAP-FL).
 Note: Figures do not add up to total shown because of rounding.
 Source: SAP-FL.

From the Table no. 4 we can also see that about 20% of all forced labour is an outcome of trafficking. Although this represents a significant proportion of the total, the large majority of forced labour globally is not linked to trafficking. However, closer look at the table shows that while in Asia, Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa, the proportion of trafficked victims is fewer than 20% of all forced labour. In industrialized countries, transition countries and the Middle East and North Africa region, trafficking accounts for more than 75% of forced labour. In some parts of the world, trafficking is thus the main route into forced labour and this process is described in chapter 4.

3.3 CASE STUDY: EXAMPLE OF AN ILLEGAL MIGRANT WORKER IN LONDON

In the following section based on my field research I will present some data illustrating the connection between illegal migration and a case bordering with forced labour where the illegal worker has limited rights and limited power over his condition.

In order to be able to be a participant observer I accepted an offer to work as a waitress in an Arabic restaurant in Central London where, as I correctly presumed, non-EU workers were being employed. Only later I realized that I was a part in a kind of an illegal work relationship myself and after three weeks I quit the job as I was worried that I may be prosecuted. The three weeks, however, was a sufficient period to collect all necessary data as well as to gain personal experience from the environment where informal and quazi-illegal working practices were taking place.

I managed to conduct only one in-depth interview with the chef, to explore conditions of one waitress, and to observe behaviour of the manager and the boss, both men, with whom I was in everyday contact.

The chef John (name altered), aged 28 from Lebanon, was in a situation bordering with forced labour. The manager and the boss had the power over him. In case he would want to quit the job they could threaten him to denounce his illegal status to police (UK Border Agency). John shared his fears with me when I managed to gain his confidence and was invited to come to visit his home. He came to London in search for new experience in life, "to study and work to improve my economic situation". When dealing with his visa he was asked "lot of annoying questions". During the eight years in London he changed four jobs from which the first three jobs were during the first 4 years when he had a valid student visa. After his visa expired he worked only for one employer. Although he had not been subjected to any form of coercion or deception his irregular status in society "caused by a solicitor's mistake" made him unable to find a job adequate to his university education and thus his only shelter was a network of friends

from the same country who also provided him with work, where he had no possibility to object to "the constantly changing long and late working hours". He decided to stay in the United Kingdom because he thought it was unfair that he had been working in the United Kingdom for 4 years in accordance with the law, had paid taxes and then "I was made illegal as result of solicitor's mistakes", he wanted to "fight his cancelled visa back". John is in regular contact with his family, especially his brother, up to three times a week mainly through Internet facilitated communication (Skype, Facebook) and over the phone. John repeatedly mentioned to me that he would love to go home to visit all his extended family and friends. He often showed me the website of his village where he was born but he knew very well that if he left the United Kingdom he would not be able to return. He felt sorry for his family and for the fact that he was unable to support them financially and he even felt ashamed that after eight years in the UK he was unable to save any money. All the workers in the restaurant were paid with delays, had to work long and late hours without getting the overtime paid. I was unable to determine John's salary, but he was often staying at work over 15 hours a day working seven days a week. He was probably paid more than the waitresses who were paid approximately half the minimum wage rate in the UK. It was difficult to calculate the exact hourly wage because we were paid irregularly.

I was not in a situation of forced labour neither was my co-worker Natasha from Romania (name altered), aged 21, who, however, had to leave her job after being sexually harassed by the boss. In her case I did not manage to establish a closer relationship which would allow me to conduct another in-depth interview.

Based on these findings I managed to illustrate a close link between the irregular status and the limited job opportunities available.

4. HUMAN TRAFFICKING: A WAY TO MODERN SLAVERY

Human trafficking is a systematic, well-organized economic phenomenon, which involves movement of persons solely to profit from the exploitation of the trafficked person's labour. Traffickers act as the link between supply and demand for labour. They increase the supply through the recruitment, deception, transportation and exploitation process and at the same time they boost the demand by providing easy access to victims. The main actors involved in the process are:

- Migrants and forced labourers
- Recruitment agents in the 'source countries'
- Transporters (smugglers/ traffickers)
- Employers in the destination countries
- The state (government, police, immigration officials, etc.)
- International organisations, NGOs

Most migrants enter willingly into the first contact with an agent. They are recruited in their home countries on the understanding that they will have a fixed salary and a contract for a particular job in the destination country. They pay high fares for their transportation and have to repay these costs later. But, in the outcome they are tricked whether in relation to the kind of work, the conditions of work, the wages (if they get paid at all), or the amount of debt they have to repay. All this can add up to the forced labour outcomes of trafficking, including severe debt bondage. The recruitment often takes place under legal cover, often through private recruitment agencies that operate "under the disguise of travel, model, entertainment or matrimonial agencies" (ILO, 2005, p. 53). Such agencies, often act also as high-interest money lender, travel agent, or

even accommodation provider, and although legally registered, they operate on the edge of crime and trafficking. A typical story of how human trafficking business works is described in the following paragraph:

“A contract labor agency in Bangladesh recently advertised work at a garment factory in Jordan. The ad promises a three-year contract, \$125 per month, eight hour workdays, six days of work a week, paid overtime, free accommodation, free medical care, free food, and no advance fees. Instead, upon arrival, workers (who were obliged to pay exorbitant advance fees) had passports confiscated, were confined in miserable conditions, and prevented from leaving the factory. Months passed without pay, food was inadequate, and sick workers were tortured. Because most workers had borrowed money, at inflated interest rates, to get the contracts, they were obliged, through debt, to stay” (US Department of State, 2006).

