Addressing Demand in Anti-Trafficking Efforts and Policies

DemandAT

Background

The DemandAT project investigates different approaches to addressing and reducing demand through anti-trafficking efforts and policies. The project addresses the challenge of understanding what demand is in the context of trafficking in human beings (THB) conceptually, theoretically and empirically. It draws on related policy areas to investigate the scope of demand-side measures to reduce demand for THB. While much of the literature to date analyses the vulnerability of (potential) ‘victims’ of THB, a demand-side analysis has the potential to re-centre attention onto those benefitting from THB, and therefore presumably bearing a degree of responsibility for it. In theory, the research will enable questioning of how the structure and regulation of particular markets allows for high levels of exploitation and, at the extreme, trafficking in human beings.

Conceptually, there is considerable controversy about the meaning of demand in the context of THB and whether a demand/supply model provides an adequate conceptual framework to better understand THB and other forms of severe exploitation. There are questions whether it is reasonable and analytically fruitful to speak of a specific demand for services, goods or labour provided by victims of THB. Or does the demand for specific services, labour and goods need to be looked at more broadly with the overall factors that contribute to exploitative situations (and possible policies to address these) that need to be the actual focus of policy measures on the demand side of THB. From a theoretical perspective, there are questions whether the occurrence of severe forms of exploitation can be fully understood within an analytical framework focusing on the economics of THB. If so, what policy tools are available to steer demand?

Empirically, the available studies within trafficking research typically cover only a limited number of fields, focusing mostly on prostitution, and to a lesser extent, labour exploitation. Little has been said about other areas in which THB occurs. In addition, there is only limited empirical research on the impact of policy measures addressing demand, such as: the impact of specific regulatory schemes aiming at regulating labour market sectors with a high risk of THB and other forms of severe exploitation; the impact of campaigns targeting demand side actors or the role of law enforcement in addressing demand, and specifically, across different fields in which THB occurs. Research on THB in prostitution suffers from an ideological divide between proponents of prohibition of prostitution and those who oppose such an approach, with relatively little attention paid to the views and behaviour of clients themselves.
Approach

Addressing the challenge to conduct research on the demand side of THB thus requires a comprehensive approach across different forms of THB. A solid understanding is needed of the basic concepts involved, of the relationship between these and related concepts, as well as a sound theoretical understanding of factors contributing to THB and other forms of severe (labour) exploitation. Also an adequate understanding of the different policy tools that can be used to steer demand involving production of goods or provision of services under exploitative conditions is required.

Against this background, the project combines conceptual, theoretical and empirical elements and investigates demand in THB and related policies from a multi- and interdisciplinary perspective across a large range of fields in which THB occurs, involving approaches from sociology, anthropology, political science, economics, human geography, law. It draws on interdisciplinary fields such as migration, development or labour studies. In addition, the project combines a broad mapping of conceptual and theoretical issues, and evidence in specific ‘fields’ of THB and policies of selected countries (Phase 1) with an empirical in-depth analysis of case studies of demand in THB and related policies in three policy areas (domestic work, prostitution, globalised production of goods), on the role of specific actors in addressing demand (law enforcement actors) and on specific instruments to steer demand (campaigns) (Phase 2). Strategically, we consider the evidence from other policy areas from which research on THB could learn.

The combination of a broad “state of the art” approach covering a wide range forms of THB, countries, and policy instruments to steer demand, underpinned by theoretical and conceptual reflection (phase 1) with selected in-depth case studies will provide a basis for a comprehensive understanding of the potential and limits of a demand-side approach in THB. In addition, we will also investigate alternative and complementary framings used to explain and address severe forms of exploitation, including THB, thus not limiting ourselves to showing the limits and potentials of demand-side approaches, but also advancing the field in general. In this way, we will be able to provide practitioners and policy makers with a sound evidence base to formulate coherent and effective policies and practical measures addressing THB, while advancing the state of the art in research on THB in general.

Project Facts

Coordinator: International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD);

Partners: University of Bremen (UBr); University of Edinburgh (UEDIN), International La Strada Association (LSI), University of Lund (ULu), University of Durham (UDUR), European University Institute (EUI); Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF); La Strada Czech Republic (LS Cz)

Duration: 1st of January 2014 to 30th of June 2017 (42 months)

Funding: 7th Framework Programme, European Commission (DG Research), total volume 3.2 million. EC contribution: 2.5 million.
Project Design

Research phases

The project is structured into three, interlocking, research phases and 12 work packages.