Another picture is how debt bondage operates through recruitment agents:

”A gang imported east European workers for illegal factory work between 2002 and 2003. They were originally promised work permits, but were given false passports en route. They then attempted to escape the gang’s control, but were subjected to such serious threats that they were forced to continue. On arrival they were informed of their conditions. They would work seven days a week, to repay the cost of both their transport to the United Kingdom and their food and accommodation while in that country. Once the debts had been cleared, they would be required to work for at least one year, for either no pay or at best a few pounds of 'pocket money' per week. Salaries were paid into a gang member’s bank account. The workers were watched carefully, moved from house to house, and kept in isolation. Any breach of conditions, including work absences as a result of sickness, was added to their debt or deducted from their pocket money. Control was maintained through beatings and threats of assault on workers and their families back home” (ILO, 2005, p. 54).

As we can see from these examples human trafficking is directly linked to exploitation in the form of forced labour. Human trafficking is often referred to as modern form of

slavery. This is because of the sizeable numbers of forced migrant workers who are displaced from their countries or communities of origin without their consent as a result of kidnapping, being sold by families or husbands, who eventually end up in slavery-like practices.

As in the traditional sense also in modern forms of slavery “people are a good commodity as they do not easily perish, but they can be transported over long distances and can be re-used and re-sold” (Väyrynen, 2003, p.3). Today, it is possible to buy and sell women in the sex trade for as little as few hundreds pounds and thus there is little incentive from slave traders to look after their investments.

5. REASONS FOR HUMAN TRAFFICKING: ROOT CAUSES AND FACILITATING FACTORS

This chapter identifies the key reasons for human trafficking. The supply and demand equation is usually described in terms of 'push' and 'pull' factors, which apply globally but can vary locally in emphasis and scale. The aim is not to give a complete list of push and pull factors that lead to human trafficking, rather, the aim is to distinguish between the root causes at the bottom of the process/chain that act as the engine of human trafficking, and between those facilitating factors that further fuel the process. The following categorization is not fixed as the individual push and pull factors, root causes and facilitating factors overlap, are mutually reinforcing and can also be the consequence of each other.

When identifying the main causes and facilitating factors of human trafficking it is necessary to point out the strong link between human trafficking and economic migration. Trafficking occurs where migration pressures and migration flows are the highest and as a result of the desire for a better life abroad and a likely outcome of situations where legal migration has been restricted (Mahmoud and Trebesch, 2009). Simply put, more people leaving means there are more people at risk; and traffickers and smugglers are likely to agglomerate where the supply of potential victims is largest (Naim, 2005).

5.1 ROOT CAUSES

Human trafficking occurs mainly from less developed regions of the world whereas industrialized countries are the final destination“ (UNODC, 2003). This can be explained by economic disparities between regions that lead to more migration flows as a way of closing the gap between the rich and poor. While armed conflict, civil unrest, persecution or natural disaster (i.e. causes of forced migration) distort and magnify conditions of hardship and insecurity and create fertile conditions for trafficking in all

societies, it is ultimately poverty resulting from high unemployment and lack of opportunity (i.e. causes of economic migration) that is the engine driving trafficking in humans (Mahmoud and Trebesch, 2009).

5.1.1 POVERTY

On the supply side of human trafficking is the desire of poor people to migrate from less affluent to more affluent areas, from rural to urban regions in order to improve their economic opportunities. The bad economic situation resulting from high unemployment, lack of opportunities, family indebtedness and insufficient protection and support from the government is the main reason for emigration. According to the Migration theory, labour migrants do not represent the poorest population, although they might come from very poor countries in terms of gross domestic product (GDP). This is because some financial and social capital is required for realising the migration project. However, the International Labour Organisation research into Human Trafficking has revealed a slightly different picture. Trafficked victims usually do not have access to this starting capital and therefore have to borrow money prior to departure from those who eventually exploit their poverty using coercive and deceptive practices to extract further profits once the migrant have reached his destination (ILO, 2005).

According to the International Labour Organisation study on returning migrants in Eastern and south-Eastern Europe "the majority of trafficked victims arguably come from the poorest countries and poorest strata of the national population" (ILO, 2005, p. 56). This can be seen in the Table no. 5 below showing that "countries with a large population living below the poverty line have a larger share in trafficked victims than others" (ibid.).

Table 5 (ILO, 2005)

The link between trafficking and poverty¹

| Selected European countries of origin | Identified victims of trafficking (2000-June 2003) | Population living on less than US\$2 a day (%) |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| Albania | 2 241 | 11.8 |
| Republic of Moldova | 1 131 | 63.7 |
| Romania | 778 | 20.5 |
| Bulgaria | 352 | 16.2 |
| Ukraine | 293 | 45.7 |
| Croatia | 3 | <2 |
| Czech Republic | 2 | <2 |
| Poland | 1 | <2 |
| Hungary | 1 | 7.3 |

¹ The data are only illustrative and represent a tentative indication of the link between trafficking and poverty.

Sources: Counter-Trafficking Regional Clearing Point, *op. cit.*, p. 10; poverty figures from World Bank, *op. cit.*, table 2.5.

These findings have been confirmed by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) on the global incidence of human trafficking (Kangaspunta, 2003). A UNICEF-supported study on child trafficking in 11 states of southern Nigeria also concludes “that trafficking is rife where poverty is endemic” (ILO, 2005, p. 58).

Poverty, though the most important, is only one of the root causes of human trafficking and must be considered in conjunction with other factors, all of which make the potential migrants vulnerable and easily exploitable for human trafficking.

5.1.2 DISCRIMINATION

The International Labour Organisation study found “that while the large majority of successful migrants were men, women accounted for per cent of forced labour victims” (ILO, 2005, p. 58). Women and girls represent the majority of human trafficking victims because of their vulnerability resulting from systemic gender discrimination. They are more vulnerable because of the unequal access to education that limits women’s opportunities to increase their earnings in more skilled occupations. Also “gender-

specific cultural practices ... such as arranged marriages or forced marriages [...] have contributed to the raise in human trafficking for sexual exploitation“ (ILO, 2005, p. 58). In Nigeria, traditional community attitudes and practices tolerate violence against women who are often subject of devaluation (UNESCO, 2006, p. 32).

5.1.3 LACK OF RELIABLE INFORMATION

While there is increased international attention to the problem of trafficking, the level of awareness in the source regions remains low. Victims of trafficking are very vulnerable as they do not have sufficient information about the legal employment opportunities abroad and most importantly do not know their rights. This is because there is lack of access to education leading to high illiteracy rate in the most affected regions and also the common belief that 'it cannot happen to me' apparently remains strong despite local familiarity with cross-border and internal trafficking. As Romanian survivor for sex trafficking comments "I had heard stories about women being bought and sold like merchandise but I didn't believe them - and I never dreamt it would happen to me" (UNFPA, 2006).

While some victims are actually sold to traffickers by relatives or 'friends', which shows that social networks are not always sometimes safe, most human trafficking occurs during the course of voluntary but ill-prepared and uninformed migration of the naive and under-educated individuals who are unaware of the forms of labour to which they will be subjected.

5.1.4 DEMAND FOR CHEAP LABOUR

Trafficking in people is usually perceived as a problem of the supply side and although it cannot be stopped without eradication of the root causes, more often, it is driven by the demand side of the equation, i.e. by the pull factors.

The demand for cheap labour exists in both developed and developing countries and is a result of cutting production costs, the key success to global economic competition. The main sectors where the demand is sustained often by vulnerable victims of

trafficking are: agriculture, food processing, construction, domestic service, labour-intensive manufacturing, health care, sex industry, and the entertainment sector.

Western Europe, due to its ageing population, will need an injection of approximately 75 million migrants by the year 2050 if it is to maintain current levels of economic prosperity. This "growing, but unsatisfied demand for legal migration options has created a breeding ground for smuggling networks and other criminal organisations, which have learned to make a profit from people's desire to work abroad" (Mahmoud and Trebesch, 2009, p. 4).

5.1.5 DEMAND FOR COMMERCIAL SEX

There has been a rapid increase in the demand for commercial sex, especially in industrialized countries, where there has been sharp increase in the numbers of unaccompanied male workers in areas where there are few outlets for recreation and entertainment.

5.2 FACILITATING FACTORS

Human trafficking for economic exploitation is the "underside of globalisation" (ILO, 2001, p. 47) that significantly complements the supply and demand side of human trafficking. In this chapter the factors that facilitate human trafficking will be analyzed with respect to globalisation that has dramatically improved transport, movement of capital and facilitated movement of people across borders.

5.2.1 INSUFFICIENT LAW ENFORCEMENT AND HIGH PROFITS

Human trafficking thrives because of its profitability and because the risks of detection, prosecution or arrest are much lower compared to other illegal activities such as trade in drugs or armaments. It is a "low-risk – high-profit enterprise" and "those who commit the crime ... often go unpunished and enjoy their financial gains" (Anti-Slavery, 2006: p.3). And even if traffickers are arrested, penalties are relatively low compared to other illicit activities. "Their victims, on the other hand, very vulnerable people, are frequently

abandoned by legal and social system into a realm of exploitation and abuse” (ibid.). Since the majority of people trafficked for forced labour is not identified, they are not afforded adequate assistance and are left with their rights unprotected. Exploited victims often feel discouraged to denounce their traffickers because of the fear and mistrust of the police, lack of documentation, the risk of deportation and other legal consequences when contacting authorities in receiving countries. These also play a part in maintaining the victim’s silence.