- **Phase 1: Reviewing Concepts and Evidence from Different Perspectives.** Involves: comprehensive analysis of theoretical and empirical literature in different disciplines, fields and countries, divided into four work packages examining specific aspects of demand in THB and related issues. January 2014-June 2015

- **Phase 2: In-depth Case Studies on Policies and Practices.** Involves: implementation of five in-depth empirical case studies. Three will address specific fields with systematic differences with regard to the type of demand linked to trafficking: domestic work, prostitution and imported goods which are provided through global supply chains. Two further case studies investigate specifically relevant policy approaches. September 2014-December 2016

- **Phase 3 Integrating Results.** Involves: integrating insights from previous phases into a coherent framework and intensifies dissemination which is informed by continuous, systematic stakeholder communication throughout the project. January 2017-June 2017

Figure 1: Research phases of the project
Work Packages

The project is organised into distinct Work Packages (WPs). The WPs implemented during Phase 1 progress from a basic theoretical and conceptual focus in WP4 (The Concept of Demand), to a combination of theoretical and empirical questions in WPs 5 and 6 ('Policy Instruments in Steering Demand' and 'Demand in Different Forms of THB') to an empirical focus in WP7 (Government Responses). Phase 2 of the project involves in-depth case studies on policies and practices: Domestic work in WP8, Globalised production of goods in WP9, Prostitution in WP10, Law Enforcement Actors in WP11 and Smart Campaigns in WP12. The final phase will serve to integrate the findings of the project, based on the conceptual framework developed during Phase 1 and to develop overall policy recommendations.

Table 1: Overview of work packages, their coordination and timing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WP Nr.</th>
<th>WP Title</th>
<th>Coordinated by</th>
<th>Starts</th>
<th>Ends</th>
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<tr>
<td>WP 1</td>
<td>Coordination and management</td>
<td>International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD)</td>
<td>1/2014</td>
<td>6/2017</td>
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<td>WP 2</td>
<td>Dissemination and stakeholder interaction</td>
<td>University of Edinburgh (UEDIN)</td>
<td>1/2014</td>
<td>6/2017</td>
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<td>WP 3</td>
<td>An integrated approach</td>
<td>ICMPD</td>
<td>1/2014</td>
<td>6/2017</td>
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<td>WP 4</td>
<td>The concept of demand</td>
<td>University of Bremen (UniHB)</td>
<td>1/2014</td>
<td>6/2015</td>
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<td>WP 5</td>
<td>Policy instruments in steering demand</td>
<td>UEDIN</td>
<td>1/2014</td>
<td>6/2015</td>
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<td>WP 6</td>
<td>Demand in different forms of THB</td>
<td>The La Strada International Association (LSI)</td>
<td>1/2014</td>
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<td>WP 7</td>
<td>Government responses: comparative country analysis</td>
<td>ICMPD</td>
<td>1/2014</td>
<td>6/2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>WP 8</td>
<td>Domestic work</td>
<td>European University Institute (EUI)</td>
<td>9/2014</td>
<td>12/2016</td>
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<tr>
<td>WP 9</td>
<td>Globalised Production of goods</td>
<td>University of Durham (UDUR)</td>
<td>9/2014</td>
<td>12/2016</td>
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<td>WP 10</td>
<td>Prostitution</td>
<td>Lund University (ULu)</td>
<td>1/2014</td>
<td>12/2016</td>
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<td>WP 11</td>
<td>Law enforcement actors</td>
<td>Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF)</td>
<td>9/2014</td>
<td>12/2016</td>
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Phase 1, 2 and 3

Work package 1: Project Coordination and Management (Lead: ICMPD)
This “technical” work package serves the overall coordination and management of the project.

Work package 2: Dissemination and Stakeholder Interaction (Lead: UEDIN)
WP2 runs throughout the project, ensuring the effective dissemination of project information and results, and the involvement of relevant stakeholders. This includes the elaboration of an overall dissemination strategy, and production of dissemination tools, including information materials, the project website and stakeholder meetings. It also covers the review and publication of all executive summaries and final policy briefs.