Forced labour is punished as a crime today and the vast majority of International Labour Organisation member States have ratified one or other of its two forced labour Conventions, and usually both. Although forced labour may be recognised almost globally as a crime, it is hardly ever effectively prosecuted. This is partly because of the difficulties in articulating the various offences, as well as hidden and often subtle forms of coercion in the private economy that constitute forced labour in national laws and regulations (ILO, 2005, p. 8).

"The anti-trafficking legislation is often absent or deficient and enforcement of anti-trafficking laws is insufficient" (Castles and Miller, 2004, p. 116). The law often wrongly links forced labour as a consequence of human trafficking but many enter voluntarily and then become victims because of their illegal status. Also, forced labour is not only outcome of trafficking but also smuggling and this must be constituted in the law.

5.2.2 IMMIGRATION CONTROLS

Today, "under the conditions of globalisation, immigration rules promote transnational economic activity but limit who can stay and work" (Jordan and Duvell, 2002, p. 237). The economic inequality between the North and the South is an important factor underlying human trafficking as those from the South, coming from relative poverty, often face strict barriers. According to Mahmoud and Trebesch (2009, p. 4, 9) "trafficking and exploitation are the sad but obvious consequence of migration pressure in a world of large income disparities but closed borders." This is especially true in the European Union where there seems to be a direct correlation between the increasingly

restrictive policies of the EU member states and the risks and fees associated with human smuggling. In other words, receiving states are creating a lucrative market for the traffickers (Castles and Miller, 2003). As described by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) "restricted access to legal migration channels has itself contributed to the growth of the private recruitment business, which sometimes operates on the border line with human trafficking" (ILO, 2005, p. 48) and as a result of capitalist development "human trafficking represents an opportunistic response to the tensions between the economic necessity of migration, and the politically motivated restrictions on doing so" (ILO, 2005, p. 46).

Governments in the developed countries introduce policies that deny entry, residence or employment to certain groups of people. These policies act as deterrence, however often with contradicting effect as potential migrants, not guaranteed legal entry, choose alternative and more dangerous ways of entering. In the effect governments' attempts to control and manage migration has therefore created 'migration industry' aimed at facilitating migration (Sales, 2007). This involves legal institutions such as recruitment agencies but also organized smuggling and trafficking groups to bring workers clandestinely and whose services are demanded as legal ways of entering the country become more and more difficult. For example, the case of 58 Chinese persons who were found dead in a lorry in Dover while being trafficked to UK in 2000 is by many analysts attributed to restrictive immigration laws (Castles and Miller, 2003). The reasons for increased immigration controls are discussed into detail in chapter 6 of this dissertation.

In addition forced labour victims often enter the country legally and simply over stay their visa and restrictive immigration policies push more and more immigrants into illegality. In practice, the more measures governments introduce to detect and punish illegal migrants the more elaborate will be the ways to go around them. This makes migrants with uncertain status more vulnerable for exploitation. Some of the agents who organise the procurement of false passports and other aspects of escape "may act more like travel agents than criminals, even possibly with humanitarian purpose"

(Hayter, 2004). Therefore, governments themselves are responsible for the growth of international criminal networks which they condemn. With the enforcement of stricter laws against the illegal entrants are enforced, "the more sinister forms of criminality are used in human trafficking to overcome the barriers that are needed for making a profit" (Väyrynen, 2003, p. 6). Forced labour is therefore also related to the irregular employment of migrant workers, as well as to ineffective monitoring of labour markets.

Most ILO member States "subject foreigners who work in an irregular situation to sanctions ranging from a fine or imprisonment to forced deportation, including a ban on entry for a certain number of years. Hence, the possibility of denunciation to the authorities is a real threat to irregular migrant workers. However, enforcement of these measures is weak resulting in a high number of irregular migrant workers in all countries, especially the major industrialized countries" (ILO, 2005, p. 6).

Demand for cheap labour in combination with closed borders for the low skilled workers has fostered the emergence of shadow migration industries offering services such as illegal border crossings and the procurement of illegal work abroad (Stalker, 2000). In this way, immigration controls have in fact facilitated the transformation of the economic migration that could be have been sustained through legal channels into illegal forms of human trafficking and forced labour.

6. IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS

After the Second World War immigration was assisted by the recipient countries due to the demand for the labour force. However, the shift to more capital and technology intensive modes of production has significantly reduced the need to import labour from the (semi)peripheral countries. Today we assume that migration controls are natural and long-standing. From the 1970 to 2000 the number of migrants doubled from 81.5 million to 174.9 million, respectively (Sales, 2007, p. 32). This increase in international migration has become quickly an issue of high politics as the public started to perceive migrants as villains and governments as exploiters of economy and cause for expansion of illegal labour market. In order to combat these problems ascribed to immigration most developed countries introduced changes in entry procedures. Controls are designed to prevent people entering the country, obtaining papers necessary to get job, social benefits, schooling or medical care. For example, the Netherlands reinforced regulations for detention and deportation; in Norway a central bureau for combating illegal migration was established, and in France authorities require employers to notify them before they employ a foreigner so they can verify his eligibility. In USA and Canada stricter regulations for bringing migrants' families were introduced. The highly restrictive EU legislation and harmonisation of immigration policies of EU countries created the so called "Fortress Europe" which means "permitting free movement within the EU zone, but policing the frontiers more effectively against external entrants" (Cohen, 2006, p. 49). This is because the developed world welcomes only certain groups of migrants, those with technical, language and other skills, and smaller amount of 'helot' labour (cheap work force, illegal immigrants) and refugees from the Third World (Cohen, 2006).

6.1 REASONS FOR CONTROLLING IMMIGRATION

Neo-liberal supporters promote free trade and free movement of capital while refusing the concept of free movement of people across borders. According to them free migration is seen as “too difficult, too costly, too dangerous, or too unrealistic to consider” (Moses, 2003, p. 14). The reasons for restricting immigration by the developed countries during the 20th century will be analysed below.

6.1.1 THE OIL CRISIS IN 1973

The origins of restricting immigration date back to the 1970s when the oil crisis caused rise in unemployment and economic restructuring from mass production to small-batch or energy-intensive industries production in developed countries. As a result the import of immigrants seemed to be untenable for most of the European governments. “As unemployment levels began to rise, arguments that importing migrants was essentially an inefficient way of reducing industrial costs became more widely heard” (Cohen, 2006, p. 142). Beside the oil crisis there are however other, much deeper factors that have led to immigration restriction.

6.1.2 PUBLIC OPINION AND RISE IN XENOPHOBIA

Public opinion is one of the major deterrents of free migration. For example, according to the YouGov poll conducted for the Economist, there are 74% British who believed there are too many people coming into the country (Moses, 2006, p. 4). Most of them “were concerned about immigrants putting too much pressure on public services, but there were also concerns about the effect on ‘racial balance’, crime and domestic job market” (ibid.). There is widespread fear in rich countries that “where tidal gates are opened, [...] a flood of new immigrants [...] will swamp domestic economies and welfare policies of the richest states (Moses, 2006, p. 8).

The greatest resistance against immigration lies in the developed world because of the assumptions that free migration would mean significant economic, political and social

costs. People in rich countries are afraid that immigrants will challenge their wealth, security and sense of community. Also, too many migrants might threaten “a society’s achievements in arts, science and culture or [...] might compromise public order (Carens, 1987 in Cohen, 2003, p. 198). Therefore the developed countries have been exerting political and military force in order to keep them away. These fears or scenarios are however unfounded and that is why immigration policies are often driven more by xenophobia than by reason (Moses, 2006).

Also the pressure groups and unions try to address the negative impacts of immigration in order to persuade the governments to put more restrictions. The purpose of government legislation in democratic countries is to reflect public opinion. Therefore, many policy makers claim that “uncontrolled immigration is an impossibility” but the reality shows that it is rather that “controlling immigration is an impossibility” (Moses, 2006, p. 5) Also, politicians do not want to lose votes so they act according to what people want. President Reagan and M. Thatcher expressed fears of being “swamped by people of a different culture” and the need to “hold out the clear prospect of an end to immigration” (Simon, 1989 cited in Moses, 2006, p. 144).

Public opinion often expresses prejudices and fears of people. Since 1990s there has been rise in xenophobia and negative prejudice like “they are dirty, they are thieves, or they are taking our houses/jobs/women away” (Cohen, 2006, p. 90) have spread among the public. According to Cohen the fear of the public is constituted with regard to “national security, economic competition, religious uniformity, ideological rigidity, cultural distinctiveness and racial purity” (Cohen, 2006, p. 87).

Objections to immigration are often based on irrational notions that cultural mixing is undesirable and objectionable, and that cultural homogeneity is the goal. This “may suit employers and the state, who hope to make immigrants into scapegoats and so divert attention from deficiencies of capitalism” (Hayter, 2004, p. 163) As a result, “refugees and migrants are associated in peoples minds with crime, and the process provides rich hunting-grounds for the prejudices of media” (ibid.). Migrants are always convenient target for hate and fear as “they become bearers of all the morally reprehensible

feelings and sentiments that the dominant population want to offload” (Cohen, 2006, p. 12). Paradoxically, migrants often exhibit exemplary values such as ”showing initiative, sobriety, hard work, dedication to family values, modesty, and courtesy” (ibid.).

Prejudice of the public is strong and will sustain even if there are rational evidence that the opposite is correct.

6.1.3 THE ROLE AND THE NATURE OF THE NATION-STATE

Another very deep reason for immigration restriction is the strong perception of the sovereign nation state as a closed entity with borders. This is because the growth in immigration encourages nationalist sentiments and also because more independent nation states were created after the break up of the empires and federations such as the USSR. Contemporary people see the nation state as autonomous, isolated and self-sufficient unit (Moses, 2006), but this is no longer valid as nation states are part of a wider international cooperation.