Work package 3: An Integrated Approach (Lead: ICMPD)
WP3 has the twin aims of carrying out a comprehensive analysis of the role of demand in THB, and providing sound evidence in support of policies aimed at preventing trafficking. The conceptual, theoretical, methodological and disciplinary diversity characterising the different work packages of phase 1 is considered to be fruitful and best suited to capturing all relevant aspects of demand in THB. This work package will ensure the coherence and consistency of research conducted under the auspices of the project, by developing an integrated approach and providing an overall framework to describe the relationship between concepts, impacting factors and policy interventions. It will complement the framing of trafficking-related phenomena in a language of supply and demand through a variety of alternative and complementary conceptualisations used in research on THB and closely related issues, such as a political opportunity structure approach, a civic stratification framework, a vulnerability framework or an empowerment framework.

Phase 1

Work package 4: The Concept of Demand (Lead: UniHB)
WP4 seeks to undertake an analysis of the meaning and implications of demand from a genealogical and economic point of view, exploring the conceptual foundations of the debate on demand in trafficking. A literature review on the historical and contemporary meaning of the
concept will be elaborated, together with a review of relevant literature in economics and a comparison and evaluation of the relative merits of different approaches. On the basis of these activities, a common conceptual understanding will be developed to apply to the framework of the project.

Work package 5: Policy Instruments in Steering Demand (Lead: UEDIN)

WP5 will provide a conceptual analysis of the regulatory tools available to steer demand and how these may work in practice. The WP will focus on regulatory responses, both as set out in relevant political science literature and as applied in other policy sectors. In order to grasp the specific challenges posed by human trafficking, the analysis will focus on two distinct forms of demand:

- Consumer/employer preferences for lower cost goods/services, where demand for the goods is not harmful or negative per se, but their production/supply at low cost involves some form of harm or exploitation, e.g. to those employed to produce them.
- Consumer preferences for illicit goods/services, whose very provision implies harm or abuse of producers or service providers. In these cases, demand for goods or services produces direct harm or abuse. In many cases, the production, supply or consumption of such goods is illegal. Examples of how policymakers have intervened to steer demand will be examined in areas other than trafficking in human beings, but still relevant to it. Case studies will be conducted on regulatory responses to irregular employment, illegal drugs and tobacco use.

Work package 6: Demand in Different Forms of THB (Lead: LSI)

WP6 assesses demand-related debates through a systematic review of the relevant literature, investigating how the notion of demand has been articulated in relation to different types of trafficking, both in terms of demand being used as a general explanatory reference within a supply/demand model and in terms of specific demand side explanations and policy options put forward in relation to selected forms of THB. In so doing, it will review both evidence on THB in the narrow sense and other forms of exploitation short of the legal definition of THB. The types of human trafficking addressed within the work package will include THB in the context of the commercial sex market, for labour exploitation, in the context of begging, in the context of forced/servile marriages, in relation to forced criminal activities and in the context of illegal organ removal.
Work package 7: Government Responses: Comparative Country Analysis (Lead: ICMPD)

WP7 aims to provide a comparative overview of the development and implementation of policies targeting demand in selected EU and non-EU countries with diverging approaches, as well as conducting a comparative analysis of debates about expected and actual outcomes of demand-related policies by stakeholders in government, civil society and the media. The country level analysis will enable a better understanding of the policy dynamics that led to the adoption of certain policies and not of others; and of the coherence of policies addressing factors influencing demand. It will also examine the relationship of demand-related measures to the wider policy framework for different types of THB, such as labour protection policies or prostitution policies, and interaction between different sets of policies.

Phase 2

Work package 8: Domestic Work (Lead: EUI)

A major feature of domestic work in many countries is that it is an informal working arrangement, often involving migrants in an irregular status, making them particularly vulnerable to exploitation. WP8 has three main objectives. First of all, the types of domestic work that may involve extreme forms of exploitation and abuse will be investigated, including forced labour and trafficking in human beings. Secondly, the dynamics between demand for trafficking and supply, i.e. people vulnerable to trafficking, will be examined. Finally, a set of measures will be proposed for national and international policy-makers, with a view to stepping up actions to combat trafficking in human beings for exploitation in domestic work and other severe forms of exploitation of domestic workers. On the basis of research in seven different countries: Belgium, UK, France, Greece, Italy, Cyprus and the Netherlands, the research will examine what kind of work is involved in trafficking in human beings in the domestic work sector, what are the motivations and the profits behind it and the circumstances that allow it to take place.