The understanding of a nation-state is a less obvious obstacle to free migration but it is very significant one as “there seems to be widespread consensus that the national interest [...] depends upon control of the territory’s borders” (Moses, 2006, p. 143). However, the perception of nation state as superior entity is a wrong historical creation (Moses, 2006). Also “while we no longer subscribe to the beliefs that human qualities are determined by race, that some ethnic groups are superior to others, and/or that immigration controls can (and should) be used to protect a nation’s racial or ethnic superiority, we embrace immigration policies that resulted from this type of racist mindset” (Moses, 2006, p. 145).

“Public opinion and perceptions of national sovereignty are clearly lagging behind developments on the ground – they reflect interests and opportunities that are no longer viable and that are increasingly challenged by the many facets of globalisation” (Moses, 2006, p. 155). Indeed, nation states have only a limited control over some aspects of

the financial and economic globalisation that have huge impact on nation state economies.

6.1.4 DRAWBACKS OF IMMIGRATION TO RICH COUNTRIES

It is well known that in developed world immigration stimulates economic growth and development. However the social consequences are usually more difficult to address and quantify. Unplanned immigration, such as were the asylum seekers entering UK between 2001 and 2003, “can add to problems in local communities and impose additional pressures on services” (House of Commons, 2006, p. 14). “Large scale immigration, if concentrated on particular areas of the country, such as south-east England, can add to the strains on the local infrastructure” (ibid.).

It is important that the economic advantages of immigration balance against its wider economic and social costs. However, as Sir Andrew Green, the chairman of the pressure group Migration Watch UK, explains that “increasing population means that more houses, schools, hospitals, roads and railways are needed” (House of Commons, 2006, p. 15). He also suggests that “the economic benefit in terms of the whole GDP is, frankly, trivial”, and that “immigration satisfies demand but creates other demand [...] by bringing in substantial numbers of people who will work for less you are lowering wages and you are making it more difficult to get people from welfare to work, which is an important government policy” (ibid.).

This pressure group therefore believes that current large-scale immigration is “contrary to the interests of all sections of our community, adding to the problems of both overcrowding and integration” (ibid.). This is a widely spread opinion of trade unions who worry that inflow of immigrants will reduce wages of domestic workers. This was traditionally true for unskilled workers but is increasingly spreading to other areas and skilled levels (Moses, 2006, p. 156).

The argument that immigration puts extra pressure on country's resources is often irrational and driven by flawed assumptions of interest groups. The fact that “immigrants

do add to congestion and inequity in the provision of public services may be a consequence of the particular form of collective provision in a country, rather than evidence that immigration necessarily causes such violations of justice“ (Jordan and Duvell, 2002, p. 239). In addition, although immigrants may be costly at the beginning, in longer effect they contribute significantly to the society and its budget as they pay more on taxes than they can receive on benefits (Stalker, 2001).

6.1.5 DEMAND FOR IRREGULAR IMMIGRATION

Furthermore, there is a sustained demand for cheap migrant labour in Europe in areas of agriculture, construction, services, domestic care, etc. The main source of this cheap labour are often irregular migrants who escape their countries and leak through immigration border controls in order to find better life. Immigration restrictions and insufficient external border control has lead to an increase in illegal migration into rich countries. There is an economic interest and dependence on this type of migration as governments do not have to provide them with protection, rights and access to social support. “The demand for irregular migration is deliberately overlooked or even obscured by portraying migrants as victims of smugglers, traffickers and by stressing the push factors” (Skrandies, 2008).

”There is a discrepancy between a general public rhetoric hostile to (regular and irregular) immigration [...] and public action which has largely tolerated irregular migration” (de Hass, 2008).

6.1.6 SECURITY CONCERNS

The last reason for tightening border controls is the response to the security concerns after the terrorist attacks in recent years (New York, London and Madrid) and public concern about the level of immigration into developed countries (Cohen, 2006). In the USA in 2005 strict immigration controls were established in order to protect the USA against another terrorist threat. President Bush said that the borders with Mexico “had

to be tightened to ensure that terrorists, drug runners, gun runners and smugglers did not enter the USA“ (Cohen, 2006, p. 200).

6.2 EFFECTIVENESS OF IMMIGRATION CONTROLS

The increased border fortification and control causes considerable human and financial costs. It is costly for the receiving states and often deadly for the migrants. The 25 richest states spent 25-30 billion dollars per year on the enforcement of immigration laws in 2002 (Pecoud, 2005). In the book *Open Borders*, Teresa Hayter argues that immigration controls do not change the number of immigrants simply because "they do not work". She explains that "controls are like a dam; when one hole is blocked, another one appears somewhere else" (Hayter, 2004, p. 152). These holes can have a form of human traffickers' services who facilitate the illegal cross border movement.

The officials despair at their inability to deport people (because the governments of their countries of origin will not provide them with papers or agree to readmit them, because they have developed family links in Europe, or simply because they cannot be found) to whom they refuse the right to stay results in turning them into illegal workers at the best. As there is not enough detention centres, governments release them onto the streets with no access to support and no permission to work, thus exposing them to the highly exploiting market with forced labour. Illegal immigrants are "particularly suitable for doing the jobs for which native workers are unavailable because they are exceptionally cheap, both for employers and the state, partly because they do not have the alternative of welfare benefits and also because of their vulnerability to deportation and their lack of legal rights" (Hayter, 2004, p. 157). As Saskia Sassen puts it "border enforcement is a mechanism facilitating the extraction of cheap labour by assigning criminal status to a segment of the working class – illegal immigrants" (ibid.).

Economic migration, to the extent that it exists today, occurs in response to labour demand in richer countries and the numbers of people who would migrate if borders were freed is often exaggerated. If migration for unskilled work was no longer illegal, it is

true that the "costs of migration would go down because it would no longer be necessary to pay agents and buy false papers, ... , but the costs would still be high" as "most people cannot afford the fares, the loss of earning when moving, and the expense of settling down in a new country" (Hayter, 2004, p. 154). In addition, the possibility to return home without losing the possibility of migrating back again would be desired by every migrant as I found out in my field research.

6.3 IMMIGRATION CONTROLS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The General Assembly of the UN proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 states in the Article 13 (1) that "everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state" and the Article 13 (2) states that "everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country". In addition, according to the Article 14 (1) "everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution" and Article 14 (2) supplements that "this right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations" (UN, 1948).

These freedom and rights however have an important omission. People may leave but nothing is mentioned about entering another country, unless they can prove to be refugees. This raises questions about the actual value of these rights when it is not mirrored by a right to enter another country. Although some argue that leaving and entering a country are not the same, it seems difficult to see how one can exercise one right without the other. If migration is seen as a means of overcoming global inequality, people from poor countries should not be prevented from catching up by exporting their surplus labour in a legal way. "Closed border may ensure the well-being of a nation, but what about the well-being of the world?" Is it fair to give "priority to a particular group (the nation) to the detriment of the whole (the world)?" (Pécoud, 2005, p. 8).

Migrants and those who facilitate their migration often "resort to staggering feats of ingenuity, courage and endurance to assert their right to move and to flee. The question is how much suffering will be imposed on innocent people in a vain attempt to deny the right to freedom of movement before governments finally abandon the effort" (Hayter, 2004, p. 152).

The strongest argument against immigration controls is that they impose harsh suffering on immigrants, including genuine refugees. They undermine a long list of human rights, among others "the right not to be subjected to inhuman and degrading treatment, the right not to be tortured" (Hayter, 2004, p. 149). Immigration controls "force both migrants and refugees into hands of unscrupulous agents, ... , and expose them to destitution, isolation and racial harassment. Such cruelty is incompatible with the hard-fought for gains of liberal democracies" (ibid.). Immigration controls create illegal workers, who are vulnerable to exploitation (Hayter, 2004, p. 150).

It is important to perceive an illegal migrant as a person who just wants to improve his life in the unjust world, albeit by means defined as illegal by governments. It is time also to question the assumption "that governments and their citizens have the right to exercise control in their own interest over particular bits of land" (Hayter, 2004, p. 151-152). Most of the arguments for and against immigration controls are expressed in terms of the interests of nations and their current inhabitants, rather than of the peoples of the world as a whole. It is taken for granted that the former should take precedence over the latter. The governments and peoples of the rich countries see "nothing immoral about arguing ... that immigration controls are necessary to preserve their special privileges. Instead it is somehow immoral for people to cross national frontiers to seek work or even refuge" (ibid.). And "governments are prepared to go to extraordinary lengths to stop them doing so. It is from the denial of peoples rights to travel to and settle in the place of their choice that some of the worst abuses of human rights in Western liberal democracies have sprung" (ibid.).

The opening of borders could make the world a more harmonious and peaceful place to live for all. Immigration controls "should be consigned to the dustbin of history,

recognised for what they are: a cruel but relatively short-lived 20th century aberration” (Hayter, 2004, p. 172). The political challenge is “to include the poor in systems for justice, rather than allow their plight to become the issue around which the sides in a new global conflict are mobilised” (Jordan and Duvell, 2002, p. 245).

CONCLUSION

In the modern globalised world driven by capitalism, the movement of people is a sensitive political issue, unlike the movement of goods and capital. Over the centuries and still today migration has been driven mostly by economic reasons, especially the desire of poor people for a better life and the need for labour in the developed world. As a result, people from developing countries increasingly seek opportunities to work abroad due to economic, but often also political, instability in their home countries. This generates a high number of vulnerable individuals, who are willing to risk their lives in order to escape poverty.

Developed countries need migrants to prosper their economy and to fill vacancies at both high and low skilled ends of the economy. They attract high-skilled workers and arrange special working contracts for the low-skilled ones. Liberalization of policies regulating legal economic migration has gone together with reassurances and attempts of the governments to combat illegal migration and illegal labour market by restricting entry. The consequences of these immigration controls are often contradictory. Where the wish of poor people to work meets the demand for cheap unprotected labour in the developed world with closed borders, these immigration controls generate perhaps even more illegal workers. As the possibilities for legal migration decreased, the demand for trafficker services has increased. In other words traffickers and their accomplices form the link between the demand for cheap labour and the exploited people who satisfy it.