Work package 9: Globalised Production of Goods (Lead: UDUR)

WP9 aims to evaluate the impact of existing initiatives to address trafficking and forced labour within supply chains and develop industry-specific strategies to address these issues. The incidence of human trafficking in the context of production and supply chains operating under intense price pressures has received increasing attention, both in global and European debates
on THB. By analysing demand for trafficking in globalised production, including field research in non-EU countries and consultations with relevant stakeholders, this work package will draw out the links between businesses and consumers in the EU and trafficking which may occur outside EU borders. Sector and industry-specific evaluation of existing initiatives to address trafficking and forced labour within supply chains will create the foundation for the supply-chain case studies.

Work package 10: Prostitution (Lead: ULu)

WP10 focuses on prostitution, arguably the sector that has received most attention in terms of combating demand for services provided by trafficked people. While there is no scarcity of studies of prostitution policies, few studies have examined and compared how different models influence “the demand side”, making it difficult to draw conclusions from existing research in regard to the effects of different prostitution policies on the demand side of prostitution in general, and on trafficking in human beings in the context of prostitution in particular. This work package sets out to address this gap in existing research. Three different policy models with this aim, each considered exemplary of its type, will be examined and comparatively analysed, on the basis of both desk and field research. The three models under study are the Swedish, German and New Zealand models, representing policies of criminalisation, regulation and decriminalization, respectively. They have all recently changed their policy as a result of public and political pressure; and all offer existing research, documentation and evaluation that can be analysed and compared.

Work package 11: Law Enforcement Actors (Lead: DCAF)

WP11 places the focus on the role of a specific group of stakeholders in addressing demand for trafficking, namely law enforcement actors, defined as public authorities enforcing relevant criminal and public law. Law enforcement has the potential to combat demand by prosecuting traffickers and putting them out of business in the short term, and to act as a deterrent in the long-term, as well as more broadly having an impact on the moral beliefs, values and behaviour of the general public. Research on law enforcement in regards to THB has often suffered from a narrow focus on THB in the legal definition of the term, i.e. a narrow focus on situations where the key elements of THB (migration, coercion, the use of force or deception and exploitation) coincide. From an empirical perspective however, it is more useful to think of a continuum between exploitative situations clearly constituting THB in the legal sense of the term and situations where key elements of the legal definition (such as force or deception) might be absent or weak. A narrow focus on addressing demand through specific anti-THB legislation may also be misleading from a perspective of law in practice, as law enforcement agencies may not necessarily rely on specific provisions on countering THB, but rather prosecute cases on other, related grounds. In addressing the role of law enforcement actors,
this work package focuses on two main stakeholder groups (1) security sector actors charged - in particular the police, border guards, judges and prosecutors and (2) labour inspectors and comparable agencies.

Work package 12: Addressing Demand with Smart Campaigns (Lead: UniHB)

WP12 will involve the development of a theoretically and methodologically appropriate instrument to evaluate anti-trafficking campaigns and assess their impact, which will then be applied on a comparative basis to twelve selected campaigns in order to suggest policy-relevant conclusions for planning, carrying out and evaluating such campaigns. This aspect of demand in relation to trafficking concerns those last links of the chain that attract traffickers by providing the money that makes it profitable, either through buying goods or services or donating to people being exploited through begging. The assessment will cover both project evaluation and impact assessment of anti-trafficking campaigns, which will be carefully selected through phone interviews and on the basis of pre-defined criteria. For the majority of the campaigns, desk research will be conducted, based on campaign material, evaluation material and literature, supplemented by discussions in workshops. For three selected ongoing campaigns, an empirical analysis of specific factors influencing the campaign and its impact will be carried out.
Figure 2: Visualisation of work packages and research phases

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<th>Reviewing concepts and evidence from different perspectives</th>
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<th>WP6</th>
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<td>Albert Kraler (ICMPD)</td>
<td>Christina Boswell (University of Edinburgh)</td>
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<td>Dita Vogel (University of Bremen)</td>
<td>Christina Boswell (University of Edinburgh)</td>
<td>Susanne Hoff (La Strada International)</td>
<td>Albert Kraler (ICMPD)</td>
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In-depth case studies on policies and practices

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<th>WP 8 Domestic Work</th>
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<th>WP 10 Prostitution</th>
<th>WP11 Law enforcement actors</th>
<th>WP 12 Addressing Demand with Smart Campaigns</th>
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<tr>
<td>Anna Triandafyllidou (European University Institute)</td>
<td>Siobhan McGrath (University of Durham)</td>
<td>Petra Östergren, (Lund University)</td>
<td>Giji Gya (Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Arms)</td>
<td>Dita Vogel (University of Bremen)</td>
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