In other cases, however, people are deceived and forced into accepting the traffickers' services by promises of good jobs and salaries only to find out later that they cannot leave the job because of the menace of penalty that can take many forms. The anti-trafficking legislation is patchy and its enforcement is insufficient which further more encourages growth of the trafficking industry and makes the situation of its victims even worse. Although not all illegal migrant workers are trafficking victims, irregular migrants are the most vulnerable. Many work under extremely exploitative conditions, without health care, unaware of their rights, subject to physical and mental abuse, underpaid, or

their wages withheld by recruiting agents. Traffickers exploit the total lack of social and legal protection and thanks to recent developments in technology, new forms and dimensions of trafficking transportation and transnational organized crime have evolved. Traffickers rely on the bad socio-economic background of their victims and their lack of information. They buy the victims from their families or employers, kidnap them or deceive them by promising a better future. Traffickers in this phase can even include family members, friends or labour agencies. Poverty, inequality, vulnerability of women and children, armed conflicts, natural hazards, unemployment, insufficient education and access to information and false hope all contribute to the process. All countries of the world are involved; they can be the sending, transition or receiving countries, often serving as all three types.

In this dissertation, the connections between immigration controls, human trafficking and forced labour have been explored in order to show that the more restricted the borders are and the more attractive the target countries are being perceived to be, the higher is the volume of human trafficking within illegal migration and the role played by the national and transnational organized crime. The involvement of criminal groups in migration means that smuggling leads to trafficking, forced labour and modern forms of slavery, including prostitution, with many anonymous and silent victims of serious human rights abuse.

The review of secondary documentation showed that migration industry of the 21st century is based on a combination of both legal and illegal migration, the latter to be most likely connected with forced labour characterized by the lack of consent, life under threat, and no possibility to leave. As mentioned above this is to big extent facilitated by human trafficking as a result of increased border control.

Trafficking of human beings has become an increasingly important issue in recent years as it generates huge profits and brings millions of people under the hardship of forced labour. However, it is often treated as a problem of security and immigration control as governments are more concerned about the perceived negative impact of illegal employment of migrants in terms of competition for jobs, abuse of social benefits, etc.

The policy makers therefore approach trafficking as a problem of illegal immigration rather than a serious organized crime violating human rights of its victims. This actually leads to more immigration controls, increase in human trafficking business and continuation of the circle.

Although many theorists put strong link between illegal migration patterns and trafficking, and they claim that immigration controls are a significant factor in fuelling human trafficking, it seems that illegal migration movements may rather be a complement to, rather than a substitute of legal migration flows (Mahmoud and Trebesch, 2009) and as long as migration pressure remains high, the number of migrants at risk is likely to increase, however, their exploitation and vulnerability can be prevented by effective law enforcement and by effective addressing of the root causes of trafficking.

The current discourse and related policies on immigration are likely to prevail “not only because of the lack of clarity and willingness of policy makers to unveil the myths related to migration but also, and perhaps primarily, because the discourse has been fully integrated and institutionalized in the European Union and the emerging internal security regime” (Karyotis 2007, cited in Skrandies, 2008). Even though there are clear benefits of immigration into rich countries there is a “divergence between public opinion and policy regarding immigration on one hand and actual interests and potential benefits of immigration on the other” (Moses, 2006, p. 163). The contemporary migration regime is very unfair. It is normal for the EU nationals to move freely and without restrictions within the EU and the rest of the developed world in order to improve their economic status but people from poorer countries are not allowed to migrate freely across the international borders.

Trafficking in humans thus needs to be perceived as a complex process with many facets and the states need to do more than merely criminalise forced labour. They also need to address the structural concerns, including policy and labour market failures that give rise to forced labour in the first place. Labour market regulations and migration policies should be designed in such a way as to reduce the risk of workers getting

trapped in forced labour situations. The measures aiming to eradicate the conditions that ultimately lead to forced labour should not be limited only to a local or national level.

Due to the complexity of the problem and interconnectedness of many factors impacting on the variety of forms it is necessary to cooperate globally through international monitoring schemes and to develop efficient and adequate anti-trafficking legislation that would protect the rights of victims. Compliance with the UN Conventions and other legal norms against trafficking has been inconsistent and in most cases people trafficked for forced labour are treated as illegal migrants by the governments and returned to their country of origin. The root causes are not being sufficiently addressed and those who plan and organise human trafficking gaining huge profits are not being prosecuted.

This work tried to shed some light on the problems of human trafficking and forced labour and explore some of its manifestations, causes and consequences. It hinted at many important issues that should be further researched and analysed. It is beyond the scope of this work to provide definite answers and solutions but I hope that my work can serve as an inspiration to further researchers and policy makers.

”At some future point in world civilisation, it may well be discovered that the right to free and open movement of people on the surface of the earth is fundamental to the structure of human opportunity and is therefore basic in the same sense as free religion [and] speech” (Nett, 1971, p. 218).

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<http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk>

ILO – International Labour Organisation

www.ilo.org

UNODC – United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

www.uondc.org

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

www.unhcr.org